When all that is to Was ys brought: 
John Heywood’s ‘rythme declaringe his own life and nature’

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This essay provides the first edition and discussion of the ballad When all that is to Was ys brought, copied sometime between 1561 and 1585 into a draft account book relating to the will of Dr William Bill, dean of Westminster (Durham Cathedral Add. MS 243, fol. 93r-v). Its last line, ‘Amen Quoth Iohn heywood’, indicates that its author was the court entertainer John Heywood (b. 1496/7 – d. in or after 1578) and internal evidence suggests that it was written shortly before he went into exile on account of his Catholic faith in 1564. The ballad includes references to Heywood’s family and allusions to several works of Thomas More, especially A Dialogue of Comfort, suggesting that it is Heywood’s personal reflection on his spiritual life under four English monarchs. Its subject matter makes it likely that it is also the poem described as ‘a rythme declaringe his own life and nature’, which Heywood sent to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and Queen Elizabeth via John Wilson in 1574 to support his petition to be allowed to remain in the Spanish Netherlands.

Keywords: John Heywood, Thomas More, Dialogue of Comfort, Ballad, Ars moriendi

At the back of a draft ledger for the estate of Dr William Bill, dean of Westminster (Durham Cathedral Add. MS 243) is an untitled copy of a ballad beginning ‘When all that is to Was ys brought’ and ending ‘Amen Quoth Iohn heywood’.¹ Its thirty-eight stanzas in common metre are in the hand of Bill’s executor, Francis Samwell, auditor of the Exchequer. The ballad is copied in two columns of thirteen stanzas each (fol. 93ra-b) and in one column of twelve stanzas (fol. 93va); near the bottom of the otherwise empty column (fol. 93vb) is the name ‘Thomas Good’. This could be mistaken for the name of the author, and is likely why the ballad has not received prior attention from Heywood scholars. The ballad’s format suggests that Samwell copied it from a printed broadside in three columns with space at the end for the printer’s colophon.² Perhaps it had been privately printed for

* I wish to thank Sarah-Jane Hunt, assistant librarian at Durham Cathedral Library, for her kind assistance in facilitating my access to the manuscript.

¹ See Appendix for a description of the manuscript.

distribution among only a few people, like the poetic *Epytaphe vpon the Death of M. Rycharde Goodricke Esquier* (1562).³

The ballad’s content initially appears to be an unassuming compilation of commonplaces belonging to the *ars moriendi* tradition.⁴ However, in stanza 29, three brothers and five children are mentioned. Such autobiographical references and the ballad’s testamentary nature suggest that it is the last work written by the court entertainer John Heywood before he went into exile in the Spanish Netherlands on 20 July 1564.⁵ It can be read as the farewell of an old man who is dying or going into exile. Presumably both meanings are intended: now in his old age Heywood is looking back on his life and work and withdrawing from the world in order to prepare for a good death, in the Catholic faith. For these reasons, I conjecture that it is the same work described as ‘a rythme declareinge his own life and nature’, and that Heywood sent it from Mechlin (Malines) in December 1574 via Dr Thomas Wilson to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, in support of his plea to Queen Elizabeth to be allowed to remain overseas.⁶

In its original form, whether printed or distributed in a few handwritten copies, I suspect the ballad may have had an alternate last line to obscure the identity of Heywood and, consequently, of members of his family and his friends. I conjecture that it read ‘Amen Quoth Thomas Good’, rhyming (as does ‘Iohn heywood’) with ‘Blood’ (line 150), and that in 1574, when Heywood sent his ‘rythme’ to Wilson, he amended the last line by cancelling the name ‘Thomas Good’ and writing in his real name. Samwell could have discovered the ballad in 1575, when Burghley ordered a search to be made in the Exchequer for papers relating to Heywood. It would seem natural for him to write ‘Amen Quoth Iohn heywood’ for line 152 and transpose the cancelled name ‘Thomas Good’ on the same line into the empty right hand column.⁷

Heywood’s choice of the alias ‘Thomas’ is likely to be in homage to Sir Thomas More, whose English *Workes*, especially *Dyalogue of conforte agaynst tribulacyon*, is the source of some of the ballad’s language and significant themes.⁸ Heywood’s copy of the *Workes* is likely

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⁵ Subsequent references to John Heywood will normally be to ‘Heywood’.
⁷ The name ‘Thomas Good’ does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript.
⁸ More’s *Dialogue* was first printed by Richard Tottel in 1553; it is also included in *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght, sometyme Lord Chauncellour of England*, written by
the one later owned by his grandson, the poet John Donne. As is well known, Heywood was personally connected to More, and his familiarity with More’s works is shown in his ballad *Man, yf thow mynd heuen to obtayne*, which is a close paraphrase of More’s *A godly instruccion* (1534). The themes in *When all that is* that are derived from *A dyalogue of conforte* allude to More’s prominence as a Catholic martyr (d. 1535), following his refusal to sign the oath of Supremacy to Henry VIII, and to Heywood’s signing of the oath and renouncing his faith in 1544. In 1563, when Heywood’s recantation was printed in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* and he simultaneously faced the prospect of having to sign the oath to Elizabeth, he seems to have turned to *A dyalogue of conforte*’s argument that tribulation might be used as a means for spiritual redemption.

The following edition of *When all that is* retains the original spelling, punctuation and capitalisation; abbreviations are expanded in italics (omitting bars above certain letters that appear to be decorative); stanza and line numbers are editorial; modern spellings are supplied in square brackets.

1 WHEN all that is to Was ys brought
As all that hath byn is
And all that shalbe lykewysse wrought
Then quaylth all worldly Blys


13 See Anthony G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 22, especially the last example in [figure] 30.


15 ‘quaylth’ = comes to nothing; ‘quail, v.2, I.2a’, in *The Oxford English Dictionary (OED Online)* at www.oed.com [hereafter, *OED*]; all definitions accessed 10 September 2016. Note that ‘quayle’ is applied to an abstract thing, a ‘state’ (i.e., bliss) rather than to something ‘material’ (cf. stanza 2); ‘quail, v.2, I.1’, *OED*.
ALL Worldely welth all worldely woo\(^{16}\)
All worldely Ioye & payne
All youth all Age both Frende & Foo
Nought shall here theyn Remayn\(^{17}\)

MANKYND that hath byn here & Shall
Mans tyme caste in Accompt\(^{18}\)
More then three dayes no Counte can call
Mans Totall tyme too Amounte

TYME past Dooth yesterdaye include
This Daye the tyme present
The tyme to come to morowe vnde vnde
There Standyth mans lyves Extent

THE Longest Lyver with the Leesse
Can no more tyme Compare
But as the Somers Dayes by gesse\(^{19}\)
More than the wynters Are

AND Death at Ende of Lyffe more Short
As moment Lyffe here past\(^{20}\)
The Lyffe & Death to come Importe
in lenght Ever to Last\(^{21}\)

YET in Lyffe Here of sayde Short Somme
Grace had Or Lack of Grace
For Endles Lyffe Or deth to come
Doth Lyffe Or death purchase\(^{22}\)

THEN in this momentary tyme
All you that yonglynges be\(^{23}\)
Axe [ask] and vse Grace in your Age pryme\(^{24}\)
The first daye of these three

\(^{16}\) Pun on ‘welth’: (1) ‘welth […] woo’ = well-being contrasted with care, (2) ‘Worldely welth’ = prosperity/ riches; ‘welth, n., 1b; 3a’, \textit{OED}.

\(^{17}\) Then [at the end of time] nothing worldly will remain here [on earth].

\(^{18}\) ‘caste in Accompt’ = summed up; ‘cast, v., VI.37c’, \textit{OED}. As one of the anonymous readers of this essay kindly noted, there is a metaphor cluster about money in this stanza (‘accompt’, ‘count’, ‘amount’) and in stanza 7 (‘short somme’, ‘purchase’); also see line 98. Cf. ‘Worldely welth’ in line 5, and references to ‘thrift’ and ‘golden gift’ in \textit{Of Heywood}, lines 3–4, cited below. In Heywood’s \textit{The Spider and the Flie} (London: Thomas Powell, 1556), [Avb] (EEBO, Huntington copy), STC 13308, the Flie, considering his death, refers to ‘thaccounted audite daie [which] must cum at last’.

\(^{19}\) ‘by gesse’ = by rough estimation; ‘guess, n., 1’, \textit{OED}.

\(^{20}\) ‘As’ = than; ‘as, adv. and conj., B.conj., 5’, \textit{OED}; ‘moment’ = transitory; ‘momently, adj., 1’, \textit{OED}. Note the elision of ‘moment’ ‘Lyffe’.

\(^{21}\) Even if death at the end of life [is] shorter than the momentary life passed on earth, life and death to come (i.e., in heaven or hell) are to last forever.


\(^{23}\) Pun on ‘yonglynges’: (1) young people or animals, (2) students, beginners; ‘youngling, n. and adj., A.n.,1; 2’, \textit{OED}.

