

Approaching playhouse song in the archive

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**‘Approaching Playhouse Song in the Archive: The Case of Dekker, Ford, Middleton
and Rowley’s *The Spanish Gypsy*’**

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Simon Smith

What does early modern playhouse song look like in the archive? How can approaches to the investigation of dramatic song best take into account the nature of the surviving evidence?

There is considerable interest at present in theatrical music, across a range of disciplinary contexts from literary studies to musicology, via cultural and theatre history.¹ Yet between us and the songs that once characterized dramatic performances and their enclosing theatrical soundscapes stands four centuries of historical and cultural distance, and an evidence base that is rather more complex and partial than is sometimes assumed. This article returns to playhouse song’s archival traces in order to consider the implications of evidentiary form for the study of early modern theatrical song.

I want to begin with an example of song in the archive that may appear idiosyncratic – even inadequate – yet which offers a particularly clear illustration of the key propositions motivating this article. **[INSERT FIGURE 1 AROUND HERE]** Drexel 4041, a mid-seventeenth century manuscript songbook now held by the New York Public Library, includes within its pages many songs with known dramatic origins. Figure 1, reproduced from this songbook, supplies nothing less than a Shakespearean song in the archive – from *The*

Tempest – but with a fairly obvious shortcoming: the notes are missing.² Were the tune included, this manuscript may well have been the earliest witness to Robert Johnson’s “Full Fathom Five” setting that is usually said to have been written for the play’s first performances.³ Unfortunately for later scholarship, the scribe adding notation to the volume either could not locate musical copy-text (be that written, heard or recalled), or simply never got around to writing it in.

This source has three particularly significant characteristics. First, the extant document appears not to have been produced as a deliberate attempt to archive or record playhouse musical performance *per se*. This is a manuscript songbook designed to facilitate future performance, not to record the precise musical form used in theatrical production. *Documents preserving evidence of early modern playhouse song tend to be at least one remove from the imagined or sought-for records that might prompt archival investigation in the first place.* Second, the source indicates that something now missing did once exist, in this case a melody, with its expectantly empty staves hinting at knowledge of the absent tune. Yet it is ultimately limited in the detailed evidence it can provide. *Archival evidence of playhouse song is characteristically partial in one way or another, and the questions that a source is most helpful in framing answers to will be circumscribed by what the source does include, rather than what we might hope to find therein.* Finally, the very presence of playhouse song in a source that is *not* a document of theatrical performance is significant. To make space for a dramatic song in a manuscript songbook some decades after a play’s first arrival on the early modern stage is to indicate its wider popularity and cultural circulation beyond the playhouse. *Playhouse song’s archival presence often requires us to think beyond the immediate context of theatrical performance, in order to make best use of the evidence it supplies.*

With these propositions in mind, this article investigates the textual traces left by pre-1642 playhouse song in order to suggest fresh ways of approaching the archival evidence. It argues that with different questions asked, and greater consideration of what a particular source is (rather than what one might wish it to be), materials that can seem relatively unforthcoming in response to traditional research questions may have yet more to tell us about playhouse song, its importance to the drama, and its wider cultural significance and circulation in early modern England.

At present, scholars often approach dramatic song with the form of its early playhouse performance uppermost in their minds: what melody was sung? How was it harmonized and arranged? Which instruments and voices performed? Such investigations typically seek one of several loosely related outcomes: a musical appendix to a critical edition, most recently and productively pursued in the *New Oxford Shakespeare*'s "Critical Reference Edition";⁴ an anthology of dramatic (or specifically Shakespearean) song in the manner of Ross Duffin's books;⁵ or, an argument as to how specific musical form intentionally shaped dramatic meaning in early playhouse performance, an approach that has been influentially pursued by Catherine A. Henze in recent decades.⁶ Yet such archival enquiries – asking, in essence, "What did this music sound like in the playhouse?" – face the fundamental challenge that the one form in which dramatic song does not tend to survive is as a deliberate record of playhouse performance.

Manuscript song-books like Drexel 4041, assembled with recreational use in mind rather than the documentation of theatrical form, are the major source of Jacobean and Caroline dramatic song, yet rarely bother even to indicate that a song has playhouse origins or associations.⁷ Even textual artefacts that can be connected more directly with those composing and writing for the commercial stage, such as John Wilson's manuscript collection of songs given to the Bodleian library during his lifetime, tend to pull in other

directions: Wilson's book appears primarily to be a means of archiving his own compositions as a body of work, uninterested – or even actively unwilling – to document the theatrical origins of much of its contents, let alone preserve playhouse performance configurations.⁸ Later in the seventeenth century, music with a pre-1642 dramatic provenance increasingly reached print in notated songbooks (sometimes with new harmony lines added), but once again with non-dramatic, recreational performance explicitly intended. Such volumes do not seek to preserve the precise form of songs' earlier playhouse uses, nor indeed seem concerned with facilitating fresh performances of the relevant plays. Contemporaneously, printed collections of dance tunes preserve some traces of an essentially aural culture of melodies derived from the playhouse, but they generally offer few clues regarding the specifics of how a given tune was once sung upon the commercial stage.⁹

All this would be little more than a footnote if such tangential sources of theatrical music (having initially survived, it would seem, for reasons unrelated to their evidence value for scholars of early modern drama) were not typically the extent of the evidence. Documents related more directly to playhouse musical performance that might effectively supersede such sources are overwhelmingly absent from the textual record – destroyed, lost, or never existing in the first place, as Tiffany Stern has influentially explored.¹⁰

My intention, in emphasizing the limitations of the evidence available, is certainly not to suggest that we should stop asking what dramatic song in the archive can tell us about the precise sounds of early playhouse performance, however partial or speculative any answers must often of necessity be. By its very nature, the historical study of a performative art form like drama or music must involve the negotiation of textual, archaeological and static visual evidence in order to reflect upon ephemeral performances in time and space that can never be recovered fully. Moreover, as recent studies indicate, there is still much to be uncovered through careful textual, musicological and stemmatic enquiry into the relationship between

the form a playhouse song might have taken in early stage performances, and each archival trace that it has left.¹¹ What I do propose, however, is an augmentation of such enquiries, shifting and broadening the range of questions we habitually ask of playhouse song in the archive, seeking fresh insights and suggestions by virtue of the terms upon which the evidence is addressed. Such an augmentation allows us to avoid what Katherine R. Larson has memorably termed “a methodological quagmire,” into which there is a risk of sinking if the focus on “[t]rying to fill these gaps from a contemporary perspective” becomes too narrow and insistent.¹²

Generally speaking, the surviving evidence responds more readily to some questions than to others: what is the dramatic function of this theatrical song? How might it have been approached in early modern English cultural contexts? Do particular engagements or responses seem to be encouraged? Beginning with such questions, then, rather than focusing primarily or exclusively on formal comparisons, it is possible to investigate how a song’s wider performative function in a play may elucidate the non-theatrical afterlife suggested by its archival traces in sources from beyond the playhouse. Simultaneously, we can examine those later archival traces not merely as imperfect versions of a presumed stemmatic predecessor, but by approaching them on something a little closer to their own terms, attending to the contexts in which they actually appear, rather than those we might wish they emerge from. This in turn can lead to insights into how early modern subjects understood a song, and thus its potential functioning and reception in the playhouse. This is a reciprocal payoff: it is possible to better understand what a song might be doing in a play from its later repurposing, even whilst better understanding the repurposing through more careful attention to its original theatricality and performativity, as well as its musical and verbal form.

