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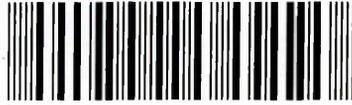
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Broadside Ballads and Bawdy Ditties: Music in the Plays of Richard Brome

By Shirley Bell

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of English by Research

Sheffield Hallam University

March 2016

Contents:

Abstract.....Page 2

Acknowledgements.....Page 3

Introduction.....Page 4

Chapter One: *The Northern Lass* and the Called-For and Impromptu Songs
.....Page 9

Chapter Two: *The City Wit* and the Broadside Ballad
.....Page 33

Chapter Three: *The Weeding of Covent Garden* and the Psalm and Tavern Songs
.....Page 49

Chapter Four: *The English Moor* and Instrumental Music
.....Page 65

Conclusion.....Page 82

Bibliography.....Page 83

Appendix.....Page 89

Abstract:

This thesis examines the role of music in four plays, *The Northern Lass*, *The City Wit*, *The Weeding of Covent Garden* and *The English Moor* by the Caroline dramatist, Richard Brome. The use of music in Brome's plays has received little scholarly investigation despite the sudden research interest in the playwright, and, derived from a gap in existing scholarship in the area, my thesis builds on previous research to ascertain the importance of music to these plays. It has been argued that Brome relies on persisting conventions and lacks originality in terms of his music use. However, I consider Brome's use of music to be much more complex. This thesis argues that Brome uses music in a highly sophisticated way, going beyond the traditions set out by his predecessors and experimenting with the new and emerging musical styles of the period to appeal to contemporary fashion. This study covers a wide range of musical styles and explores the songs of the professional singer, the accomplished musician, the ballad peddler, and the everyday singer to paint an informative picture of how music was presented on the stage. A number of songs were written specifically for the plays, but many of them were printed elsewhere either before the plays were first staged and/or after, which emphasises their popularity outside of the plays as well as in them. The history of these songs is documented extensively in the thesis along with a discussion about their importance to the plot of the plays. Each chapter is focussed on a separate play and the plays are discussed in order from the earliest to the latest staged.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank my supervisors, Matthew Steggle and Keith Green for their continued support throughout this project; to Keith for going beyond the realms of possibility and setting the songs, for which notation survives, to music, and to Matthew for his constant encouragement and belief in me. It means a lot. Thank you for making this year such a fun and enjoyable experience!

Introduction:

Music features very strongly in the plays of Richard Brome. This thesis examines the role of music and song in four plays by the dramatist, *The Northern Lass*, *The City Wit*, *The Weeding of Covent Garden* and *The English Moor*, and assesses their importance to the drama. This study explores the songs of various types of musician such as the operatic singer, the ballad peddler and the everyday singer in order to show how music was presented on stage. To begin with, though, we must consider the function and context of music in the seventeenth century.

The late sixteenth century gave rise to the popularity of two relatively different song forms – the madrigal and the lute song, which both had a clear influence on the music of the late 1620s to the early 1640s when Brome was writing. The madrigal was a song for multiple voices in which different parts were sung together, overlapping each other, and the lute song, a typically melancholy song for just one voice with lute accompaniment. Both of these musical styles were seen as ‘private’ forms in that they were quite intimate. Madrigals would be sung between families and friends, and the lute song was a personal declaration of love to someone absent. These forms rarely inhabited the Caroline theatre, partly because they were unsuitable for theatrical convention, but also because their popularity was waning by this point; the madrigal more so than the lute song. Songs for the lute were still being composed throughout the seventeenth century, although they were not as popular as they were in the late sixteenth. Influenced very much by these two forms, the Caroline period saw music and lyrics becoming more intimately linked due to the rise of ‘word-painting,’ a form frequently used in madrigals. As noted by James Anderson Winn “composers began to judge their works by more obviously expressive criteria, they began to attach more specific expressive meaning to their vertical harmonies [and] consonant and dissonant harmonies were used to emphasise contrasts between sweet words and painful words.” (Winn, 1981: 127) Thus, for example, melancholy lyrics were set to a descending melody to reflect the feeling of sadness.

The early 1600s also witnessed the beginnings of what is now known as the operatic aria. The earliest surviving opera, first performed in 1607, came to be a highly fashionable form of entertainment and its popularity permeated other art forms, particularly mainstream drama. Due to the influence of opera, the solo performance was now becoming more acceptable and current when included in drama, and music was becoming much more of a public thing. As music began to become more communal, another song form emerged, gaining popularity around this time – the declamatory ayre. (My use of the technical term ‘declamatory ayre’ is taken from George J. Buelow’s *A History of Baroque Music*, 2004)

This type of song was frequently used in theatrical performances, and was closely influenced by the operatic aria, in which a character stopped and sang about his or her feelings. The declamatory ayre was at once inside the drama as well as outside of it, in that the song presented an almost frozen moment during the play. The action stopped while the singer sang and then continued once the song was over. Far from being mere additions to the drama, songs were central to the drama. In plays such as Brome’s *The Northern Lass*, the songs are essential to the progression of the plot, which will be addressed in more detail in chapter one.

As well as the more sophisticated song forms, the humble broadside ballad remained a much-loved addition to drama. Ballad peddlers often sang in the streets, delivering information about topical news and social issues of the time, selling their ballads to passers-by. Ballad sheets included song lyrics accompanied by a woodcut image. They rarely contained printed music, but often included a note suggesting an appropriate melody already extant. Tunes were learnt by ear, rather than being noted down, so, understandably, many of them are now lost to us. The lyrics to broadside ballads, however, continued to be reprinted and preserved in song collections throughout the seventeenth century and Brome frequently includes ballads in his plays. *The City Wit*, in particular contains a number of popular ballads sung by a lewd-minded page, which will be explored further in chapter two.

John H. Long makes a crucial point relating to the study of music used by dramatists. He states that "the music is usually not incidental, but is an integral part of the plays...Music, or even a particular piece or type of music, was in the mind of the dramatist when he wrote scenes employing that art." (Long, 1955: 43) This may well account for the reason why it is possible to get an idea of the type of music that would have been used in a particular instance of a play even if it is now lost. In *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, a play which sees music becoming much more integrated into the drama, there are occasions when songs are called for but no lyrics are provided, although it is possible to get a sense of what type of music was used in these instances, as will be discussed in chapter three.

The masque was a very popular aspect of Caroline drama and critics such as Julie Sanders have observed that "Caroline masques have often been viewed as the most lavish of all the early modern court entertainments." (Sanders, 1999: 32) Masques incorporated music, song, dance and drama generally to celebrate a significant event such as a wedding or Christmas. Otto Gombosi claims that dance was central to a masque and "any action beyond the pure dance is strictly accidental and of secondary importance. Additional speeches, orations, dialogues, songs for soloists or chorus, and additional music as background or filler, may be supplied, but these lack any structural function whatsoever." (Gombosi, 1948: 4) However, I would argue that music has a much greater significance in a masque. Music is needed to generate a base for the dancing so the dancers know how fast or slow they need to dance and it is needed to give the dancers aural cues so they know when to perform certain moves. Music is an integral part of a masque in that it unites all the different parts to culminate in a kind of "total theatre" (Sanders, 1999: 17) as Sanders puts it. All the elements together make the masques spectacular and entertaining for the audience, not just the dancing. Brome makes skilful use of the masque form in a number of his plays, *The English Moor* being the one in which the masque is the most prominent feature. Chapter four will discuss Brome's use of the masque form further.

My sense that the songs are detachable from the plays relates to Tiffany Stern's argument that "when songs precede or follow plays, and occupy the 'liminal' space of the prologue and epilogue, often joining those documents, their 'separate' origin is evident. And songs by

– or at least, attached to plays by – many other writers are so placed.” (Stern, 2009: 157)

Songs tend to get separated from play scripts and are often lost. As well as this, parts of songs are regularly added in and taken out when passed from person to person, and songs get attached to plays because they have specific titles or subject matter related to the plays they become attached to.

I have done some work investigating the music in more traditional ways, but I have also specifically done electronic searches for the song lyrics in the hope of seeing the songs in action before and after the plays. My main research methodology is to search *EEBO-TCP* using specific phrases from the songs in the plays, including, but not limited to their titles. I also make use of the ‘variant spelling’ and ‘variant form’ features on this database.

Interestingly, I have found that one gets the best results by trying various different phrases, since the words of songs vary from occurrence to occurrence. One good example being the phrase “middle small” which catches some, but not all, of the variants of ‘The Knight and the Shepherd’s Daughter’ (discussed in chapter one). I have also observed that the same song can have various different titles, and also different songs can have similar titles. Other tricky examples include ‘The Woman Wears the Breeches,’ where my research has found numerous songs using that phrase (discussed in chapter two).

One methodological problem with using *EEBO-TCP* for this work is that it requires different phrases to get the most out of it. Another limitation is that *EEBO* contains digitised texts for just under 54,000 of the 130,000 books for which it has page images. Matthew Steggle notes that “improvements are still to be made to its *EEBO* images and to its accuracy” (Steggle, 2014: 440) and Ian Gadd draws attention to the “illusion of comprehensiveness” (Gadd, 2009: 680) generated by *EEBO*, stressing that although it is a highly informative and valuable tool, in actual fact it is far from complete. Therefore, I supplement this *EEBO-TCP* work with full-text searches with Google, which has helped to extend my research by finding early modern texts which are digitised but not within *EEBO-TCP*. An example of this is ‘The Lamentation of John Musgrave’ (discussed in chapter four).

Brome's use of music has been praised by critics such as R. J. Kaufmann, who argues that "he could write something close to operetta or musical comedy" (Kaufmann, 1961: 36) and Catherine Shaw, who praises Brome for his ability to "employ song...with an ingeniousness rarely shown by his contemporaries." (Shaw, 1980: 40) Despite these powerful claims, critics have rarely tended to discuss Brome's use of music in detail, which is what this thesis aims to do.

R.W. Ingram argues that "Brome's musical art, like his dramaturgical art generally, is based on established forms and persisting conventions." (Ingram, 1976: 219) However, I am inclined to disagree with this claim. Rather, I would argue that Brome uses music in a more sophisticated way than his predecessors and experiments with the new and emerging styles of music. Brome's singers tend to be of a higher class than mere ballad peddlers, and although ballads are included in his plays, they embody a household environment as opposed to being sung in the streets; which was much more of a contemporary thing since balladeers were, by the end of the sixteenth century, threatened with "whipping, branding, and even the death penalty" (Lindley, 2006: 52) if they were caught selling their wares in the streets. Brome appears to be appealing to the fashion of the time in terms of his music choices by including more contemporary styles of music such as the declamatory ayre and the operatic aria as well as incorporating ballads which remained a popular music form during the Caroline period, albeit not in the streets.

This thesis is structured into four chapters, each focussed on a separate play. The plays will be discussed from the earliest to the latest staged and within each chapter the history of the songs will be documented to determine how many are pre-existing and how many are original compositions specifically written for the plays.

Chapter One: *The Northern Lass* and the Called-For and Impromptu Songs

Music is used explicitly in *The Northern Lass*; so much so that R.W. Ingram draws a close resemblance between this play and the format of an opera or stage musical:

Music pervaded society at all levels to a surprising degree. It was the natural accompaniment of work and play. In many ways it bore no less a part of life than it does today, save that our music has become more of a background noise – it is switched on or piped in and is incidental music in the saddest sense. Perhaps for this reason it is sometimes thought odd that the characters of seventeenth-century drama so casually and unembarrassedly break into song; music-making that for us has something of the air of a too deliberately contrived performance was, in Brome's day, accepted as natural and unexceptional behaviour. (Ingram, 1976: 221)

This rise of spontaneous music making allowed Brome, then, to factor into his play a title character who expresses herself predominantly through song, an impersonator who sings about the harsh realities of her job as a prostitute, and a Cockney simpleton who revels in singing bawdy ballads. The songs are used for a number of dramatic purposes and, although there is a slight overlap, they typically fall into one of two categories. As observed by W. H. Auden, these categories are the 'called-for-song' and the 'impromptu' song. The called-for-song is "a song which is sung by one character at the request of another who wishes to hear music, so that the action and speech are halted until the song is over." (Auden, 1962: 511) For the duration of the song, the character is set apart from the rest of the action and becomes a performer, grabbing and holding the attention of the audience. The musical performance generally lasts much longer than a mere snatch of a song or impromptu song and is often performed in its entirety. The impromptu singer sings "to relieve his feelings in a way that speech cannot do... reveal[ing], as the called-for-song cannot, something about the singer." (Auden, 1962, 522) With this type of song, the character is not given a cue to sing, rather he or she will go from speech to song and back to speech again in a very short space of time. This chapter will examine each of the songs featured in the play to determine their impact on the action. They will be separated into the categories specified above, beginning with the called-for-song, and, secondly, the impromptu song. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the songs which result in an overlap of the two categories.

Music is mentioned very early on, and, in fact, it even makes an appearance in the prologue. Brome "Says he would see you merry; thinks it long / Since you were last delighted with a song," (Brome, 2010a: prologue) setting *The Northern Lass* up, right from the start, as what is to be a highly musical play (I am citing *Richard Brome Online* by act, scene and speech number, which is the system used on this edition). According to Julie Sanders, in her introduction to the 2010 online edition, the play's continued success into the mid-eighteenth century was partly due to "its particular emphases on music and song and its genuinely charming female protagonist." (Sanders, 2010: 1) It is not just the fact that music is used which makes the play authentic; however, it is the type of music used. Ingram notes that Constance, the central musical figure, appears to be "operatically conceived" (Ingram, 1958: 493) in that the most important part of her role relies on her vocal ability. Being operatically conceived was a fairly new concept to the period in question. The first recorded opera to include characters stopping to express their emotions through song was Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607) and, in using this semi-operatic idea, the play appeals to a new set of ideals. The operatic aria was just starting to become fashionable at this point, and, appealing to contemporary wishes, Brome assigns a rich array of songs to his title character. Sanders draws attention to the "aria-like qualities of [Constance's] song-performances," (Sanders, 2010: para 35) in that three of them stand apart from the main action of the play as arias do in operas.

At least four songs included in the play are known to have been set to music by the well-known composer, John Wilson (See Spink, 2007). He was the main composer for the King's Men acting company (the company *The Northern Lass* was written for) between 1614 and 1634 until he was succeeded by William Lawes (See Pinto, 2004). Daniel Purcell also scored for *The Northern Lass* in the early eighteenth century, but, for the purpose of this study, my focus is on the music for the original performance. The four songs attributed to Wilson, 'You Say My Love is but a Man,' 'Nor Love Nor Fate Dare I Accuse,' 'A Bonny, Bonny Bird I Had,' and 'As I Was Gathering April's Flowers' are included in one or both of the commonplace collections of seventeenth century music, Drexel 4041 and Drexel 4257, held in the New York Public Library. In addition to this, a 1987 facsimile of the manuscripts, edited

by Elise Bickford Jorgens is housed in the British Library. All the above mentioned songs are included in Drexel 4041 and all, with the exception of 'You Say My Love is but a Man' are contained in Drexel 4257. Drexel 4041 was compiled between 1640 and 1650 and Drexel 4257 is given the date 1659. Numerous songs included in these collections are used in early modern plays. Three of the songs 'You Say My Love is but a Man,' 'Nor Love Nor Fate Dare I Accuse,' and 'As I Was Gathering April's Flowers' have been set to music by Keith Green, based on the notation from the Drexel manuscripts. These recordings are included as an appendix on an audio CD to aid understanding of the songs.

'You Say My Love is but a Man' is sung by Constance, in an attempt to demonstrate her feelings of love towards the unavailable Sir Philip:

Constance You say my love is but a man,
But I can find more odds,
'Twixt him and others than I can,
Find between him and Gods
He has in's eye
Such majesty.
His shape is so divine
That were I owner of the world,
He only should be mine. (Brome, 2010a: 2. 2. 262)

This song certainly has operatic tendencies in that it is the dynamic force pushing the plot forward, and the singing is the absolute focus at this point in the play. However, it only uses a slight element of word painting. Note the ascending of the word 'majesty' – the notes for each syllable of the word get higher than the previous one to reflect its meaning; likewise, the descending of the word 'odds.' These are the only two words in which the music reflects the correct meaning. The word, 'divine,' which one would expect to have a rising tone has a falling one, similar to what happens with 'Gods.' So, in effect, the music does not always alter to reflect the lyrics. Although it has elements of an aria, this song is not a completely developed aria by any stretch of the imagination, nor is it a full-scale declamatory ayre. In terms of lyrics, it is in ballad form. With this in mind, I would argue that the instrumental music is the thing that makes it more sophisticated and gives it its mark of esteem. Both the aria and the declamatory ayre were fairly new initiatives at the start of the Caroline period,

and were only just starting to be experimented with. George J. Buelow notes that the 1613 ayre by Thomas Campion "'Bring Away the Sacred Tree'...may be one of the earliest declamatory ayres," (Buelow, 2004: 309) making the ayre form an even later construct than the aria. Buelow further states that this song form was not a completely established form until "after the Restoration" (Buelow, 2004: 309) indicating that it did take a while to find out whether people liked it or not. It is unsurprising, then, that 'You Say My Love is but a Man' combines the elements of different song forms. Another point worth making is that the song appears to be both public and private at the same time, using elements of the lute song as well as the aria, in that it is performed in a house, but also on a stage. Whereas the song is edging towards these wonderful new song forms, it maintains its connection with the popular ballad form, in an interesting culmination of both past and future qualities.

The stage direction prior to Constance's musical display indicates that she "sings above," (Brome, 2010a: 2. 2. Stage direction, 261) presumably from a window. Sanders has speculated that the 1629 performance had Constance singing from a "balcony," (Sanders, 2010: para 12) however, research suggests that this would not have been the case. Matthew Steggle states that "use of the balcony had never previously been possible in London, because Covent Garden was the first London architecture to include them." (Steggle, 2004: 50) Until 1631 Covent Garden was an undeveloped site, until permission was given in this year for building work to start on it. Brome's *The Weeding of Covent Garden* is believed to have been performed for the first time during the building work on the place and this play, too, features a woman singing on a higher level, although a balcony is specified in this instance.

As Constance sings, she looks down at Anvil, who has intruded into her house, disguised as Sir Philip, and she uses song to hold the attention of her 'audience.' Sanders notes that "Constance (or at least the boy actor interpreting her role) appears...to have charmed or seduced a number of audience members," (Sanders, 2010: para 4) which suggests that, on a simple level, singing was a desirable attribute and if a woman was able to sing well, she would have been seen as attractive to men. However, Ingram states that "the words are sufficiently vague to suit Constance's frame of mind as aptly as they do the quite contrary

one of Anvile. For Constance the song sums up what she has just been saying about Sir Philip: for Anvile, who thinks he is in a bawdy house...this is just the kind of enticing song he expects to hear in such a place." (Ingram, 1976: 224) What ought to have been a straightforward love song has been misinterpreted as something quite unsavoury, with Anvil confusing Constance with a whore of the same name, like Sir Philip had done earlier in the play, rejecting her and making her unhappy. Of course, for Anvil, this would have been an easy mistake to make as "whores sing as part of their profession" (Ingram, 1976: 228) and with the lyrics being so open to double meanings, it would not have been difficult to come to the same conclusion. Michael Leslie draws attention to the fact that, for women, "appearing at windows or balconies in plays of this period [was] a well-known code of sexual and commercial display," (Leslie, 2010: footnote n395) which is why this confusion occurs. This is a very prominent song in a play that sees the same prostitute being mistaken for Constance towards the end.