\(^{24}\) Pun on ‘pryme’: (1) best, (2) first (in occurrence), fundamental; ‘prime, adj. (and int.) and adv., A.adj. (and int.), 1.1a; 2’, \textit{OED}.
9 WICHE First Daye yf hyt from you Stert
  The next middaye take holde
  Yf man in myd Age do nat Convert
  The Devyll wilbe more Bolde

10 IF IN theyse too Dayes Vyce so Rage
  That vertue hath le nonre
  This Third & last Daye in Last Age
  Gett Grace Elles Grace is Gon

11 WHERE the Tree Fallyth there shall hyt lye
  Here Scripture tellyth us playne
  As wee in good or yll State dye
  So shall wee styll Remayne

12 THIS First daye lost the losse is muche
  The Seconde Daye muche more
  The thirde Daye most where losse is suche
  Theare all Dayes ar forlore

13 BUT thiesse to [two] First dayes to neclect
  Presumynge of the thirde
  As Reprobates to be Reiect
  A Daunger Depely Sturde

14 COME when thowe wilt welcom
  A Comfortable Text
  But From presumpeyon far to Flee
  Mark what ensuyth here next

15 IN OUR First dayes tyll our Last daye
  haue Grace in us no place
  Depe is the dreadde that wee then maye
  Lack Grace to call for Grace

16 VERTUE in youth who nonre will vse
  Good Custome to begyn
  hono
  When he wolde hono
  win

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25 Pun on ‘Stert’: (1) come to nothing (cf. ‘Who hopeth in Gods helpe, his helpe can not
  starte’, in Heywood, A dialogue conteynyng the number of the effectuall prouerbes in the
  Englishe tonge, compact in a matter concernynge two maner of maryages (London: Thomas
  Berthelet, 1546), part 1, chapter 4, in Heywood, Works, 25), (2) escape, (3) swerve, bolt
  (of a horse); ‘start, v., I.3c; 4b; 6b’, OED.

26 ‘Convert’ = ‘turn to godliness’; ‘convert, v., II.10c’, OED.

27 Pun on ‘le’ = (1) protection, (2) peace, rest; ‘lee, n.1, 1a; 3’, OED.

28 Ecclesiastes 11:3; The Byblye in Englyshe: that is to saye the content of all the holy scripture,
  bothe of he olde and newe testament (London: Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch,
  1539), part 3, fol. 39r (EEBO, British Library copy), STC 2068. Heywood uses this verse in
  the advice given by the Flie after he had received his death sentence, in Spider and the
  Flie, NNia.

29 Polyptoton on ‘lost’.

30 Pun on ‘losse’: (1) ruin, (2) loss (of time), (3) fame/reputation; ‘loss, n.1, 1; 2e’, ‘lose, n.1’,
  OED.

31 Cf. John 1:16: ‘And of his fulnes haue we all receaued, euen grace for grace’; Byble, part
  5, fol. 36b.

dimev.net (accessed 24 July 2016).
17 WHEARE Grace in youth takyth suche place
That vertue Strykyth the Stroke\textsuperscript{33}
Their Custome Traynyth man in suche Trace\textsuperscript{34}
That Easye is the yoke\textsuperscript{35}

18 WHERE vice in yong hart\textsuperscript{36}
There doth Custome of Syn
So Streight the waye that vertue mey\textsuperscript{37}
hardlye in Age wynde yn\textsuperscript{38}

19 BUT Dying as youth or mydde yearez
Before ouer Olde Last deys
The folye then to us Apperes
Of Long delayd Deleys\textsuperscript{80}

20 AND yet dispaire wee in no case
Yf too first dayes be lost
The thirde Repent & praye for Grace
too worke ouer best & most

21 THE Workeman cumynge with good mynde\textsuperscript{39}
Into the vyne yarde late
At nyght his peny had Assynde
In Full Extendyd Rate

22 WHEREIN With Shovell & with Spade
My penny for to wyn
The Sounne at poynt to goo to Glade\textsuperscript{40}
My Dayes worke I Begyn

\textsuperscript{33} ‘Strykyth the Stroke’ = prevails; ‘stroke, n.1, 3d’, \textit{OED}. Cf. ‘strike the stroke’ and ‘the stroke so strike’, in Heywood, \textit{Spider and the Flie}, Niib and CCib, respectively. As an anonymous reader kindly pointed out, stanza 17 includes a metaphor cluster about controlling a horse. Thomas Blundeville, \textit{A newe booke containing the arte of ryding, and breaking in greate Horses} (London: William Seres, 1561; EBBO, copy at Yale University), Cva–[Cviia], instructs the rider how to use a ‘diuersitye of strokes’ of the calves and heels (with or without spurs), and to train the horse ‘to tred the ringes, until he hath learned to go quietelye in the same, and to kepe the true path’ (Diib). Peter Edwards, \textit{Horse and Man in Early Modern England} (London: Hambeldon Continuum, 2007), 51–2 refers to comparisons made by early modern writers such as John Brinsley between children’s education and breaking horses. Cf. ‘yonglynges’ in line 30; ‘Stert’ in line 33; ‘Swey’ in line 69.

\textsuperscript{34} Pun on ‘trace’ := (1) way or path, (2) leather straps attached to a yoke; ‘trace, n.1, I.1b; trace, n.2’, \textit{OED}.

\textsuperscript{35} Matthew 11:30: ‘For my yocke is easy’; \textit{Byble}, part 5, fol. 6r. Perhaps there is a pun on ‘yoke’: (1) a device round the neck of a draft animal (such as a horse), (2) yerk, to kick (of a horse); ‘yoke, n.1, I.1a; yerk/yark, n., 2’, \textit{OED}; Blundeville, \textit{Arte of ryding}, discusses training horses ‘to bounde a lofte, and to yarke with all’ (Lvib).

\textsuperscript{36} ‘swey’ = switch, or riding whip; ‘bearyth the swey’ = governs, rules; ‘sway, n., II.12; I.7 Prfr.’, \textit{OED}.

\textsuperscript{37} Pun on ‘Streight’ := (1) narrow, (2) straighten; ‘strait, v., 3a’, ‘straight, v., 3a’, \textit{OED}.

\textsuperscript{38} ‘hardlye’ = with difficulty; ‘hardly, adv., 5b’, \textit{OED}; pun on ‘wynde (yn)’: (1) go into, (2) draw in (allure), (3) perhaps an early usage of ‘In the management of horses in the yoke: To turn to the left, or towards the driver; ‘wind, v.1, 2b; 11b; 9’, \textit{OED}; cf. ‘to wend one’s way’, in ‘wend, v.1., II.8d’, \textit{OED}.

\textsuperscript{39} ‘mynde’ = purpose, intention; ‘mind, n.1, II.9; 11b’, \textit{OED}. Matthew 20:1–9; \textit{Byble}, part 5, fol.10r.

\textsuperscript{40} ‘at poynt to’ = ready; ‘point, n.1, P.1b(c)’, \textit{OED}; ‘to goo to Glade’ = ‘to set, sink to rest (said of the sun)’; ‘glade, n.1’, \textit{OED}.
PRAYING the master of the worke
Fore Loytrynge to forguye
Of Grace kyndlynge in me somne Spark
To worke nowe while I lyve

THAT this Last daye this Last wroughte Owre
Maye Lost yerez so Redeme
As mercye maye Suppresse the power
Of Iustyce in Extreme

AND towardes the worlde Amendes to move
As wordes maye make dedes Evyn
I Axe forguyenes And forguye
As I wolde be forgeyvn

REVENGYNG Rankor Layd Apart
My Fooes yf Any bee
Evyn From the Bottom of my hart
All are forgvyvn of me

GOD and the Worlde in all Respectes
Where I Offendyd haue
What Fawte so eu me Deyteckes
Of Both mercy I Crave

NOWE yn one of my dying Dayes
Tyme hastynge doth Full Fast
Here take I leave Goyng my ways
In this Swannys Songe my last

MY Brothers three & Childerne fyve
All Fryndes kyn and Alyese
Longe after me well to Survyye
I wysshe in hartie wysse


Cf. Matthew 20:12: ‘These last haue wrought but one houre’; Byble, part 5, fol. 10r.

‘in Extreme’ = at the end of life (Latin, in extremis); ‘extreme, n., 2b’, OED.

’amendes to move […] words’ = perhaps ‘to make amends (verbally)’; cf. ‘to propose … (in a court of law)’; ‘move, v., III. 28’, OED.

‘make … Evyn’ = square accounts, compensate (for); ‘even, adj., 10b’, OED.

Cf. the Lord’s Prayer and other traditional texts, such as Ecclesiasticus 28:2; Byble; part 4, fol. 45v.

‘me Deyteckes’ = accuses me; ‘detect, v., 2a’, OED.

For ‘allusions to the fabulous belief that the swan sings immediately or shortly before its death’ see ‘swan, n., 2b’, OED. The use in the ballad of ‘swannys songe’ to describe a last work is much earlier than those in OED, ‘swan, n., C.2’, ‘swan-song’, which also does not cite ‘But now must end our Swan-song’ in William Warner, Albions England (London: the widow Orwin, for Ioan B[room], 1596), 280 (EEBO, Huntington copy), STC 25082, or ‘And thus my Swannes song I beginne’ in Robert Tofte, Elegie II from Aristotel’s seven planets (London: William Stansby for Roger Jackson, 1611), 10 (Pib), line 17 (EEBO, copy from Harvard University Library), STC 745.

‘Alyese’ = relatives; ‘ally, n.1., II.5’, OED, which cites ‘His brothers sisters with all kyn and aly’, in Heywood’s Spider and the Flie, Oiv.
TO LYVE in Lymyttes of all Lawes
Both Temperall and devyne
Omyttyng no one Ioyte or Clawes
That Dutie doth Asyne
FROM God nor from the Prynce to swerue
In Dewtie Dewly weyde
God es Booke Doth byd us both to serve
As both maye be Obeyde
ALL SPECYALTIES wherein to Rate
That far out Rechyth my Reche
I haue sum tyme vsyd to prate
But no tyme vsyd to preache
YOU Havyng knoledge more than I
howe your Dewe
In Dewtise Growe
I saye no more but wisshe Dayly
This fi rst verse in this Song
To kype Remembraunce in this cease
Rede and Repete amonge
When all that is to Was ys brought

36 WHEN all that is to was is brought
As all that hath byn is
And all that shalbe lykewysse wrought
Then Quaylth all worldly Blys

37 SYNCE Bryttle Blisse of worldly Ioye
Doth Owrely Ever Quayle
Good God to us hevynlye Imploye
The Ioyes that neuer faile

38 AS ALL thy faithfull Generally
by thy most blest bled Blood
Maye Rest in Rest aye Restyngly
Amen Quoth Iohn heywood

Finis

Heywood’s authorship and dating of ‘When all that is’

The reference to ‘My Brothers three’ (line 113) suggests that the latest year Heywood could have written the ballad is 1568, the year the eldest of his three brothers, William Heywood of Stock, Essex, died. William was park keeper of Crondon Park, Essex, which was owned by Sir William Petre. Heywood’s other brothers were Richard of Lincoln’s Inn and a protonotary of the court with William Roper, Thomas More’s son-in-law, and Thomas Heywood, a monk at St Osyth’s, Essex, until it was dissolved, and afterwards a secular priest who conformed yet performed Catholic services.

