

Music and Song in Plays Acted by Children's Companies during the English Renaissance

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In recent years, an impressive amount of scholarship has concerned itself with music and song and their uses in Shakespeare's plays. In addition to the earlier studies of Naylor, Noble, and Cowling, we are now fortunate to have John H. Long's and Frederick Sternfeld's more specialized studies of the uses of music and song in the comedies and tragedies respectively, Peter Seng's useful compendium of information on the songs, and John Cutts's edition of songs used in the later plays. Although we can only rejoice over this significant body of work, it has created the impression that Shakespeare's plays are typical of the period in their uses of music and song. While this hypothesis may turn out to be valid, it cannot be tested until scholars have thoroughly investigated the uses of music and song in plays written by other dramatists and in plays performed by other acting companies during the same period.

In fact, a cursory view of English Renaissance drama suggests, if anything, the atypicality of Shakespeare's uses of music and song. For example, the plays acted by the companies of child actors which flourished between 1599 and 1612 are even richer in music and song than are the plays written by Shakespeare and others for adult companies during the same period, and often use music and song in radically different ways. Moreover, the musical conventions in the plays acted by children's troupes were developed in and for small, indoor "private" theaters, and were often adopted by adult troupes after 1609 when they began to move to those theaters from their large, open-roofed "public" theaters.

A few scholars have recently continued the exploration of non-Shakespearean private theater music begun by Arkwright, Lawrence, and others. Cutts and Andrew J. Sabol have unearthed several settings for songs from plays acted by children's troupes, and W. R. Bowden in *The English Dramatic Lyric: 1603-1641* has investigated the use of song in plays acted in both public and private theaters by both adult and boy companies. The forthcoming¹ collection of essays, edited by John H. Long, on music in non-Shakespearean plays of the period promises to be of great interest. Much more remains to be done, but few literary scholars are equipped for the tasks involved. When the texts of plays supply lyrics for songs, as they frequently do not, musicologists who are familiar with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century collections of music—printed and manuscript—are likely to be more successful than literary scholars in discovering settings. Even when settings can be located, they need to be edited and translated into modern notation before directors can use them for modern productions or literary scholars can discuss their dramatic effects, although such discussions too might best be conducted by musicologists.

One of the aims of this article, therefore, is to invite musicologists to collaborate with literary scholars in investigating music and song and their

uses in non-Shakespearean drama of the English Renaissance, particularly in the plays acted by troupes of child actors. It is hoped that the brief history of the children's companies and the discussion of music and song in their plays will stimulate further investigation and exploration in the area of non-Shakespearean theater music of the English Renaissance. Perhaps the list of references that follows the discussion will be of some use to musicologists wishing to undertake such inquiries.

A brief outline of the history of the children's troupes in England will explain why their plays are richer in music and song than contemporaneous plays acted by troupes of adult actors (Hillebrand 1926; Chambers 1923: II, 8-76). In England, most of the children's troupes were originally troupes of choirboys; the two most prominent companies of boy actors styled themselves as the Children of St. Paul's Cathedral and the Children of the Chapel Royal. As choirboys, they were taught to read music, sing prick song, and also to play instruments, such as organs, viols, cornets, virginals and recorders (Harrison 1958: 186, 191, 214; Woodfill 1953: 144). Most of the boy choristers became adult choristers when they reached maturity, and some, like the composer Thomas Ravenscroft, a boy chorister at Paul's, went on to make significant contributions to English musical life (Lawrence 1924: 418-23).