In advocating this approach, I take up the implicit challenge in recent work by Roger Clegg and Bruce R. Smith, emphasizing various connections between plays, jigs and ballads,

to think more precisely about song's dramatic nature.¹³ My investigation is also informed by Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey and Amanda Eubanks Winkler's recent and significant "rethinking [of] music circulation in early modern England."¹⁴ What follows works extensively with the archival traces left by a single song from Dekker, Ford, Middleton and Rowley's *The Spanish Gypsy*. In mapping new connections and offering fresh readings of this particular example, my purpose is to demonstrate what the approach I am outlining might look like in practice, and to illustrate the kinds of insights that could be expected from its broader application to playhouse song in the archive.

* * *

The Spanish Gypsy was licensed for performance at the Phoenix by Lady Elizabeth's Men on 9 July 1623 and performed at court in November of that year, after which it seems to have been enduringly popular on the commercial stage through to the interregnum.¹⁵ The play was undoubtedly capitalizing on the "vogue for Gypsies" that followed Ben Jonson's 1621 masque, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, and it also appears to respond to the success of the King's Men's *Beggars' Bush*, which was performed at court in 1622.¹⁶ Thanks in part to large-scale editions of both Middleton and Ford, the play has received substantial critical and editorial attention over the last decade or two. Whilst recently described – perhaps a little unfairly – as "a slapdash multi-authored piece,"¹⁷ most scholars engaging at length with the play have had rather more to say about its theatrical merits, as well as its critical utility: it has been a productive reference point with regard to representations of otherness, early modern attitudes to rape, dramatic genre, collaborative writing practices, and song and dance on the early modern stage.¹⁸

Set in Madrid, the play reworks two novellas by Cervantes to provide a main plot in which Clara is raped by Roderigo yet ultimately marries him, and a subplot in which a troupe of gypsies turn out to be various members of the Spanish nobility in disguise.¹⁹ The subplot focuses on the “gypsy” Preciosa (really Constanza, daughter of Don Fernando), who ultimately marries Don Juan; he joins the gypsies himself and renounces his social status in order to win her love, conveniently ending up with both love and yet more status than he began with when her noble lineage is revealed and restored. In act three, scene two the gypsies put on an entertainment for an onstage audience of courtly characters at Count Francisco’s house. They enter and sing a song (widely attributed to Dekker),²⁰ inviting one another – and, implicitly, the playhouse audience – to “Come follow your Leader follow” and count themselves amongst the “Gipsies Army”:

I

Come follow your Leader follow
Our Convoy be Mars and Apollo,
The Van comes brave up here,

ANSWER

As hotly comes the Reare.

OMNES

Our Knackers are the Fifes and Drums,
Sa, sa, the Gipsies Army comes.

II

Horsemen we need not feare
There’s none but footemen here;

The Horse sure charge without;

Or if they wheele about,

OMNES

Our Knackers are the shot that flie

Pit a pat ratling in the Sky.

III

If once the great Ordnance play

That's laughing, yet runne not away;

But stand the push of Pike

Scorne can but basely strike.

OMNES

Then let our Armies joyne and sing

And pit a pat make our Knackers ring.

IV

Arme, Arme, what Bands are those?

They cannot be sure our foes;

Weele not draw up our force,

Nor muster any Horse,

OMNES

For since they pleas'd to view our sight

Let's this way, this way, give delight.

V

A Councell of War lets call,
Look either to stand or fall;
If our weake Army stands
Thanke all these noble hands;
[OMNES]
Whose gates of Love being open throwne
We enter, and then the Town's our owne.²¹

Attempts to trace this song in the archive usually begin with a tune first printed by John Playford in *The English Dancing Master* (1651; reprinted with corrections in 1652), entitled “The Spanish Jeepsie” (figure 2).²² **[INSERT FIGURE 2 AROUND HERE]** Scholars and editors from William Chappell to Shanti Padhi have noted that, with the odd addition of a leading note here and there, this tune is a very close fit with “Come Follow Your Leader” (figure 3).²³ There are also numerous extant ballad sheets (most of which categorically pre-date *The English Dancing Master*) that include explicit instructions to be sung to the tune of “The Spanish Jeepsie” and which, on metrical grounds, have widely been taken to refer to the tune printed by Playford. This suggests the wider circulation of “Come Follow Your Leader” in the form of a melody for ballads and for dancing, repurposed from its original place in a popular commercial play, and subsequently known by the title of that play, *The Spanish Gypsy* / “The Spanish Jeepsie.” **[INSERT FIGURE 3 AROUND HERE]**

The Oxford Middleton, ever attentive to questions of music and dance as dramatically critical components of early modern playhouse performance, asked whether the melody may in fact be for a dance from *The Spanish Gypsy* rather than a song, given that Playford presents it as a dance tune with choreography, and given that the play includes a dance in the final scene.²⁴ This is in contrast with the prevailing view that “The Spanish Jeepsie” first

became popular as a ballad tune, and only later became associated with the dance notated in Playford.²⁵ The dramatic dance hypothesis is an intriguing one, and is traced by the Oxford editors with considerably more sensitivity to dramatic context and through far more granular detail regarding later circulation than is typically the case when scholars investigate playhouse song and music in the archives. That said, their argument that “[b]roadside ballads do not spontaneously generate dances” now seems less persuasive in light of recent work by Roger Clegg and Bruce R. Smith exploring the myriad relationships between ballads and dance, including the possibility that ballads could incorporate or generate associated dances and dancing.²⁶ It should also be noted that the Oxford editors pursue the possible dance connection at least in part due to perceived discrepancies in scansion between “The Spanish Jeepsie” and “Come Follow Your Leader.” In fact, the small differences between the two are well within the parameters of flexibility with which verbal meter and musical rhythm could be reconciled in early modern song and ballad-writing (indeed, there is greater variation in syllable count between different stanzas of “Come Follow” than between Playford’s tune and the (average) meter of Dekker’s words).²⁷ In any case, it is perfectly possible that the tune could have been sung as “Come Follow Your Leader” in act three, then reprised instrumentally for the final dance, thus explaining its close match in melody with the words of the song as well as the correspondence between the four mixed couples onstage in 5.1, and the choreography’s call for sets of four couples to dance “The Spanish Jeepsie.”²⁸ This may not be a matter of mutual exclusivity, then.