The reference to ‘Childerne fyve’ (line 113) is slightly ambiguous in that Heywood’s eldest daughter Joan was actually the daughter of Richard Pynson Jr (d. 1520), the second husband of Joan (daughter of John Rastell and Elizabeth More, sister of Thomas More), who by

63 Cf. stanza 1.
64 Pun on ‘Owrely’; (1) hour by hour (cf. the eleventh hour), (2) quickly; ‘hourly, adv., 2’, OED. Note the emphasis through repetition of ‘quayle’.
66 ‘faile’= pass away, come to an end; ‘fail, v., 2b, c’, OED.
67 Polyptoton on ‘rest’. ‘Rest in Rest’= rest (remain) in peace (bliss); ‘rest, v.1, I.3a’; ‘rest, n.1, 3b’, OED; ‘aye’, a pun on (1) always, (2) (affirming assent); ‘ay/ aye, adv., 1a’; ‘ayelay, int. (and adv.) and n., A.int. (and adv.), 2a’, OED (an earlier use than those cited); ‘Restyngly’= ‘peacefully’ also ‘definitely’; ‘restingly, adv., OED. Cf. Revelation 14:13; Byble, part 5, fol. 100v.
68 ‘Quoth’= ‘said’ or ‘written by’; ‘quoth, v., I.1b, c’, OED.
69 Cf. stanza 1.
72 Thomas Heywood was arrested on Palm Sunday 1574 for saying Mass at the house on Cow Lane of ‘Lady Browne’, Sir Humphrey ‘Baron’ Brown’s widow. Heywood, as Dennis Flynn discovered, was released instead of being executed; see his ‘Sir Thomas Heywood the Parson’ and Donne’s Catholic Background’, Recusant History 15 (1979): 325–7.
1523 had married Heywood.\textsuperscript{73} Joan Pynson was born c.1520, married Christopher Stubbes, a contemporary of her uncle William Rastell at Lincoln’s Inn,\textsuperscript{74} and seems to have died after 1564 and before 1570 (she is named in her uncle Rastell’s will but not in her uncle Richard Heywood’s). Heywood’s natural daughters were both named Elizabeth, which has confused several biographers,\textsuperscript{75} but siblings sharing the same name was a relatively common occurrence since the infant mortality rate was high and parents wanted to pass down a family name, in this case, presumably that of Joan’s mother. The elder Elizabeth Heywood (d. after 1591/2) married one Marvyn, and the younger Elizabeth married the Catholic ironmonger John Donne.\textsuperscript{76} The Heywoods’ two sons, Ellis and Jasper, both became Jesuit priests during Elizabeth’s reign. In specifying five children, the ballad retains an ambiguity, which could afford a degree of protection for Heywood’s family if it had fallen into unsympathetic hands.

The inclusion of Heywood’s name (line 152) is the strongest evidence for his authorship. Heywood includes his name in four poems, which, like the ballad, concern personal matters: two ballads for Mary Tudor and the first and last epigrams of his 1560 collection.\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Geue place, ye ladyes}, a lengthy ballad in common metre (like \textit{When all that is}), was dedicated privately to Mary after Henry had pronounced her illegitimate in 1534. It survives in a manuscript copied by Heywood’s friend, William Forrest,\textsuperscript{78} a musical priest who claimed to have been Mary’s private chaplain. Heywood’s name is included in the poetic heading as well as in the penultimate stanza, and the use of the personal pronoun ‘I’ in the second half of the ballad (another feature


\textsuperscript{76} According to Robert Cecil Bald, \textit{John Donne: A Life} (Oxford University Press, 1970), 36, n4, the last reported reference to Elizabeth Marvyn was in 1577. However, in 1592 she was involved in a property dispute; see William Brigg, \textit{The Herts Genealogist and Antiquary}, 3 vols (Harpenden, 1895–9), 3: 97.

\textsuperscript{77} \textit{A fourth hundred of Epigrams. Newly invented and made by John Heywood} (London: house late Thomas Berthelettes, 1560); these were renamed \textit{The fifth hundred in John Heywoodes worke} (London: Thomas Powell, 1562).

of When all that is) also indicates Heywood’s ‘ownership’ of the views expressed.79

Heywood’s name appears in the title of A Balade specisieng partly the maner, partly the matter, in the most excellent meetynge and lyke mariaghe betwene our Soueraigne Lord and our Soueraigne Lady, the Kynges and Queenes Highe and Pende by Iohn Heywood (London: Wylylyam Ryddell, 1554).80 This ballad may have been privately printed for Heywood, perhaps as a gift to Philip and Mary, as there is no printer’s colophon on the broadside. As in When all that is and Gewe place, ye ladyes, it begins with general statements before using first person. In stanza 8 (of 12) he introduces himself, admitting that he is unable to describe all the celebrations: ‘Plat them who can, for I can not’.81

The first epigram (1560), Of weenyng and wotting, contains Heywood’s name in the last two lines. It contrasts those who considered themselves wise or foolish in the past and present (i.e., at the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign). Its moral, ‘whoever thinks he is wise is a fool’ (cf. line 7), is reminiscent of 1 Corinthians 1:27: ‘But God hath chosen the folishe thynges of the worlde, to confounde the wyse’.82 The first line brings to mind Thomas More, who told his daughter Meg Roper that he thought God considered him to be a fool, and therefore he did too.83 In the last line, Heywood is perhaps encouraging himself to be a wise-fool like More:

Wise men in olde time, wold weene them selues fooles.
Fooles now in new time, wil weene them selues wise.
Weene wise, and wot wise differ in wise schoole:
To weene them selues wise, when fooles se deuise.
As foolishe as frutelesse, is thenterprise.
This case is thus adiudgde, in wisedomes schoole:
Who weenth him selfe wise, wisdome wotth him a foole.
Made by Iohn Heywood to these fooles euerychone,
And made of Iohn Heywood, when he weenth him selfe none.84

The last epigram (1560), Of Heywood, is a dialogue between a person identified as ‘maister’ or ‘sir’ (cf. ‘the master of the worke’, When all that is, line 89) and Heywood himself. It implies that Heywood’s (lucrative) court entertainments have kept him from good works (lines 5–6). It ends with Heywood’s plea for the master to help him to be merry (Cf. Heywood’s ballad Be merye, frends, which

79 In Heywood, Works, 250–52.
80 According to Andrew Taylor, The Songs and Travels of a Tudor Minstrel: Richard Sheale of Tamworth (York: York Medieval Press, 2012), 94, of the sixty-six printed ballads surviving from the sixteenth century listed in the Short Title Catalogue, this is the only one that incorporates the author’s full name in the title.
82 Byble, part 5, fol. 66r.
83 More, Workes, 1436.
84 Heywood, Works, 203.
paraphrases Philippians 4:4: ‘Bee meery in God, saynt Powle sayth playne, / And yet, sayth he, be mery agayne’.

Art thou Heywood with the mad mery wit?
Ye forsooth maister, that same is euen hit.
Art thou Heywood that applieth mirth more then thrift?
Ye sir, I take mery mirth a golden gift.
Art thou Heywood that hath made many mad plaies?
Ye many plaies, fewe good woorkes in all my daies.
Art thou Heywood that hath made men mery long?
Ye: and will, if I be made mery among.
Art thou Heywood that woulde be made mery now?
Ye sir: helpe me to it now I beseche yow.

The eventual inclusion of ‘Iohn heywood’ at the end of When all that is using the word ‘quoth’ (i.e. as part of the signing formula typical of sixteenth-century works) clearly attests his authorship. Including his name in this last work also makes it into a testament, especially since doing so asserts the sincerity of his prayer (with ‘Amen’). Heywood’s play Wytty and Witless has a similar conclusion: the phrase ‘Amen quod John Heywod’ is written (though not in his hand) after the final speech by ‘Jerome’, which argues that because God prefers faithful workers above idle fools, everyone should work to obtain due reward in heaven. When all that is, which refers to working in God’s vineyard, conveys a similar message.

As mentioned above, When all that is can be read as the author’s preparation for both death and exile: ‘Here take I leave Goyng my wayes’ (line 111), ‘You Seyng me passe hence’ (line 135) and ‘When I am From you out of place’ (line 137). The only allusions to death are general ones: ‘Iustyce in Extreme’ (line 96), i.e., Judgement Day, and ‘Nowe yn one of my dyeinge Dayes’ (line 109), i.e., his old age. The wish that his family and friends ‘Longe after me well to Survyve’ (line 115) does not necessarily imply that they will outlive him; and in line 139 ‘this cease’, which hints at ‘decease’ is ambiguous (see below). Since Catholics would have been in danger should the Privy Council learn that they were planning to go overseas without license, the ballad’s ambiguity about the author’s taking leave supports Heywood’s authorship and a date before July 1564.