During Elizabeth's reign the choristers from St. Paul's, the Windsor Chapel, the Chapel Royal, and Westminster Abbey performed plays at court as part of the Christmas-Shrovetide revelry. Sometime around 1576, the Children of Paul's and the Children of the Chapel Royal acquired their own private theaters, which were probably little more than typical Tudor banqueting halls. Although the children's troupes charged admission to performances in these halls, such performances were considered rehearsals for performances in the banqueting halls at court and probably accommodated courtiers and would-be courtiers who were unable to attend the court performances. After an eight- or nine-year period of dormancy, the Paul's boys and the Chapel Children were reactivated around 1599 and flourished for about a decade, performing plays, mostly satiric comedies, by such dramatists as Jonson, Webster, Chapman, Middleton, Marston, and Dekker.² It is difficult to say whether the members of the acting companies were more than nominally choirboys after 1599. The members of a children's troupe like the Children of the Kings Revels, which acted at Whitefriars, were not choristers. The children's troupe that acted at Blackfriars, once called the Children of the Chapel Royal, lost its connection with the Chapel Royal shortly after the Accession of James in 1603, but the Children of Paul's probably consisted of choristers and was directed by the Cathedral choirmaster until the troupe's dissolution in 1607.

In view of the origin and history of the children's troupes, it should be no surprise that their plays use music and song more profusely than do contemporaneous plays acted by adult companies, although it is an exaggeration to describe them as resembling "the musical or musical operetta of today"

(Sternfeld 1964: 14). A statistical approach is illuminating. Of the thirty-two extant children's plays acted before 1591, twenty-nine (91%) have a total of 128 songs, or an average of 4.4 each. Garter's *Susanna*, one of the three plays that have no songs, apologizes in the Epilogue for this lack. In the post-1599 period, sixteen of the twenty-one plays (76%) acted by the Children of Paul's contain a total of eighty songs, or an average of 5 each, while 72% of the plays acted by the Chapel Children contain an average of 2.4 songs per play. By comparison, only 49% of the plays acted by Shakespeare's troupe during a corresponding period contain songs, the average of 1.4 songs per play is considerably lower than that for the plays acted by children's troupes, and plays acted by other adult troupes contain even less music (Bowden 1951: 126-28; Shapiro 1967: 346).

The plays acted by children's troupes can be conveniently divided into two distinct phases, falling on either side of a hiatus in the dramatic activities of these troupes that lasted from about 1591 to 1599 or 1600. In the plays acted before 1591, few of the songs have much dramatic relevance and the two plays with the most songs—*Summer's Last Will and Testament* and *The Arraignment of Paris*—are more like music-hall revues than plays. Moreover, there is little variety in the use of music and song in the pre-1591 children's plays. Nearly all of the songs in these plays, as well as most of the songs in plays acted after 1599 by the Children of Paul's, fall into four categories, which describe the dramatic function of the songs: complaint, servant song, pastoral or supernatural song, religious song.

Complaints

One type of song which is virtually unique to the plays acted by children's troupes before 1591 is the complaint, usually a solo song by a female character. Bowden describes the singers of this type of song as temporarily frustrated lovers, forsaken lovers, or bereaved lovers (1951: 24-26; Sabol 1960: 224-25), but the complaint tradition originated earlier and is broader than Bowden suspects, and included laments of friends, children, and parents, as well as lovers. The complaint is almost always a personal expression of the character's emotions and, as such, usually has some relevance to the dramatic action. The complaint thus differs from sad but impersonal songs, like the one sung to viol accompaniment in *Wit and Science* or the "dolefull ditty" that laments Summer's approaching death in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*.

One of the earliest of these dramatic complaints is "Awake ye wofull wights," the lament of Pythias for Damon in Edwardes' *Damon and Pythias* (1564), a play acted by the Children of the Chapel Royal. The stage direction stipulates that Pythias was accompanied by regals, but the song also survives in settings for lute accompaniment. Long has printed the tune, recitative-like in character, which was probably used in the play (1967: 247-

50). Like most dramatic and non-dramatic complaints of the period, "Awake ye wofull wights" is highly alliterative, intoning Pythias' sorrow in such lines as: "Gripe me, you greedy grief,/And present pangs of death!" (1924: ll. 612-13). Similar complaints occur in *Patient Grissel*, *Misogonus*, *The Arraignment of Paris*, and *Sapho and Phao*.