Most scholars investigating this particular case of playhouse music in the archive have been fairly precise in comparing the words of the song as printed in the first quarto edition of the play with the tune printed by Playford, and relatively uninterested in the various extant ballads and song lyrics that appear to fit new words to the same tune between 1623 and 1651. At least six such songs survive, of which one is extant in two variant versions.

These appear in sources ranging from ballad sheets to a manuscript songbook, via a fairy pamphlet and a Digger tract preserved in the Thomason collection. Scholars who mention the existence of these publications generally say little about their actual content, and nothing at all as to how they might work in performance.²⁹ Yet these texts can tell us rather more, if we attend carefully to their status as evidence of anticipated or actual performance – and especially if they are approached with the song’s original dramatic context and purpose, including potential modes of audience engagement, in mind, alongside standard questions of form, provenance and stemmatic relation.

“Come Follow Your Leader,” as Simon Smith has recently explored, seems primarily intended to encourage playgoers to adopt the subject position of the fictionalized, fantastical “gypsy” characters who sing, as part of the play’s wider project of escapist fantasy that, to modern sensibilities, grates profoundly against its parallel plot-line of rape and forgiveness.³⁰ In early modern England, song was widely expected to invite identification with alternative points of view, and not just for the singer who might take on the voice of a repentant, condemned criminal in a “hanging” ballad, or a melancholy lover in a fashionable ayre to the lute: just like the performers, listeners were equally expected temporarily to adopt the subject position voiced in a song, regardless of its potential distance from their own perspective and identity.³¹ This expectation perhaps helps to explain a theatrical convention, from the 1610s onward, that characters conforming to strongly Othered stage-types such as “gypsy,” “thief” and “beggar” sing songs that invite momentary close engagement with their marginal, often pseudo-utopian perspectives. Plays such as *Beggars’ Bush* (KM, 1622), *More Dissemblers Besides Women* (KM, 1614) and *The Widow* (KM, 1615) all contain songs that, like “Come Follow Your Leader,” make appeals to “[c]ome live with us,” or ask, “Where the Nation live[s] so free, and so merry as do we?”³² In this theatrical context, Dekker’s song would serve the dramatic function of inviting playgoers to adopt the subject position of the “gypsy”

performers imaginatively, taking on their fictitious, romanticized and marginal perspective through fantasy for a few moments.

With the play's dramaturgy in mind, then, how might this theatrical use of song elucidate later circulations of "The Spanish Jeepsie" – and, no less crucially, vice versa? Given how forthrightly the song invites imaginative engagement, its dramatic rationale is relatively clear, but there is the further complication that its archival traces largely involve new words fitted to the tune that became recognizable as "The Spanish Jeepsie" rather than new circulations of Dekker's "ditty."³³

A melody's capacity to bear meaning across iterations and contexts is at least in part contingent upon wider cultural conventions of musical meaning at a given time and place. It is therefore significant that recent scholars of ballad culture have demonstrated the remarkable extent to which tunes conveyed consistent associations and meanings in early modern England – often seeking to provoke similar responses and engagements – even when fitted to multiple sets of words. Sarah F. Williams has shown how "The Ladies Fall" was repeatedly used as a melody for "stories of unfortunate events befalling women – rape, murder, a homicidal stepmother, and the biblical story of Solomon, who must 'discern the true Mother from the false' – as well as godly warnings to young maidens."³⁴ Likewise, Una McIlvenna has traced the melody of the "Rich Merchant Man" and its ubiquitous use for ballads exploring "the interrelated themes of punishment, repentance, greed and desperation, with a particular focus on material wealth."³⁵ Elsewhere, Williams has also examined the circulation of "Fortune my Foe," in particular showing how, under the name of "Aim Not Too High," the tune became associated with witchcraft ballads in the later seventeenth century.³⁶ In this context, it would not be at all surprising if the well-known tune of "The Spanish Jeepsie" retained particular associations and expectations that derived from the dramatic performance context of "Come Follow Your Leader" in *The Spanish Gypsy* –

specifically that a song sung to the tune will typically voice the perspective of a marginal, often idealized character-type, and that it might require both performer and hearer to adopt this alternative identity and subject position for the duration of the performance.

Printed ballads explicitly retrofitted to the tune of “The Spanish Jeepsie” invited early modern subjects temporarily to become English gypsies, merry cobblers, fairies and cuckolds between 1623 and 1642 alone. Of these, the earliest extant text appears to be “The Brave English Jipsie,” which survives as an undated broadsheet presumably printed before the publisher, John Trundle, died in late 1626.³⁷ The ballad tends to receive a little more close attention than do other “Spanish Jeepsie” texts, thanks to its fairly direct response to the stage-play. As Suzanne Gossett notes, it “patriotically reverses Alvarez’s praise of Spanish Gypsies”:

Who ere hath been in Spaine,
And seene there Jipsies vaine,
Shall soone the difference find,
Else judgement make him blind.
So, Spanish Jipsies all, adue!
For English equall are to you.³⁸

In fact, there are echoes not just of the wider play, but specifically of “Come Follow Your Leader,” most notably in the English Gypsy’s boast that “Our Knackers make no noise,” directly reversing the Spanish Gypsies’ repeated mentions of their distinctively loud “Knackers” – as noisy as “Fifes,” “Drums” and “the shot that flie[s]” – in three of their five stanzas’ refrains (E2v).³⁹ Such echoes makes most sense as a deliberate and direct response to “Come Follow Your Leader,” anticipating sufficient popular familiarity with the theatrical

song – and thus probable circulation beyond the playhouse – for the ballad’s satirical riposte to be both comprehensible and marketable to a sufficiently wide audience.⁴⁰

Significantly, even whilst responding to *The Spanish Gypsy* with the kind of nationalistic anti-Spanish sentiment that was characteristic of mid-1620s English culture after the disastrously unpopular marriage negotiations between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta Maria, the ballad has no qualms about borrowing the dramatic premise and performative intentions of the song from which its tune appears to derive. Once again, song is an invitation to adopt a marginal perspective, fictionally, romantically and implausibly provided for by nature and charitable goodwill: the “Walnut tree” supplies a natural source of dye; they are able “[t]hree times a weeke” to “feast” and “yet for nothing pay”; they “fare well when thousands lacke.” This deliberately non-threatening fantasy of life at the margins of society extends to somewhat contradictory claims that these English gypsies “all live free,” yet simultaneously “feare to wrong the Law” and “live in servile awe.” Like “Come Follow Your Leader,” in performance the song is an invitation to become a member of an identifiable, idealized group, either by adopting the voice of the English Gypsy oneself in collective song, or simply by imaginatively choosing to “Come follow, follow all.”