The references to the last of the three days in the life of man, ‘My Dayes worke’ (line 88) and his ‘Last daye’ (line 93), refer to the

85 Ibid., 259–61.
86 Ibid., 224.
87 Of thirty-three poems in British Library, Add. MS 15233, twenty are followed by ‘Finis quod [name], including nine by ‘Finis quod’ Heywood.
88 See Axton and Happé, Plays, 73. Also see Jerome’s speech, lines 611–28, for other similar arguments; ibid., 70–71. Although the only surviving source of Wytty and Witless is ‘tentatively dated c.1544’, a ‘pleye of wytles’ was entered in the Stationers’ Register in 1561; Edward Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640, 5 vols (London: 1875–7), 1: 154. Heywood may therefore have read through the text of the play to prepare it for printing around the time I propose that he wrote the ballad.
author’s old age: Heywood was 67 or 68 when he went into exile. Three days are mentioned in a general way in lines 11, 45–50, 78–9, and are identified as youth (lines 30–32, 73), middle age (lines 35, 73), and old age (lines 39, 74) (cf. Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, ii. 12–14). However, the author is also looking forward to the future: in lines 13–15 he compares the three days with yesterday (the past), today (the present), and tomorrow (the future), also expressed in lines 1–3 as ‘all that is’, ‘all that hath byn’, and ‘all that shalbe’. This may be an allusion to advice in the *Golden Epistle of St Bernard*, a practical guide on how to lead a spiritual life, as translated by the monk of Syon and More’s friend, Richard Whitford:

> And þat you may be the more apte to praye, call thre thynges oft tymes vnto remembraunce, that is to say: what you have ben, what you be, and what you shalbe... what shal become of your soule, no man in the world can assure you. To remembrè the ioyes of heauen and paynes of hell, and that both be infinite, endles, and without rebate.

The ballad’s phrase ‘this Swannys Songe my last’ (line 112) suggests that the author was known as a singer and had decided to write no more poems. Heywood is not known to have written anything after he went into exile, even though he lived about another fourteen years. Before he left—as if Heywood wanted to ensure his legacy—*Iohn heywoodes woorkes* were printed by Thomas Powell (1562). The title suggests he did not plan future publications. It includes *A dialogue conteynyng ... prowerbes* (1546, and ‘somewhat augmented’ in 1561), reprints of all of his earlier collections of epigrams (500), together with *A sixt hundred of Epigrammes. Newly inuented and made by Iohn Heywood*.

The reference in the ballad to prating (in stanza 32) implies that the author was admitting to a tendency to prattle at length on topics beyond his learning. Heywood’s lack of formal education is attested by his friend Forrest (mentioned above), who, describing himself as ‘simple and unlearned’, stated that ‘Heywood and I be near one’. As seen above in the epigram *Of Heywood*, a court entertainer might well consider the nature of his work trivial. The word ‘pastymes’ (line 133) seems to be an appropriate description of the entertainments that Heywood had produced at court. It is reminiscent of a phrase in the final speech in Heywood’s *Playe called the Foure PP*: ‘To passe the tyme ... Was the cause why the maker [i.e. Heywood] dyd make it [the play].’ Stanza 34 of the ballad: ‘In all tymes past all pastymes past / That haue passyd

90 My italics. Richard Whitford, *The folowinge of Chryste ... Wherevnto also is added the golden epystell of Saynt Barnard* (London: John Cawood, 1556), Cva-b (EEBO, Huntington copy), STC 23966.
91 On Heywood as a singer, see Reed, *Tudor Drama*, 40.
92 *Ibid.*, 50. Also see Puttenham’s comment cited below.
93 Axton and Happé, *Plays*, 112–42 at 142.
Froo me / … / Remembr vanytee’ also suggests the influence of the *Golden Epistle*: ‘take this lyttel worke … and read therin … [or] shyfte vnto some other worke or occupation so that euer you auoyde ydlenesse, and all vayne pastymes, whyche in dede is losse of tyme’. The ballad’s estimate of its author concurs with the description of Heywood and his works by John Bale in 1557:

John Heywood, citizen of London, devoted to the arts of music and poetry in his own language, & clever without learning, for the sake of the revellers after carousing and feasts, worked much to lead spectacles and plays, or to display ludicrous characters, and to foster other vanities.

There is an additional interpretation of the ballad’s references to past times and worldly vanity that helps to confirm Heywood’s authorship. Although most of his biographers have assumed that Heywood’s wife Joan went into exile with him, Robert Bolwell (although mistakenly calling her Eliza) suggests that she may have died before he left. Joan Heywood is not mentioned in his brother William Rastell’s will of 8 August 1564, as one would have expected, since he made small bequests to many members of his extended family including Heywood and all but one of his children. Melancholic references to past times in stanza 34 of *When all that is* are reminiscent of the ‘glad’ remembrance of the ‘Dayes, weekes, and yeares in all tyme past’ in Heywood’s ballad about a long-standing loving marriage: *Yf loue for loue of long tyme had*.

In *Yf love for love* the word ‘joy’ (‘joye’), which can mean ‘dear one, darling’, perhaps hints at the name Joan, and its words ‘ioyne with joy’ may pun on the names John and Joan. The third stanza of *Yf love for love* uses the rhyme, place / case: ‘Ye louers all in present place … / … I wysh to you lyke plesant case’. One reading of stanza 35 of the ballad shares this rhyme: ‘When I am From you out of place / … / … kepe Remembraunce in this cease [case]’. This case’, as stanza 36 makes clear, is that worldly bliss comes to an end. In this context, the following stanza (37), which further emphasises the quailing of worldly bliss, may hint that because his worldly Joy (Joan) had died, he was now intent on attaining heavenly joy: ‘Bryttle Bliss of worldly Ioye’ (line 145); ‘Ioyes that neuer faile’ (line 148).

96 Bolwell, *John Heywood*, 64.
100 Perhaps Heywood was thinking of Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde*, in which Criseyde warns that worldly joy is brittle and does not last: ‘O brotel wele [wheel/fortune] of mannes joye unstable’ (Book 3, line 820) and ‘Now yf he wot that joye is transitorie, / As every joye
Some lines of the ballad appear to express the wish that the author’s near relations will conform and live ‘in Lymyttes of all Lawes / Both Temporall and devyne’ (lines 117–18); ‘Godes Booke Doth byd us both to serve / As both maye be Obeyde’ (lines 123–4). Heywood’s knowledge of this traditional teaching is attested in works he printed during Philip and Mary’s reign: in A Balade specifienge … mariage ‘we’ pray ‘that all we, their subiects, may / Them and their lawes loue and obay’, and A breefe balet touching the traytorous takynge of Scarborow Castell includes the phrase ‘They [good subjects] know gods law: tobery their Kyng and Queene’.101

In contrast to these unequivocal statements, the phrase in the ballad ‘Omyttyng no one Ioyte or Clawes / That Dutie doth Asyne’ (lines 119–20) suggests the potential difficulty of obeying the laws of both God and monarch.102 Heywood’s desire to avoid signing the oath of Supremacy to Elizabeth is thought to have prompted his decision to go into exile.103 That the two laws are not the same thing is perhaps suggested by the use of the two words ‘Ioyte’ (with its associations with God’s law) and ‘Clawes’ (a legal term). Furthermore, the advice ‘From God nor from the Prynce to swerue / In Dewtie Dewly weyde’ (lines 121–2) introduces the idea that the laws must be weighed against each other, even if it advises against forsaking either. The advice is similar to More’s argument in The Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer: when Christ ‘commaunded them [the people] that thei should obserue and fulfyll all their [superiors’] commaundements’ this ‘generaltie’ did not mean ‘that thei shoulde obaye any commaundement that by god wer forbidden, nor to set goddes lawe asyde for mennes tradicions’.104

The predicament hinted at in the ballad is broached in Heywood’s collection of newly written epigrams printed in 1562, which begins with two epigrams on rebellion that humourously reveal Heywood’s struggle to come to terms with how he could be true to both God and Elizabeth. In Of Rebellion, Heywood treats his obligations as logically incompatible: he admits (line 1) that he offends God, but in the rest of
the poem he emphasizes that hanging is the just consequence of rebellion against the monarch. Three lines can be interpreted with reference to the Catholic faith: line 3 suggests he might rebel with a bodkin (a small dagger or pin). Since ‘bodkins’ was a mild oath meaning ‘God’s dear body!’ he may be making a reference to transubstantiation. Line 12 refers to fasting, a penitential Catholic practice. In the last line, the intention not to ‘hang vp’ (be fit for the gallows) but ‘syt downe’ gives an ambiguous solution to the dilemma: ‘syt downe’ could be read loyally as ‘to tolerate’ something or subversively as ‘to establish oneself in some position or place’.106

Against god I dayly offend by frailte:
But against my prince, or native countre,
With as much as bodkin, when I rebell,
The next daie after hang me vp faire and well.
The next daie after? nay the next daie before
Wishe thou thy selfe hangd, in that case euermore.107
Before, thou hangst honestly vnwoorthy.
After, thou hangst, woorthyly vnhonesty.
But ho? at our firste dyshe in our mery feast,108
Why talke we of hangyng our myrth to molest.
Be our cheese no better than our pottage is,
Better fast then feast at such feastes as is this.
But beyng true to god, queene, countre, and crowne,
We shall at all feastes, not hang vp, but syt downe.109

Heywood’s second epigram on rebellion (Otherwyse) suggests that to be considered a true Englishman he must remain in England—whoever is on the throne—and at least outwardly conform or be hanged.

Wylt thou be taken for a true Englyshe man?110
Ye: be true to god, thy queene, and countre than.
Stand fast by thy countre, who euer wold wyn it,
Better stand fast by it, then hang fast in it.111

These two epigrams give an indication of Heywood’s thought even before the Act of Uniformity was passed. If, as I suggest, Heywood wrote When all that is about two years later, it shows that conformity was no longer possible for him.

The many connections of the ballad to Heywood’s life and works already examined make it reasonable to assume his authorship.