Furthermore, Arkwright found a number of extant complaints, which seem to belong to plays, in manuscript collections of music (1906: 341-3, and 401-3; 1909: 30-40 and 112-17; and 1914: 117-38). The most famous of these is "Alas, ye salt sea Gods," the lament of Panthea for Abradad, ascribed to Richard Farrant and set for treble voice and four strings. Noting Farrant's connection with the Children of the Chapel Royal, W. J. Lawrence argued that the song belonged to a play acted by that troupe, *The Wars of Cyrus* (pub. 1594), which contains characters named Panthea and Abradates, although the printed text of the play makes no provision for such a song (1921: 514). "Alas, ye salt sea Gods," like most complaints of this type, is heavily alliterative, contains repeated exclamations and stock phrases like "grievous groans" and "weep and wail," and includes a plea for the singer's death. It is one of several complaints sung by noble women who are threatened with captivity, sexual violation, the death of or separation from a lover, or with some equally heart-rending fate, and it is therefore quite possible that the type of dramatic complaint under discussion was a standard feature of the "pathetic heroine" play, which was popular with the children's companies in the 1560's, 1570's, and early 1580's (Browner 1943: 455-64). Complaints even occur in a few plays acted by children's troupes after 1599. In the anonymous *Maid's Metamorphosis*, the pathetic heroine sings "Ye sacred Fyres, and powers above" and "Since hope of helpe my froward starres denie," while Marston seems to have had his heroine sing a complaint of this type in *Sophonisba* and may have used complaints in *Antonio and Mellida* and *Antonio's Revenge*.

If the alliterative and repetitive style of the lyrics and the recitative-like character of the tunes make the complaints seem somewhat heavy-handed, one should remember that sophisticated musical settings probably made them into effective expressions of grief and sorrow. Gustave Reese, writing about Elizabethan songs with viol accompaniment in general, including the "tragic songs of Farrant and Parsons," described the settings as follows:

The upper voice generally carries a syllabic setting of the poem, while the lower voices, faster moving and noticeably less melodic, weave an amorphous polyphonic texture below the tune, and fill in gaps between its phrases (1959: 817).

But we are not even sure if the so-called tragic songs of Farrant and Parsons were intended to be sung in dramatic performance, and much work remains to be done not only in locating and analyzing settings of complaints but also in defining the relationship between dramatic and non-dramatic complaints.

Servant Songs

A second type of song in children's plays is the servant song, usually sung by two to four pages or maidservants. Although Sabol and others have pointed out the use of servant songs by Edwardes and Lyly (Sabol 1958a: 147-48), the convention is more extensive and more dramatically relevant than has been realized. Songs of this type occur in *Tom Tyler* (c. 1540), *Respublica* (c. 1552), and *Nice Wanton* (c. 1560), as well as in the plays of Edwardes and Lyly. These servants, descended from the witty slaves of Roman comedy and the vices of morality plays, are the agents of mischief, mockery, and merriment, and their songs generally ridicule figures of authority and celebrate festive revelry, with emphasis on drinking and sex. The song in II.ii of *Misogonus* (c. 1577), for example, combines nearly all of these motifs:

Let snurgis lurke & druges worke,
we doe defie their slaverye
he is but a foole, that gois to schole
all we delight in braverie.

It is the best, to live at rest,
and takt as god doth send it
To haunt ech wake, & mirth to make
and with good fellowes spend it.

The merye, man with cupp & cann
lives longer then doth twentye
The misers wealth, doth hurt his health
examples we have plentye.

In cardes & dice, our comferte lies
In sportinge and in dauncinge
Our mindes to please and live at ease
and sometime to use praunsinge.

With bes & nel we love to dwell
In kisinge and in hakinge.
But whope hoe hollie, with trollye lollye
to them weil now be walking.

(second, fourth, sixth, and tenth stanzas)

A quartet, consisting of the prodigal-son protagonist and three of his attendants, sings this song to the well-known tune of "Heart's Ease." Before the song is sung, one of the attendants assigns the parts:

Well then bycause you take me for your deane
Ile apoynt the partes my selfe by saint John

You shall singe the false kinde I meane you know what
& thoust bere the bas because thou art rustye
the counterfet tener is youres by youre lott
my selfe will singe the truble & that very trusty.