A similar invitation to join the “merry Coblers” is issued in the next extant ballad to demand “the tune of The Spanish Gipsie,” entered in the Stationer’s Register on 5 February 1634 and published by Francis Grove.⁴¹ This song invites performers and hearers to “follow [...] toth’ Alehouse” and drink amongst the cobblers, who celebrate their honesty, professional pride and relative prosperity in song. “The Three Merry Coblers” sits squarely within the ballad subgenre that celebrates occupational identity, with shoemakers and cobblers particularly popular subjects for such compositions, as Mark Hailwood has recently explored.⁴² Significantly, Hailwood notes, “[t]he notion that occupation defines an individual is treated as a given in ballad discourse,” and so “The Three Merry Coblers” begins from the

premise that professional cobbling generates identity.⁴³ The song is thus an apt vehicle for playfully adopting a shared, idealized subject position as part of a clearly identifiable, if ultimately fictionalized, group. Like “The Brave English Jipsie” and “Come Follow Your Leader,” this ballad is an invitation to imaginative fantasy, its tune, “The Spanish Gipsie,” no longer connected to its words in terms of subject matter, yet nonetheless demanding the same mode of engagement as clearly as in the earlier songs. By the mid-1630s, it would seem, such engagements were actually associated with the “Spanish Jeepsie” tune itself, just as tunes traced by Williams and McIlvenna acquired precise associations through widespread use and cultural familiarity.⁴⁴ The very indication on the ballad sheet that “The Three Merry Coblers” is to be sung “[t]o the tune of The Spanish Gipsie” could thus serve as a kind of shorthand for how and why it is to be performed even before purchase, just as the sound of the melody in performance would evoke its previous uses and cultural associations in the playhouse and beyond.

Like imagined gypsies in England and Spain, the cobblers are relatively poor – “theres but few of us rich” – yet somehow lead the secure lifestyle necessary for the ballad to offer an escapist fantasy to singers and hearers. As the third stanza notes, “Though all grow worse quite through the land, | Yet we are still on the mending hand.” In fact, the cobblers are said to be “on the mending hand” (i.e. increasingly secure and prosperous) some eighteen times throughout the song, as well as in the ballad’s full title. Like the English Gypsies, these cobblers represent a fictionalized and romanticized version of shared identity, committed to “deale most uprightly” as “[t]he broken we unite,” and to “bravely [...] go thorow stich,” “[a]lthough theres but few of us rich.” The song itself even relates the act of singing the ballad to the cobbler’s identity, in four lines of verse that may owe something to the demands of rhyme, as well as to semantic necessity:

All day we merrily sing,
And Customers doe bring,
Or unto us doe send,
Their Boots and Shooes to mend[.]

The next “Spanish Jeepsie” song to survive is the only one for which multiple printed editions remain extant. This song shares the broad performative intent of the two ballads already discussed, but turns away from fictionalized versions of recognized groups within society to the realm of the supernatural. Making full use of the melodic expectations and associations already outlined, the Fairy Queen’s “invitation to those [Fairy] Elves ... That in the night doe sport themselves” is accompanied in its print instantiations by instructions that it should be “Sung like to the Spanish Gypsie” and “To the tune of, *The Spanish Gypsies*.” It appears on an undated ballad-sheet and, in a variant version, in a fairy pamphlet of 1635 that also anthologizes poetry by Robert Herrick and the words of a song probably by Thomas Middleton, “Hence, all ye vain delights,” from *The Nice Valour, or the Passionate Madman*.⁴⁵

The precise phrasing of the fairy pamphlet’s instruction to sing the ballad “*like to the Spanish Gypsie*” (my emphasis) may be worth pausing over here. This could simply be a slightly awkward way of indicating the required tune, but given the melody’s performance associations already traced, perhaps this is also a suggestion that what is required is the *kind of singing* – that is, imaginative fantasy through musical performance – that songs to this tune typically entail, as well as use of the relevant musical notes. Just as Desdemona feels moved not just to sing the “Song of Willough,” but to “sing it like poore Brabarie [*sic*.]” in *Othello*, so by the mid-1630s it may have been a recognizable possibility not just to sing this particular

tune, but to *sing like* “The Spanish Jeepsie,” in the sense of pursuing musical engagements through imaginative fantasy.⁴⁶

Whilst categorically distinct from the subversive, roguish cluster of beggars, gypsies and thieves that were the primary vehicle for sung imaginative fantasy in the commercial playhouses, fairies and their world had certain features in common with stage-gypsies: they too could serve as figures of otherness, their world an alternative social structure operated according to rules distinct from those binding English subjects (Oberon and Titania are merely familiar examples of such rule); and, most crucially, they provide a distinctive, idealized and highly fictional identity that one might borrow whilst performing, hearing or even reading a ballad. Besides its concern with policing national standards of domestic cleanliness (and rewarding those who pass nocturnal inspections with a sixpence), the song is yet again a celebration of an alternative way of life in which necessities are provided for. Here, a mushroom provides a table, nightingales’ brains provide sustenance, and various insects form a rudimentary musical consort, where earlier ballad-gypsies were given “any meat that’s in the house,” and ballad-cobblers could simply “worke for more” when “all our money is spent,” rather than ever finding themselves in debt. Moreover, like almost every extant song to the tune of “The Spanish Jeepsie” (including Dekker’s), the opening stanza of “The Fairy Queene” offers an explicit invitation to “follow” and join the singing character:

Come follow follow me,
You Fairy Elves that be,
That trip it on the Green,
Come circle me your Queen,
Hand in hand wee’l dance a round,
For this place is Fairy ground.⁴⁷

By the end of the 1630s, then, “The Spanish Jeepsie” was not just a familiar melody, but even, potentially, an invitation to engage with any words set to the tune, following the initial precedent of “Come Follow Your Leader” in the play of *The Spanish Gypsy* and the emergent ballad tradition attested to by the three surviving examples considered so far. One further ballad, entered into the Stationer’s Register in early 1638 by Francis Grove (publisher of “The Three Merry Coblers”), extends this tradition in a slightly unexpected direction: “Cuckolds Haven” asks all “Neighbours ... that Cuckollized be” to “follow me,” this time combining a cautionary tale of how to “be not hornify’d” with an invitation to imagine this experience of “slavish miserie,” “griefe and woe,” as “wealth decayes,” “hornes will raise,” and “we mourne” and “must suffer all.”⁴⁸ The marginal figures with whom the ballad invites engagement seem considerably less idealized than the previous instances, albeit the song’s association with the adoption of alternative perspectives is again evoked in yet another opening invitation to “Come follow.”