Constance's next song is sung as she participates in Sir Philip and Mistress Fitchow's wedding masque:

Constance Nor love nor fate dare I accuse,
For that my love did me refuse;
But, oh, mine own unworthiness,
That durst presume so mickle bliss.
It was too much for me to love
A man so like the gods above;
An angel's shape, a saint-like voice,
Are too divine for human choice.

Oh, had I wishly given my heart,
For to have loved him but in part;
Sought only to enjoy his face,
Or any one peculiar grace
Of foot, of hand, of lip, or eye,
I might have lived where now I die.
But I presuming all to choose,
Am now condemnèd all to lose. (Brome, 2010a: 2. 3. 385)

Although not specified in Drexel 4041, Drexel 4257 reveals that the song was "composed by John Wilson for the comedy called *The Northern Lass*" (Jorgens, 1987b: 99) illustrating that

this song was indeed specifically written for the play. Interestingly, both of these collections feature a subsequent third verse which does not appear in Brome's play:

You Rurall gods that guard the playnes
And chastise all uniust disdaynes
Oh! doe not sentsure him for this
It was my error & not his
This only boone of you I craue
To fix these lines uppon my graue
Like Icarus I soar'd so high
Ffor which alass I fall & Die (Jorgens, 1987b: 99)

Suddenly a pastoral setting is established which the two previous verses do not specify, as the singer addresses the 'rural gods' who protect the countryside, asking them not to punish the man she loves for rejecting her. She insists that it is her fault she is unhappy because she has fallen in love with someone who is not a suitable match for her. The singer likens herself to the mythical character, Icarus, who, with his father, tried to escape imprisonment by making some wings out of feathers and wax. Icarus' father told him not to fly too close to the sun, as the heat would melt the wax and his wings would fall off but, being overly adventurous, he ignored his father's warning, flew too close to the sun and he lost his wings, resulting in him getting plunged into the sea and drowning. She uses this image to illustrate how she has been so adventurous in choosing an unsuitable man and should be punished.

There are a couple of minor differences between the, above, version of the third verse from Drexel 4257 and the one from Drexel 4041, below:

You rurall godds! Guardds [...] plians
And chastis all unjust disdains
O doe nott sensure him for this
Itt was my error and nott his
Thie only boone of you I crave
To fix these lines upon my grave
Like Ickarus I soar'd too high
For which alas I fall and dye (Jorgens, 1987a: 11)

Apart from the differences in spelling, the first line of the Drexel 4041 version has a slightly different feel to it. This version begins by addressing the gods, like the later version does,

but the exclamation mark after 'godds' and the subsequent phrase indicate that the singer pauses in her speech to the gods until the second line. The second half of the first line is more descriptive than the rest of the verse, particularly with the pluralisation of 'guardds' so it is as if the singer is addressing the audience at this point, not pleading with the gods. The later Drexel 4257 version has the singer addressing the gods throughout the verse and the first line is no exception, "You Rurall gods that guard the playnes," (Jorgens, 1987b: 99) making the address very specific, which suggests that the later version had been amended according to the feel of the rest of the verse.

Entering the phrase 'you rural gods' into the *Early English Books Online (EEBO)* corpus produces two seventeenth century printed texts which feature not only this lyric, but the whole third verse of 'Nor love nor fate dare I accuse.' The earliest occurrence of this third verse appears in a ballad collection in 1656 by R. P. entitled *Choyce drollery, songs & sonnets being a collection of divers excellent pieces of poetry, of severall eminent authors*. The ballad has been given the title 'Of a Woman that Died for the Love of a Man' in the collection and is presented as a song independent of Brome's play, which indicates that it was still fashionable twenty-seven years after the play was staged, therefore existing as a popular song in its own right.

There are a few differences in wording between the two versions of the song, for instance, in the first verse Brome uses Wilson's lyrics "It was too much for me to love / A man so like the gods above" (Brome, 2010a: 2. 3. 385) whereas R.P. uses the lines "Too mickle 'twere for me to love / A thing so like the God above." (R.P., 1656: 4) The information provided in both incarnations of the song is essentially the same but the variation of the words gives a slightly different feel to them. Wilson uses the word 'much' and R.P. uses 'mickle.' Mickle, defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* as "great or large in size" (OED, Mickle, adj. 1a) and a northern dialect term meaning 'much.' Although the words mean the same thing, R.P.'s version emphasises the northern provenance of the song much more, as one would have expected him to know of its occurrence in *The Northern Lass*, using this term twice in two lines – "too mickle 'twere" and "mickle blisse" (R.P., 1656: 4). At this stage, it is important to

note that when songs got included in manuscript collections, the person who compiled the manuscripts had to write out by hand the lyrics of the songs either while listening to them being performed or by copying them from other collections which had been passed to them; “the printing of short poems and passing them on to friends” (Hopkins and Steggle, 2006: 30) was a very common form of manuscript transmission. Thus, the transcriber would have had to add words that they thought would fit into particular sentences to enable them to make sense and follow the correct tune. It was also common for transcribers to change certain words in songs because they did not like the original wording. Note the variation between the phrases “A man so like the gods above” (Brome, 2010a: 2. 3. 385) and “A thing so like the God above.” (R.P., 1656: 4) Wilson refers to ‘gods’ in the plural form, referring back to the ancient Greek and Roman beliefs of there being multiple gods. However, with the changing times associated with religion, and the majority of people in early modern England being either Catholic or Protestant, worshiping only one God, it is possible that R.P. wanted to change the wording to fit contemporary beliefs. As well as there being stylistic changes between the two variations of the song, there are also slight changes in meaning. In the first line of the second verse, Wilson uses the line “Oh, I had wishly given my heart” (Brome, 2010a: 2. 3. 385) in contrast to R.P. who uses “Oh, I had wisely given my heart” (R.P., 1656: 4). The two adverbs, wishly and wisely change the dynamics of the lyric, producing different meanings. Wishly, defined by the *OED* as “steadfastly, fixedly, intently” and occasionally “longingly,” (*OED*, Wishly, adv.) suggests that the singer is not in control of her actions as she is overpowered by feelings of love for the man she is singing about; she is relying on fate to decide what happens to her and is portrayed as a weak and feeble character, compared to the singer in R.P.’s version. In using the word, ‘wisely,’ R.P. presents the singer as a much stronger character, who is in control of her actions, thinks practically and is not completely overpowered by love. However, because the rest of the song, like Wilson’s version, presents the singer as restricted by her feelings, it is to be expected that the use of ‘wisely’ is a misprint of ‘wishly.’

A further collection entitled *Westminster-drollery, or, A choice collection of the newest songs & poems both at court and theaters*, printed in 1671 also includes the aforementioned song under the title ‘The Forsaken Maid: A Song.’ It was not uncommon for titles to get changed as

songs were passed down from person to person, again, due to personal preference or because the original title was missing. As expected, there are slight variations in wording between this version and Wilson's version – 'plains' changes to 'swaines' and the final line becomes "for which offence I pine, I die." (*Westminster-drollery*, 1671: 83 – 4)

The song is called for in Brome's play by Fitchow who, annoyed by a group of musicians fiddling in the distance, threatens to "add a voice to their consort shall drown all their fiddling." (Brome, 2010a: 2. 3. 365) Sanders observes that Constance "actively engages in a more courtly or elite form of enunciation" (Sanders, 2010: para 17) when singing this song, which conforms to the aria-like tradition. Like with the previous song, Constance holds the attention of the audience and uses song to express emotion in a serious and formal way, although this one is slightly more complex and does not follow the simple ballad form. Word painting is used more overtly in this song than with 'You Say My Love is but a Man' in which it is a secondary aspect. Words like 'love' and 'divine' have higher notes, and 'unworthiness' and 'human choice' have lower ones, as one would expect. Of course, there are slight deviations with the ascendance of words like 'fate' and 'refuse' but the majority of the song conforms to the word painting tradition.

This is the only song of the play for which instrumental music is specified. The stage direction preceding the performance identifies that "cornets flourish" (Brome, 2010a: 2. 3. Stage Direction: 364) to signify the start of the masque. John H. Long states that:

These instruments were unusually difficult to play well because they required very strong lungs and a high degree of lip control. In spite of this difficulty, when they were played correctly their music was delicate, pleasant and imitative of the human voice...Their ability to produce dance music, song accompaniments, and imitations of other instruments, made them popular, particularly in the private theatres. (Long, 1955: 23 – 4)

Due to the fact that cornets were so difficult to play and required musicians who were highly skilled to play them, they were not used very often, and when they were used, they were only used occasionally. Fiddles tended to be much easier to play, and were used more often. The play specifies that these instruments were also used within the action. Lindley

notes that the fiddle was “often used to accompany dancing,” (Lindley, 2006: 236) making it a highly appropriate instrument to be used for a wedding masque. From the type of instruments used, we can infer that a broken consort is being used here. Long notes that “consorts were often composed of the instruments of only one choir – for example, a consort of viols, a consort of recorders, or a consort of hautboys. This type of consort was called a “‘whole consort’...the broken consort was composed of several instruments of different families – hence the name.” (Long, 1955: 27 – 8) Although, in theory, any type of instrument can be paired up and played together, typically, in a broken consort, “the instruments used were strings (plucked and bowed) and woodwinds (flute or recorder).” (Long, 1995: 29) The instruments used in this masque demonstrate a standard broken consort, with cornets being woodwind instruments and fiddles having bowed strings.

Although the typical masque is supposed to be a happy and celebratory affair, this one has connotations of grief and regret. The stage directions reveal that the masquers are bearing “willow garlands” (Brome, 2010a: 2. 3. Stage direction, 384) which signify death and mourning; a sign that all is not what it seems. Willow is a significant symbol in Shakespeare’s *Othello*, and critics have often compared Constance to Desdemona.

Desdemona sings a song about willow when she worries about how she has wronged her husband. She is also a character who turns to song as a means of expressing her feelings. Desdemona’s song is similar to Constance’s because it represents the idea of her being withdrawn from her lover’s affections, and being driven mad as a result. “What she cannot say, she sings... Desdemona invents and sings it as if in a dream or a deep reverie, thereby revealing more of her subconscious awareness than any spoken words could indicate. This, then, is one of the many scenes in which Shakespeare uses music to tell us what his characters could not communicate by any other means.” (Brennecke, 1953: 37) Brome does a similar thing with Constance, and her song has many similarities with the song by Desdemona. Constance sings about how she would die for love, which inevitably ends up happening with Desdemona, but because *The Northern Lass* is a comedy, Brome cannot kill Constance off; however, the deathly willow symbol is a highly noticeable one and would unsurprisingly have stayed in the back of the audiences’ minds. Ingram notes that “It is a self-deprecatory song in which she blames herself for choosing a love so far above her in

station. Its pathetic appeal, combined with the gentle melancholy of the willow dance, causes Sir Philip to question his early rejection of Constance and realize his hasty mistake in so doing." (Ingram, 1976: 226) This slight turn of events leads the situation which once seemed to be verging on the tragic back to the comic.

Although the people of the audience know Sir Philip is having a change of heart about marrying Fitchow, Constance is still oblivious to it when she is asked to sing her next song and "what ought to be a straightforwardly passive role as a desirable commodity...is complicated by the madness resulting from her love-sickness." (Steggle, 2004, 23) Constance sings of a bird she once had, which she named Philip, after the man she loves:

Constance...A bonny, bonny bird I had,
A bird that was my marrow;
A bird whose pastime made me glad,
And Philip 'twas, my sparrow.
A pretty playfere, chirp it would,
And hop, and fly to fist,
Keep cut, as 'twere a usurer's gold,
And bill me when I list.
'Philip, Philip, Philip' it cries;
But he is fled and my joy dies.
But were my Philip come again,
I would not change my love
For Juno's bird with gaudy train,
Nor yet for Venus's dove.
Nay, would my Philip come again,
I would not change my state,
For his great namesake's wealth of Spain,
To be another's mate.
'Philip, Philip,' &c (Brome, 2010a: 3. 2. 506)

A setting based on the original version of this song is available on the 1998 album *Hark! Hark! The Lark: Music for Shakespeare's Company* composed by The Parley of Instruments. There is also a 2010 version on *Richard Brome Online* sung by an actress playing Constance, but this one is a more modern version and is not based on Wilson's notation. The lyrics of 'A Bonny, Bonny Bird I Had' are clearly in ballad form, but, like 'You Say My Love is but a Man,' the instrumental music is the thing which changes one's perception of the song from being a mere ballad to a more serious piece. The dramatic potentialities of the song tend to

lie in the lyrics, however, because the same tune is repeated for each verse like in the ballad form. That is not to say that this song is completely typical of the ballad form, or that ballads cannot be dramatic, just that the drama tends to come primarily from the song's wording with the same melody repeated throughout. Both elements; the words and the music work together to create optimum dramatic effect; the lyrics provide the drama and the music adds to the drama. The serious music makes the song sound less like a ballad and more like an aria. Even though it is not a full blown aria, it has the early makings of one with its formal tune and it is certainly more sophisticated than a typical ballad.

Although the lyrics of the song are original, the references to Philip Sparrow are pre-existing. Entering the phrase 'Philip Sparrow' into *EEBO* produces 27 references, including a poem by John Skelton called 'The Boke of Phyllyp Sparowe,' which has never before been noted in relation to this play. 'A Bonny, Bonny Bird I Had' appears to be somewhat based on Skelton's poem because there are many similarities between the two. In Skelton's poem, Philip Sparrow gets killed by a cat and the narrator falls into a melancholy due to the fact that the sparrow she loved very much has been taken away from her. Constance's song is not that much different; the man she loves is also being taken away from her by getting married to Fitchow. Another thing that should be drawn attention to at this point is the word 'fitchew,' similar to Fitchow, which the *OED* defines as "a foumart, polecat," (*OED*, Fitchew, n. 1a) a small, but vicious animal similar to a ferret. In this sense, Constance is using animal imagery to illustrate her feelings of woe. Skelton's poem uses melancholic imagery about how the narrator is lost without her sparrow:

So payned and so strayned
That no lyfe well nye remainned
I syghed and I sobbed
For that I was robbed
Of my sparowes lyfe
O mayden / wydow / and wife

...

The panges of hatefull death
Well nye had stopped my breath (Skelton, 1545: A3r)

This is very similar to Constance's song as she, too, fears that she will be nothing without Sir Philip, and, like the narrator in Skelton's poem, she sings about how she is "a maid and will be a maid/And a good one till I die," (Brome, 2010a: 3. 2. 555) insisting that if she cannot be with Sir Philip, she refuses to be with anyone else.

The final original composition by John Wilson for *The Northern Lass* is 'As I Was Gathering April's Flowers' sung by Holdup, the prostitute, disguised as Constance when she is asked to sing to demonstrate that she is worthy of marriage. At this point, it is worth noting that the line 'he straight let fall one of his flowers' in the 2010 edition is wrong. It is likely to be just a printing error in this edition, because in both Drexel manuscripts and the original 1632 printing the lyric is "he straight let fall one of his showers," (Brome, 1632: J3r) meaning that it is raining; God is the 'He' who makes it rain. The song does not make sense with the word 'flowers' used in this instance.

Holdup As I was gathering April's flowers,
He straight let fall one of his flowers;
Which drave me to an arbour
'Twere better I my lap had filled,
Although the wet my clothes had spilled,
Than to ha' found that harbour;
For there a subtle serpent was,
Close lying, lurking in the grass,
And there while harmless thinking,
Still watching when the shower would die,
Lay listening to a bird
That singing sate upon the bower
Her notes unto the falling shower
The snake beneath me stirred;
And with his sting gave me a clap,
That swole my belly, not my lap. (Brome, 2010a: 4. 3. 770)

Ingram states that this is "a true song of her profession, a smutty pastoral." (Ingram, 1976: 228) As mentioned above, song was used by prostitutes to entice potential customers into using their services. Using music as a means to tempt men into bed was understood to be a highly effective strategy due to its wonderfully seductive qualities. Christopher Marsh, in his recent study of early modern English music, notes that music "had sexual and/or spiritual undertones. It was rapturous, alluring, irresistible, piercing, penetrating,

enchancing, enflaming and elevating. Most frequently of all, it was ravishing.” (Marsh, 2010: 56) This charming and beguiling effect generated by the singer causes the observer’s gaze to be transfixed on her; the observer becoming sexually aroused in the process. This song’s lyrics leave little to the imagination, and although the sexiness comes to an abrupt end in the final line with the allusion to pregnancy, Widgeon, Holdup’s potential suitor, is so overcome with desire for her at this point in the play that he says he is willing to bring up her child as if it is his own.

This song appears to sound more like an aria than the previous songs discussed, as the music is much more animated and the lyrics do not follow the ballad tradition like ‘You Say My Love is but a Man’ and ‘A Bonny, Bonny Bird I Had.’ Whereas those two songs are fairly simple in their words and melody, this one has quite a different feel to it. It is a lot more dramatic-sounding than the previous songs and has much more expressive melody. Word painting in its general sense does not feature as much as it does in Constance’s songs, but the music does reflect the lyrics in a slightly different way. The gentle tinkling melody at the start of the verses seemingly imitates the sprinkle of raindrops falling from the sky, and the sharp pause during and after the words ‘subtle’ and ‘sting’ can also be taken to add to the drama of the piece. The pause during the word ‘subtle’ represents the idea of the female singer being startled by seeing the ‘snake’ that is the man in the arbour and the pause after ‘sting’ resembles the woman’s initial shock of being penetrated by the man. Towards the close of each verse, ‘Close lying, lurking in the grass’ and ‘That swole my belly, not my lap,’ the music, again, definitely reflects the dramatic tension raised by the lyrics. The distinct rise and fall bears a resemblance to the sneaky, creeping motion of the snake in the first instance and the awkward realization that the singer has been impregnated in the second verse.

The last song for this part of the discussion is Holdup’s ‘Peace, Wayward Barn,’ sung prior to ‘As I Was Gathering April’s Flowers’ in the same scene. Holdup is asked to sing this song as her disguise as Constance requires her to do so:

Holdup Peace, wayward barn; Oh, cease thy moan:
Thy far more wayward daddy’s gone:
And never will recalled be
By crys of either thee, or me.

For should we cry
Until we die,
We could not scant his cruelty.
Ballow, Ballow, etc.
He needs might in himself foresee
What thou successively might'st be;
And could he then — though me forego —
His infant leave ere he did know,
How like the dad
Would be the lad,
In time to make fond maidens glad?
Ballow, Ballow, etc. (Brome, 2010a: 4. 3. 752)

This song is not an original composition; rather, as Vincent Duckles points out, it is “contrived to fit a pre-existing tune usually associated with 'Ballow my babe' of Scottish provenance,” (Duckles, 1968: 134) of which some of the lyrics are quoted below:

Balow my Babe, ly still and sleep,
It grieves me sore to hear thee weep:
If thou be still I will be glad,
Thy weeping makes the mother sad:
Balow, my boy, thy mothers joy,
Thy father wrought me great annoy.
Balow, balow, &c. (Anon, 1670: 1)

A reworked version of the original tune ‘Ballowe my babe lye still and sleepe’ appears in Drexel 4257 but the composer of this version is unknown as there is no signature at the bottom of the page of which it is written. The manuscript ascribes it conjecturally to “[?William Lawes]” (Jorgens, 1987b: x) but the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM) online catalog attributes it to John Wilson. The version sung by Holdup does not appear in the manuscript, but both of the songs are in iambic tetrameter and fit the same tune quite easily. A MIDI file of the tune is available in the section ‘The Music of the Sixteenth Century Broadside Ballad’ of Greg Lindahl’s EBook, *Sixteenth Century Ballads*, which has a very childlike feel to it. Its melody is quite playful, reminiscent of a lullaby or nursery rhyme tune. Whereas the song is sung like a lullaby by Holdup, it is also used in such a way to entice Widgeon into marrying her by using the techniques she learnt as a prostitute.