R. W. Bond, the editor of the play, informs us that "false kinde" has been written in the manuscript above the word "tenthier," which has been deleted (1911: 197, 309-19). Unfortunately, Bond's note on these directions is so brief and vague that one would welcome further commentary on the musical terms and any attempt to describe the style of the setting used in the play. As the reference to a bass part suggests, the children's troupe acting *Misogonus* included at least one adult actor, a practice not uncommon among children's companies before 1591 (Hunter 1962: 237).

In plays acted after 1599, small groups of servants sing very much as they did in the plays of Edwardes and Lyly, that is at the end of short scenes of pert, audacious dialogue. As in the pre-1591 plays, such scenes rarely further the dramatic action but supply contrasting attitudes, parody theme and action of the main plot, create an atmosphere of levity, and usually culminate in song. Such scenes, with this type of song, occur in the plays of William Percy (intended for Paul's but probably never performed there), and in plays acted by the Chapel Children at Blackfriars, but most of all in plays acted by the Children of Paul's.

In Act II of Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, two pages and a maid sing "the descant on our names," the lyrics to which are lost but must have been extremely bawdy because the pages' names—Dildo and Catzo—are Italian terms for penis. Marston's *What You Will* requires three page songs, all of them unfortunately lost, although Sabol has found two songs in Ravenscroft's *Melismata* that might well have been used (1959: 8). While this approach can rarely yield more than conjectural results, it opens up possibilities of matching lyrics from manuscript and printed collections of music with plays with blank songs. In I.ii of *Blurt, Master Constable*, probably by Middleton, three pages sing "What meat eats the Spaniard?", which pokes fun at one of their masters (Sabol 1958a: 146-49). In II.ii of the same play, two maidservants sing a bawdy question-and-answer duet, "In a fair woman that thing is best?" This song is sung in response to a request for a "light song," of the kind that "go nimble and quick, and are full of change, and carry sweet division" (II.ii. 47-49). The lyrics are ostensibly a sonnet written by another character, which the maids read before singing, perhaps because a polyphonic setting rendered the words unintelligible (Evans 1929: 44-45, 59-60; Bowden 1951: 129; Long 1955-61: I, 4; and Sabol 1960: 229-30).

Thus, the children's troupes seem to have carried over the servant song from their pre-1591 plays when they resumed dramatic activities in 1599. This type of song belongs exclusively to the plays acted by children's companies, for adult troupes rarely if ever had more than two or three boys

capable of taking more than a walk-on role and those boys usually played female roles. When adult companies did use groups of children, as in *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Merry Wives of Windsor*, the children are given roles which require a good deal of singing and dancing but little or no speaking. Many of the plays of the children's troupes, however, count heavily on the pages to fulfill their traditional functions both in speech and song. One would like to know more about the musical aspects of the servant song.

Pastoral and Supernatural Songs

A third type of song in the children's plays is the song for pastoral or supernatural characters, usually a choral song, such as the Nymph's song in Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. When choral groups were assigned a collective role, they were usually cast as muses, nymphs, shepherds, or fairies, probably because of the traditional association of music with such groups. Muses sing in Edwardes' *Damon and Phythias*, while Cupid sings with a group of nymphs in II.ii of Lyly's *Gallathea*, and troupes of fairies dance in II.iii of *Gallathea* and sing and dance in IV.iii of Lyly's *Endimion*, possibly to one of the songs in Ravenscroft's *Briefe Discourse* (Lawrence 1924: 418-23). Moreover, such songs occur in a few plays acted after 1599. There is a fairy chorus in Act III of *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* and a chorus of nymphs in *Wily Beguiled*. *The Maid's Metamorphosis* calls for rival singing choruses of shepherds and woodsmen in Act I; the lyrics of the shepherds' song are not given, but a song found in Ravenscroft's *Melismata*, "The Crowning of Belphoebe," would fit the context (Sabot 1959: 7-8). In Act II of the same play there is a chorus of fairies who sing and dance first alone and then with pages, and settings of both songs appear in Ravenscroft's *Briefe Discourse* (Lawrence 1924: 420; Sabot 1958: 153). Songs of this type were naturally used rarely by adult companies, although they do occur in *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Even the children's troupes abandoned this type of song in the early 1600's as they began to perform realistic satiric comedies set in contemporary London instead of the Ovidian romantic comedies made popular by Lyly.