105 ‘bodkin/bodkie, n., 2’, OED.
106 ‘sit, v., PV1, to sit down, 4 [and] PV2, to sit with, 1; PV1, 3a’, OED.
107 ‘euermore’ = always; ‘evermore, adv., 2’, OED.
108 The preface To the reader refers to the epigrams as dishes, as if he were entertaining friends.
109 Heywood, Works, 229.
110 Perhaps a pun on ‘taken (for)’: (1) assumed to be, (2) arrested; ‘take, v., PV2. To take for, c(a); I.1e’, OED.
111 ‘stand firm by’ = remain, be present; ‘stand, v., I.4a; PV2. To stand by__’, OED. Heywood, Works, 229.
Since he probably wrote it for his family and friends while he was preparing to go into exile, his references to obeying both God and the monarch may be ironic. All of his network knew what their duties were to the monarch but did not always obey. Heywood’s remark that the duties ‘growe’ (lines 129–30) may hint at Elizabeth’s increasingly harsh legislation against Catholics. As early as 1561, Christopher Stubbes, Heywood’s son-in-law, had been arrested and imprisoned after the Catholic priest John Cox alias Devon confessed that he (Coxe) and Thomas Langston, a former monk at Westminster Abbey, had said Latin Mass in Stubbes’s house in Westminster. Stubbes had also been discovered (by Cecil) attempting to cover up the fact that he had been helping Lady Francis Waldegrave collect and distribute alms to poor Catholics; Stubbes’s wife Joan née Pynson, his sister-in-law Elizabeth Marvyn, and his sister Alice Humberstone (née Stubbes) had also been involved.\footnote{Coxe was arrested at Gravesend on 14 April 1561 attempting to go over to Flanders. See Brian Charles Foley, ‘The Breaking of the Storm’, \textit{Essex Recusant} 3 (1961): 1–21, which includes transcriptions (with some misreadings) of several documents referring to Stubbes. Also see TNA SP 12/16, 50, III, fol. 127, ‘Chr. Stubbes to his wife’ and TNA SP 12/16, fol. 128, ‘Letter from Stubbes to Cecil’. Stubbes was imprisoned at the Gatehouse prison, Westminster, to be examined by Dr William Bill; see TNA 12/16, fol. 150.}

Lines 129–30 of the ballad, ‘You havyng knoledge more than I / howe your Dew Dewties Growe’, suggest that Heywood’s family and friends may have weighed God’s laws more heavily than he, and may be intended especially to recall Heywood’s past conflict with Henry VIII’s laws. The indictment of 1544 states that Heywood and his fellow traitors were guilty of ‘not weighing the duties of their allegiance’ to Henry,\footnote{My italics. See Bolwell, \textit{John Heywood}, 38–9.} and in his recantation Heywood stated that Henry was the spiritual and temporal head of the English church ‘by the lawe of God’.\footnote{\textit{John Foxe, Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church} (London: John Day, 1563), 628 (EEBO, Huntington copy), STC 11222.} In \textit{When all that is} he admits that the ‘specyalties’ or details regarding the assessing of duties are far beyond his reach (lines 125–6). He wishes to make proper use, ‘Dayly’ (perhaps a pun on the last day of his three days), of what his family knows (lines 131–2).

\textit{‘When all that is’ in dialogue with Thomas More}

Heywood’s choosing exile shortly after the 1563 Act of Uniformity suggests that in his old age he was no longer willing to compromise his Catholic faith. This is evident in \textit{When all that is} in several allusions to More’s \textit{Dialogue of comforthe}. More wrote this work in the Tower after refusing to sign the oath to Henry in 1534, and was martyred on 6 July 1535.\footnote{See Louis L. Martz, ‘The Tower Works’, in the Introduction to Thomas More, \textit{A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation}, ed. Louis L. Martz and Frank Manley, in \textit{The}} According to his great-grandson, More wrote this dialogue...
(between a sick old man, Anthony, and his nephew Vincent) to show ‘how good Catholics should prepare themselves to lose liberty, life, and lands, and whatsoever can be most dear to them, rather than to forsake their faith’. Underlying the whole work is the assurance that if one holds to the Catholic faith one not only considers ‘tribulacion as a gracious gifte of god’ but also trusts that ‘he that so loueth hym [Christ], that he longeth to goo to hym … he shalbe welcom … Chryste sayeth, he that commeth to me I wyll not cast hym out’. On 15 February 1544, when Heywood was condemned to death as a traitor for refusing to sign the oath of Supremacy to Henry, his fellow condemned took ‘courage’ from More’s ‘wisdom’ and were martyred for the faith on 7 March. Heywood accepted a reprieve, was imprisoned again and pardoned on 26 June. On 6 July — the anniversary of More’s martyrdom — he read out a recantation at Paul’s Cross, during which he expressed gratitude to Henry ‘not onlye for sauing my bodye after worthye condempnation to death … , but also for sauing my soule from pearishinge’. Heywood’s faith had not been strong enough for him to die a martyr, putting him in danger of dying as a reprobate. Having done this ‘deadlye synne commytted after baptysme’, he was in need of the sacrament of penance, comprising ‘confession of mouthe, contricion of hert, and satisfaccion by good dedes’.

One of the most obvious allusions in the ballad to A dyalogue is Heywood’s use (especially in stanzas 20–23) of the parable of the man coming into the vineyard to work at the eleventh hour (Matthew 20:1–9). In A dyalogue the parable is used to discuss penance, arguing against the reformed rejection of doing good works. Anthony not only illustrates the long tradition of apostles and martyrs doing penance, he refers to repentance as being part of our duty to God, and warns Vincent that one should ‘remember that in to Goddes Vyneyarde there goeth no manne but he that is called thither’. He concludes the chapter:

\[
\text{lette no manne sinne in hope of grace, for grace commeth but at Goddes wyll \\
\text{that minde [way of thinking, i.e., presumption] maie bee the lette [hindrance] \\
\text{that grace of fruitful repentinge shall neuer after bee offered hym, but that he}
\]

\[117 More, Dyalogue of comforte, in Workes, 1168.\]
\[118 Cresacre More, Life of Thomas More, 290.\]
\[120 Foxe, Acts and Monuments, 628.\]
\[121 See More, Confutation, in Workes, 439.\]
\[122 Heywood also uses the word ‘hour’ (i.e. the eleventh hour) in lines 93, 146.\]
\[123 My italics. More, Workes, 1174–6.\]
shall eyther gracelesse goe lynger on carelesse, or with a care fruitelesse, fall into despayre.\textsuperscript{124}

Heywood’s ballad follows this argument closely by interpreting the parable as an act of penance, linking it to a warning not to presume on God’s mercy or to delay turning to God. In stanza 22 Heywood puts himself in the place of the workman coming late into the vineyard, and prays ‘the master of the worke’ (line 89) to forgive his loitering. Heywood had pointed out (stanza 13) that those ‘Presumynge’ that they could still repent in old age run the risk of being rejected as ‘Reprobates’ (line 51), a word that suggests Heywood’s own apostasy. Since he is ‘yn one of my dyinge Dayes’ (line 109), he intendes during his ‘Last wroughte Owre’ (line 93) ‘toward the worlde Amendes to meve / As wordes maye make deedes Evyn’ (lines 97–8). The ballad implies that he had not yet fulfilled the third part of the sacrament of penance, making ‘satisfaction by good deeds’, such as ‘much fasting, praying, and other afflictions corporal’.\textsuperscript{125}

Lines 41–2 ‘Where the Tree Fallyth there shall hyt lye / Here Scripture tellyth us playne’ (Ecclesiastes 11:3) paraphrases an earlier work of More’s that argues against Tyndale’s view of God’s ‘elect’. For More, the elect are those who die in a state of grace, and those who have fallen must ‘be borne of God againe, by grace through penaunce’:

And in which soeuer of these two states a man finally dieth in, in that he perpetually dwelleth, and is thereby for euer eyther the childe of god in hys chyrch of the finall electes in heauen, or elles the child of the deuil in the churche of the final reprobates in hel: according to the word of holy writ, if a tree fal south or north, in what place so ever it fall, there shal it remayne.\textsuperscript{126}

More’s treatment of grace in both quotes cited above can be detected in the ballad. The first may have influenced Heywood’s reasoning in stanzas 14–15: one should avoid presumption, because without grace, ‘Depe is the dreadde that wee then maye / Lack Grace to call for Grace’. It also influences stanza 20, which states that even if we have lost our first two days ‘dispaire wee in no case /… / The thirde Repent & praye for Grace / too worke ouer best & most’. The second quote may influence stanza 7 of the ballad, which states that it is necessary that one ask for and use grace, because whether one has it or not in one’s short temporal life makes the difference between purchasing everlasting heaven or hell.

The ballad may have been influenced by More’s use of a third biblical text, Matthew 11:28–30:

Come vnto me all ye that laboure: and are laden, & I will ease you. Take my yocke vpon you, and lerne of me, for I am meke, and lowly in herte: and ye

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} Annotations to Hebrews 6 in \textit{The New Testament of Iesus Christ} (Rheims: Iohn Fogny, 1582), 613 (EEBO, copy from Eton College), STC 2884.
shall fynde rest vnto youre soules. For my yocke is easy, and my burden is light.\textsuperscript{127}

More interprets the ease of the yoke as the hope of those undergoing persecution: ‘The ease of his yoke standeth not in bodily ease, nor the lightnes of his burden standeth not in the slacknes of any bodily payn … but it standeth in the swetenes of hope, whereby we fele in our pain a pleasaunt taste of heauen’.\textsuperscript{128} In the ballad, line 53, ‘Comme when thowe wilt welcomme to me’, is direct address, spoken not by Heywood (as it first appears to be) but by Christ. Line 54, ‘A Comn PREFORTABLE Text’ spoken in response, leads to the vineyard parable, though not until Heywood has given his list of reasons for avoiding delay. The first of these reasons (stanza 17) states that if one acquires grace early in life then ‘Easye is the yoke’ (line 68). Heywood’s association of the ‘easy yoke’ with virtue acquired in youth may be intended to acknowledge that in his youth he did not accept More’s interpretation of this comfortable text, that hope makes persecution bearable.