Ingram notes that “pathetic singing of snatches of old songs was the regular embellishment of scenes of distress or madness.” (Ingram, 1976: 219) These songs are never performed in their entirety and often fall between sorrowful speeches as a means for characters to express their feelings. They are generally always impromptu, so fairly different from the songs discussed above. Singing was a common thing for people to do when they had been driven mad by love-sickness in early modern drama, and as Douglas Bruster states, “the pathetic mad singer...is always female.” (Bruster, 1995: 281) Examples include Ophelia in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, whose songs have a similar wording to that of Constance’s. She sings “For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy,” (Shakespeare, 2006: 4. 5. 179) which has obvious similarities to Constance’s ‘A Bonny, Bonny Bird I Had.’ Many love songs even today feature the singer referring to the person they love as a bird. With that idea of a bird as a lover comes connotations of the person being sung about as a free spirit or being available for the singer to profess their love to. It also has that idea of being free to be with someone else, and it is generally a weak person who sings about the person they love in this way. Incidentally, in both Constance and Ophelia’s descriptions, they mention small birds which are easy to be captured by prey or a stronger and more confident person. The jailer’s daughter in Fletcher and Shakespeare’s *Two Noble Kinsmen* also alludes to “Bonny Robin” (Fletcher and Shakespeare, 1970: 4. 1. 108) as one of many ballads she knows and can sing. Like with Constance, the idea of dying for love is also experimented with as the jailer’s daughter sings of “Nothing but ‘Willow, willow, willow,’ and between / Ever was ‘Palamon, fair Palamon,’ / And ‘Palamon was a tall young man...’ (Fletcher and Shakespeare, 1970: 4. 1. 78 – 82) Of course, the willow symbol is associated with death, and she intertwines the name of the man she loves with the symbol of mourning.

Constance, too, sings snatches of songs in an improvised manner to express her feelings of sadness as a result of being rejected by the man she loves. She sings three short bursts of songs in act three, scene two:

*But he is geane, alas hee’s geane, and all too late I sorrow.
For I shall never be well again, till yesterday be tomorrow.* (Brome, 2010a: 3. 2. 508)

*I wo’ not go to’t, nor I mun not go to’t,
For love nor yet for free.*

*For I am a maid and will be a maid
And a good one till I die.
Yet mine intent, I could repent, for any man's company.* (Brome, 2010a: 3. 2. 555)

*Mun toot Mun toot, Mantar a ra ra Muntar a ra ra ra ree,
And ever I sigh and cry alack for Philip's love I die* (Brome, 2010a: 3. 2. 570)

Two of these song snatches do not seem to appear anywhere else other than in this play, which suggests that they are now lost, but the one with the first line "I wo' not go to't, nor I mun not go to't," unknown to previous Brome scholars, has been found in the 1669 collection, *The New Academy of Complements* by Charles Sackville. This collection includes a number of ballads used by Brome including two songs which feature in *The City Wit*. The above song is 'Song 85' in the collection which can be found on pages 135 – 6. Its appearance in the collection indicates that it was still popular for at least 40 years after the play was first staged.

Like Ophelia in *Hamlet*, Constance's distress causes her to sing ballads littered with obscenities. Sanders calls attention to Constance's use of the phrase 'go to't,' meaning to copulate – "usually applied to animals, though here intended to shock in terms of Constance's sexually explicit reference to herself." (Sanders, 2010: footnote n1868) The use of obscene language was a very common characteristic of women driven mad by lovesickness on the early modern stage; so common, in fact, that there became "a convention that licenced sexually explicit language by female characters when they were 'mad.'" (Bruster, 1995: 281) Ophelia's ballads are seemingly the ones which set the trend:

By Gis and by Saint Charity,
Alack, and fie, for shame!
Young men will do't, if they come to't
By Cock, if they are to blame.
Quoth she, "Before you tumbled me,
You promised me to wed."
He answers,
"So would I ha' done, by yonder sun,
And thou hadst not come to my bed." (Shakespeare, 2006: 4. 5. 40)

Ophelia uses similar phrasing to Constance when she talks vulgarly about sex – ‘will do’t’ and ‘come to’t,’ using animal-like imagery to shock her audience. Constance’s use of this phrase seems to be slightly cruder than Ophelia’s as her final ballad snatch suggests that if she cannot marry Philip, she must marry and have a sexual relationship with someone else because she cannot possibly remain a maid for the rest of her life. She must marry a wealthy man to secure a stable financial future, otherwise end up as a prostitute like Holdup. The way the lyrics are phrased – ‘mun toot, mun toot’ – it is as if she would almost be forcing herself to go along with another man’s wishes and be passive during any future sexual encounters. It is as if she would be prostituting herself because she would not enjoy sex with any other men.

Another interesting point about Constance’s above ballad snatches is how much her northern accent dominates her singing. Fitchow tells Widgeon that Constance “sings and speaks so pretty northerly” (Brome, 2010a: 2. 1. 207) which certainly draws attention to her pronunciation of specific words. Sanders notes that “in the printed version of the play Brome appears to have provided guidance for the boy actor performing Constance as to how to pronounce or stress certain dialect terms or phrases by recording them phonetically,” (Sanders, 2010: para 7) therefore giving her a unique voice and making her accent stand out. Terms like ‘geane’ (gone) and ‘mun’ (must) emphasise Constance’s northernness and the fact that most of the songs she sings have northern origins or use northern dialect terms adds to the charm of this carefully crafted character, whose place lies within a southern dominated setting.

The link between northernness and singing continues to be emphasised when self-professed Cockney ballad collector, Widgeon and his sister, Fitchow discuss Constance: “Dear sister, to the country lass again. You said she spoke and sung northerly. I have a great many southern songs already. But northern airs nips it dead. ‘York, York, for my money!’” (Brome, 2010a: 2. 1. 215) Here Widgeon is quoting a line from a popular northern song first appearing in print just under 50 years before this play was first staged in 1584, written by William Elderton. (See Goldring, 2004). The song in question is also named ‘Yorke, Yorke, for my monie,’ and is about a man, who is travelling to London and stops off in York on the

way. The song consists of the traveller reflecting on York as a very interesting place which has just as much to offer as London has. Sanders reveals that “the city of York was a significant location in terms of Caroline politics, not least in 1629 when *The Northern Lass* was staged.” (Sanders, 2010: para 9) York was becoming a popular location for people, businessmen in particular, to go to make a name for themselves when previously, London was the only place they could do that. Sanders states that:

The city was a gathering point for northern businessmen and political aspirants who would also have had regular business in London...York was also a city with strong theatrical and publishing connections which added to the sense of cultural interaction and flow with the capital. It is this cultural world that the ballad-collecting Widgeon refers to when he speaks of Constance in terms of another northern item for his collection (Sanders, 2010: para 9)

Widgeon seems to be making fun of the idea that York could offer just as much as London could by quoting the lyrics from Elderton’s song. Because Widgeon is from London, he is subtly insinuating that York is just a smaller, not as good imitation of his hometown, and Constance is a mere product of that substandard society. Widgeon is being slightly patronising in that his knowledge about York is very limited. Widgeon’s impromptu outburst suggests that all he seems to know about the city is that famous song. Of course, there is more to York than this song, and this is highlighted in part by Constance, who is portrayed as more than just a simple girl from a substandard city. The University of California’s *English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA)* includes a MIDI file of this song in its collection, which has been set to the tune of ‘Greensleeves.’

The final impromptu song, again, comes from Widgeon when he tells his sister how much of a good time he had with Holdup who he still thinks is Constance:

Widgeon...[Sings] Oh, what a delight she gave me. And how light I am after it. [Sings] Heigh, my pretty sweet rascal. (Brome, 2010a: 5. 2. 927)

This song has not been located anywhere else other than in the play itself, but due to the fact that the rest of Widgeon’s songs are pre-existing ballads, it would be plausible to assume that these lyrics, too, originate from a ballad. Like Constance, Widgeon sings spontaneously

during his speech, but this time it is not due to madness. His lyrics and speeches do signify an overwhelming feeling though; in this case, of pleasure after his night of passion with Holdup. As well as being used as a representation of madness and love-sickness, music was frequently used to express happiness and excitement – music “animated, excited, cheered, roused and rejoiced the emotions,” (Marsh, 2010: 54) so singing a positive-sounding song was a perfect way to express feelings of pleasure.

The final group of songs are the songs which have some form of overlap between the called-for song and the impromptu song. They are not sung erratically in the middle of speech like Constance’s are; they are called-for in various ways, but they do have a sense of spontaneity about them. Act three, scene three plays host to a different kind of music to the songs discussed above, this time with a form of communal singing led by Widgeon:

Widgeon He that marries a scold, a scold.
He has most cause to be merry,
For when she’s in her fits, he may cherish his wits,
By singing down hey down derry.
[All sing]

All Hey down down derry down down down, &c. (Brome, 2010a: 3. 3. 626 – 7)

...

Widgeon He that marries a merry lass,
He has most cause to be sad;
For let her go free in her merry tricks, she
Will work his patience mad.
But he that marries a scold, a scold, &c.
He that weds with a roaring girl
That will both scratch and bite;
Though he study all day to make her away,
Will be glad to please her at night.
And he that copes with a sullen wench,
That scarce will speak at all,
Her doggedness more than a scold or a whore,
Will perpetrate his gall.
[All sing]

All. Hey down down, &c.
He that’s matched with a turtle dove,
That has no spleen about her,
Shall waste so much life in the love of his wife,

He were better be without her.

But he that marries a scold, a scold, &c. (Brome, 2010a: 3. 3. 633 – 4)

The lyrics for this song appear in Charles Sackville's *The New Academy of Complements* as well as in another collection from the same year, *An Antidote Against Melancholy* by John Playford, which no previous critics have noticed. The song is 'Song 86' on page 136 in Sackville's collection, and appears under the title 'Council to a Batchellor' on page 144 in Playford's collection. Both of these collections include all five verses, but the refrain 'hey down derry down' is not included in these versions. This phrase seems to be part of a very popular folk song refrain as it appears in numerous songs. Typing the phrase 'down derry' into *EEBO* produces 143 references, mainly to jovial drinking songs and lewd ballads, indicating that it has a strong connection to this type of song. The slightly odd form of male-bonding by Widgeon and his companions in *The Northern Lass* presents the song as a shared practice, but also as a form of exclusion, as the men sing in a misogynistic way to taunt Fitchow. Widgeon is displayed as a typically misogynistic character throughout the play, but Brome is careful not to make him into a hated character, and, in fact, he comes across as more of a clown-like figure, especially in the farcical culmination of this scene when Fitchow attacks him and his fellow singers as they exit, still singing. This ballad is an overlap between the called-for song and the impromptu one because Philip tells Howdee: "you must put us in," (Brome, 2010a: 3.3. 623) that is start the song off and it is performed in its entirety, so, in this sense, it edges towards a called-for song. However, the action does not stop while the song is being sung because Fitchow is comically running around trying to beat the men and Auden argues that a pause in the action is a required characteristic of a called-for song. It does not reveal anything about anyone's feelings as such, like an impromptu song, but the choice of song seems somewhat spontaneous because this particular song is not agreed upon by all the men before Howdee begins the refrain.

The next song overlap is the duet between Widgeon and Holdup in act four, scene three:

Holdup Marry me, marry me, quoth the bonny lass; and when will you begin?

Widgeon As for thy wedding, lass, we'll do well enough in spite o' the best o' thy kin.

(Brome, 2010a: 4. 3. 762 – 3)

Sanders notes that these two lines are from a “traditional song” (Sanders, 2010: footnote n2010) but does not go any further with it. The lyrics do not appear in publications prior to the play’s first staging, but the tune gained immense popularity following its use in *The Northern Lass*. W. Chappell observes that the tune for this song was the base for an extremely popular celebratory ballad, ‘The king shall enjoy his own again,’ penned by Caroline ballad writer, Martin Parker – “the tune to which the words are written was already popular as ‘Marry me, quoth the bonny lass.’ (Chappell, 1860: 279) ‘Marry me, quoth the bonny lass’ was only popular for a short while but its tune gained in popularity when used for Parker’s ballad – “there is no doubt that he first gave it general celebrity by his poem, to which many verses were afterwards added, in order to suit the circumstances of the party.” (Chappell, 1860: 279) The rest of the lyrics to the ballad sung by Widgeon and Holdup have not been located elsewhere, but the tune continued to be used for a number of successive ballads including the Christmastime ballad, ‘The World is Turned Upside Down’ (1646) and the St. George’s Day song, ‘England’s Joyful Holiday’ (1661). *EEBO* only holds the 1665 printing of Parker’s ballad, but due to its popularity, it was probably also printed before that. There do not seem to be any extant recorded settings of the tune though.

The song is called for because Widgeon declares that he is willing to father Holdup’s child and expects an agreeable answer from Holdup. It is not a completely called-for song though as Widgeon expects Holdup to answer with words so it verges towards being impromptu, and Widgeon’s part makes it sound even more spontaneous. So, undoubtedly, this results in an overlap between the two categories.

A final point worth making is the fact that music is also used as a cure for love-sickness in the play, not just a representation of it. Brome uses the stage direction “Soft music” (Brome, 2010a: 5. 1. Stage direction, 848) in the final act when the doctor attempts to cure Constance of her melancholy. No instruments are specified at this point, but Long notes that quiet consorts “contain no instruments with powerful voices...we might reasonably believe that, in a play having stage directions calling for both ‘Soft Musicke’ and ‘Loud Musicke,’ sometimes a soft broken consort and a loud broken consort were both employed.” (Long, 1995: 29) Typically, soft broken consorts were made up of a small or large collection of

plucked stringed instruments like lutes and fiddles, bowed stringed instruments like violins and viols and quiet woodwind instruments, such as flutes and recorders. As the play specifies the use of fiddles for the wedding masque, it is highly likely that they were used. The music could have been made up of a solo fiddle piece or a combination of more instruments, although without a stage direction specifying particular instruments, it is a matter of conjecture. Cornets (also called for in the masque) are usually used as part of loud consorts so it is unlikely that they would have been used in this instance. Music as a means of treatment was frequently experimented with in the early modern period. In his 1749 monograph, *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Musick, with the Application to the Cure of Diseases*, physician, Richard Brocklesby states that he had used music as a treatment for melancholy and encourages his colleagues to “appease the disorderly roving of fancy, and as it were to re-establish the former union of the body and mind by the powers of musick.” (Brocklesby, 2010; 61) Music was believed to have a calming effect on distressed patients, as it “settled, moderated, composed, ordered, quieted, harmonised, mended, comforted, soothed, eased, subdued, allayed, contented, solaced, quelled and civilised the turbulent emotions.” (Marsh, 2010: 53) In such a musical play, then, it is very fitting that music should be the cure and resolution to Constance’s melancholy. The play does not end with music, however, and one might consider this to be a quite an odd decision for such a musical play. Constance does not sing after she gets married to Philip and I would suggest that this is because she does not need to. Constance is much more than a typical silenced woman in an early modern play; she has achieved her desire for constancy and is married to the man she loves, so she does not need to sing any more melancholy songs. Singing at the end of the play would only suggest that she is still unhappy because singing, for her, is a representation of distress and sadness. The fact that she does not sing further confirms that she is cured.

So, Brome appears to be appealing to the fashion of the period with his creation of the delightful protagonist, Constance, who sings the majority of the songs in the play. She sings songs evocative of operatic arias, a song form which was just beginning to become fashionable at this point, as well as broadside ballads, admired by many. Brome uses a selection of specially commissioned songs for Constance and her namesake, Holdup, to sing

as well as including an array of ballads to appeal to a wide range of people. This play is not afraid to experiment with new styles like the aria, but remains true to its roots with the inclusion of popular ballads.

Chapter Two: *The City Wit* and the Broadside Ballad

Brome continues to experiment with music in *The City Wit*, and like with *The Northern Lass*, Elizabeth Schafer observes that it can be performed like a stage musical – “Crack appears from nowhere and he enters singing, something which is indicative of the role he is to play in the rest of the play where he frequently sings (and surprises).” (Schafer, 2010: footnote n9674) Crack is undoubtedly the most musical character in a comedy which sees a merchant fall into disrepute after being so generous with his money, resorting to extreme measures to retrieve it. Crack, an accomplice of the aforementioned merchant, is an integral part of the play, as the songs he sings move the action on like the songs in typical musicals do. This chapter will examine each of the songs in the order they appear in the play, concluding with a discussion of the instrumental music used for the wedding masque in the final scene.

The City Wit is a play heavily focussed on ballads and ballad culture and early critics have tended to link it to ‘The Woman would wear the breeches,’ a ballad entered onto the Stationers’ Register on “26th Nov. 1629” (Fleay, 1891: 36) which is now lost. The ballad, having the same name as the alternative title for *The City Wit*, has been the subject of many discussions in relation to this play and was originally thought by F. G. Fleay to coincide with the play’s first performance, consequentially dating it to “c.1629” (Fleay, 1891: 36) because it was common for ballads to accompany popular plays. But, as Matthew Steggle points out, “the phrase is too proverbial to admit of any certain identification,” (Steggle, 2004: 20) and without the actual words of the ballad to hand, there is no way of knowing whether the two have any connection.

When Crack appears for the first time in act two, scene two, he sings a song about the seduction of a woman:

Crack He took her by the middle so small
And laid her on the plain:
And when he had his will on her,
He took her up again. (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 203)

The song is directed at Crasy and the lyrics refer to the preceding flirtatious conversation he has with his wife, Josina, while disguised as a doctor. The words allude to the possibility that Crack may have been listening in, although the stage directions do not permit him to enter until just before he sings. There is a convention in musicals for certain characters to be omniscient even if they are not included in the main action – they are “named characters who provide the narration, positioning the narrative as their own point of view” (Taylor and Symonds, 2014: 9) and they are the characters who provide leverage for the play to progress. Crack seems to be doing just that. On a simple performance level, it would have been highly likely that the actor playing Crack would have heard the conversation between Crasy and Josina, as he would have been waiting at the side of the stage to enter and perform his part. The decision of how to play Crack is somewhat difficult because there are many different ways to interpret this character. He could be the confident, spontaneous character stepping in and out of the action at any given time, he could be the naïve young boy who revels in trickery or he could be the clever, sneaky character who has knowledge beyond his years. Whichever way he is interpreted, when he comes onstage, like in a musical, the other characters are faced with a dilemma of how they are supposed to react when this boy comes up to them and starts singing. Taylor and Symonds note that “the musical expects its audience to accept that people are going to burst into song and dance at the slightest provocation” (Taylor and Symonds, 2014: 23) although this is not the case for drama. The addition of Crack is another example of Brome doing something different to his predecessors with his use of music. He incorporated elements of opera into *The Northern Lass*, and *The City Wit* evokes ideas of the stage musical tradition. Whereas the full blown stage musical does not get established as a fixed genre until the late 1800s, it was still fashionable for plays, comedies in particular, to include a certain amount of music, and this kind of music use certainly had an influence on the later incarnations of this genre. The rise of opera tended to produce serious, formal songs for its singers, but what Brome is doing in this play is taking some of the elements of the operatic genre and inserting popular ballads where the formal songs would go; cleverly mixing the past and the future to create a blend not far off from what one would expect from a modern stage musical.