Religious Songs

A fourth type of song in plays acted by children's troupes was the religious song—a hymn or prayer, usually sung by a chorus. As most of the children's companies were groups of boy choristers, they were accustomed to singing hymns or prayers in choral ensembles for religious services, so that considerable time and energy could have been spared by their using the same songs in dramatic productions. Thus, a number of plays contain hymns or prayers, usually at the end, which could have been used for devotional purposes. For example, the "Hymnus" at the end of Act III of *Sapientia Solomonis* is a Latin verse rendering of Psalm 72. In other plays, where the lyrics are not given,

almost any religious selection would fit the context, as in *Godly Queen Hester*, where Hester asks her chapel to "Syng some holy himpne [sic] to spede us this day" (1904: l. 861). Many of these religious songs come at the ends of plays, invoking blessings for the Queen, the court, and sometimes the commons; this type of song has little relevance to the dramatic action but is highly relevant to the theatrical occasion of a court play, the function of which was to praise or flatter the sovereign and, by extension, the members of the court and even the country as a whole.

None of the Paul's plays produced after 1599 concludes with this prayer for the health and well-being of the sovereign and nobility, with the possible exception of Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, which concludes with a request for "a solemne hymne . . . /To close the last act of my vengeance." The request and the hymn which must have followed it underscore the revengers' desire for purification, and the dramatic relevance of the hymn probably precluded the conventional prayer for the sovereign. Other plays use final songs, not necessarily religious, for dramatic effects, and such songs are usually integrated with the theme and action. Thus, *The Maid's Metamorphosis* concludes with a "roundelay" of general rejoicing, and *Westward Ho!* closes with a rowing song, for the trip back to London, which turns into a *plaudite*. Plays like *The Maid's Metamorphosis* and *Sophonisba*, which are set in classical antiquity, use hymns to Phoebus and Hymen, just as Shakespeare uses a song to Bacchus in II.vii of *Antony and Cleopatra*. It would be interesting to know whether these pagan hymns and prayers were set to or modelled after Christian religious music. Some scholars have suggested that Shakespeare's song to Bacchus, for example, may be a parody or imitation of the Pentecostal hymn *Veni Creator* (Noble 1923: 127; Sternfeld 1964: 86-87; Seng 1967: 212).

In the first few years after their revival in 1599, the children's troupes continued to employ the same basic types of song that they used before 1591, albeit with greater flexibility and dramatic relevance. Even the few new types of song, which they probably borrowed from adult companies, were used in more interesting ways. For example, several of the plays acted by children's troupes after 1599 contain serenades, a type of song usually associated with plays acted by adult troupes. The serenade is generally sung by a suitor's servants or by hired musicians to a lady who usually appears "above" at a window or balcony. Because nearly all the sponsors of serenades are rejected as lovers, modern scholars regard the serenade as a conventional means of representing unsuccessful courtship. The convention of the vicarious serenade was evidently based on contemporaneous notions of social and dramatic decorum. No one of noble rank, either on or off stage, would sing or play an instrument except on very rare occasions and then only after great protestation. In plays, the production of music is generally left to servants, professional musicians, effeminate courtiers, lower class characters, or characters associated with loose sexual behavior (Ingram 1957: 154; Bowden 1951:

19–22, 44–45, 123; Sternfeld 1964: 7–8). The vicarious serenade is used in the conventional way in plays acted by adult troupes, such as Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, as well as in *Blurt, Master Constable*, acted by the Children of Paul's, where a soon-to-be-rejected suitor instructs his musicians to "speak movingly" beneath his love's casement. But other plays acted by the children's troupes use the convention in a freer and more playful manner. In *Jack Drum's Entertainment* three rival suitors appear in succession under the lady's casement. One directs his page to sing "Delicious beautie that doth lie," the second, a miser, has his page sing a song of money, "Chunck, chunck, chunck," while the third, the successful lover, makes music out of his apology for not bringing any music:

Unequall *Katherine*

I bring no Musick to prepare thy thoughts
 To entertaine an amorous discourse:
 More Musick's in thy name, and sweet dispose,
 Than in *Apollo's* Lyre, or *Orpheus* close.
 I'le chaunt thy name, and so inchaunt each eare,
 That *Katherinas* happie name shall heare.
My Katherine, my life, my *Katherine*.