However, the ballad eventually makes it clear that the line ‘Comme when thowe wilt welcomme to me’ is spoken to a person towards the end of life, and this connects the text to a second example of belated penance in More’s Dyalogue of comorte, the thief on the cross. The line is almost identical to ‘Come when thou list, welcome to me!’ in the third (last) verse of the famous poetic meditation on the passion, ‘Woffully araide [arrayed]’, which was set à 4 by William Cornysh of the Chapel Royal:

\begin{quote}
Off sharpe thorne I have worne a crowne on my hede,
So paynyd, so straynyd, so rufull, so red;
Thus bobbid, thus robbid, thus for thi love ded;
Onfeygnyd, not deygnyd, my blode for to shede:
My fete and handis sore
The sturdy nailis bore;
What myght I suf\textsuperscript{f}fi\textsuperscript{r} more
Than I have done, O man, for the?
Cum when thou lyst, welcum to me!
\end{quote}

Woffully araide,
My blode, man,
For the ran,
It may not be naid;
My body bloo and wan,
Woffully araide.\textsuperscript{129}

Heywood’s use of this \textit{locus similis} not only sums up the spiritually comfortable text—the message of the parable of the vineyard (come to me, whenever you wish)—but also calls to mind More’s discussion

\textsuperscript{127} Byble, part 5, fol. 6r.
\textsuperscript{128} More, \textit{A Dialogue Concernynge Heresyes} (1528), in \textit{Workes}, 143.
\textsuperscript{129} My italics. As cited in John Stevens, \textit{Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court} (Cambridge, 1961), 369–70.
of God’s mercy in *A dyalogue*. More refers to the example of the dying thief: God ‘is readye to receiue euerye man, and did spread his armes abrode vpon the crosse, louynglye to embrace al *them that wil come*, and euен there accepted the thefe at his last ende’, which Vincent describes as ‘*comorte very gret*’.\(^{130}\)

Furthermore, in the last chapter of *A dyalogue*, More suggests that meditation on Christ’s passion is the main source of comfort for those condemned to death for their faith. His description of the passion comprises similar imagery to that of ‘Woffully araide’, especially emphasizing the blood of Christ: ‘the scornful crowne of sharp thornes, beaten down vpon hys holy head so strayte & so diepe, that on euerye part his blessed bloude issued out & stremed down: his louely limmes drawen & stretched out vpon þe cross’.\(^{131}\)

Heywood uses alliteration (lines 149–51) to emphasize redemption by the blood of Christ and (concluding the topos of doing good works) finding rest for one’s soul: ‘All thy [God’s] faithfull Generally / by thy most blest bled Blood / May Rest in Rest aye Restyngly’.

In stanza 9, there are two further references to *A dyalogue* that may reflect Heywood’s denial of his faith under persecution: the word ‘middaye’ (line 34) describing the second day (of one’s three) and the warning, ‘Yf man in myd Age do nat Convert / The Devyll wilbe more Bolde’ (lines 35–6). These words evoke More’s interpretation of the main (fourth) kind of tribulation, persecution for the faith, ‘*ab incursu & demonio meridiano*’ [Psalm 90:6], the devil who comes in ‘the mydde daye’:

> [the man] is taken and in holde [prison], and may for the foreswearynge or the denyinge of hys faythe, bee delyuered and suffred to lyue in reste, and somme in greate worldelye wealthye also … And therefore … of all the Deuylles temptacions, is this temptacion, this persecucion for the faythe, the moste perilous.\(^{132}\)

Heywood describes the influence of the midday devil as giving rein to Vice, whose ‘Rage’ drives out virtue (lines 36–7), a line of thought implicit in More’s description of the midday devil who ‘runneth on roaryng with assaulte lyke a rampyng Lyon’ (cf. 1 Peter 5:8).\(^{133}\) More’s idea that this kind of tribulation is the ‘moste perilous’ is conveyed by Heywood’s words ‘A Daunger Depely Sturde’ (line 52) and ‘Depe is the dreadde’ of being unable to call for grace (lines 59–60).

Stanza 34 perhaps alludes to the midday devil’s temptation of worldly wealth (‘Vanytee’) combined with the figure polyptoton on the word ‘past’: ‘In all tyme past All pastymes past / That haue passyd Froo me / You Seyng me passe hence at Last / Remembr Vanytee’.


\(^{133}\) *Ibid.*, 1216.
This reflects More’s discussion of the second of the four kinds of temptation, the arrow of pride: ‘a sagitta volante in die’ (‘of the arrow flying in the day’, Psalm 90:6), which refers to vanity via puns on the word ‘passed’: ‘Of this arrowe speaketh the wise man in the V. Chapter of Sapience, where he saith in the persone of them that in pryde & vanitie passed the tyme of thyss presente life, & after þat so spente, passed hence into hel’.134 Similarly, there seems to be an allusion in stanza 5 of the ballad to More’s comments that ‘this worldlye prosperitie (wherin a man so reioyceth, and wherof the devil maketh him so proud) is but euen a very short winter day’, and that unless the arrow of pride ‘be stopped by some grace of god in the waye, the soule that flyeth vp therwith, can neuer fayle to fall’.135 Heywood compares the length of ‘Somers Days’ to ‘wynters [days]’ (lines 19–20), the brevity of life in the world compared with eternal life or death, which depends on ‘Grace had Or Lack of Grace’ (line 26).

The advice in stanza 20 not to despair, but to repent and pray for grace to work, evokes a passage in A dialouge regarding someone who, through pride, had once fallen to the midday devil:

God for fauoure that he beareth him hath suffered him to fall diepe into the deuilles daunger, to make him thereby knowe what he was, whyle he tooke himself for so sure. And therefor as he suffred hym then to fall for a remedye against ouer bolde pryde, so wil god now (if the man meke himself, not with frutles despayre, but with fruitefull penance) ... set him vp again vpon hys fete136

Heywood’s ballad thus combines elements of the vineyard parable with elements that reflect More’s discussion of accepting tribulation (for which one of More’s examples was the penitent thief) into a prayer for ‘Grace kyndlynge in me somme Spark / To worke nowe while I lyve’ (lines 91–2). Heywood emphasises how long he has delayed: in ‘this Last day this Last wroughte Owre’ (line 93), i.e., the eleventh hour (in the parable), he has to work to redeem lost years. However, by being willing to go into exile Heywood has accepted tribulation, and as More explains:

the [first kind of] tribulacion ... [is] suche affliction of the flesh or expence of his goodes as a man taketh hymselfe, or willinglye bestoweth in punishement of his own sinne, and for deuocion to god. Nowe in this tribulacion nedeth he no manne to coumforte him ... The courage that for goddes sake & his soule health kyndleth his hert and enflameth it thereto shall by the same grace, that putte it in his mynde, geue him ... coumforte and ioye therein.137

The ballad’s allusions to More’s Dyalogue of comforte suggest that Heywood is acknowledging (perhaps even confessing) to his family and

134 My italics. Ibid., 1199.
135 Ibid.
136 Ibid., 1194.
137 Ibid., 1173.
friends that in 1544, when he was middle-aged, he renounced his faith through over-bold pride, and, as promised by the midday devil, not only saved his body from a painful death but was also allowed ‘to lyue in reste, and … in great worldelye wealthe’, his lands and annuities restored to him by Henry. Having pledged his allegiance to Henry and to ‘his highneses heires and successors kinges of thys realtime so shall be’, Heywood remained in England throughout Edward VI’s reign and prospered at court. For example, according to George Puttenham, ‘Iohn Heywood the Epigrammatist who for the myrth and quicknesse of his conceits more then for any good learning was in him came to be well benefited by the king’; furthermore, he ‘was allowed to sit at the tables end’ and entertain John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

This way of life contrasts sharply with that of the members of his family who remained loyal Catholics. Dr John Clement and his wife, Margaret Giggs (More’s adopted daughter) and their daughter Winifred and her husband William Rastell, for example, suffered for their faith by going into exile after the enforcement in London of the Act of Uniformity (passed by Parliament on 1 January 1549), which mandated the sole use in worship of the first Book of the Common Prayer. They settled in Louvain at the house of More’s dearest friend, Anthony Bonvise, where Rastell prepared More’s English works for print. On his return to England after Mary had come to the throne, Rastell dedicated the volume to her. Heywood was apparently received back into the Catholic church and his worldly prosperity increased during the reign of Philip and Mary.

At the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign, Heywood seems to have hoped that he would be able to continue his life at court: on 7 August 1559 ‘a play of the Children of Powlls and ther Master Se[bastian Westcott], Master Phelypes [Philip ap Rhys?] & Master Haywod’ was performed at Nonsuch for her. However, some of his staunchly Catholic family members were not as hopeful regarding the future: in 1560 the Clements went into exile again. Their daughter Helen also went into exile, where she married Thomas Prideaux, a lawyer associated with Heywood.

138 Foxe, Actes and Monuments, 628.
139 George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie. Contriued into three Bookes: The first of Poets and Poesies, the second of Proportion, the third of Ornament (London: Richard Field, 1589), 1: 49; 3: 230–1 (EEBO, in all three Huntington copies), STC 20519.5. Also see Reed, Tudor Drama, 51; Axton and Happé, Plays, 8.
141 More, Workes, Preface.
and with several other people connected with St Paul’s Cathedral.  

On 3 January 1562/3 Rastell also went back into exile: on 17 January, Bishop Alvarez de Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador, reported to Philip of Spain that ‘Dr. Rastell, one of the judges at Westminster, has secretly gone to Flanders, which has caused great sensation here’.  