The four lines Crack sings are mentioned in a ballad named 'The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter,' which "was registered as a broadside ballad in 1624" (Bentley, 1941b: 61). It was also printed in 1693 under the title 'The beautiful shepherdess of Arcadia.' The song's popularity continued into the eighteenth century, as Schafer notes that it "appeared in Thomas Percy's collection *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* published in 1765." (Schafer, 2010: footnote n7130) In addition to this it was recorded in a collection by Francis Child called *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* published in the 1960s, under its original title 'The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter' or 'Child Ballad 110.' In this ballad, the shepherd's daughter of the title sees a handsome knight, who she instantly falls in love with. The knight convinces the shepherd's daughter to have sex with him and once he gets what he wants from her, he goes back to court. When the shepherd's daughter arrives at his lodgings, wanting to marry him, he desperately tries to pay her off, but she is adamant that she will not leave until she gets what she came for. There are clear similarities between the two instances of the song, for example, the declaration of love from the men to the women to tempt them into doing what they want them to do before these lyrics are sung. The dramatic announcement of "O I shall dye this day...If I've not my will of thee" (Anon, 1693: 1) in the ballad is similar to Crasy's (as Pulsefeel) assertion of "let it be spoken in bold phrase; I love you" (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 186) to Josina. Both of these statements demand a reaction from the women. Crasy's declaration of love to Josina is one of love at first sight but the idea of love at first sight, in both instances, is artificial. Crasy is wearing a disguise and the audience know that it is not love at first sight for him because Josina is his wife. Similarly, the knight only says he will die for the love of the shepherd's daughter because he wants to sleep with her. He, too, spends the majority of the ballad disguised, and only exposes his true identity as a "squire's son" (Anon, 1693: 1) towards the end. Unlike the shepherd's daughter, Josina does not go as far as sleeping with Pulsefeel, but the fact that she kisses another man apart from her husband (even though the audience know he is her husband in disguise) is alarming. With these similarities in mind, it is easy to see why it was chosen to be used at this point in the play.

However, both Bentley and Schafer fail to identify the original source of the line "He took her by the middle so small" (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 203) which appears in another anonymous

seduction ballad called 'A Ditty Delightful of Mother Watkins' Ale' registered in 1590.

Christopher Marsh notes that:

The song was a major hit during the 1590s, and its melody was adopted as the basis for instrumental pieces by several more courtly composers. Curiously, however, it does not appear to have been chosen as the setting for any subsequent broadside ballads. (Marsh, 2010: 320)

An MIDI extract of this tune is available in Greg Lindahl's *Sixteenth Century Ballads* and a 2009 setting of the song in its entirety can be accessed via YouTube. This ballad is an extended exercise in double entendre, beginning with a young woman fearing that she will "die a mayd" (Anon, 1590: 1). A man overhears her worries, and asks her if she wants to play a game. She agrees and he takes her into a corner where she will not be seen and flirts with her. This flirting eventually leads to him giving her 'Watkins' ale' – "He tooke her by the middle small, / And gaue her more of Watkins' ale" (Anon, 1590: 1). Watkins' ale, in this ballad, is used as a periphrasis for sex. More tell-tale signs throughout the ballad confirm this as Watkins' ale is referred to as a "pretty sport," (Anon, 1590: 1) and the man "had done to her his will" (Anon, 1590: 1) which is very similar to Crack's line "when he had his will on her," (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 203) evidently, portraying the fact that the man has taken advantage of the maid sexually. There are also a number of references to her becoming pregnant later on in the ballad - "Till thrice three months were gone and past/This mayden then fell very sicke,/Her mayden head began to kicke" (Anon, 1590: 1) and "New ale will make their bellies bowne" (Anon, 1590: 1). Thus, Watkins' ale makes the maid very sick three months after she has it and it makes her belly expand. The behaviour of the man in this ballad is strikingly similar to how Crasy acts when he is disguised as the doctor. He entices Josina by offering to give her beauty treatments and asks for "private favours" (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 188) namely, to meet her without a chaperone present, and implies that this meeting would involve them having sex; to which Josina replies, saying "you speak very far within me." (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 189) In this utterance she reveals that what Crasy (or rather Pulsefeel) has said makes her feel attracted to him because he seems to know what she desires physically and emotionally. The language she uses is unmistakably sexualised, and Crasy goes on to use sexually suggestive language when he says "I can fit you rarely," (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 200) that is he hopes to be able to fit into her. Like the man in the ballad,

Crazy is seeing how far Josina will go with another man, before remembering she has a husband.

Another ballad with the first line 'Will you buy a new merry Booke' appearing in the 1652 collection, *Catch that catch can, or, A choice collection of catches, rounds & canons for 3 or 4 voyces*, compiled by John Hilton also uses the line "he tooke her 'bout the middle so small." (Holmes, 1652: 50) The singer of this ballad directs it specifically to "chamber-maid[s]," (Holmes, 1652: 50) advising them not to give into the advances of strange men, because virgins are perceived to be more sexually attractive to men than experienced women – "nor was it e-ver Printed for the Widdow" (Holmes, 1652: 51) (the ballad was not directed at widows) and men may take advantage of naïve maids. Advising maids about the danger of giving into temptation is similar to what the female singer of 'A ditty delightfull of mother Watkins' ale' does towards the end of this ballad after realising the man has left her to cope with looking after a child after he impregnates her – "UWhen you drinke ale beware the toast / For therein lay the danger most." (Anon, 1590: 1) In *The City Wit*, prior to Crazy, in disguise, entering Josina's chamber, Josina complains when her maid refers to her as "Madam Josina Crazy," (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 170) not wanting to be associated with her husband while she thinks he is away. When Crack sings the 'He took her by the middle so small' song, there is also an indication that he is not only directing it at Crazy, but at Josina too, because she behaves like the naïve women in these broadside ballads, and takes pleasure in flirting with men other than her husband. So, the bottom line is, previous critics have tended to link this song to later ballads, invoking more of a folk tradition, but, as I have shown, it is around in seventeenth century urban, satirical sources, and this is the register it carries.

Crack's second song, which appears in the same scene, is also highly sexualised:

Crack The young and the old mun to't, mun too't,
The young and the old mun to it.
The young ones will learn to do't, to do't,
And the old forget not to do it. (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 207)

This song does not appear in any currently existing ballad collections, but it is used in a 1693 adaptation of *The City Wit* called *A Very Good Wife* by George Powell. Powell's adaptation slightly changes the original characters' names but uses quite a lot of the original plot although the dialogue is different. This play also includes three of the songs sung by Crack in *The City Wit*: 'He took her by the middle so small,' 'The Young and the old mun to't, mun too't' and his third song, in the same scene, 'O She is, she is a matchless piece,' indicating that these songs were still popular in the Restoration period. 'The Young and the old mun to't, mun too't' is sung after Crasy realises that Crack is a pimp and makes fun of him for having a profession like this when he is so young. Crack responds with this song, in which "the repeated 'it' refers to having sex." (Schafer, 2010: footnote n7133) So, he is saying that if you are young, you will learn how to have sex as well as making fun of the thought of old people doing it. In the ballad, Crack uses the Yorkshire dialect term "mun," (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 207) meaning 'must.' The song relies on someone being able to sing it in a Yorkshire accent because of all the dialect-based phrasing. It has already been established in the previous chapter that the actor playing Constance in *The Northern Lass* can sing in a Yorkshire accent and due to the closeness in date between *The Northern Lass* and *The City Wit*, it would not be unreasonable to assume that both highly musical roles were performed by the same boy actor.

The Northern Lass was first staged in 1629 and, although the original date for *The City Wit* is unknown, R. J. Kaufmann conjecturally positions it "between early 1630 and December, 1631," attributing it to a boys' acting company, "Children of the King's Revels," characterised by its "exceptional number of boys' parts and several comic allusions to size, dignity, etc., that suggest boy actors." (Kaufmann, 1961:179) 'Boys parts' meaning women and boy characters. However, the list of characters only specifies two boys "CRACK, a boy that sings" (Brome, 2010b: List of Characters) and "The Tickets' PAGE" (Brome, 2010b: List of Characters). The term 'page' defined by the *OED* as "a boy or youth" (*OED*, Page, n. 1). There are also only three significant female roles specified: Josina, Lady Ticket and Pyannet; the others could have been played by actors playing other characters who do not appear on stage at the same time. The page only has a minor role as well, only appearing in one scene – his part could also have been played by a boy actor playing two roles. With the dating and

lack of boys' parts specified, Kaufmann's argument of *The City Wit* being initially performed by a boys' company is considerably flawed. Steggle very convincingly argues that "given that the other three of the four plays known to have been written by Brome about this date – *The Love-Sick Maid*, *The Northern Lass*, and *The Novella* – were all certainly King's Men plays; one should perhaps be reluctant to assign this one to another company without good reason." (Steggle, 2004: 20 – 1) With there being no surviving factual evidence to prove otherwise, it is highly unlikely that Brome would have been writing for another company as well as The King's Men at this time. New evidence has recently come to light by Martin Wiggins, identifying the first performance of *The City Wit* as being staged in "1633." (Wiggins, 2015: para 2) Disagreeing with the accepted dating of the play's initial performance, he claims that "the most crucial dating evidence, not hitherto adduced, occurs in the court sequence" (Wiggins, 2015: para 2) where Sarpego is told by Pyannet that he will be tutor to the "young Prince" (Brome 2010: 3. 2. 412) and the prince is offered Crasy's jewels by the Sneakups. Wiggins goes on to say that:

The action seems to be contemporary, but there was no Prince in England between 1625 and 1630, except for the 'Prince' whose title was a periphrasis for the King. He might be the 'Prince' to whom the jewels are to be sold, and who is impersonated by Pyannet, but cannot be the 'young' Prince who needs a schoolmaster. However, Prince Charles was felt to need a Latin tutor when he was around three years old: Sir Robert Le Grys unsuccessfully offered himself for the post in 1633. This is a year not overburdened with datable work by Brome, and so recommends itself as a much likelier date for the play than the traditional 1630. (Wiggins, 2015: para 2)

Taking Wiggins' proposed dating of 1633 into account; it still does not mean Brome wrote *The City Wit* for any company other than the King's Men. C. E. Andrews states that "the King's Men [was] the company for which Brome was writing in 1633 and 1634," (Andrews, 1972: 50) and further evidence, highlighted by Steggle, confirms that Brome's 1634 collaboration with Thomas Heywood, *The Late Lancashire Witches* can definitely be assigned to this company:

The events on which it was founded were unfolding in Lancashire from March 1634 onwards: while a petition of 20 July 1634, in which the King's Men try to prevent rival plays covering the same event, indicates that Brome and Heywood's play was ready or nearly ready for the stage by this date...the play was entered on the Stationers' Register, and was printed that year. (Steggle, 2004: 45)

Therefore, we can be certain of the fact that Brome was still writing for the King's Men in the summer of 1634, making this company the most plausible one for *The City Wit* to have been written for. It is, then, possible that the same person played both roles of Constance and Crack. Lucy Munro states that boy actors were typically "aged between approximately ten and fourteen" (Munro, 2014: 54) and if the boy playing Constance was ten when he took on this role, even if *The City Wit* was staged in 1633, he would have still only been fourteen, so able to see through the play's run before hitting puberty.

'O She is, she is a matchless piece,' like the previous ballad, does not appear in any existing collections apart from Powell's *A Very Good Wife*.

Crack O she is, she is a matchless piece,
Though all the world may woo her;
Nor golden shower, nor Golden Fleece,
Is price enough to do her. (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 211)

Again, this song has sexual undertones, as the *OED* defines the terms 'piece' as "a woman or girl...with connotation of a woman regarded as a sexual object" (*OED*, Piece, n. II. 9b) and 'do' meaning "to have sexual intercourse with." (*OED*, Do, v. 19) Crack makes reference to classical mythology when he describes widow Tryman, insinuating that she is not easily impressed by the men who try to woo her. The 'golden shower' "alludes to the Greek myth whereby Danae became pregnant by Zeus even though her father had locked her up in a tower, as the god visited her in the form of a shower of gold falling from the sky." (Schafer, 2010: footnote n7136) Herschel Baker notes that "one does not ordinarily associate the Elizabethan broadside with classical antiquity, although the ballads of the late sixteenth century are fairly studded with allusions to ancient literature." (Baker, 1939: 981) The ballads do not generally retell or follow the ancient stories through, instead, the ballad writer "could draw on well-known figures that formed the stock in trade of most writers, and inflate his diction with high-sounding flatulence...it was easier for the writer to indulge in an elegant euphemism or hyperbole, citing some classical figure, than to express real feeling." (Baker, 1939: 986) This is exactly what is being done in the above ballad. The writer is trying to

create an image of a woman who is highly appealing to men, but someone who will not enter blindly into a relationship without being greatly impressed first. Realising he only has four lines in which to create this image, the easiest way to do it is to make reference to a classical myth which the majority his audience are familiar with, hence using the myth of the golden shower. The ballad also includes a reference to the 'Golden Fleece' which "alludes to the Greek myth of Jason and the Argonauts who went in quest of a golden fleece." (Schafer, 2010: footnote n7138) Baker states that it was common for ballads to cite "heroic names" (Baker, 1939: 985) and make reference to heroic characters such as Jason to enhance the sound of the ballad and exude intelligence.

Crack's final bawdy ditty of act two, scene two is also used to describe widow Tryman:

*Crack ...Along, along, where the gallants throng
By twenties, away the widow to carry.
But let them tarry: for she will carry
Twenty before that one she will marry.* (Brome, 2010b: 2. 2. 217)

This song does not appear in any existing records outside of the play either. Schafer notes that the ballad is implying that "the widow would have sex with 20 gallants" (Schafer, 2010: footnote n7175) before deciding on a suitable one to marry, and according to Ira Clark, this is a classic example of the widow hunt in action - "in popular lore, widows drew the attention of young men, who saw them as treasure." (Clark, 2001: 402) That is, widows were known to have often secured a significant amount of money from their deceased husbands and the money was appealing to young men; if the woman herself was attractive, this was a bonus. Because the widow had money and money signified power, she could sleep with as many men as she wanted before getting married. "In the full fantasy of the widow hunt, the gallant wins the fortune. He fulfils the desires of a sexy wife. He is reclaimed from profligacy. And he beats his competitors." (Clark, 2001: 413) With the widow hunt being such a common theme, it seems unlikely that this ballad would have been written specifically for the play. Most likely, it was a broadside ballad that has been lost.

When Crack appears on stage in act two, scene three, he performs his next song about a woman who dies for love:

Crack Now, fair maids, lay down my bed,
And draw the curtains round.
Tell the world that I am dead,
And who hath given the wound,
Ah me poor soul!
Alack for love I die,
Then to the sexton hie,
And cause the bell to toll
...
Did never truer heart
Out of the world depart,
Or cause the bell to toll. (Brome, 2010b: 2. 3. 268 – 279)

The dramatic illustration of dying for love on this occasion is not because widow Tryman, who this song makes reference to, wants to sleep with any of her admirers, like Crasy in disguise as Pulsefeel earlier in the play or the knight in 'The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter,' rather she pretends that she is near death to extort money out of her would-be suitors. She encourages her suitors to prove their love for her by buying her expensive gifts in return for her hand in marriage, similar to what Volpone does in Ben Jonson's play when he expects riches from his friends, pretending to put them in his will as a result.

Previous critics of the play have been unable to locate any additional sources containing this song. However, I have managed to locate variations of it in two different places. The line 'cause the bell to toll' is used in an unnamed ballad with the first line 'My thread is spun' in the collection, *Giles Earle His Booke*. According to the editor of the 1932 edition, Earle's book was compiled between "1615 and 1626" (Warlock, 1932: 7) so evidently predates Brome's play. The structure of Earle's version is quite different to the version used by Brome, with seven four line verses and six lines for the final verse. The lyrics are also slightly different but both versions have the same subject matter of a person close to death:

My friends depart,
Death aims his dart,
To strike my heart;
Night plays his part.

Go, cause the bell to toll! (Earle, 1932: 82)

The whole verse which Crack sings on line 268 of *The City Wit* appears in a letter from Thomas Caldecott, “a lawyer and book collector” (Dennis, 1931: 1196) to Thomas Percy, (Bishop of Dromore) dated Monday, 13th (the month is not specified) 1792:

Hie, good Maide, lay downe the Bed
And drawe the Curtaines rounde;
Tell the World, that I am deade,
And eake who gave the Wounde;
Aye me, poore Soule!
Alas! for Love I die;
Good, gentle Nephew, hie,
Goe, cause the Bell to toule! (Dennis, 1931: 1196)

In Caldecott’s letter, it is revealed that the song lyrics had been “found amongst [John] Milton’s papers” and had been “hastily transcribed” (Dennis, 1931: 1196) on the morning they were found. (See also Foster, 2014). The version used by Brome has been changed slightly to fit neatly into the play. The lyrics add to the progression of *The City Wit*’s plot, still conforming to the stage musical tradition because there is nothing in the song to suggest that the widow is not who she says she is at this point. Crack’s following lyrics; speech 279 do not appear in Caldecott’s version, but they strongly resemble the structure used in both Earle and Caldecott’s versions so we can be fairly certain that both parts of Crack’s song are part of the same song either as a made up analogy on this song or part of another variation.

In act three, scene one, when the three tricksters, Crack, Crasy and Tryman are left on their own, Crack sings this song about them forming an alliance:

Crack Then let us be friends and most friendly agree.
The pimp and the punk and the doctor are three,
That cannot but thrive when united they be.
The pimp brings in custom, the punk she gets treasure,
Of which the physician is sure of his measure,
For work that she makes him in sale of her pleasure.
For which, when she fails by diseases or pain,
The doctor new vamps and upsets her again. (Brome, 2010b: 3. 1. 397)

There are no records of this song appearing in any collections prior to this play, but it does appear in two different collections in 1669 – it is ‘Song 129’ in the collection *The New Academy of Complements* by Charles Sackville and ‘Catch 47’ in *An Antidote Against Melancholy* by John Playford. Playford refers to it in his collection as a “catch” (Playford, 1669: 180) and the *OED* defines a ‘catch’ as “a short composition for three or more voices, which sing the same melody, the second singer beginning the first line as the first goes onto the second line, and so on with each successive singer...Subsequently specially applied to rounds in which the words are so arranged as to produce ludicrous effects, one singer catching at the words of another.” (*OED*, Catch, n. 14) Because Playford categorises the song as a catch, it is likely that it originated as a catch rather than it being a reworking of a song that originated with a single singer. Moreover, the likelihood of the song being adapted to fit just one voice for the play is a lot more plausible than it being changed into a catch after appearing in the play. This ballad is very cleverly placed here to comment on Josina’s use of Pulesfeel for her ‘pleasure.’

The next song referred to does not emerge in its full form, rather only one line is specified:

Crack ...On a sudden he fell a singing, *O she’s a dainty widow* (Brome, 2010b: 3. 3. 460)

This song does not appear in any existing records before the play was staged; although, it does get mentioned in the 1677 play, *The Debauchee, or The Credulous Cuckold*, by Aphra Behn. Schafer observes that “Behn’s stage direction suggests that the song is well known” (Schafer, 2010: footnote: n9704) because she does not provide any lyrics to the song apart from the one line “Sings. *O she’s a dainty Widow.*” (Behn, 1677: 4. 1. Stage Direction, 45) Due to the fact that Brome does not provide lyrics to the song either, it seemingly implies that the song was popular when he was writing too. Various eighteenth century sources feature extracts of this song, including an anonymous book from 1780, *The Picture Gallery Containing Near Two Hundred Paintings by the Most Distinguished Ladies in Great Britain*, which contains what appears to be a refrain of the song, under the title ‘Mrs Abingdon: The Widow Anderson’:

Have you been at Abingdon, hey, Sir, ho, Sir!
Have you been at Abingdon, ho!