(1934–39: III, 198)

Similarly, the lover in *What You Will* directs his page to sing a lute song under the lady's window, but Marston then undercuts the convention of the vicarious serenade by having the lover lament the professional singer's inability to express authentic emotion:

Fie, peace, peace, peace, it hath no passion int.
 O melt thy breath in fluent softer tunes
 That every note may seeme to tricle downe
 Like sad distilling teares and make—O God!
 That I were but a Poet now t'expresse my thoughts,
 Or a Musitian but to sing my thoughts,
 Or any thing but what I am, sing't ore on[c]e more:
 My greefes a boundles sea that hath no shore.

(1934–39: II, 249)

The most unconventional use of the vicarious serenade occurs in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*, a Blackfriars play, in which a young gallant twice sings to his lady without protest or fear of debasing his rank.

Much has been written about the dramatic relevance of songs in plays acted by children's troupes. Earlier critics tended to view these songs as extraneous entertainment (Wright 1927: 261–74; Moore 1929: 167); more recent critics, on the other hand, seem to regard most of the songs in these plays as dramatically relevant (Bowden 1951: 83; Kiefer 1954: 163–71; and Ingram 1957: 154–64). One difficulty in dealing with this question is arriving at a satisfactory definition of "dramatic relevance." If earlier scholars tended

to define it too narrowly, more recent scholars may be said to err in the opposite direction. One could reach his own working definition of the term by examining the functions attributed to the songs in Shakespeare's plays by the various critics whose remarks are quoted or paraphrased in Peter Seng's useful book. Moreover, anyone assessing the dramatic relevance of a song ought to consider any extant settings, or at least speculate about the kind of setting such lyrics might have required. Even with the songs in Shakespeare's plays this procedure has not always been followed. For instance, Feste's song in II.iv of *Twelfth Night*—"Come away, come away, death"—has often been regarded as a folk song because the Duke describes it as such before it is sung:

Mark it, Cesario, it is old and plain.
The spinsters and the knitters in the sun
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones
Do use to chant it. It is silly sooth,
And dallies with the innocence of love,
Like the old age. (II.iv. 44-49)

The lyrics themselves, however, suggest a highly sophisticated art song. The usual explanation for this discrepancy involves a possible change in singers suggested by the text, but the discrepancy may have its own dramatic function as well, for the Duke's inaccurate, pseudo-nostalgic description of the song may be another manifestation of his posturing as a melancholy lover (Seng 1967: 109-115).

Instrumental Music

Very little instrumental music occurs in the children's plays acted before 1591, and most of it was probably played off stage, like the mourning song played by the regals in *Damon and Pythias*. Off-stage regals also produced the unusual effect called for in *The Arraignment of Paris*—"an artificial charm of birds being heard within." In *Sylva Sylvarum* Bacon explains how the effect is produced: "In regals, (where they have a pipe they call the nightingale-pipe, which containeth water) the sound hath a continual trembling" (1862: IV, 255). The same effect was later called for in *The Dutch Courtesan* and *Blurt, Master Constable*.

The instrumental music which was produced on stage in plays acted by children before 1591 was played by the choirboy-actors, who were often trained instrumentalists. Only occasionally are there groups of supernumeraries who may have been professional musicians, such as the "noyse of Musicians" in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*. Four of the performers of *Wit and Science* were skilled violists and relatively competent actors, for they each assumed several roles in order to accompany the hero's dancing and their own singing. Similarly, characters in plays by Udall, Lyly, and Peele are also required to play pipes, fiddles, and lutes.

If the repertory of the Children of Paul's is any indication, instrumental music was used even more frequently in children's plays acted after 1599 than in those acted before 1599. As on the public theater stage, singers usually accompany themselves on the lute or lyra viol, although singers use the harp in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* and *Antonio and Mellida*, and the tabor and pipe in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*. In the last-mentioned play, another singer calls for a whole consort of viols to accompany her song on stage.