Whilst the imaginative adoption of a cuckold’s perspective may represent one extreme of the tune’s potential utility, when the four broadsheet songs are considered collectively and on their own terms as ballads, these archival traces of “The Spanish Jeepsie” suggest striking continuities of purpose and intention. By asking how ballads might work in performance as well as how the playhouse song might function dramatically, a series of interrelationships begin to emerge, centered on the potential for imaginative identification first offered by stage-gypsies but then, it would seem, taken up as one of the many melodic associations that particular ballad tunes bore in the period. Dual attention to theatrical context and the specific contexts of each surviving archival trace indicates a rationale for the circulation of the tune (and thus the afterlife of the playhouse song) that illuminates both, yet would be easy to overlook by focusing only on one or the other.

* * *

In the interregnum, archival traces of “The Spanish Jeepsie” begin to take on more varied forms than the concentrated ballad tradition evident in Caroline texts. The play-text itself was printed in 1653, the sole witness to Dekker’s words, whilst Playford’s version of the tune with dance-steps, printed in 1651 and corrected in 1652, is the sole musical witness.⁴⁹ Whilst these two archival documents have understandably been considered the most important evidence when pursuing early playhouse performance, the song leaves further textual traces in this later period that are deeply suggestive, yet rarely examined in relation to the theatrical song. In fact, sustained attention to these, applied with particular sensitivity to cultural, contextual and dramaturgical considerations, can tell us much more about the song’s associations and later uses, and perhaps even about its original reception and intentions.

Surely the least expected archival appearance of the song is in “The Diggers Christmass-Caroll,” consisting of twenty-five verses to be sung “To the tune of the Spanish Gypsie.”⁵⁰ Appearing in a radical pamphlet of the interregnum period, the song outlines the principles of the Digger movement, together with the historical causes of problematic inequality in contemporary English society (including the so-called “Norman Yoke”),⁵¹ and a check-list of obstacles to the resolution of such inequality (principally lawyers and priests). This is bookended by a call for the “wise” to reject the slavery under which “you have been all your life long,” and a closing reminder that “Freedom is not won, | Neither by Sword nor Gunn”: it is “Harts & Spades” (i.e. love and labor), rather than “Clubs and Diamonds” (i.e. violence and financial might), that must prevail. Dated 1650, the pamphlet in which it appears is likely to have been published almost immediately before the break-up of the Surrey Diggers in April of that year, after they were reported for the heinous offence of “going about

to incite people to digging.”⁵² The title page names no author, simply claiming that the pamphlet was “set forth by those who were the original of that so righteous a Work, and continue still successful therein at Cobham in Surrey” (A1r). Despite speculation, subsequent attempts to attribute the “Christmass-Caroll” text have been inconclusive.⁵³

Digger writings – particularly the portion of Gerrard Winstanley’s output that often represents the extent of critical engagement with such material – tend to be characterized as cogent, visionary and even lyrical, but generally rather earnest, often contrasted with the ludic subversion of Abiezer Coppe’s contemporaneous Ranter writings in this particular regard.⁵⁴ Yet in light of this article’s investigation into playhouse song in the archive, perhaps the choice of tune for the Diggers’ Christmas carol hints at a modicum of playfulness not always associated with these pioneering radicals of the home counties. If, in the decades preceding the carol’s publication, the tune of “The Spanish Jeepsie” had indeed become a marker of imaginative identification, encouraging performers and listeners to adopt the marginal and idealized perspectives of Spanish and English gypsies, fairies, and merry cobblers, then the Diggers’ use of “The Spanish Jeepsie” may be a conscious exploitation of song’s capacity to offer up alternative points of view, encouraging readers, performers and hearers to try on a marginal, utopian and radical identity presented not as fictive escapism, but contemporary praxis. For this radical community, “The Spanish Jeepsie” offers nothing less than the potential for serious play.

There are other connections, too, between the “Christmass-Caroll” and the “Spanish Jeepsie” ballad tradition, perhaps most obviously in the emphasis on work as a dual source both of identity *and* pleasure. This is most visible in relation to “The Three Merry Cobblers” with its diligently hammering personae offered up for imaginative adoption through song, but can also be traced in the fairies’ activities: their industriousness whilst “Mortals are at rest. | And snorting in their nest,” creeping through keyholes to check “if the house be foule,” roots

even a supernatural identity in characteristic labor practices. And, moreover, the fairies' work is itself an implicit comment on the importance of laboriousness in others, specifically the "maid[s]" whose "armes and thighes" will feel disciplinary pinches if they have gone to bed without first cleaning and tidying.⁵⁵ Such resonances are significant as an indicator of the precision and specificity with which a tune's associations might be carried forward from one text to another, and also hint at a melody's capacity over time to accrue new meanings – or for existing meanings to become increasingly prominent – even whilst other associations persist from earlier circulations. In this case, it requires us to attend both to the original form and dramatic intentions of "Come Follow Your Leader" and to its later cultural transformations that innovate as well as iterate, in order to grasp fully what "The Spanish Jeepsie" could have meant to those composing and performing "The Diggers Christmass-Caroll" in a social and political context unrecognizable from that in which Dekker first formed his musical invitation to become Spanish gypsies.

[INSERT FIGURE 4 AROUND HERE] This article began with an image of evidentiary absence and incompleteness, and a similar archival gap concludes its exploration of one particular playhouse song's surviving traces. Once again, the gap takes the form of a songbook entry that never quite acquired the notes to go with its ditty (figure 4).⁵⁶ These pages are reproduced from "John Gamble, his book," another of the mid-seventeenth century songbooks held by the New York Public Library in the Drexel collection. Gamble's ownership mark includes a date, 1659, although whether this is the terminal date of a songbook compiled over several decades or a more precise indicator of the entire volume's assembly is yet to be established with any certainty. "Come followe followe mee all you that drunkards bee" has neither notes nor the name of a tune, making it less obvious that this may be another archival trace of "The Spanish Jeepsie," and so it has not previously been considered as part of *The Spanish Gypsy*'s potential afterlife. In fact, its six-line stanzaic

form, scansion and opening “Come follow” line all closely match the ballads explored above, as well as Dekker’s text.⁵⁷

Significantly, in addition to its formal continuities, attention to the performative and dramatic intentions associated with “Spanish Jeepsie” ballads, as well as to the language and verbal structure preserved in John Gamble’s book, indicate a direct intertextual relationship between the “Fairy Queen” ballad considered above and this “drunkards” song: the latter is a deliberate and subversive rewriting of the former, directly upturning its characters and imagery through close structural similarities and verbal parallels. Here, drunkards are framed as nocturnal anti-fairies who sneak into “houses” to drink and pursue women, rather than to inspect domestic cleanliness; who use a “barrel’s head” rather than a mushroom for their dinner table; and, for whom the vintner’s call of “by and by” is their equivalent of “music high,” rather than the assorted insects who fulfilled that role for the fairies. This would appear to facilitate another game of imaginative identity through song, but this time with the added pleasure of subversion as a melody associated primarily with idealized identities and subject positions, as well as hard work and industriousness, is quite deliberately used to celebrate an identity that is pragmatic to the point of grotesquery, predicated on sloth and idleness rather than labor. In this instance, comparing musical form is not an option in the absence of notation or even a tune indication. Yet the evidence that *is* on the page – the words – can be interrogated through comparison both to the verbal form and the performative possibilities of other archival appearances, suggesting connections and even identifying the likely tune that is missing: even in the absence of notes, this would appear likely to be another “Spanish Jeepsie” song.