Have you been at Abingdon, seen Widow Anderson?
Oh! She's a dainty widow! (Anon, 1780: 6)

This source provides a commentary on the refrain and it is noted that it is linked to a painting of the same title although an image is not specified and I have been unable to locate the image elsewhere. The commentary suggests that the widow in the painting is an old and ugly looking woman:

There are no arguments of the widow's having ever laid just claim to the epithet of dainty. Never were black eyes seen less alluring. A petitesse of figure, and a seemingly baulked attempt at flirtation, are but poor substitutes, where we are taught to expect ravishing glances, and a buxom embonpoint. The widow was certainly in the vale of years when she sat for her picture. (Anon, 1780: 6 – 7)

The line Crack sings also appears in a letter from the eighteenth century Romantic poet, Anna Seward to a Mrs Weston, discussing a the novel *The Young Widow; or the History of Cornelia Smedley* by William Hayley. The letter dated April 9 1790 expresses Seward's outrage at the novel's central character being disparaged – "I lost all patience at the impertinent familiarity with which alike the lover and her friends talk of the dear dainty widow, in disgusting application of the foolish song's burden, 'O she's a dainty widow – widow.'" From these two sources, it is clear that the song is one of mockery and insult. In *The City Wit*, Crack says that Wolsey sang the song to himself with regards to widow Tryman which implies that he thinks of her as an old, decrepit woman and only agrees to marry her for her money.

There are a number of instances where music is required but a song is not specified. The first one being when Lady Ticket requests a song from the page:

Lady Ticket Boy, sing your song of the court delights.

...

The PAGE sings ... (Brome, 2010b: 4. 2. Stage Direction, 662)

Evidently, it refers to court delights, and Schafer notes that delights "were often taken to be sexual in nature; Pyannet's subsequent speech indicates that she sees these 'delights' as specifically sexual, and her comment 'Are you lulled in your delights?' also suggests that the

word 'delights' features in the song." (Schafer, 2010: footnote: n8366) An *EEBO* search reveals that there are many pre-1630s ballads featuring the word 'delight' and the song in question could be any one of them, or alternatively, as we have seen previously, one that is currently lost. *EEBO* does not provide any songs featuring the phrase 'court delights.' Another example being when Pyannet makes reference to "the song which thou hadst in the praise of the male baboon" (Brome, 2010b: 4. 2. 697) when she is trying to insult Lady Ticket, after finding her in a compromising position with Sneakup. It is insinuated that the song is quite rude, as Schafer points out "Pyannet is presumably referring to an indecent song about the baboon's penis." (Schafer, 2010: footnote: n8450) It is apparent that "the genitalia of a male baboon can seem disproportionately long in relation to the rest of its body and, as a consequence, baboons were believed, in the seventeenth century, to be very lecherous." (Schafer, 2010: footnote: n8450) This mention of the song does not provide a title or even any lyrics so it is very difficult to work out what song she is referring to.

When Linsy-Wolsey, furious about losing widow Tryman, threatens to get Crack arrested unless he can impress him with a song, his first three attempts are also unspecified. All that is known is that a song is required at each call for a song, suggesting that the songs can be interchangeable. The song that saves him from the beadle is a piece about Master Wolsey himself. The words to this one are required because this is the one which advances the plot:

Crack Then shall a present course be found
For Master Wolsey's threescore pound,
And his ring,
And the thing
That has given him the slip...

Linsy-Wolsey Aye, marry, that I like well.

Crack Then I have scaped the whip. (Brome, 2010b: 4. 4. 753 – 5)

The lyrics to this song are so specific to the plot that there is reason to believe that it was written specifically for the play for the action to progress, but who it was written by is currently unknown. There is no record of it in any other collections and it does not seem to be a stand-alone song because of the reference to 'Master Wolsey,' the amount of money

requested, the 'thing,' "a pejorative term for a woman" (Schafer, 2010: footnote gg2841) that is widow Tryman who has left him, and the allusion to escaping the whip. Alternatively, Wolsey's name could have replaced someone else's in another version of this song, but this is something we cannot be sure of.

The final song of the play coincides with a wedding masque for widow Tryman and Toby Sneakup and begins with Crack summoning Hymen, the god of marriage in Greek and Roman mythology:

Crack Io Hymen, Io Hymen, Io Hymen...
Was wont to be still the old song
At high nuptial feasts
Where the merry, merry guests
With joy and good wishes did throng.
But to this new wedding new notes do I bring,
To rail at thee Hymen while sadly I sing.
Fie O Hymen, fie O Hymen, fie O Hymen,
What hands and what hearts dost thou knit?
A widow that's poor,
And a very, very whore,
To an heir that wants nothing but wit.
Yet thus far, O Hymen, thy answer is made:
When his means are spent, they may live by her trade. (Brome, 2010b: 5. 1. 914)

Due to the fact that Renaissance comedies usually end with a marriage, Brome conforms to the tradition but with a twist. This song drives the plot forward and makes fun of a song that is typical of marriages because Crack makes a show of invoking Hymen to ask him why he is joining these two completely unsuitable characters together. It is not a straightforward marriage song with everyone being happy and starting a new life together, because the real guise of Tryman is not yet revealed. Like 'Then let us be friends and most friendly agree,' this one also appears in the 1669 collection *The New Academy of Complements*, under the heading 'Another 134.'

There are a number of instances during the closing act of the single word 'music' being used. This "is the only stage direction which introduces the instrumental music in many of the plays of the period...The term might refer either to a broken or to a whole consort; the

context usually contains indications of the type of consort referred to." (Long, 1955: 30) The stage direction "Enter...CRACK with his lute" (Brome, 2010b: 5. 1. Stage direction, 902) before he sings the Hymeneal song makes it obvious that the song is being accompanied by a lute, but the calls for 'music' on lines 801 and 871 do not mention specific instruments. However, we can infer that pipes and fiddles were probably used as part of a broken consort, as these instruments were invariably used to accompany court masques. There were several different varieties of lute but "the most common type was the treble lute" (Long, 1955:17) and it is expected that this is the type of lute Crack would have been playing because it "was small and because it had a melody string, it could be used as a solo instrument or as an accompaniment for songs." (Long, 1955:17) This instrument was the most convenient to transport and pack away easily. In addition, Lindley states that "ensembles of up to twenty-four lutes of various sizes might be assembled to accompany the court masques." (Lindley, 2006: 236) The pipe was "indelibly associated with dancing and with the theatrical clown" (Lindley, 2006: 238) and the fiddle (or rebec) was also used to "accompany dancing." (Lindley, 2006: 236)

Overall, this play has much in it which resembles the early makings of a stage musical. The lives of the characters are documented through music and the music is central to the play in that it drives the plot forward. The play brings the broadside ballad to the forefront, making it less formal than *The Northern Lass*, but still highly sophisticated in that it is doing something new by taking elements from the strict operatic genre and inserting popular tunes where one would expect to hear formal songs. *The City Wit* cleverly presents a blend of the past and the future on the stage.

Chapter Three: *The Weeding of Covent Garden* and the Psalm and Tavern Songs

Music is not used as prominently in *The Weeding of Covent Garden* as it is in *The Northern Lass* and *The City Wit*, however, this play sees Brome testing out new styles that he has not previously used in these two earlier comedies. Although broadside ballads are still used in this play, they are not central, and other forms such as the psalm and the tavern song come to the forefront. The plot documents the lives of characters including Gabriel, a would-be Puritan, Dorcas, a tainted woman who seeks a living as a prostitute, Cockbrain, a justice of the peace who disguises himself as a tavern singer and a riotous and disorderly group of men who call themselves as the Brothers of the Blade and Battoon, who all sing at some point during the play. This chapter will explore the songs in the order they appear in the play, beginning with Dorcas's song, then the religious songs, and finally the tavern songs.

The first song of the play is called for towards the closing of act one, scene one when "Dorcas enters above upon a balcony...habited like a courtesan of Venice" (Brome, 2010c: 1, 1, stage direction: 69). Tiffany Stern notes that Dorcas's song "is frankly lost and its title 'song' is left stranded amidst the banter about its no longer extant lyrics." (Stern, 2009: 154) However, that is not to say nothing can be done with it. In all likelihood, one would assume Dorcas sings a song in praise of prostitution because that is the subject she has been talking about in her previous soliloquy. This can be developed further, as the soliloquy sees Dorcas, who is disguised as Damaris, "a she-gallant that had travelled France and Italy" (Brome, 2010c: 1, 1, 101) desperately trying to demonstrate to her male audience that she is a courtesan, and, on the surface, her wording implies to them that she has been working as a prostitute in Italy – "Why should not we in England use that freedom / The famous courtesans have in Italy?" (Brome, 2010c: 1. 1. 82) Although, further evidence suggests that the line "To allure and catch the wandering eyes of lovers" (Brome, 2010c: 1. 1. 82) "may be a sign that Dorcas is inexperienced. Her version of prostitution seems more than a little tinged with romantic diction and expectations," (Leslie, 2010: footnote n7323) which indicates that she is unable to successfully fulfil the role of Damaris. As well as the flaw in her otherwise bold soliloquy, when Dorcas's maid, Francisca, arrives with her lute, she proceeds to tune it.

Julia Craig-McFeely highlights the importance of an out of tune lute in early modern drama in her EBook, *English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530 – 1630*.

Obviously the instrument is out of tune, and the message may lie not so much in the effort to re-tune it as in the implication of discord. The images that involve tuning the lute seem to refer not simply to sex, but also to adultery, if not in deed at least in thought; or perhaps more broadly, disharmony in love, informing us of the subject's state of mind. (Craig-McFeely, 2000: 11)

The anxiety and uneasiness generated by Dorcas's out of tune lute clearly signifies a problem in her emotional state, and although there is, of course, no reference to adultery, the audience is reminded of Dorcas's previous sexual encounter with Nick Rooksbill, which happened outside of the play, and the difficult situation it left her in – he “wooded and won my cousin so secretly... promised her marriage, clapped her you may guess where, and so like the slippery Trojan left her,” (Brome, 2010c: 3. 2. 650) so, there is certainly a hint of disharmony in love going on. The play only ever reveals that Dorcas has had sex once, and it is clear that Dorcas hopes to marry Nick after losing her virginity to him, and is reluctant to sleep with anyone else. She even puts off sleeping with him after he gets aroused by her singing and lute playing in the hope that she will be able to convince him to marry her later on – “I ask no further satisfaction of you, than to be honested by marriage.” (Brome, 2010c: 5. 3. 1110) It was believed that “women were, on the whole, indeed offered economic protection by marriage, and those who did not or could not marry...might suffer extraordinary hardship,” (Callaghan, 2007, 6) and there is definitely a hint of this on Dorcas's mind as well, understandably not wanting to be stuck in a life of prostitution when she cannot even last one day. As noted in chapter one, prostitutes sing to entice men into sleeping with them, and the songs they sing are “smutty pastoral[s].” (Ingram, 1976: 228) Despite the fact that the lyrics are missing and there is no way of knowing whether they still survive in any existing collections or whether they are completely lost, with all the information in mind I would suggest that the first part of the song continues on from Dorcas's soliloquy, with her wondering why the prostitutes in England cannot advertise their services in the way Italians do and the second part invoking the smutty pastoral tradition.

The fact that Dorcas plays a lute is highly significant as the lute alludes to two different ideas when depicted in the hands of a woman, and Dorcas seems to drift between the two. On one hand, as Lori Leigh notes, the lute signifies “sensibility, harmony, and matrimony when in the hands of gentlewomen.” (Leigh, 2014: 32) Of course, Dorcas is hardly a gentlewoman, but she is clearly not as promiscuous as her guise as Damaris suggests. She hopes to be able to marry and live a life of harmony, but has to use prostitution as a temporary measure. On the other hand, Craig-McFeely states that “the lute appears almost crudely as a sexual metaphor from the fifteenth century right through to the late seventeenth.” (Craig-McFeely, 2000: 3) In Western culture, the lute had become a symbol of fertility, mainly because of its rounded shape, resembling a woman’s pregnant belly and over a period of time, it came to be associated with women’s sexuality in general. Furthermore, the association between women and lutes was greater due to the fact that “the Flemish for lute, *Luit*, was also the word for vagina.” (Craig-McFeely, 2000: 2). Evidently, though, it was not just the association with the female body which gave the lute its link to sex – “Venetian courtesans carr[ied] the lute as a badge of their trade and...the courtesans were often independently famous for their skill as players.” (Craig-McFeely, 2000: 2) However, despite women being very good lutenists, their skill as musicians would undoubtedly have been overshadowed by the instrument’s association with sexual activity. Many early modern paintings illustrate this use of lutes by prostitutes, such as Gerrit van Honthorst’s 1625 painting *The Procuress* (Honthorst, 1625) in which a man who appears to be a customer, holds his purse in one hand and points to the lute being held by the young woman with the other. The woman is clearly a prostitute, signified by her provocative dress and heavily made up face, and the sharp emphasis on the lute insinuates that this painting is, indeed, depicting the most common form of illicit courtship. The lute can be distinctively taken to represent the vagina and the agreeable smile on the woman’s face suggests that she is willing to accept the man’s request for sex. Franz Van Mieris’s 1658 painting, *Brothel Scene* (Mieris, 1658), also demonstrates a link between the prostitute and the lute. What, on a simple level, appears to present an innocent maid playfully flirting with her suitor becomes complicated by an array of suggestive images, revealing that their relationship is far from innocent. The woman’s bodice is undone, there is an unmade bed behind them, a pair of dogs mating next to them and another couple fondling in the next room. In fact, the scene

portrays a prostitute being propositioned by a soldier in a brothel, and, to quash any doubt over where they are, the addition of the lute, hung up on the back wall, provides a crucial piece of evidence, because by the time this picture was painted, the lute as a symbol of courtship was already well-established.

The inclusion of the balcony as the location for Dorcas's song to be sung is of great importance because "balconies enjoyed a specific reputation on the stage, as was seen in *The Novella*. In that play, when Victoria appears on the balcony, dressed appropriately and playing a lute, it is a universally recognised code to indicate that she is a prostitute," (Steggle, 2004: 49 – 50) a sign identifying Dorcas as a woman of the same profession. "Balconies as spatial and architectural signifiers had become inextricably linked to prostitution," (Sanders, 2011: 230) as they provided a convenient stage for women in this line of work to advertise themselves to potential clients. Whereas the use of the lute to promote prostitution was common, the balcony was new. As noted in chapter one, the first place in London to include a balcony was Covent Garden and it had only recently been built. It is unsurprising, then, that the servant, Belt, misunderstands Cockbrain when he notices Dorcas performing on the balcony – "Her belle coney? Where is it? I can spy from her foot to her face, yet I can see no belle coney she has." (Brome, 2010c: 1. 1. 76) Belt's confusion gives the word a vulgar resonance, with 'belle' being the French word for 'beautiful' and 'coney,' a slang term for female genitalia. However, his observation does not lead him completely in the wrong direction, making this the first of many comments in the play associating Dorcas's lute playing with sexual indulgence. Craig-McFeely states that "to play the lute to a potential suitor was many things: a form of self-expression, a semi-magical exercise of power, and a deliberate and outspoken erotic invitation: a woman playing a lute is promising sex." (Craig-McFeely, 2000: 12) There is no doubt that Nick Rooksbill understands perfectly well what Dorcas is promising, indecently announcing that he "would be satisfied in her." (Brome, 2010c: 1. 1. 98) Nick's subsequent speeches are littered with double entendre and this lack of decorum continues when he arrives at Dorcas' residence, desiring to "know...the musical gentlewoman that was fiddling." (Brome, 2010c: 1. 1. 116) It is indicated here that Nick intends to 'know' Dorcas sexually and Leslie observes that "fiddle and fiddling particularly...for genitalia and sexual actions, are frequently used in the period." (Leslie,

2010: footnote n446) Also, worth noting at this point, is the interchangeability of wording between lute and fiddle. As ascertained by David Lindley, “the term [fiddle] is confusingly used in the early modern period for any bowed string instrument” (Lindley, 2006: 236) and in the 1665 painting, *Life of Man*, by Jan Steen, (Steen, 1665) it is implied that the woman playing the fiddle is a procuress because she holds it sideways like one would hold a lute (as well as the addition of the lute hung up in the background and the unmade bed), demonstrating that the word ‘fiddle’ could, indeed, be used to refer to the lute. The lute’s association with female sexuality continues when the procuress, Margery berates Dorcas for leading men on and then failing to sleep with them – “What, do you go about to break me the first day of your coming, before you have hanselled a couch or a bedside in ‘t? Were you but now all o’ th’ heigh to set yourself out for a sign with your fiddle cum twang, and promise such wonders, forsooth, and will not now be seen?” (Brome, 2010c: 1. 2. 188) Margery hurls insults at Dorcas, criticizing her for being ungrateful for the job she has given her, and not “‘christening’ or inaugurating the use of a new couch” (Leslie, 2010: footnote n483) or bed, as well as using the pun on ‘twang,’ which was “in common use to mean sexual intercourse” (Leslie, 2010: footnote n485) and, of course, the sound of a string being plucked on a lute. Nick also crudely mimics the sound of the lute when he says “Oh, Madge, how I do long thy thing to ding diddle ding!” (Brome, 2010c: 1. 2. 142) insisting that he would take pleasure in hearing Dorcas play for him again. He uses the offensive term ‘thing’ when referring to her, illustrating his lack of respect for her and his thoughts of her merely as a sex object.

Act two, scene one sees Belt making reference to the ballad *Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley*. The song is not sung in the play, only mentioned when Mihil, disguised in a gown and cap, tries to con money from his father by pretending to lead a law tutorial. Crosswill gets angered by Mihil studying law and threatens to replace all his law books with history ones. The song is mentioned when Crosswill instructs Belt to bring Mihil the history books. He reels off a list of history texts for him to get, including “Bell’s work.” (Brome, 2010c: 2. 1. 262) Unfortunately, Belt gets confused and ends up getting Adam Bell mixed up with Bel and the Dragon:

Belt Which Bell, sir? *Adam Bell, with Clim o’ th’ Clough, and William of Cloudesley?*

Crosswill Adam Bell, you ass? Valiant Bell that killed the dragon.

(Brome, 2010c: 2. 1. 263 – 4)

The ballad which Belt refers to was “first printed around 1536 and frequently published for the next century and more. It was printed again in 1628, 1630, and 1632 - a popular ballad at the time of this play’s composition.” (Leslie, 2010: footnote n576) Entering the name “Adam Bell” into *EEBO* produces three different publications. The earliest recorded dates back to 1616 and subsequent editions in 1655 and 1667, demonstrating the popularity of the song not only before and during the composition of the play but after as well. The story of Bel and the Dragon, which the uneducated Belt is unlikely to be familiar with, is a Biblical story from Chapter 14 of the Book of Daniel. The chapter consists of three narratives. In the first part, the king tries to persuade Daniel that Bel is a living god and eats and drinks every day. In actual fact, Bel is a statue and cannot possibly consume food; the food left out for Bel in the night gets eaten by priests and their families. The priests are soon punished for their crime by being sentenced to death and Daniel is told to destroy Bel and the temple. The dragon appears in the second narrative and is worshipped by the people of Babylon. The dragon, unlike the idol, Bel, is a threat to mankind and Daniel takes it upon himself to destroy it by feeding it poisonous cakes. The Babylonians are outraged, however, and demand that Daniel be punished. The third narrative sees Daniel in a den of lions, but he does not get eaten. As a result of divine intervention, he is freed and the people who sent him there get thrown to the lions and the lions devour them as Daniel watches. Chapter 14 only appears in Catholic bibles, not Protestant ones and the reason Crosswill associates it with history is presumably because he is a Catholic although his religion is not mentioned anywhere in the play.