The purely instrumental music in the plays acted by the children's troupes after 1599 was produced by a wide variety of instruments. Probably for acoustical reasons, the indoor private theaters used different instruments from those used in the larger, open-roofed public theaters (Cowling 1913: 53-63). Thus, cornets rather than trumpets are used for sennets and flourishes, and may have been played offstage by professional musicians (Long 1955-61: I, 33-34). Stage directions in some plays acted by children's troupes call for "still flutes," or recorders, while those in *Sophonisba* or *A Mad World, My Masters* call for organs.

For instrumental ensembles, the Children of Paul's seem to have employed whole consorts, usually of viols and sometimes of cornets, whereas the Blackfriars troupe, like the adult troupes, was by 1602 employing a broken consort of organ, lute, mandolin, bandora, viol, and pipe, according to the diary of Duke Philip Julius of Stettin-Pomerania (Chambers 1923: II, 47).

It is difficult to tell whether the members of the whole consorts used at Paul's were professional musicians or whether they were specially trained choirboys, like the viol players in *Wit and Science*. Unlike the musicians in earlier plays, like *Wit and Science*, the musicians rarely play on stage, and in the one exception—*Westward Ho!*—they are identified as "the Town consort" and a "noyse of Fidlers." Moreover, none of the members of these consorts has a speaking part, except in *Northward Ho!* It is possible that professional musicians, or waits, were hired for the plays, as was apparently done for college plays at Cambridge and for the plays of the King's Men produced at Blackfriars after 1609 (Greg 1923: 207-08; and Woodfill 1953: 40-41), but it is also possible that the musicians at Paul's after 1599 were specially trained choirboys, as they had been before 1591.

Regardless of the identity of the musicians, it was probably this consort of viols that produced the entr'acte music at Paul's. Whether or not there was entr'acte music in the public theaters and if so who supplied it are thorny problems, but most scholars agree that entr'acte music was more important at the private theaters (Harbage 1955: 46-47; Sternfeld 1964: 14-15). Many of the plays acted by the Children of Paul's after 1599 call for entr'acte music, and in the plays of William Percy, written for Paul's but probably not acted there, every act but the last is followed by this stage direction: "Here they knockt up the consort." Furthermore, in many plays acted at Paul's and Blackfriars the entr'acte music is woven into the action. There is no evidence that the musicians at Paul's offered a musical prelude or postlude, but the performance at Blackfriars witnessed by the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania in

1602 was preceded by an hour-long offering by the broken consort (Chambers 1923: II, 46-47).

The children's troupes of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries seem to have used both vocal song and instrumental music more often and more variously than did the adult troupes of the same period, and may even have influenced their elders. In 1609, Shakespeare's company began using the Blackfriars theater as their winter quarters and the next few years saw other adult troupes acquiring private theaters. There is some evidence to suggest that these adult troupes preserved many of the conventions regarding the use of music and song that had been developed when the children's troupes occupied the same theaters. The influence of the children's troupes and the private theaters on the adult troupes is an important subject in theater history, for the so-called private theater became the dominant type of theater in the Stuart period and has remained so down to the present. Many readers of this journal could no doubt make significant contributions to the musicological aspects of this chapter in theater history.

NOTES

¹ It was only after correcting the galley proofs that the writer was able to examine *Music in English Renaissance Drama*, edited by John H. Long (University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1968). While the seven contributors to this symposium cover topics ranging from music in medieval mystery plays to music in semi-dramatic royal entertainments, two of the articles deal directly with music and song in private theater plays: R. W. Ingrams' essay, "Patterns of Music and Action in Fletcherian Drama," and Vincent Duckles' extremely useful bibliography of primary sources of music for lyrics in early seventeenth-century English drama.

² The reader can establish the repertoires of the children's troupes by consulting Schoenbaum's revised edition of Harbage's *Annals of English Drama*. Craik, Bevington, Hillebrand, Shapiro, and Harbage's *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* are also helpful.

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