Heywood’s growing concern regarding religious matters (discussed above), combined with the attrition of his English network, was brought to a crisis in spring 1563. On 20 March 1562/3, the full text of his recantation was made available for the first time in Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church* printed by John Day. Foxe, after returning to England in October 1559, had been given access to archival material with which to augment the Latin martyrology he had printed in exile in 1554 and 1559: he found Heywood’s recantation in Bishop Edmund Bonner’s register. An indication that the printing of it affected Heywood is that on 26 March 1562/3 Heywood transferred the leases of his property in Romney Marsh (Kent), North Mimms (Hertfordshire), and presumably also Bulmer (Yorkshire), and elsewhere, to his son-in-law John Donne, in preparation for going into exile: Donne apparently agreed to send the rents to him. On 1 April, the Act of Supremacy came into effect. Heywood, as a teacher, could expect at some point to be called upon to sign the oath to Elizabeth. Faced with the same test of faith as in 1544, with his fall from grace now made notorious by Foxe, he had the opportunity to make proper satisfaction. As shown in More’s *Dyalogue of conforte*, going into exile was not only a tribulation in and of itself, and a gracious gift of God, but it also enabled him to spend the remainder of his life in earnest prayer, preparing to die as one of God’s elect, in the Catholic faith.

As he prepared to leave England, the elderly Heywood had many reasons to consider his past life, as well as the hardships of the present
time for Catholics and his own approaching death. *When all that is* corresponds with the characterisation of autobiographical works of the early modern period as being ‘more often the product of suffering and humiliation than of pride and success’, and often driven by ‘the need for self-defence’. Heywood may well have wanted to leave the members of his family and his friends in England a poetic memento, since he was used to edifying others through the medium of moralistic ballads. *When all that is*, his swan-song, would have provided them with a graceful farewell.

‘*When all that is*’ as Heywood’s ‘rythme on his life and nature’

On 20 July 1564 Heywood and his son Ellis fled overseas without a licence. He chose to settle in Mechlin, which was then the centre of the Catholic religion in the Netherlands. Heywood’s decision to settle there seems consistent with the penitent intentions he expressed in *When all that is*. In contrast, Heywood’s family and friends chose to settle in the University towns of Louvain or Antwerp where they actively supported English Catholicism. For example, at Louvain, Dr Clement was involved in distributing money to Catholic bishops imprisoned in England.

Conditions for English exiles worsened in late 1569 and 1570 after the failed attempt to restore the Catholic religion in England by rescuing Mary Queen of Scots (the Northern Rebellion). The rebels escaped to the Netherlands and France, causing Elizabeth and the Privy Council to pay close attention not only to them but also to those who had gone into exile earlier. This is demonstrated in *A Recantation of famous Pasquin of Rome* (printed by John Day in 1570), a posthumous attack on Bonner, regarding his persecutions during Mary’s reign. Included among Bonner’s ‘frendes’ are ‘Elis Haywood’, ‘Geasper Haywood’, ‘Iohn Haywood’, ‘Pridiockes’ [Prideaux], and ‘Story’ (discussed below). Following the list of names is the comment:

> And these [men] be those which thinke Pope no ill. Yet they are true subiectes as they say, But I maruell why they ran away.

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150 Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, 68.


Following Pope Pius V’s excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570, Elizabeth’s third parliament (2 April–29 May 1571) passed legislation (similar to the unsuccessful Marian exiles bill) intended to pressure all exiles to return to England: ‘An Acte agaynst Fugytyves over the Sea’ (13 Eliz. c. 3) threatened to confiscate the property of those who did not return within six months. In preparation for this, the Exchequer began sending out commissions to enquire into what they held. As Bald explains, there were at least seven inquisitions into Heywood’s property. At the ‘Inquisition as to the possessions [in Kent] of John Heywood gentleman fugitive’ in 1572, the commission found that Heywood’s conveyance of the leases to Donne was invalid, and the property was immediately confiscated.157 In 1574, the Hertfordshire commission reported that ‘John Heywood and his son … in spite of a proclamation calling upon them to return … had refused to do so’.158

Because the majority of the exiles refused to return, the government tried another approach: in November 1574 Thomas Wilson was sent to the Spanish Netherlands to persuade the Governor, Don Luis Requesens, to expell the English rebels living there. Wilson also visited several exiles, offering the restoration of their property if they returned to England and conformed for a year. He visited Heywood between 13 and 17 December:

I did talke with olde heywode at Maclyne, and declared the Queenes goodnes towards hym, and your Lordship’s [Burghley’s] disposecyon to do hym good. the olde man was greatelie comforted with the message, but he answered, that he cowde not retourne before the Spryng becawse of his sickelie and aged bodie, at what tyme he would resolue, what to doo. his soonne Elise heywode nowe a Jesuite and sometymes my good companyon in padurye [Padua], came and offerd hymselfe to preache before me… He promysed to preache Christ symplie without any inuectiue against the policie of Engelande, or the religion thereof… [After 18 Dec.] Olde heywode hathe deliuere a letter vnto me for Mr Lee, with a Schedule of his lyuinge, whiche he had in England. And for that [i.e. because] I toulde hym at maclyne that the Queenes majestie was neuer so precise, but that her highnes could and woulde beare with mens weakenes for their conscience in religion, and onelie mysselyked overte actes, and rebellious practises agaynst her crowne and persone, of suche especiallie, as woulde sette vp and plucke down kynges and queenes at theyre pleasures, he hath made a rythme, declaringe his own life and nature, whiche yor Lordship maye see in the Schedule. And thus most humblie I do take my leaue this 20 of dece 1574 Frome Anwarpe159

Heywood’s reference to ‘Mr Lee’ was a pointed way of letting Burghley know that he did not intend to return to England. John Lee

156 Bald, John Donne, 31–3.
158 Reed, Tudor Drama, 68.
159 TNA SP 70/132, fol. 139, extracts relating to Heywood. (Wilson’s previous letter to Burghley was dated 12 December.)
had been instrumental in the abduction and forced repatriation in August 1570 of Heywood’s friend John Story, who was executed for treason on 1 June 1571.160 Printed reports on Story’s fate circulated in the Netherlands shortly afterwards.161 Heywood also had several reasons to feel a special bond with Story. Story had signed the oath to Henry and later bitterly regretted having done so.162 He was villified in the first edition of Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*.163 On 24 April 1563 he was summoned to take the Elizabethan oath, which he refused, and on 30 April he ‘determined to try to save himself by flight rather than have to choose between taking the oath or being hanged’.164 With the help of de Quadra, Story escaped and fled with his family to the Netherlands. According to Nicholas Sander, he led ‘the life rather of a monk than of a man of the world[,] he frequented the Charterhouse [in Louvain] more than his own house’,165 the religious order to which More had been much attached.166

Although Lee was in Burghley’s service for several years, sending reports on who received pensions from Spain and trying (unsuccessfully) to assist a few exiles who wished to negotiate their return to England,167 he was thought by the exiles to be in Antwerp on account of his religion, working as a double agent on their side. However, in October 1572, Lee was imprisoned by the Duke of Alva under suspicion of being involved in Story’s abduction. The Catholic exile Lady Anne Hungerford arranged for Prideaux (Heywood’s friend) to petition Alva on Lee’s behalf, but there was mutual distrust between them. According to Lee, the exiles had discovered that Burghley supported Lee’s case;168 Prideaux apparently


161 A *declaration of the lyfe and Death of Iohn Story* (London: Thomas Colwell, 1571) (EEBO, copy from St John’s College, Cambridge), STC 23297; *A Copie of a Letter … concerning D. Story* (London: [John Day?], 1571) (EEBO, Huntington copy), STC 23296; see *Relations politiques*, 6: 140–42.

162 A *declaration*, Dub.


164 De Quadra to King Philip, 9 May 1563; CSPS, 323–4.


168 Since Burghley’s own brother-in-law, Sir John Cheke, Edward VI’s tutor and a Marian exile, had been repatriated in 1556, the exiles had reasons to suspect his motives. Sarah Covington, ‘Heretic Hunting beyond the Seas: John Brett and his Encounter with the
told a friend of his that Lee should not have petitioned people in England.\textsuperscript{169} Lee was released in June 1573 through Burghley’s and Elizabeth’s intervention. In mid 1574, Lee was likely being discussed among the exiles because he had been granted an annuity by Elizabeth, confiscated from the property of the exile Richard Hopkins.\textsuperscript{170} This may explain why Wilson thought Heywood’s reference to ‘Mr Lee’ in December was worth reporting to Burghley.

Wilson’s report that Heywood ‘\textit{hath made a rythme}’ need not imply that it was written between c.13–17 December 1574. \textit{When all that is} could not have been composed then, since it assumes his three brothers are alive; two of them had died by 1571. However, the subject of the ‘rythme’, Heywood’s ‘life and nature’, whether this was his own or Wilson’s description, closely matches the ballad’s content.\textsuperscript{171}

Heywood knew that Wilson considered himself expert in reading poems with hidden meanings, since Wilson’s \textit{Arte of Rhetorique} (1553) refers to Heywood’s works:

\begin{quote}
An Allegorie is none other thyng, but a Metaphore vsed throughout a whole sentence, or Oration. As in speakyng against a wicked offendour, I might say thus. Oh Lorde, his nature was so euill, and his witte so wickedly bente, that he ment to bouge the shippe, where he hymselfe sailed, meaning that he purpose the destruction of his owne countrie. It is euill puttyng strong wine into weake uesselles, that is to say it is euill trustyng some women with weightie matters. The English Prouerbes gatherde by Ihon Heywood helpe wel in this behaulf, the whiche commonly are nothyng elles but Allegories, and darecke deuised sentences.\textsuperscript{172}
\end{quote}

Wilson’s first example of allegory could imply that he considered Heywood to be a dangerous Catholic, even during Edward’s reign, someone who would no doubt prefer Mary (perhaps one of the weak vessels in Wilson’s second example) to be the ruler.