The connection between ballads and religious activity is a running theme throughout the play and Christopher Marsh records the similarities between the two in his book, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*. He draws attention to the fact that religious songs, particularly Christmas carols “were regularly set to popular ballad tunes in order to populate their use.” (Marsh, 2010: 196) If people knew the tunes, they were more likely to engage with them and go on to buy them. Although ballads and psalms used the same

tunes, it is important to be aware that “psalms began to sound like ballads only if they are played or sung at quadruple speed and with greater rhythmic precision. We can be fairly sure that, in a congregational setting, they hardly ever were.” (Marsh, 2010: 434) This does not mean that the association between the two is disconnected, though. *The Weeding of Covent Garden* sees ballads and recreational music placed alongside psalms and Puritanism, which on the surface, may seem like complete opposites, but are actually quite intricately linked. The confusion between the Bell ballad and the story of Bel and the Dragon is a clear example of this and so is Gabriel’s puzzling piety.

In act three, scene two, it is revealed that Gabriel turned to Puritanism after the woman he was in love with, Dorcas, got disgraced by Nick and left home. When Crosswill found out Gabriel and Dorcas were getting close, he sent Gabriel away so they could not be together and Katherine assumes “he does it but to cross my father, for sending him out of the way when the mischief was done.” (Brome, 2010c: 3. 2. 656) Therefore, Gabriel is not really a Puritan after all. The guise slips slightly when “[GABRIEL hums a] Psalm tune [and sings a few words of a hymn] (Brome, 2010c:2. 2. Stage Direction 375) because, although the song he sings is a religious one, Puritans “dislike...the use of music,” (Hopkins and Steggle, 2006: 18) rendering it an unnecessary intermediary between the worshipper and God. The play only provides two words of Gabriel’s song – “how happy,” (Brome, 2010c: 2. 2. 375) which most likely refers to Psalm 133 from the Geneva Bible: “O how happy a thing it is, / and joyful for to see / Brethren together fast to hold / The band of amitie.” (Leslie, 2010: footnote n651) A number of musical settings have been composed for this psalm. Leslie suggests that Nathaniel Giles’s setting is a likely candidate to have been used for the original performance, as he was “Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal...had produced plays in the Blackfriars and was much involved with the theatre.” (Leslie, 2010: footnote n651) Although, John Holmes “respectively organist (c.1599-1621) at Winchester Cathedral and Master of the Choristers (1621-29) at Salisbury Cathedral, and one of the earliest and most important provincial composers of verse anthems” (Payne, 2011: 3) also produced a setting. His setting was reconstructed by Ian Payne in 2011. Alternatively, the psalm could have been set for the original staging by William Lawes who wrote the music for part (if not all) of Cockbrain’s song about sack. Lawes set psalms to music and a selection of them can be

found in his and his brother Henry's 1648 collection *Choice Psalms*. This particular song does not appear in this collection and *EEBO* does not hold any versions of it, but if Lawes did set it to music, it would not be surprising if it has been lost.

The paralleling of the religious tune and the bawdy tune continues when Gabriel gets interrupted by some fiddlers downstairs in the pub tuning their instruments. They are heard "fiddling rude tunes" (Brome, 2010c: 2. 2. Stage Direction: 394) as Gabriel desperately tries to talk over them, expressing his Puritanical hate of popular music: "such cries as these went forth before the desolation of the great city. O profane tinkling, the cymbals of Satan that tickle the ear with vanity, to lift up the mind to lewdness. Mine ears shall be that of the adder against the song of the serpent...I will roar out aloud to drown your incantations. Yea, I will set out a throat even as the beast that belloweth." (Brome, 2010c: 2. 2. 394 – 6) Gabriel's rant sees him comically playing up the part of the Puritan, as if desperately trying to convince the people accompanying him that his piety is genuine. "The fiddling accompanies this outburst, and Gabriel's efforts, first to shout it down, and then to raise his voice over it in some psalm or religious hymn, set up a gay musical situation that underscores his character and makes a neat commentary on the stricter Puritan's aversion to popular music." (Ingram, 1976: 222 – 3) It is almost as if the psalm and the popular tavern songs are fighting for space and to be heard.

The number of alehouses in London at this time far outweighed the number of churches and this, as Stella Achilleos notes, was mainly due to the upholding of strong Puritan values:

Puritan attempts to cleanse the English church of all they considered as pagan or of popish origin, and their vehement denunciation of popular pastimes, served to weaken the communal role of the church that started 'to lose its position as the hub of communal life'. In this respect, the alehouse came to provide an alternative gathering site for communal activity that strengthened and affirmed communal bonds. (Achilleos, 2014: 6 – 7)

Brome's play certainly takes this dominating power of the alehouse into account, especially in terms of its music use, as the tavern songs are constantly used to ridicule the religious ones, and more space in the play is given to not only the tavern setting but songs which

embody this environment. Even the fact that Gabriel is not really a Puritan suppresses the religious ideal, giving more space to the tavern music.

The next song of the play is sung by Cockbrain when he disguises himself as a tavern entertainer and sings the “song of Sack” (Brome, 2010c: 3. 1. 533) requested by Nick and Captain Driblow. Marsh highlights the fact that it was common for musicians to earn a living by “touring taverns and alehouses,” (Marsh, 2010: 190) similar to what Cockbrain is doing, and according to Achilleos, ballads “would in various forms inhabit the space of the alehouse – just as [they] did that of the street. There, ballads would be sold by peddlers, who would often sing them to advertise them to potential buyers. Thus, even if they chose not to buy (or indeed did not afford to buy), alehouse customers could still enjoy broadside ballads, perhaps sing them themselves or even enjoy them.” (Achilleos, 2014: 7) Cockbrain is doing just that in that he is approaching groups of people in the pub and asking them if they would like him to sing to them. He declares that “I am one that has the favour of the house, sir...to speak or sing *ex tempore* upon any theme that your fancy or the present occasion shall administer.” (Brome, 2010c: 3. 1. 502 – 6) He is not trying to sell his balladry as such, but he is intending to get paid for his services, which is why he refuses to leave his customers without having sung to them even though he gets kicked and has a glass of sack thrown in his face. In reality, what he is doing requires absolute skill and precision, as he has to think on the spot of a song fitting the theme the customers require and then sing it from memory. Of course, that would not have been a problem for a full-time ballad pedlar but for a justice of the peace in disguise, it would have been much more of a challenging task. The song Cockbrain sings has been subject to much scholarly discussion and the general consensus is that it does not quite fit where it is placed. In the 1659 printing, the stage direction only specifies the word “song,” not revealing anything else about it. Although, the front matter supporting the play contains a collection of poetic pieces including the song with the opening line ‘Away with all grief and give us more sack.’ Tiffany Stern, in her 2009 monograph, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England*, argues that this song “is the ‘song of sack’ required.” (Stern, 2009: 155) However, there is reason to believe that this song was not the one used in the original performance.

Away with all grief and give us more sack.

'Tis that which we love, let love have no lack.
Nor sorrow, nor care can cross our delights,
Nor witches nor goblins, nor buttery sprights,
Tho' the candles burn dim while we can do thus,
We'll scorn to fly them, but we'll make them fly us.
Old sack, and old songs, and a merry old crew
Will fright away sprights, when the ground looks blue. (Brome, 2010c: 3. 1. 538)

On a simple level, it looks like it does fit because it is a song about sack; the men ask for a 'song of Sack' and the disguised Cockbrain delivers, but further examination reveals several inconsistencies between the song and its position in the 2010 online edition. Six plays by Brome, including *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, were recorded in the Stationer's Register on the 4th August 1640 and evidence indicates that there was a revival of the play in or around 1641, before the registration of Brome's *Five New Plays* in 1659. Research suggests that "the text that saw print in 1658, which comprises the only text of the play we possess, was almost certainly not identical to that submitted for publication in 1640. The evidence for this is the poems included in the prefatory matter to the play, which certainly postdate the original performance, and almost certainly postdate the 1640 register entry." (Steggle, 2001: para 3) The poem, 'Upon *Aglaura* printed in Folio,' an attack on Sir John Suckling's play, *Aglaura*, printed in 1638 evidently postdates Suckling's play as well as the original performance of *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, of which the date usually given is 1632-3, to coincide with the building of the place, and so does the commendatory poem, 'To my Lord of Newcastle, on his play called *The Variety*,' a comedy by William Cavendish, acted in 1641 – 2. Additionally, the inclusion of the two prologues provides evidence of a revival "some ten years since" (Brome, 2010c: another prologue) the original, but most importantly, for the purpose of this study, the song also "strongly suggests a 1641-2 date." (Steggle, 2001: para 4) The evidence for this being the occurrence of the last two lines in another Brome play, *A Jovial Crew*, first performed in 1641 – 2. These lines appear twice in *A Jovial Crew* and can be found in John Hilton's 1667 music collection *Catch that Catch Can*, complete with musical scores. It appears under the title 'A round, a round, a round boys' and was composed by William Lawes – "musician-in-ordinary to the king, who was well known for his elegant catches." (Stern, 2014: 267) The whole catch emerges in act four, scene one, sung by country landlord, Oldrents (who becomes depressed after hearing a fortune teller reveal to him that his

daughters will become beggars) and his fellow 'greybeards,' and the last two lines appear again in act five scene one, this time sung by a beggar who disguises himself as Oldrents's friend, Hearty.

A round, a round, a round, boys, a round!
Let mirth fly aloft, and sorrow be drowned.
Old sack, and old songs, and a merry old crew
Can charm away cares when the ground looks blue (Brome, 2010e: 4. 1. 678)

Old sack, and old songs, and a merry old crew,
Will fright away cares when the ground looks blue (Brome, 2010e: 5. 1. 1001)

The song produced by Lawes, which is identical to the full version in act four, scene one of *A Jovial Crew*, is a standard early modern drinking song as can be identified from the words 'a round, a round,' informing the drinkers to sit in a circle and pass the cup of drink around as well as making it clear to the listeners that they will be singing a catch. Naturally, catches require group participation, and the version in *A Jovial Crew*, is sung by three men – "the three singers take up the song successively, the words 'round' repeating so that the song itself becomes 'circular.' Its beginning and ending conjoining, an emphasis reinforced by the rhyming of 'round' and 'drowned,' which marks the moment at the end of the first line when the second (and subsequently) third voices enter the catch, illustrated by the sign over the stave." (Stern, 2014: 268) This indicates that the song is meant to be sung repeatedly as the singers enjoy their drink. In addition, "this song, too, was probably intended to be sung with increasing speed." (Stern, 2014: 268) However, the version in *The Weeding of Covent Garden* is unmistakably different with no indication of whether the last two lines or indeed any of the words are meant to be repeated, due to there being no surviving musical notation for it and, as Stern very convincingly points out, "the music to the song may actually differ from that for the longer version as it appears in *Weeding*." (Stern, 2014: 268) The longer version appears to be less like a jovial drinking song and more of a pastoral lament, indicating that the music is likely to have been much slower and downbeat than the version in *A Jovial Crew* to reflect the lyrics. The first line "Away with all grief and give us more sack" (Brome, 2010c: 3. 1. 538) sounds quite melancholy in its wording, giving the impression of the singer wanting to use alcohol as a form of escape, and whereas, a line like "No sorrow, nor care can cross our delights" sounds fairly optimistic, when inspected

further, it appears that this is not necessarily the case. The lyrics seem to suggest a singer desperately striving for happiness when really he is much the opposite, and the lyric implies more of a search for happiness as opposed to the actual 'delights' he claims to be experiencing. It is known that "many 'Come away' laments of the period were composed by William Lawes," (Stern, 2014: 261) suggesting that he may well have written the first six lines of this song in addition to the last two.

Stern notes that "to drink until the ground looks blue was a proverbial phrase, meaning to drink until one's vision is skewed after too much alcohol" (Stern, 2014: 268 – 9) and the word 'blue' is often rhymed with 'crew' in many drinking songs. The *OED* identifies 'crew' as a well-recognised collective term for a group of beggars, citing Brome's usage in *A Jovial Crew*, although outside of Brome's play the 'jovial crew' phrase takes on a different meaning entirely. In numerous drinking songs and broadside ballads, the phrase simply refers to a group of drinkers who are far from beggars in that they have sufficient funds for which to pay for their drinks. A classic example can be drawn from the fourth verse of William Blunden's 1636 ballad, 'Hang Pinching, or The Good Fellowes Observation, mongst a Jovial Crew, of them that Hate Flinching, but is Always True Blew':

He's of the right mould,
That spares not his gold,
Amongst those good fellowes that lack,
If that they will drinke,
he'l part with his Chinke,
and lookes not for any on't back,
But is well content,
His money is spent,
among such a iouiall Crew,
And these are the parts,
And chéefest desarts,
That showes a good fellow true blew. (Blunden, 1636: 1)

Blunden's ballad and this stanza in particular, portray the 'crew' of drinkers as anything but beggars. In fact, they are generous with their money, and as well as paying for their own drinks, they offer to buy their friends a drink too. The phrase 'true blew' in this instance refers to someone who can afford to pay for his drink. As well as 'blue' having these two

meanings, it also carries an additional meaning in Lawes' catch, *A Jovial Crew*, and the version attributed to *The Weeding of Covent Garden*:

Can charm away cares when the ground looks blue (Lawes, 1667: 79)

Will fright away cares when the ground looks blue (Brome, 2010e: 5. 1. 1001)

Will fright away sprights, when the ground looks blue.(Brome, 2010c: 3. 1. 538)

Obviously, there is a change in wording of the final line of each song, but the meaning of 'blue' is the same for all of them. Stern states that "drinking to prevent the ground looking blue seems to refer to drinking in order to ease low spirits" (Stern, 2014: 269) and, according to the *OED*, since 1550, the word 'blue' has been taken to mean "sad; sorrowful; miserable; melancholy" (*OED*, blue, adj. and n. 4a) From the three examples, above:

The sack will in the first instance charm away cares and in the second fright them away suggests that the 'charm' may not have worked, or that more violence is necessary. In the version from *Weeding*, the sack will ward off bad spirits in dark evenings – but, again, the sense is not that the spirits are figments of the imagination, but that, with Dutch courage from drinking, the merry old crew can stand their ground in the face of the enemy. (Stern, 2014: 268 – 9)

'Sprites' are mentioned twice in *The Weeding of Covent Garden* version of the song, which are generally associated with the outside world. In Elizabethan folklore, sprites were believed to be playful creatures that played tricks on people depending on their mood. As well as sprites, witches and goblins, too, are associated with the outside world, providing another piece of evidence to indicate that this song has been awkwardly added and strongly suggests a pastoral setting as opposed to a tavern one. The song may well have been used in *A Jovial Crew* first and then added to the 1641 revival of *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, and the 'song' requested in the original version was perhaps a different song about sack altogether. For the purpose of this study, however, the call for a song in the original performance would have been one embodying a tavern environment, so even if this particular song was not used for the first staging, it is still useful for this discussion.

Not much is known about the song "in praise of the Battoon" (Brome, 2010c: 3, 1, 606) which Clotpoll requests of Cockbrain, since no musical scores survive for it and the lyrics do not seem to appear in any surviving ballad collections. Yet, unlike the previous songs discussed, there is a strong likelihood that this one was used in the original 1632 – 33 performance.

To prove the battoon the most noble to be,
Of all other weapons observe his degree,
In field to be leader of all other arms,
To conquest and honour, through hazard and harms.
The gallant and peasant, the lord and the loon,
Must move by the motion of the leader's battoon.
O give me the Battoon.

The pike and the halbard are subject to it,
The ensign, the partisan, all must submit,
To advance, or retire, fall back, or come on,
As they are directed by the leader's battoon.
Then it is to the soldier the greatest renown,
To purchase by service to bear the battoon.
O give me the battoon. (Brome, 2010c: 3. 1. 606)

The song clearly fits where it is supposed to, so it was "either correctly inserted by the printer, or already present in the play's manuscript." (Stern, 2009: 154) It distinctly does what it sets out to do, that is to praise the battoon, and each man sitting round the table gets a mention in the song. The 'gallant' is Nick, the 'peasant' is Mihil, the 'lord' is Anthony, the 'loon' is Clotpoll and the 'leader' is Driblow. With everyone having a separate mention, there is reason to believe that the song was written specifically for the play, perhaps by John Wilson, but, obviously, with no reference to it outside of the play, it is difficult to place.

Songs "were regularly removed to tighten a text; they were equally regularly added to enliven it literally or elevate it symbolically." (Stern, 2009: 153) Some songs were included in play manuscripts because they were used to move the action on, the writer wanted them there and they were thought to be crucial for the plot to progress. Some songs, however, could be interchangeable, the particular songs originally considered by the playwright were not thought to be as important and similar songs could be used in their place. This resulted in "'composite' playbooks where the dialogue represents one form of text, and a song...represents another form, another authorship and another moment in time," (Stern,

2009: 153) so, for example, if a production of the play is performed ten years after the initial performance, and the songs which were used originally are not fashionable any more, instead of keeping the original songs, the songs could change to keep up with contemporary trend. Consequently, "the simple fact that lyrics were so hesitantly linked to plays results equally in their regular loss and their unexpected insertion. Because each song...has its own story, there are often cases when one song is missing and another, in the same play, is not, raising questions about the nature of the playbooks that printers received." (Stern, 2009: 153 – 4) Incidentally, this is what is likely to have happened with *The Weeding of Covent Garden*. Whereas, Dorcas's song is missing, the battoon song is present, suggesting that the battoon song was included in the manuscript when it arrived at the printing office, but Dorcas's song was not.

Similar to Dorcas's song, in the way that it entices her male audience, the battoon song has mesmerising properties of its own. Clotpoll gets distracted by watching Cockbrain's performance, so much so that Nick and Anthony have an opportunity to leave the pub without paying for their drinks; cunningly, leaving Clotpoll to pick up the tab. Marsh explains that when a stage ballad singer puts on a performance:

Ears and eyes are stimulated simultaneously by the skilful song-seller...The ballad singer thus grabs and holds the attention of passers-by, luring them in as he prepares to perform one of his songs in a fuller version...By this stage, a proportion of the crowd is already hooked, and attention levels do not falter as the ballad-monger begins to sing, expertly fitting the words to the specified tune. The style of singing is left to the actor...Back stage, some of our ballad-man's listeners are clearly mesmerised by his song, and he or his agents take the opportunity to pick pockets and cut purses. (Marsh, 2010: 241)

The captivating effect generated by the singer causes the observer to be so preoccupied by the performance that he is oblivious to what is going on around him. So, the remarkable power of the music allows Nick and Anthony to sneak off without Clotpoll knowing until the end of the song.

Like *The Northern Lass*, this play does not end with music. The final instance of music comes in the closing scene when a "Drum and trumpet [heard sounding] an alarm." (Brome, 2010c: 5. 3.

Stage Direction: 1138). Both of these instruments were frequently associated with the military. Long notes that the trumpet was commonly used for "military signals" (Long, 1955: 25) and, although several varieties of drum were used in this period, the drum most likely to be used here is the kettledrum which was "used in military formations." (Long, 1955: 25) These instruments are employed in an attempt to cure Gabriel of his piety and restore him to his former self. The use of music as a treatment is similar to *The Northern Lass*, although in *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, it is used almost as a shock tactic as opposed to having a calming influence. Throughout the play, the tavern song is set against the religious song in an attempt to almost quash the religious song's importance, and as a result of the drum and trumpet being used to cure Gabriel, his Puritanical acts stop, including his psalm singing. Because Gabriel is cured at this point in the play, there is no need for him to sing any more, in the same way that Constance does not need to sing at the end of *The Northern Lass* once she is cured. As for the fiddling, and drum and trumpet playing, that can stop, too, because the music of these instruments was deployed as a means of curing Gabriel. A similar thing happens with the tavern singing. Set against the psalm and being used to overpower it, the tavern song does not need to be used again either because the religious singing has stopped.