Grouping this song with the ballad sheets and pamphlets considered so far augments the picture of one playhouse song’s cultural circulations, not just by adding a further “Spanish Jeepsie” song to the list, but also in marking a rather different form of cultural

transmission. “Ballad” is, loosely, a song genre, but was also in the period a material form: that of a broadsheet containing printed verbal text and (usually) a tune indication.⁵⁸ John Gamble’s commonplace book, however, is not cheap print, but a bound manuscript volume of musical notation, presenting songs in the form of a melody line above the words, and an unfigured bass line below, from which to extrapolate or improvise instrumental accompaniment on the lute or a keyboard instrument. It is this notation format for which “All you that Drunkards Be” was prepared, even if the notes never actually made it into the book. Can a song notated in such a format still be considered part of *The Spanish Gypsy*’s ballad tradition? Perhaps so, given that in 1659 John Wilson could publish a volume of three-part song settings as “Cheerful ayres *or* ballads” (my emphasis), indicating a degree of fluidity between two terms that have often been aligned with distinct categories of “art” and “popular” music in scholarly accounts.⁵⁹ Moreover, as Tiffany Stern has recently re-emphasized, the range of song types that could be presented as words and a tune indication on a ballad sheet is wide.⁶⁰ “The Spanish Jeepsie” similarly problematizes any rigid distinction between ballad, theatrical song and art music. Thus, “Come Follow Your Leader” is available to be purposed as dramatic song, ballad or Christmas carol, yet is still worthy of anthologizing alongside a tuneful ayre by Thomas Campion and declamatory songs by Henry Lawes in John Gamble’s manuscript song-book – and it is worth noting, too, that Gamble’s book includes numerous songs known from extant ballad sheets, besides “All you that Drunkards Be.” This music is nothing if not adaptable, yet each fresh appearance in the archive can be productively elucidated through comparison not just with the musical and verbal form, but also the performance intentions of its earlier playhouse context, in turn further clarifying the reach, cultural familiarity and functioning of musico-dramatic intentions first framed at the Phoenix playhouse in the summer of 1623.

* * *

This investigation has pursued a single playhouse song through archival fragments, glimpses and traces, evidence that may not have seemed particularly useful, had the precise form of playhouse musical performance been the principal object of investigation. What remains in the archive is insufficient to reconstruct Dekker's "Come Follow Your Leader" in its original theatrical form: to consider just one "gap" amongst many, a dance tune, a broadsheet ballad and a note-free song for accompanied solo voice are scarcely sufficient musical copy-text for the multiple-voiced closing couplet to each verse, explicitly indicated as "omnes" in the 1653 play-text. Clearly, this is a tune adaptable to different performance styles, arrangements and requirements. Yet by asking not just *what* was sung, but *why* it was sung, and what response was anticipated, seemingly disparate borrowings of a single tune from *The Spanish Gypsy* point towards a shared performative – even dramatic – rationale, indicating why the makers of new sets of words chose to fit them to "The Spanish Jeepsie." The song's original playhouse intention as a locus of imaginative identification with gypsy characters would thus seem to be part of what writers think they are borrowing – and indeed what they think they are signaling to musical audiences – by setting words to this enduringly popular tune.

These conclusions may even provide a basis from which to speculate about the efficacy of the song's attempts to encourage such engagements in the playhouse in 1623: one explanation for its phenomenal later popularity as a tune for ballads of borrowed identity is that "Come Follow Your Leader" was particularly successful in stimulating imaginative appropriations in its initial performances at the Phoenix. The tune's accretion of further possible associations with work and labor in the course of its later circulations also offers an important reminder that the mutual illumination of playhouse performance and offstage

afterlives must always acknowledge the potential for divergence and development as well as continuity.

As this case study has sought to demonstrate, attempts to reconstruct playhouse musical performance are circumscribed by a dramatic song's archival forms, and by the nature of the extant evidence. Moreover, its investigation has emphasized that an exclusive focus on precise playhouse performance configurations may not always provide the most interesting or productive approach to an early modern playhouse song and its archival traces. There is much more to be learned from playhouse song in the archive, provided the scope of enquiry is augmented, and the range of questions asked habitually extended. Above all, there is a need to keep striving to recognize what exactly has been preserved and why, and what the evidence might be best placed to tell us, even if this departs from the scholarly hopes and expectations that motivate examinations of early modern theatrical culture's archival remains in the first place.

¹ See, for instance: Katherine R. Larson, *The Matter of Song in Early Modern England: Texts in and of the Air* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 140-78; Mariko Ichikawa, *The Shakespearean Stage Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 52-71; Katherine Steele Brokaw, *Staging Harmony: Music and Religious Change in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Drama* (London: Cornell University Press, 2016), 155-232; Scott A. Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance, and Media in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 79-148.

² "English Songs" (c. 1640-50), New York Public Library, MS Drexel 4041, 67v-68r.

³ John Wilson's 1659 printed setting, adding his own harmony parts to a melody explicitly ascribed to Johnson, is widely thought to be the earliest surviving version of the tune (*Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads* (Oxford: 1660 [i.e. 1659]), 5-7).

⁴ *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Critical Reference Edition*, gen. eds Gary Taylor and others, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), noting especially John Cunningham's introductory essays on "Editing Early Music Texts" and "Editorial Principles: Music" (vol. II, lxxv-lxxviii, lxxix-lxxxv).

⁵ Ross Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York: Norton, 2004); *Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of English Renaissance Comedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). See also: Catherine A. Henze, *Robert Armin and Shakespeare's Performed Songs* (London: Routledge, 2017).

⁶ Catherine A. Henze "How Music Matters: Some Songs of Robert Johnson in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher," *Comparative Drama* 34 (2000): 1-32; "Invisible Collaboration: The Impact of Johnson's Original Music," *Text & Presentation* 22 (2001): 75-87; "'With the Power of My Enchanting Song': Functions of Music in the Drama of Beaumont and Fletcher" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1996).

⁷ See, for instance, "English Songs" (c. 1640-50); "Ann Twice, Her Book" (c. 1620-30), New York Public Library, MS Drexel 4175; "John Gamble, His Booke" (1659?), New York Public Library, MS Drexel 4257.

⁸ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mus. b. 1.

⁹ See, for instance: Wilson, *Cheerful Ayres*; John Playford, *The English Dancing Master* (1651).

¹⁰ Tiffany Stern, "Songs and Masques," in *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 120-73.