Since Wilson, Burghley and Elizabeth knew Heywood, they probably recognized the ballad as a farewell to his family written around the time of his exile, c.1564. If my conjecture is correct that the last line of the ballad originally read ‘Amen Quoth Thomas Good’, drawing attention to the content taken from More, Heywood’s emending it with his own name (his

\textsuperscript{169} TNA SP 15/23, fol. 48, Lee to Burghley, 10 May 1573, in \textit{Relations politiques}, 6: 727–8.
\textsuperscript{172} Thomas Wilson, \textit{The Arte of Rhetorique} ([London]: Richard Grafton, 1553), fols 93v–94r (EEBO, Huntington copy), STC 25799.
signature) in its place, may have been intended to ratify it as his personal testament, evidence of his true reasons for leaving without license.

There is nothing concrete in the ballad to suggest he harboured negative feelings against Elizabeth. Indeed, it states that he has put aside ‘Revengyng Ranko’ and forgiven ‘my Fooes yf any bee / Evyn From the Bottom of my hart’ (stanza 26); and also craved mercy from ‘God and the Worlde in all Respectes / Where I Offendyd haue’ (stanza 27). As discussed above, its literal reading expresses the wish that his family and friends remaining in England obey both temporal and divine law (stanzas 30–31).

Although Heywood had told Wilson that he would decide whether he would return in the spring, he no doubt knew that most of his property had already been given away to Elizabeth’s supporters, and that there had been recent inquisitions into his other property. At this point in his life, Heywood was presumably able to live comfortably enough and hoped only to be left in peace. Wilson forwarded Heywood’s letter, schedule and ‘rythme’ to Burghley where it was likely filed away in the Exchequer.

However, in the spring, Heywood was apparently robbed by soldiers and left in desperate poverty. On 18 April 1575, he wrote a begging letter to Burghley (after having petitioned Burghley’s wife, Mildred (née Cooke), who was an old friend of Heywood’s from Edward’s court). Heywood requested that he be given licence to remain in the Netherlands, since he was 78 years old and not expecting to live long. He also asked to be allowed to receive money Donne owed him, as well as anything remaining of his living, which his daughter Elizabeth Marvyn would collect. The letter includes some echoes of When all that is, which—assuming this is the ‘rythme’ sent to Burghley—could have been intended to remind Burghley of his earlier communication via Wilson: ‘[I] will spend my tyme, that I have to lyve, in prayer, and in loking to my last ende.’

Over four months later, on 4 September 1575, Heywood was able to write to Burghley to thank him for his help, since Donne had sent Heywood a portion of the rental arrears. He reminded Burghley of his earlier requests to be allowed ‘the remnant of my fond Lyving that is not geven awaye’ and license to remain. Burghley then received a petition from Elizabeth Marvyn, together with a letter of support from Sir Edward Saunders, Chief Baron of the Exchequer (a Catholic who had been Mary’s Chief Justice). These letters prompted Burghley to instruct Thomas Fanshawe, the Remembrancer at the Exchequer, to

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173 Reed, Tudor Drama, 68. TNA E 178/2587 (Bulmer Inquisition).
174 Reed, Tudor Drama, 65; Flynn, John Donne, 72.
175 See Bald, John Donne, 36–7.
176 Reed, Tudor Drama, 35–7 at 36.
177 Ibid., 237–8.
have another search made for records concerning what remained of Heywood’s property:

After my harty commendacons I do sende yow here enclosed a supplicacon exhibited vnto me by one Elizabeth Mervin dawghter to Mr Jhon Heywood, for the stay of so mvch of her sayd fathers landes as are not alreddy paste away to others; yow shall allso receave a letter from my Lord cheefe Barron written vnto me in her behalffe, werby yow may perceave how desirous his lordship is that the poore woman might be pleased accordinge to her sayd request. As I allso wolde very well like of; yf I knewe, in what sorte and by what means the same may be donne, since the office is alreddy found178 And I thinke the most parte of his sayd livinge alreddy paste awaye. These are therfor to require yow that yow will consider of this her petition and cavse searche to be made bothe in your owne office and else where;179 what it is that is found for the Queenes majestie how mvche therof is paste awaye, what ther is remayninge vngravnted And how her majestie is anvswered for the same; And herof to advertise me. So fare yow hartely well. from the Courte at Winder son the xixth of October 1575 / Yo ur lovinge Freind, W Burghley.180

The outcome of the search is unknown, and there is no evidence that Heywood received licence to remain in the Netherlands. The ‘rythme’ that he had sent to Wilson in December 1574 was apparently mislaid or ignored. By late 1576 Heywood was living with his son Ellis at the Jesuit college, Antwerp, but in 1578 the Jesuits were expelled. They escaped to Louvain, where Ellis died, followed apparently by his father.181

Sometime between July 1561 and his death in 1585 Francis Samwell copied Heywood’s ballad into his draft ledger for Dr Bill’s estate.182 His interest in it may simply have been its subject matter: ars moriendi. His own will dated 24 November 1585 reveals that he was a religious man who had Catholic sympathies. For example, he expressed the wish to be ‘buried in the southe ylle or chappell of the glorious and blessed virgine sainte Marye within the churche of all saintes in the aforesaiide towne of Northampton ... nighe vnto my Late mother’.183 She was Amy/Anne, who belonged to the Gifford family, many of whom were Catholic, and Samwell’s own daughter Amy married the Catholic Roger Gifford of St James, Northamptonshire.

Samwell made most of his ledger entries (fols 1–36v) between July 1561 and December 1564, but the last few (fol. 37r-v) date from 1565 to

178 ‘the [inquest of] office is alreddy found’ = a verdict has already been returned showing the Crown’s entitlement to the property; ‘office, n., 8\textsuperscript{th}, OED.
179 ‘office’ = department; ‘office, n., 6a’, OED.
180 ‘Burghley to Fanshaw’, 19 October 1575. TNA SP 46/30, fol. 130.
181 Reed, Tudor Drama, 70–71; Flynn, John Donne, 76–7.
183 TNA PROB 11/69/113.
January 1574/5. The rest of the book is blank (fols 38r–92v, 94r-v), except for *When all that is* (fol. 93r-v), the only item unrelated to Dr Bill’s will. Given Samwell’s position as auditor of the Exchequer, where

Figure 1. Stanzas 1–26 of *When all that is*, Durham Cathedral Add. MS 243, fol. 93r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

184 All but the last two entries (on fol. 37v) are in the hand of Samwell himself, who makes frequent personal references to family and servants: ‘my man’, ‘my Cosyn’, ‘my sone Richarde’ (fol. 23v). After his death (1585), two entries relating to Bill’s will in a different hand were likely added by Francis Samwell’s son William Samwell of Upton Hall, one of Francis’s executors.
Heywood’s ‘rythme’ was sent in December 1574, I conjecture that this copy was the source of *When all that is*. Samwell may have come across the ‘rythme’ in January 1574/5 at the same time he was entering the last items of business regarding Dr Bill’s will or in September/October 1575 during Fanshawe’s search for documentation concerning Heywood’s property. Samwell may have considered the ledger a convenient place for preserving a copy of the ballad because it was soon going to be put away (perhaps bound) for safe-keeping.
Appendix

Description of Durham Cathedral Add. MS 243

The manuscript comprises 95 folios (according to the modern numbering in pencil). The online catalogue of Durham Cathedral Special Collections Library describes it as a

Paper book, with the original covers and spine lost, now between 2 marbled account book [19th century] boards of Miller, Stationer and Bookseller of 6 Bridge Road, Lambeth; Size: 280 x 385 (text block), 305 x 415mm (boards).

There is no indication with the volume as to how, why or when it may have come to Durham.\(^\text{185}\)

It comprises eight gatherings of six folios of paper that has two versions of a watermark consisting of a pot with a single handle superimposed by a crown and quatrefoil (one version has a rounded pot, the other being damaged), which is similar to Briquet nos 12643 and 12645 and Heawood no. 3555.\(^\text{186}\) This watermark is found in books which date from the first three decades of the sixteenth century in Caen, Rouen, and Bruges. Lord Burghley used similar paper between 1580 and 1590 for the additional maps and notes he made (BL Royal MS. 18. D. III) and inserted into his copy of the proofs of Saxton’s county maps, 1579 (Christopher Saxton’s Atlas of England and Wales) held by the British Library.\(^\text{187}\)

The first seven gatherings are as follows: fols 2–14 (with 1 stub between 6 and 7), preceded by an unattached half-folio of paper with a different watermark (fol. 1); fols 13–24; fols 25–36; fols 37–47 (with 1 stub between fol. 41 and fol. 42); fols 48–59; fols 60–71; fols 72–83. The last gathering, which comprises six folios of the same paper as that used in the rest of the book (numbered fols 84–94), seems at some point to have been enveloped by two other folios: a stub directly before fol. 84 belongs to fol. 95 (which has a different watermark); a parchment stub after fol. 83 belongs to a stub after fol. 95, which is a fragment of French religious writing, presumably serving as binding material, and was left exposed only after the rebinding.

There are signs of wear and tear on the outer leaves of all the gatherings, even though Samwell’s writing using the same ink continues between the first and second gatherings, and likewise between the second and third, and third and fourth gatherings. This suggests that the gatherings were kept together loosely while being


used for making the accounts and only sewn together and bound after Samwell had transferred all of the information into another book he bought especially for the purpose c.1563 (see fol. 34r). It is not possible now to tell when the last gathering was bound with the other gatherings, but Samwell’s copying of the ballad on an interior leaf towards the back of it, rather than on its first leaf, suggests that it belonged with the rest of the book when he did.

Some of the original spine survives (the leather thongs were cut when the original boards were removed, but those binding the inner gatherings remain intact); some of the original waxed linen thread seems to have survived (for example, in the second gathering).