Similar to what he has done in his previous plays, Brome appears to also be appealing to contemporary trend in *The Weeding of Covent Garden* as religious songs are set against tavern songs to reflect the ongoing fashion for socialising and listening to music in alehouses. These two forms seem to be pushed together with the religious songs somewhat struggling to be heard due to being overpowered by the popular tavern music. This seemingly reflects the large ratio of alehouses popping up in London compared to churches. Additionally, Dorcas's song reflects the present fashion for balconies and also the foreign influence of sex workers using balconies as convenient stages to advertise their availability.

Chapter Four: *The English Moor* and Instrumental Music

The English Moor, first performed around 1637, not long after the theatres were reopened after the plague closures, sees Brome experimenting with music in new ways not previously included in his earlier plays. The inclusion of the two lavish masque scenes, filled with instrumental music provides a much more stylish and luxurious feel to the Brome canon. More instruments are used than ever before and arrays of different dances accompanying the music are presented on stage. Set against the courtly pomp and ceremony is the addition of a selection of popular broadside ballads which occupy the home and the taverns, as well as a mourning song written specifically for the play. As the songs and other musical instances are quite varied and highly interlinked with the play's progression, I will consider them in the order they appear within the plot, beginning with the bawdy ballads sung by Millicent.

In the previous plays examined, songs of a bawdy nature sung by women have been attributed solely to prostitutes or those acting as or getting mistaken for prostitutes and Millicent's performance is another example of a woman appearing to be promiscuous when she is not. Like Dorcas in *The Weeding of Covent Garden*, who pretends to be a prostitute despite her moral temperament, Millicent acts like one to avoid having to consummate her marriage to a man she finds repulsive. Forced into an arranged marriage by her uncle to the well-known usurer, Quicksands, she desperately tries to put her husband off sharing a bed with her by singing snatches of songs verging on the obscene. The comment from Testy "I never saw her laugh, nor heard her sing / In all my life: yet she could both, I have heard, / In company she liked" (Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. 147) incites Millicent to play on this. The act of laughing, represented by the repeated expression "ha, ha, ha" (Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. 148) is forced, and the singing is certainly not what her uncle had in mind. Millicent's initial song is a cleverly placed smutty ditty designed to repel Quicksands:

*Millicent (sings) She made him a bed of the thistle-down soft,
She laid herself under to bear him aloft,
And ever she sung, 'Sweet, turn thee to me,
We'll make the new bed cry jiggy joggy*(Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. 155)

This ballad, in various forms, had been popular for approximately forty years before appearing in *The English Moor*, unsurprising, then, that Millicent refers to it as an “over-old” (Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. 153), that is, a very old song. Although, the lyrics differ between versions, the phrase uniting them all is ‘jiggy joggy.’ The *OED* identifies this phrase as a variant of another phrase ‘jig-a-jog’: “imitative words expressing reiteration or alternation of light, short, jerky movements.” (*OED*, jig-a-jog, phr. 1) The earliest recorded usage of the phrase ‘jiggy joggy’ comes from Thomas Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday*, performed in 1599 and printed in 1600, in which a group of artisans take pleasure in drinking excessive amounts of beer, boasting about their sexual escapades and revel in Morris dancing so vigorously that their “buttockes went liggy ioggy like a quagmire.” (Dekker, 1600: G2r) The musical scores for a song entitled *Jiggy Joggy* exist in the third of four lute manuscripts compiled by Matthew Holmes in or around 1600, held in Cambridge University Library (MS Dd.9.33, f.77/2) and the song Millicent sings is set to the same tune. The lute manuscripts have been recently digitized for easy access and the setting can be found on image 153 in this edition. In addition to this, Sean Palmer includes a MIDI transcription of the tune in his 2005 study. Further variations of the phrase ‘jiggy joggy’ (also jig-a-joggy and jig-a-jog) include two appearances in John Florio’s *Queen Anna’s New World of Words* from 1611, in which the word ‘dibatticare’ is assigned the definition “to thrum a wench lustily till the bed cry giggaioggie” (Florio, 1611:144) and the term ‘frittfritt’ defined “as we say cricket a wicket, or gigaioggie” (Florio, 1611:198), suggesting that to play a game of cricket-a-wicket has sexual connotations. A later occurrence of the phrase is included in the induction to Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*, first performed in 1614, published in 1631, in which the stage-keeper commends the playwright on his ability to keep bawdiness to a minimum and still write a successful comedy – another playwright “would ha’ made you such a jig-a-jog i’ the booths, you should ha’ thought an earthquake had been i’ the Fair!” (Jonson, 1977: 8) That is, another playwright would have included a lot more sexual innuendo. The song was not just popular in the run-up to Brome’s play, however. Its continued admiration is evident from the emergence of the 1663 ballad, ‘A Job for a Joiner,’ set to the tune of ‘Over the water, fain would I pass, or Jig a jog-goo.’ Again, this ballad is another example of good old-fashioned double entendre, in which a maid invites a man around to her house under false pretences and when he arrives to do some joinery work, she flirtatiously leads him astray:

You are the only man 'tis said
That can do wonders for a maid:
Dispatch then what you have to do
And make my bed go jig a jog goo. (Anon, 1663: 1)

In Greg Lindahl's EBook, *Sixteenth Century Ballads*, a MIDI file is included for the tune, 'Jig a jog-goo,' which is the same as Palmer's file for 'Jiggy Joggy.' As Lindahl's study is currently a work-in-progress, it is likely that Palmer had access to the MIDI file first. Lindahl also cites Holmes' lute book as the source for the tune. In addition to this, Matthew Steggle observes that "Millicent sings a verse from a lost earlier version, which, while not apparently about joinery, doubtless shares with 'A Job for a Joiner' a sense of the woman as a willing initiator of sexual activity." (Steggles, 2010: footnote n2342) Although the rest of the words to Millicent's song are lost, I would imagine that the structure of it would have been the same as the structure of 'A Job for A Joiner.'

Millicent's second song of seduction sees her quoting from another popular ballad in a similar way:

Millicent...

(sings) *Go to bed, sweetheart, I'll come to thee,
Make thy bed fine and soft, I'll lie with thee.* (Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. 158)

Unfortunately, the music and the rest of the words to this song are lost, but the ballad is made reference to in act three, scene four of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* by Malvolio when he tries to seduce Olivia: "To bed! 'Ay, sweetheart, and I'll come to thee'" (Shakespeare, 2005: 3. 4. 29 – 30) and prior to this, the line "therefore, goe to bed sweet-heart. Ile come to thee" (Tarlton, 1613: E2r) appears in *Tarlton's Jests*, a collection of short, witty narratives about Richard Tarlton. The stories are ordered into three parts and the above line is contained in the section entitled 'His Countrey Pretty Jests', under the heading 'How Tarlton and his oastesse of Waltham met.' The narrative is focussed on the protagonist, Tarlton who is travelling to Waltham, a village in North East Lincolnshire, with some friends, when he meets an old acquaintance, the 'oastesse' of the title. She convinces them to book rooms in the guesthouse she owns there and when they get to the guesthouse, Tarlton requests the

biggest bed she owns and tries to seduce her. The 'oastesse' responds to his advances, but when it becomes time for them to do the deed, she quickly flees the guesthouse, leaving him in an awkward position. The earliest currently surviving collection of these jests comes from 1613, although Carew-Hazlitt notes that "it is beyond doubt that *Tarlton's Jestes* were in print before 1600. The first part indeed is mentioned in one of Nash's tracts as in existence prior to 1592, and was probably committed to the press not long after the death of Tarlton, which happened in Sept. 1588. The second part was licensed, it seems, in 1600." (Carew-Hazlitt, 1866: 190) There is no reference to the origin of the third part in this edition, which includes the jest mentioned above, and with no surviving edition prior to 1613, it is difficult to place a date for its original publication more specifically than some point in the years between 1600 and 1611. Republications of *Tarlton's Jestes* in 1638 and 1844 as well as the 1866 edition, edited by Carew-Hazlitt, based on a 1611 edition, emphasises its popularity well into the nineteenth century.

The final song in Millicent's trio of bawdy ditties was also very popular and often included or made reference to in seventeenth century texts:

Millicent (sings) *There was a lady lov'd a swine. "Honey," quoth she;*
"And wilt thou be true love mine?" - "Hough," quoth he. (Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. 166)

These two lines, with a slight variation, are used in the same way in the 1682 comedy, *The London Cuckolds* by Edward Ravenscroft, sung by Arabella, another young woman trying to put her husband off wanting to sleep with her by singing smutty ballads to him:

Arabella. [SINGS] *There was a lady loved a swine, honey quoth she. Pig-hog, wilt thou be mine,*
honey quoth he - . (Ravenscroft, 1682: 28 – 9)

Although no seventeenth century editions of the song were preserved anywhere in full, John Avery Lomax includes a version of it in his book, *Our Singing Country: Folk Songs and Ballads*, complete with a musical setting:

There was a lady loved a swine.
'Honey,' said she,
'Pig hog, wilt thou be mine?'

'Humph!' said he.

'I'll build thee a silver sty,
Honey,' said she,
'And in it thou shalt lie.'
'Humph!' said he.

'I'll pin it with a silver pin,
'Honey,' said she,
'That thou may'st go out and in.'
'Humph!' said he.

'Wilt thou have me now?' said she,
'Honey,' said she.
'Speak or my heart will break.'
'Humph!' said he. (Lomax, 2000: 107 – 8)

According to Lomax, this version was put together by K. B. Jones in Houston Texas in spring 1939, indicating that the song was still contemporary then. In fact, it is still popular now, being used as a nursery rhyme and a song learnt by children in primary school when they begin to learn how to sing. The teachers' textbook, *Sounds of Music: Part 1* by George Odam, Joan Arnold and Alison Ley, published in 1996 provides directions on how to engage nursery and reception age children with music, and one of the songs specified for the children to learn is 'There was a lady loved a swine.' The song also appears in *The Big Book of Nursery Rhymes*, edited by Walter Jerrold and Charles Robinson. The first edition was printed in 1903, but the most recent republication was in 2012, and the song can be found on page 259 in this edition. Furthermore, the textbook, *The Singing Class* by Herbert Wiseman also includes the song. It is again aimed at children and referred to as a "nursery rhyme." (Wiseman, 2014: 67) Like *The Big Book of Nursery Rhymes*, this book was first published in the 1900s, but much later – 1967, to be precise, but was revived in 2014. With all these recent republications it is easy to see that it is still a very popular song. A MIDI transcription of the song is also included in *Digital Tradition* (2009). Sara Jayne Steen points out in her 1983 edition of *The English Moor* that Millicent's choice of song is particularly offensive to Quicksands, as "the hog was the accepted emblem for usurers," (Steen, 1983: 50) and because this song has to be the one to quell Quicksands' desire for Millicent, it is significant that this is the most insulting one of the three.

As Quicksands tries to justify his decision not to sleep with Millicent, “A sow-gelder’s horn [is] blown” (Brome, 2010d: 1.3. Stage Direction: 169) to announce the arrival of a group of masquers. “Sow-gelders were travelling workmen who specialised in neutering female pigs. Instead of having a street cry, they would blow a horn to advertise their skills, and these horns were proverbially untuneful.” (Steggle, 2010: footnote: n2349) Because sow-gelders were associated with pigs, this instance of music leads logically on from the previous song, ‘There was a lady loved a swine,’ and further attention is drawn to the association between the usurer as a pig. As well as this, one might suggest that because Quicksands is represented as a male pig, Millicent could be the female pig who needs to be metaphorically spayed so that she is not doomed to get pregnant by and lead an unhappy life with Quicksands. So, instead of chopping her ovaries off, the visitors perform a clever masque in the hope that it will stop the newlyweds consummating their marriage. Millicent is happy to see the masquers, telling Quicksands they have come to congratulate them, but he is not at all convinced – “What, with horn-music?” (Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. 177) The word ‘horn’ had two contemporary meanings: a horn as a musical instrument, and horn suggestive of the horns of a cuckold. Two flourishes, presumably of horn music, as “the horn was reserved for signals and flourishes,” (Long, 1955: 25) sound to signal the start of the masque. The performers enter, wearing masks resembling horned animals – “*Enter four MASQUERS with horns on their heads: a stag, a ram, a goat, and an ox. Followed by four [MASQUERS costumed as] persons, a courtier, a captain, a scholar, and a butcher,*” (Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. Stage Direction: 181) adding to the theme of cuckoldry. Mercury (messenger of the gods), the narrator of the masque, tells the story of a conflict between Cupid (god of love) and Hymen (god of marriage). Cupid continues to spread love, but Hymen refuses to marry the couples who are in love, rather, he joins together people who Avarice (greed for riches, personified as a god) has joined together; avarice represented by parents who force their sons and daughters into marrying people for money. Mercury goes on to tell the stories of each of the ‘persons’ in the masque and how they’d married for convenience and been cuckolded; each story relating to Quicksands and Millicent in some way. After these revelations, Mercury calls for “Music, strike aloud / ‘The cuckold’s joy’, with merry pipe and crowd!” (Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. 183) instructing the musicians to start playing; after all, the masque was supposed to be a

celebratory occasion. The pipe was a relatively simple instrument to play, and, according to John. H. Long, it was also very versatile – “Along with the tabor it accompanied songs, dances, and jigs, and was in fact the poor man’s orchestra. Its versatility was derived from two qualities: it was easy to carry about, and it had a surprising range.” (Long, 1955: 22) The pipe was a very convenient instrument to provide music for plays because it could be easily concealed in the music room off stage, and it was especially useful to accompany jolly songs and celebratory dances due to its association with clowns. The crowd was a type of fiddle, also convenient to transport about and associated with dancing. Mercury asks the musicians to play ‘The Cuckold’s Joy,’ which is “a made-up title for a tune, on the analogy of tunes like ‘Soldier’s Joy.’” (Steggle, 2010: footnote n2365) ‘Soldier’s Joy’ is the name of a highly popular fiddle tune, described by The Library of Congress as “one of the oldest and most widely distributed tunes in the English speaking world.” (Library of Congress, n.d.: para 1) The tune is mentioned in another Caroline play, *Revenge for Honour* by George Chapman – “Captain, I have a new one, the Souldiers Joy ‘tis call’d.” (Chapman, 1654: 36) Because the song is referred to as ‘new,’ this suggests that it would have just started to gain popularity at the time, and due to the ‘Soldier’s Joy’ tune being resonant in people’s minds, Brome can play on it to ridicule Quicksands. The Library of Congress file dedicated to *The Soldier’s Joy* includes piano notation for it from 1885, instructions on how to dance to it, and a collection of musical pieces with different musicians playing their own versions of it on instruments including the fiddle, harmonica and banjo. Like with many folk songs, this one has gone through a series of changes in wording through the years, but the subject matter has stayed similar, in that all versions are concerned with army life. The stage direction following Mercury’s request for music reveals that the masquers “*dance to music of cornets and violins.*” (Brome, 2010d: 1. 3. Stage Direction: 183) Again, the instruments used were very practical for the theatre. Long notes, however, that violins “were late in being accepted in England; not until the Restoration did they come into general use. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James there is only occasional mention of the instruments...They seem to have been used primarily by itinerant musicians and country fiddlers until the middle of the seventeenth century when, though generally accepted, they were restricted largely to the performance of dance music.” (Long, 1955: 20) Although violins were not entirely commonplace during the Caroline period, they were used more regularly than they had been in previous years. The

play groups the violins with cornets, another instrument which frequently accompanied dancing. As noted in chapter one, cornets are also used as part of the wedding masque in *The Northern Lass*.

The next song of the play is sung by Buzzard, the recently unemployed servant to Quicksands, who is plied with wine and coerced into helping Nathaniel, Vincent and Edmund play a trick on his former master. This song is sung by the drunken Buzzard before he collapses:

*Buzzard (sings) Down Plumpton-park
... Etcetera. (Brome, 2010d: 3. 2. 537)*

The lyric Buzzard sings comes from the refrain of a very popular ballad, *The Lamentation of John Musgrave*, detailing the execution of the Cumberland gentleman in Kendal for robbing the king's receiver. This ballad appears in a collection known as *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585 – 1616* published by Andrew Clark in Oxford, 1907. Hyder Rollins is confident that this collection was "compiled chiefly from broadsides printed during 1585-1616" (Rollins, 1917: 370) and the ballad in question is the second song in the collection. Rollins states that "on Jan. 10, 1608, the goods, lands, etc., of John Musgrave, of Catterlen County, Cumberland, who had been executed for felony, were attainted and forfeited to John Murray" (Rollins, 1917: 370 – 1) which strongly suggests that Musgrave died in 1608, and the song was surely written in 1608. No author of the ballad is specified, although Steggle argues that it is "spoken by a supposed eye-witness of the execution." (Steggle, 2010: footnote n3369) The refrain, too, strongly suggests that it was spoken by a passer-by:

Down plumpton park as I did pass,
I heard a Bird sing in a glen:
The chiefest of her Song it was,
farewell the flower of Serving-men. (Anon, 1683: 1)

The eye-witness; presumably a balladeer, appears to have quoted Musgrave as he repented his sins, and turned his speeches into a song. This type of song is commonly referred to as a 'good-night ballad.' Patricia Fumerton says that "good-night ballads (in which a criminal

being executed supposedly laments his or her crime) were the favourites of scaffold scenes,” as opposed to taverns, in which “ballads celebrating community and homosocial pleasures” (Fumerton, 2008: para 9) were more commonly heard. However, due to the popularity of ballads and their catchy tunes, I would imagine there would have been some overlap. This song appears to be particularly appropriate in this instance because Buzzard is a servant and the song is sang from the perspective of a servant who is a hero. The tune’s popularity continued over the years. It is mentioned in act three, scene three of John Fletcher’s *The Captain* in which Jacomo, the captain of the title, says “Thou know’st I can sing nothing / But Plumpton-Park,” (Fletcher, 1778: 49) and the ballad itself was reprinted in 1683, towards the end of the restoration. The ‘Plumpton Park’ tune is also used as the tune to another ballad, ‘A Lamentable Ballad of a Combate lately performed neer London’, of which *EEBO* holds various editions.