¹¹ Keith Green's recent consideration of musical sources associated with Richard Brome's *The Northern Lass* provides an illustrative example: "John Wilson's Music for Richard Brome's *The Northern Lass*," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 20, no. 1 (2018): 1-16.

¹² Larson, *Matter of Songs*, 140.

¹³ Roger Clegg, "'A Ballad Intituled a Pleasant Newe Jigge': The Relationship between the Broadside Ballad and the Dramatic Jig," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016): 301-22; Bruce R. Smith, "Female Impersonation in Early Modern Ballads," in *Women Players in England, 1500-1660: Beyond the All-Male Stage*, ed. Pamela Allen Brown and Peter Parolin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 281-304.

¹⁴ Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey and Amanda Eubanks Winkler, eds, *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 1-12 and *passim*.

¹⁵ See: Martin Wiggins, *British Drama: A Catalogue, 1533-1642*, 11 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-), VII, 485.

¹⁶ See: Suzanne Gossett, "Introduction to *The Spanish Gypsy*," in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, gen. ed. Gary Taylor and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1724-5; Simon Smith, *Musical Response in the Early Modern Playhouse, 1603-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 128-9.

¹⁷ Roger Clegg and Lucie Skeaping, *Singing Simpkin and Other Bawdy Jigs: Musical Comedy on the Shakespearean Stage: Scripts, Music & Context* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2014), 30.

¹⁸ Suzanne Gossett, “‘Best Men are Molded out of Faults’: Marrying the Rapist in Jacobean Drama,” *English Literary Renaissance* 14 (1984): 305-27; Gary Taylor, “Historicism, Presentism and Time: Middleton’s *The Spanish Gypsy* and *A Game at Chess*,” *SEDERI* 18 (2008): 147-70; Marcus Dahl, Christopher Adams and Brian Vickers, “Introduction to *The Spanish Gypsy*,” in *The Collected Works of John Ford*, gen. ed. Gilles Monserrat, Brian Vickers and R.J.C. Watt, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012-), III, 417-27; Gossett, “Introduction,” in *Middleton: Collected Works*, gen. ed. Taylor and others, 1723-7; A.L. Kistner and M.K. Kistner, “*The Spanish Gypsy*,” *Humanities Association Review* 25 (1974): 211-24.

¹⁹ Miguel Cervantes, “La Gitanilla” and “La Fuerza de la Sangre,” in *Exemplary Stories*, trans. Lesley Lipson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7-70, 130-49.

²⁰ For discussion of the authorship of this song (and the play as a whole), see *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*, ed. Gary Taylor and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1105-8; *Collected Works of Ford*, gen. eds Monserrat, Vickers and Watt, II, 186-264 (esp. 226-35); Wiggins, *British Drama*, VII, 482.

²¹ Thomas Dekker, John Ford, Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, *The Spanish Gypsie* (1653), E2^v-E3^r (3.2.82-113).

²² John Playford, *The English Dancing Master* (1651), 23; *The Dancing Master* (1652), 89. Whilst previously speculated to be a false-dated 1650 printing, the first edition is now taken to be accurately dated as “1651.” See: Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley, “Playford family,” *Grove Music Online*, last modified 16 October 2013, accessed 7 October 2020, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043168>.

²³ See: William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Chappell, 1855-9), I, 272-3; Evelyn K. Wells, “Playford Tunes and Broadside Ballads,” *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 38, no. 3 (1938): 200; Margaret Dean-Smith, *Playford’s English Dancing Master: A Facsimile Reprint* (London: Schott, 1957), 21; Shanti Padhi, “A Critical Old-Spelling Edition of *The Spanish Gypsie* by Middleton, Rowley (and possibly Ford)” (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1984), 338; Simon Smith, *Musical Response*, 120-6.

²⁴ Gossett, “Introduction,” in *Middleton: Collected Works*, gen. eds Taylor and others, 1276-7; Taylor and others, eds, *Middleton and Textual Culture*, 174-8.

²⁵ See note 23.

²⁶ Taylor and others, eds, *Middleton and Textual Culture*, 176; Clegg, “Broadside Ballad and Dramatic Jig,” esp. 306-7; Bruce R. Smith, “Putting the ‘Ball’ Back in Ballads,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016): 323-38 (esp. 326, 336). Particularly relevant extant ballads include “A Newe Ballade Intytuled Good Fellowes Must Go Learne to Daunce” (1569), British Library, Huth 50 (66), and “A Mad Kinde of Wooing” (1628), Magdelene College, Cambridge, Pepys 1.276-7 (EBBA 20128), both of which are discussed by Clegg and Smith.

²⁷ It is only the first stanza that includes the additional unstressed terminal syllables to the opening couplet which are the most obvious addition to the rhythm of the melody. It is also worth clarifying that what appear to be pause symbols in the 1651 text, further disrupting the rhythm, are in fact intended to indicate tied notes, as the setting of this and other songs in the 1652 edition (presumably with access to pieces of type unavailable in 1651) confirms. See Taylor and others, eds, *Middleton and Textual Culture*, 174-8; Playford, *Dancing Master* (1651), 23; *Dancing Master* (1652), 89.

²⁸ Dekker and others, *Spanish Gypsie*, E2v-E3r, K2r; Playford, *Dancing Master* (1651), 23.

²⁹ Gary Taylor has been by far the most attentive to these later texts as documents of performance, albeit with a particular focus on dance practicalities rather than vocal performativity (*Middleton and Textual Culture*, 174-8).

³⁰ Simon Smith, *Musical Response*, 120-30.

³¹ See: Simon Smith, “Imagining,” in *Musical Response*, 103-44; Sarah F. Williams, “‘The Hanging Tune’: Feminizing and Stigmatizing Broadside Ballad Melodies,” in *Damnable Practises: Witches, Dangerous Women, and Music in Seventeenth-Century English Broadside Ballads* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 65-74.

³² John Fletcher, “Beggars Bush,” in *Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher* (1647), 2K4r (2.1.152-64); Thomas Middleton, “More Dissemblers Besides Women,” in *Two New Playes* (1657), E1r-v (4.2.55-81); Thomas Middleton, *The Widdow* (1652), H2r-v (4.2.284-93). See: Smith, *Musical Response*, 120-1. On the wider vogue for such plays through to the interregnum, see: Tiffany Stern, “Introduction,” in Richard Brome, *A Jovial Crew*, ed. Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2014), 30-36.

³³ Song lyrics were often known as “ditties” in the period. See Tiffany Stern, “‘I Have Both the Note, and Dittie About Me’: Songs on the Early Modern Stage,” *Common Knowledge* 17 (2011): 314.

³⁴ Sarah F. Williams, “Witches, Lamenting Women, and Cautionary Tales: Tracing ‘The Ladies Fall’ in Early Modern Broadside Balladry and Popular Song,” in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*, ed. Lesley C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), 31.