Whereas the aforementioned songs were already extant prior to the play’s composition, the mournful song, beginning ‘Love, where is now thy deity’ appears to have been specifically written for the play, sung to mourn the supposed death of Millicent:

*Page Love, where is now thy deity,
When Fortune alters thy decree
In making of another blessed
With her thou plantedst in my breast?
And Fortune, where is thy despite
That gav’st another my delight,
When Death hasta’en from him and thee
The precious prize, as well as me?*

*Of Love I blame the inconstancy;
Of Fortune curse the cruelty;
Death, my revenger, yet shall scape
(Though he has done the greatest rape)
For he is kindest of the three:
In taking her, he calls for me.
His kindness carries yet a blot,
For though he calls he takes me not. (Brome, 2010d: 4. 3. 661)*

This song is not included in the 1659 collection of Brome’s work, *Five New Plays*, but it is preserved in a manuscript edition of the play held in Lichfield Cathedral: MS 68. Sara Jayne

Steen's 1983 edition of *The English Moor* is closely based on the manuscript, and in her introduction to the text, she explains that the manuscript was Brome's presentation copy: "because Brome could expect that his presentation copy would be read rather than used as a performance text, he included his formal song in its proper position instead of putting it on a separate sheet, as he would have done with a company copy. As a result, we have the lyrics to 'Love, where is now thy Deitie,' a song that adds substantially to our knowledge of Brome's use of the lyric." (Steen, 1983: 24) As noted in chapter three, it was not uncommon for songs to be omitted from printed copies of plays to tighten the text, or printed separately in the prefatory matter. Therefore, it is unsurprising that this song has been removed from the 1659 play text, even though the dialogue before and after it is highly specific to the song. Because the song is included in the presentation manuscript as well as being so apt for the scene, it is "likely to have been written for *The English Moor*" (Steen, 1983: 93) with this scene and position in mind. The lyrics to this song, accompanied by a musical setting, are preserved in the New York Public Library manuscript collection Drexel 4257 which, as revealed in chapter one, also includes lyrics and musical settings for a group of songs used in *The Northern Lass*. The manuscript ascribes the lyrics to "Rich: Broome," (Gamble, 1987: 23) providing further evidence to support Steen's claim that this song was written specifically for the play, and the musical notation is ascribed to John Withy (c.1600-1685). Not much has been documented about Withy's career. He was "first recorded as a chorister at Worcester Cathedral in 1619 [and] went on to become a noted performer on the lyra viol, praised by John Playford and Anthony a Wood," (Steggle, 2010: footnote n3454) so it is known that he was a singer as well as an instrumentalist. Surviving musical compositions by Withy include two instrumental pieces 'An Air by John Withy' and 'A Mask by John Withy,' both scored for two instruments which appear in a 1630s manuscript of various musical pieces housed in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, UCLA. A list of contents of the part-books is provided by Richard Charteris (1978). Cutts speculates that the composition of the song may have been a "special request" (Cutts, 1986: 24) to Withy by Brome and, whereas this is plausible, it is difficult to prove with there being so little known about Withy's life. A MIDI transcription of the song is included in Steggle's footnote n3454 accompanying the song in the 2010 online edition of *The English Moor*. After the song has been sung, Theophilus, who was originally going to marry Millicent out of love, complains

that it is a “wanton air” (Brome, 2010d: 4. 3. 662) and disrespectful to Millicent’s ‘memory.’ Ingram has argued that “it may be that sad words have been put to a well-known air used for a popular bawdy song or loose ballad, and an incongruous comic effect gained in this way” (Ingram, 1958: 233). However, Withy’s tune is a sad tune and it does not resemble a broadside ballad in the slightest. Steen convincingly points out that it is likely that “comic incongruity derived from the contrast between the audience’s sympathetic response to the song and Theophilus’ ‘hasty’ reaction.” (Steen, 1983: 94)

Following this sorrowful melody is another masque, this time a masque of moors, arranged by Quicksands to show off his new Moorish servant, Catalina, by making her dance in her special outlandish way. As well as Catalina, Quicksands incites another seven moors to participate in the dance. Quicksands expresses his excitement about seeing Catalina’s dancing – “when she dances, how you shall admire her!” (Brome, 2010d: 4. 4. 718) and also draws attention to the moors’ dancing in general by saying “you shall see their way and skill in dancing.” (Brome, 2010d: 4. 4. 720). Other instances of black servants being used to provide entertainment have been recorded by critics such as Peter Fryer and Imtiaz Habib. Fryer cites a record talking of “Black and Tawny Inhabitants...Drolling, Piping, Dancing and Singing” (Fryer, 1984: 29) and Habib draws attention to a particular instance of black servants’ dancing observed by Samuel Pepys on 27th March 1661. In his diary, Pepys writes an entry regarding the servants of his co-workers, Sir William Penn and Sir William Batten: “At last we made Mingo, Sir W. Batten’s black, and Jack, Sir W. Pen’s, dance, and it was strange how the first did dance with a great deal of seeming skill.” (Habib, 2008: 179) These records suggest that black women were especially good at dancing and if one was to own a black servant, she would be able to provide entertainment as well as performing all her menial duties. There are also obvious similarities between Brome’s masque and Ben Jonson’s *The Masque of Blackness* (1608) in which twelve women, painted black, arrive at court to be cleansed of their blackness and, in turn, have their beauty restored. Although the action is performed by courtiers, not servants, there is still an emphasis on the black women’s dancing. The stage directions permit them to dance on three occasions, firstly the masquers dance in pairs, then they “dance...with their men several measures and corantos” (Jonson, 1995: 8) before a final celebratory dance at the end. The *OED* defines a ‘measure’ as a “grave

or stately" dance (*OED*, measure, n. 15a) and a courante (variation of coranto) as "a kind of dance formerly in vogue, characterized by a running or gliding step (as distinguished from leaping)."(*OED*, courante, n 1.) In this instance, the black dancers are suggested to possess skill in both slow and quick dances. The stage direction supporting the first dance calls attention to the moors' "strangeness" (Jonson, 1995: 7) not just in terms of their personalities but also in terms of their dancing. Both Jonson's masque and Brome's play imply a somewhat alien charm to their use of Moorish dancing; a fascinating and new type of dance on the English stage. There is a "flourish" (Brome, 2010d: 4. 5. Stage Direction: 781) to announce the start of the masque in Brome's play, but, although music is suggested, the stage directions do not specify what instruments are used. It is highly likely, though, that the instruments used for the previous masque are, again, used for this one, with the flourish of horns, due to the fact that Quicksands is still being tormented by the threat of cuckoldry despite thinking he is in control on this occasion.

In the midst of the revelry, ruthless womaniser, Nathaniel Banelass, appropriately named, being the bane of the lasses sets his sights on Catalina: "It is the handsomest rogue / I have e'er seen yet, of a deed of darkness; / Tawny and russet faces I have dealt with, / But never came so deep in blackness yet." (Brome, 2010d: 4. 4. 717) Nathaniel's speech equates Catalina's black skin with the dark and sinful act of sex outside marriage. He is instantly aroused by her and the fact that he has never slept with a black woman before causes him to hastily pursue her. Faced with the prospect of a lifetime of prostitution after being seduced then disregarded by Nathaniel earlier in the play, Phillis hatches a plan to take on Millicent's role as the Moor, in the hope that she will be able to convince Nathaniel to do the right thing and marry her after seducing her once more. Nathaniel, of course, cannot tell the difference between the woman he had seen earlier and the woman he bumps into during the dance, and in his lustful state, he, too, devises a plan. He calls for "Music! Play a galliard!" (Brome, 2010d: 4. 5. 808) A galliard being "a quick and lively dance in triple time" (*OED*, Galliard: n. 1). The music playing prior to Nathaniel's request is evidently slower than the galliard music and, for his plan to work; it has to be speeded up. Nathaniel "dances vilely" (Brome, 2010d: 4. 5. Stage Direction: 811) and on a further two occasions asks for the music to be sped up. As a result, Quicksands and Testy begin to laugh uncontrollably, perhaps even crying

with laughter, conveniently allowing Nathaniel to lead Phillis away to seduce her while they are not looking. Marsh states that “the wilder forms of popular music – particularly those connected with dancing – were associated in their writings with bawdry, lust, vanity, wantonness, whoredom, uncleanliness, lewdness, immodesty, poison, debauchery and obscenity.”(Marsh, 2010: 62) The playing of the galliard, then, is a significant precursor to the events which follow. Marsh adds that dancing was strongly associated with romance and sexual activity:

Dance, it was said, helped city bawds to attract customers and assisted young gentlewomen in the task of luring suitors. One Londoner also warned about the dangers of life beyond the capital, where participation in rural dancing led inexorably towards sexually transmitted disease and socially transmitted disgrace. Songs and ballads described dancing in terms that were often laden with sexual suggestion...and dancing itself served as a euphemism for sexual intercourse. (Marsh, 2010: 331 – 2)

Certain types of dance incite an intimate physical relationship between members of the opposite sex, particularly those which require participants to partner up with somebody. The effect of the dancers moving rhythmically in time to the music, in a sense, resembles the sexual interaction and stimulation between partners leading up to penetration and/or climax. Music is still playing when the two flustered troublemakers are dragged back to the party after being caught in a compromising position, and I would imagine the instrument playing most prominently during this exchange, although not specified, is the horn to signify cuckoldry. Of course, the audience knows that Quicksands has not actually been cuckolded, but because he thinks he has and horn music has been used previously to taunt him, it makes sense that it would be used again.

Not only is Quicksands’s reputation ruined because he is believed to have been cuckolded but also because his past comes back to haunt him when Buzzard, disguised as Timsy, his illegitimate son, enters and “sings and dances and spins with a rock and spindle” (Brome, 2010d: 4. 5. Stage Direction: 814) Rocks and spindles are tools used in spinning yarn. A rock, also known as a distaff is a three-foot long pole that yarn is wound around, and a spindle, a rod to pull the wool from the rock and twists it so that it turns into thread. He sings:

Buzzard...

Hey toodle loodle loodle loo! (Brome, 2010d: 4. 5. 819)

Steen notes that what Buzzard is singing is the “sound made by a person imitating a flute or pipes” (Steen, 1983: 107) which is plausible considering the fact that pipes play in the consort used for the masque, and Buzzard, in the same speech, refers to “brave pipes.” (Brome, 2010d: 4. 5. 819) It has been suggested, also, that these continuous sounds Buzzard makes throughout the scene are part of a refrain and that the song probably “had words that are now lost to us.” (Steggle, 2010: 41) A similar phrase to the one Buzzard sings appears in the Praeludium of Thomas Goffe’s *The Careless Shepherdess*, first staged around 1638, in which the character, Landlord, praises the performance of a clown he recently witnessed:

Why I would have the Fool in every Act,
Be't Comedy, or Tragedy, I've laugh'd
Untill I cry'd again, to see what Faces
The Rogue will make: O it does me good
To see him hold out's Chin hang down his hands,
And twirle his Bawble. There is nere a part
About him but breaks jests. I heard a fellow
Once on this Stage cry, Doodle, Doodle, Dooe,
Beyond compare; I'de give the other shilling
To see him act the Changling once again. (Goffe, 1656: 4 – 5)

Landlord’s description of the clown sounds remarkably like how Buzzard is presented in this instance and the following speech from *The Careless Shepherdess* reveals that the clown Landlord saw perform was “Rheade” (Goffe, 1656: 5) that is Timothy Read, a very “popular comedian” (Bentley, 1941a: 540) of the period. Steggle notes that “from this exchange it may be deduced that the comic actor Timothy Read played Buzzard, who, disguised as the changeling, sings “Toodle, loodle, loo”, in *The English Moor*.” (Steggle, 2010: para 5) Buzzard’s dancing with his rock and spindle is also highly significant at this point, as Penny Howell Jolly states that “distaffs were sometimes attributes of the cuckold.” (Jolly, 1997: 117) Not only that, they are also known to have phallic potential. Gordon Williams notes that “the distaff, holding the raw wool, is clenched between the spinner’s legs; the spindle derives its metaphorical aptness from its shape and rapid motion as the finished thread winds about it.” (Williams, 1994: 1285) The use of the rock and spindle has definite sexual connotations in *The English Moor* as Timsy “by his cunning at the rock, / And twirling

of his spindle on the thrip-skins, / He has fetched up the bellies of sixteen / Of his thrip-sisters." (Brome, 2010d: 4. 5. 859) The *OED* does not hold a seventeenth century citation of the word 'thrip-skin' but a variation, 'trip-skin,' the earliest cited usage in 1825, is defined as "a piece of leather, worn on the right hand side of the petticoat, by spinners with the rock, on which the spindle plays, and the yarn is pressed by the hand of the spinner." (*OED*, Trip-skin, n.) It is categorised as a specific East Anglian term. In addition to this, Steen notes that this word is also used to mean "pudenda," (Steen, 1983: 109) resulting in a clever element of double entendre.

All three of these dances are used to exploit Quicksands' weaknesses. The plan to trick his enemies by disguising his wife as a moor fails, the secret of his illegitimate son has been exposed, and the masque he arranged to entertain the gallants results in the gallants using it to entertain themselves at his expense. As for the music accompanying the dancing, Steggle notes that "if Buzzard's repeated 'toodle loodle loo' is mimetic of making noises like music; and since it overlaps with the music which is playing when he comes in; it is not too much to say that there is a musical continuo for almost a hundred speeches through the climactic section of Act Four." (Steggle, 2010: footnote n7026) In fact, right from the very start of the play, with Millicent's singing of bawdy ballads in act one, there is a running theme of Quicksands' enemies wanting to punish him, and music appears to be used as a vehicle of punishment throughout his undoing, more so, though, in act four.

The concluding song of the play is, again, sung by Buzzard in disguise, as he is unable to resist winding Quicksands up for a final time:

Buzzard...

*(sings) Hey diddy daddy, come play with thy baby
Dindle-dandle on thy knee, and give him a penny,
And a new coat, o ho—* (Brome, 2010d: 5. 3. 1084)

Unlike all the other songs included in the play, this one does not appear to be preserved elsewhere, and an *EEBO* search fails to produce any additional sources featuring these lyrics. Steggle notes that the lyrics seem to be part of a "contemporary children's rhyme" (Steggle, 2010: footnote n4785) that a parent would sing to a child, and due to the simplistic

nature of the wording and its traditional rhythmic nature, this observation can be deemed accurate. Furthermore, the phrases 'dindle-dandle' meaning to "dandle or toss up and down, or to and fro" (*OED*, Dindle-dandle, v) illustrating the act of a father bouncing a baby up and down on his knee, and 'diddy daddy' are typical kinds of phrases associated with nursery rhymes. Phrases like this make nursery rhymes flow and sound more musical when being sung without a musical accompaniment. This rhyme has been cleverly inserted into the scene not only to add comic value but to enable there to be a positive ending by forcing the miserly Quicksands to pay back all the money he extorted from the courtiers. Although this song is included in the manuscript and 1659 printing, it does not seem to be essential for the plot's progression. As long as some form of children's rhyme is used to mock Quicksands' parenting ability, it is likely that the play would inevitably reach the same outcome.

A final point worth making, as noted by Ingram, is the fact that "seven of Brome's fifteen extant plays end with some form of dance or musical entertainment: *The English Moor*, though it makes ingenious and rich use of masque and music, does not." (Ingram, 1976: 229 – 30) On a number of occasions Quicksands's authority is undermined, aided by the use of music, although the play's conclusion does not feature any music to coincide with his final public humiliation. I would argue that the reason Quicksands's final undoing is not accompanied by music is because it does not need to be. As seen in *The Northern Lass*, Constance only sings when she is lovesick; pining over Luckless and once she is able to marry him, she is happy and the singing stops. Constance uses her singing as an outlet to express her sadness, and, in turn, her singing represents sadness, so if she was to sing at the end, one would assume that she was still sad in her marriage with the play deviating away from a traditional comic ending. A similar thing is happening with *The English Moor*. Singing in this play represents the undoing of Quicksands in a comedic way. He is the villain, so to speak, because he is the person who conned people into parting with unnecessary amounts of money and it is only fair that these people get to exact their revenge on him. Once Quicksands agrees to give all the money back to the citizens, the singing does not need to continue, because they have got what they wanted. There is no need for Quicksands to be

tormented further. The addition of another song would only suggest to the audience that they are still angry.

Right from the start of the play, music is used as a vehicle of punishment rather than harmony, which one would expect it to signify; quite subtly with Millicent's indecent ballad singing, and more explicitly during the masque scenes. *The English Moor* provides a richer use of instrumental music for the masques than in any of his previous plays, due to more instruments being available and accepted for use on the stage. With the amount of instrumental music used and the unique stance on music for punishment, Brome, again, appears to be appealing to contemporary wishes, using new and inventive ways to present musical scenes in a very sophisticated manner.

Conclusion:

This study has shown, then, that Brome uses music in a highly refined way. Brome's plays are sophisticated in terms of their use of formal music; examples include the aria-like songs specially commissioned for *The Northern Lass* and the melancholy air composed for *The English Moor*, as well as his skilful use of broadside ballads.

Brome is not afraid of including tunes like 'There was a Lady Loved a Swine' which was a widely recognised ballad, and does not feel under pressure to be as original as one would perhaps expect him to be. He is actually quite happy to draw on established traditions. That is not to say he relies solely on them as critics such as Ingram have suggested. Far from it. Brome uses ballads because they are popular and, just as one would expect and enjoy listening to popular songs or cover versions at a modern day concert, popular ballads would be expected in these plays to make them more enjoyable. In fact, Brome seems to be using these ballads in a sophisticated way to appeal to the fashion of the period.

Each of the plays discussed through the course of this thesis sees Brome experimenting with music in a different way. *The Northern Lass* draws on the newly emerging operatic aria to incorporate a protagonist who expresses her emotions predominantly through song, *The City Wit*'s music is largely provided by a page who revels in singing ballads, *The Weeding of Covent Garden* features a variety of different song styles but most prominently focuses on the distinction between the psalm and the tavern song, and finally *The English Moor* uses a large amount of instrumental music as more instruments were becoming available for use on the stage when it was first performed. So, Brome used music to appeal to the fashion of the time by experimenting with new styles, as well as drawing on the traditional.

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Appendix:

Accompanying this thesis is an audio CD of three songs from *The Northern Lass* – ‘You Say My Love is but a Man,’ ‘Nor Love Nor Fate Dare I Accuse’ and ‘As I Was Gathering April’s Flowers’ set to music by Keith Green, based on the notation from Drexel 4041.

Below are the scores based on those from Drexel 4041.

Track List:

1. You Say My Love is but a Man
2. Nor Love Nor Fate Dare I Accuse
3. As I Was Gathering April’s Flowers

You Say My Love

Richard Brome

John Wilson

1
You say my love is but a man But I can find more odds 'Twixt Him and oth-ers than I

The first system of music is in 6/4 time. It consists of a vocal line in the treble clef and a piano accompaniment in the bass clef. The lyrics are: "You say my love is but a man But I can find more odds 'Twixt Him and oth-ers than I".

6
can Find 'tween him and Gods He has in's eye such maj-est y His form is

The second system of music is in 6/4 time. It consists of a vocal line in the treble clef and a piano accompaniment in the bass clef. The lyrics are: "can Find 'tween him and Gods He has in's eye such maj-est y His form is".

10
so di-vine That were I own - er of the world He on-ly should be mine

The third system of music is in 6/4 time. It consists of a vocal line in the treble clef and a piano accompaniment in the bass clef. The lyrics are: "so di-vine That were I own - er of the world He on-ly should be mine". The system ends with a double bar line.

Nor Love Nor Fate

Richard Brome

John Wilson

1

Nor love nor fate dare I ac - cuse for that my love did me re -

5

fuse But oh mine own un-woth - i ness that durst pre - sume so Mick - le

9

bliss It was too much for me to love a man so like the gods a -

13

bove An an-gel's shape a saint-like voice Are too di - vine for hu - man choice

As I Was Gathering

Richard Brome

John Wilson

As I was gath - ring Ap - ril's flowers He straight let fall one of his flowers

The first system of the musical score is in 3/4 time. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "As I was gath - ring Ap - ril's flowers He straight let fall one of his flowers". The piano accompaniment is in the bass clef, featuring a simple harmonic accompaniment.

9
Which drove me to an ar-bour 'Twere bet ter I my lap had filled As though the

The second system of the musical score starts at measure 9. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: "Which drove me to an ar-bour 'Twere bet ter I my lap had filled As though the". The piano accompaniment continues with a steady harmonic accompaniment.

17
wet my clothes had spilled Than to ha' found this har-bour For there a

The third system of the musical score starts at measure 17. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: "wet my clothes had spilled Than to ha' found this har-bour For there a". The piano accompaniment continues with a steady harmonic accompaniment.

24
sub - tle ser - pent was close ly - ing lurk - ing in the grass

The fourth system of the musical score starts at measure 24. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: "sub - tle ser - pent was close ly - ing lurk - ing in the grass". The piano accompaniment continues with a steady harmonic accompaniment. The system ends with a double bar line.