³⁵ Una McIlvenna, "The Rich Merchant Man, or, What the Punishment of Greed Sounded Like in Early Modern English Ballads," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016): 279-99.

³⁶ Williams, "The Hanging Tune," 65-74. See also: Williams, "'A Swearing and Blaspheming Wretch': Representations of Witchcraft and Excess in Early Modern English Broadside Balladry and Popular Song," *Journal of Musicological Research* 30 (2011): 315 and *passim*.

³⁷ "The Brave English Jipsie" (c.1623-26), British Library, Roxburghe 1.544-545 (EBBA 30360). Trundle was buried in the parish of St Bartholomew the Less on 12 December 1626. See: Gerald D. Johnson, "John Trundle and the Book Trade, 1603-1626," *Studies in Bibliography* 39 (1986): 180.

³⁸ Suzanne Gossett, "Introduction," in *Middleton: Collected Works*, gen. eds Taylor and others, 1726.

³⁹ The ballad's repetition of the final two lines of each stanza indicated by the note in Roman font, "We fare well, &c.," and again at the conclusion, "So Spanish Jipsies, etc.," also echoes the marginal note in a copy of the 1653 quarto of *The Spanish Gypsy* that the final two lines of a stanza of "Come Follow Your Leader" should be "twice sung" (see *Middleton and Textual Culture*, ed. Taylor and others, 1107-8, 1113).

⁴⁰ There are also some particularly close parallels between the ballad and descriptions of the gypsy troupe upon their first appearance in the play. The Father of the Spanish Gypsies mentions that his compatriots are "no tann'd ones; no Red-oker rascalls umberd with soot and bacon as the English Gypsies are" (C2r; 2.1.6-8), perhaps a sly allusion to the later revelation that they are in fact nobility in disguise, whilst the ballad declares conversely that "We beare no beautious face", but rather "looke like *Indians* that are tand," unlike the paler-skinned (and thus, according to racialized early modern hierarchies of appearance, more "beauteous") Spanish Gypsies, including the explicitly attractive Preciosa. Similarly, just as the Father demands that the Spanish Gypsies "sell all our horses but one" (C2v; 2.1.63-7), the English Gypsies "single scorne to ride," and so "take a formall course, | Some sixe upon a Horse." That said, both skin tone and this particular mode of travel are widespread early modern gypsy stereotypes (see: Richard J. Pym, *The Gypsies of Early Modern Spain, 1425-1783* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), 71; Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 173-4). Ben Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* opens with a memorable entrance described poetically by the "first, leading, gypsy" as "the five princes of Egypt, mounted all upon one horse" (Ben Jonson, "The Gypsies Metamorphosed (Burley)," ed. James Knowles, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, gen. eds David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), v, 483-525, ll. 1-4). Readers

of the ballad familiar with Jonson's masque from court circles would no doubt have connected the two, although the masque would not be made more widely available via publication until 1640.

⁴¹ "The Three Merry Coblers" (1634), British Library, Roxburghe 1.408-9 (EBBA 30279).

⁴² Mark Hailwood, "Broadside Ballads and Occupational Identity in Early Modern England," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (2016): 187-200.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁴⁴ Williams, "Tracing 'The Ladies Fall'"; McIlvenna, "The Rich Merchant Man"; Williams, "The Hanging Tune".

⁴⁵ "The Fairy Queene" (1611-56?), Manchester Central Library, Blackletter Ballads 1.13 (EBBA 36064); Anon., *A Description of the King and Queene of Fayries* (1635), A10r-A11r.

⁴⁶ William Shakespeare, "Othello," in *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623), TLN 2998-3003 (4.3.27-32).

⁴⁷ This quotation follows the broadsheet (EBBA 36064) rather than the fairy pamphlet. The sole extant song connected with the tune that does not begin with an explicit invitation to "follow" is "The Diggers Christmass-Caroll," considered below.

⁴⁸ "Cuckolds Haven: Or, the Marry'd Mans Miserie" (1638), British Library, Roxburghe 1.46-47 (EBBA 30036).

⁴⁹ Dekker and others, *Spanish Gypsie*, E2v-E3r (3.2.82-113); Playford, *Dancing Master* (1651), 23; *Dancing Master* (1652), 89.

⁵⁰ Anon., "The Diggers Christmass-Caroll," in *The Diggers Mirth* (1650), A2r-A6r.

⁵¹ See Christopher Hill, "The Norman Yoke," in *Puritanism and Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 58-126.

⁵² *A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages and Proceedings of, and in relation to the Armies in England and Ireland*, 17 (1-8 April 1650): 179.

⁵³ See: Andrew Hopton, "Introduction," in *Digger Tracts, 1649-50*, ed. Andrew Hopton (London: Aporia Press, 1989), 3. L. H. Beren's suggestion of Robert Coster's authorship has found a little more traction in later scholarship than has the case for Gerrard Winstanley, but, as Hopton notes, we lack "any firm evidence" (3). L. H. Berens, *The Digger Movement in the Days of the Commonwealth* (London: Merlin Press, 1906), 129.

⁵⁴ This widespread critical view is articulated in, for instance: Thomas N. Corns, “Radical Pamphleteering,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*, ed. N. H. Keeble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 81.

⁵⁵ Patricia Akhimie offers a revisionary account of the pinch as disciplinary act, agricultural technique and somatic marker of perceived otherness in early modern culture, in: “‘Fill Our Skins with Pinches’: Cultivating Calibans in *The Tempest*,” in *Shakespeare and the Cultivation of Difference: Race and Conduct in the Early Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2018), 151-81.

⁵⁶ “John Gamble, His Booke,” song 68.

⁵⁷ The text in Drexel 4257 has previously and erroneously been identified as matching another drinking/following song in Folger MS v.a.409 (fol. 9r), which in fact has entirely different words, meter and a four-line stanzaic form. See: Elise Bickford Jorgens, ed., *The Texts of the Songs*, English Song, 1600-1675, 12 (New York & London: Garland, 1989): 389. The song in the Folger manuscript is elsewhere printed in *Catch That Catch Can* with a melody entirely unrelated to ‘The Spanish Jeepsie’ and accordingly incompatible with the Drexel 4257 text (John Hilton, *Catch That Catch Can* (1652), C3r [17]).

⁵⁸ See Bruce R. Smith’s discussion of the term’s etymology and usage in the period, in “Putting the ‘Ball’ Back in Ballads,” 323-7.

⁵⁹ Wilson, *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads*. Whilst rigid separations between “high” and “low” culture have become increasingly untenable in the decades since Claude Simpson characterized broadsheet ballads as “essentially an urban variety of subliterate expression”, the legacy of such distinctions persists. Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), x.

⁶⁰ Tiffany Stern, “Shakespeare the Balladmonger?,” in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2020), 216-37.