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EDUCATIONAL MORALITY PLAYS

1495 - 1575

A THEMATIC ANALYSIS

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the  
Department of English in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts at Assumption  
University of Windsor

by

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1962  
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## ABSTRACT

This essay, for the first time, submits to an organized and comprehensive thematic analysis a group of plays, called "educational morality plays," dating from 1495 to 1579. These plays are built around the central theme of educating young people morally and intellectually. The plays included are the following:

A Goodly Interlude of Nature (1495), Interlude of the Four Elements (1520), Hyckescorner (1534), Mundus et Infans (1522), The Play of Wyt and Science (1540), The Interlude of Youth (1555), Lusty Juventus (1565), The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art (1560), Like Will to Like (1568), The Marriage of Wit and Science (1569), Nice Wanton (1560), The Disobedient Child (1569), The Contract of Marriage of Wit and Wisdom (1579), The Glass of Government (1575).

Because of the problem of length, I have excluded from this study all dramaturgical aspects of such, to fasten upon an analysis of the basic conflicts and themes of the plays: The nature of the child, the concepts of good and evil, the social milieu in which the child is reared, the nature of the dramatic conflict, the redemption of the mind and heart, the nature of the allegorical method employed in the plays, the conflict of humanist, medieval, pro-Catholic, and Protestant influences, the religious doubts of the age, the rise of

secularism, the division of the generations, and so on.

The plays reveal English drama in a transitional stage both in form and idea. The transference of medieval philosophical ideas into Elizabethan experience is evident in these dramas. They also bear witness to the continuity of dramatic development in England. They portray in a vivid manner the controversies and intimate concern of their age.

## PREFACE

This essay treats of the Tudor educational morality play. This is a classification of plays transitional, in form, at least, between the medieval drama and the Elizabethan, sometimes combining features of the morality and the interlude, and having in common a concern with the education of youth. The period of these plays runs from 1495, the date of A Goodly Interlude of Nature, to 1579, the date of the last play in this series, The Contract of Marriage of Wit and Wisdom. As will become evident in the course of my analysis, there are two distinct groupings of these plays.

All of these plays mirror the deepest interests of their age with educational subjects and make real the controversies that centred around religious and humanist concerns. Theories that are dealt with in educational treatises, courtesy books, and religious tracts are given life and walk the stage. One sees in these plays how the individual of the age wrestled with new ideas and attempted to balance them with traditional outlooks. Faced as he was with religious and educational ideas of disturbing newness and great power, the man of the Tudor Age agonized toward a compromise or struck out in violent rejection. These plays are a prism of reactions to the conflicts of the time. They mirror the traditional view and the new scholastic moral. As Tucker Brooke points out, these plays responded to "all the conflicting waves of feeling

raised by the ebb and flow of Tudor Renaissance and Reformation . . . . They yielded to the slightest pressure of public opinion."<sup>1</sup>

It will become evident that the plays are invaluable commentaries on other aspects of Tudor thought and practice: the rise of secularism, the secularization of drama, the nature of the child, the problem of the true religion, the nature of mental and moral decline, the nature of redemption, the operations of passions, the relation of Reason to Will and Imagination, and so on. Other matters, such as the place of the plays in the development of dramatic art, the legacy they left for future dramatists, such as Shakespeare, the poetic technique and development they display, I have been able only to touch upon, in order to confine myself to what the title implies - educational morality plays. If technical aspects of dramaturgy are touched upon, it is only incidentally.

It is useful here to refer to the terms in which the interior dramas of the characters of these plays are cast, that is, the terms of Christian virtue and morality. To a modern reader the plays are apt to seem the peak of psychological naivete. To so judge is to miss the profound experiences that the plays mirror. Though cast within the framework of the age in terms of moral "labels" the plays reveal--if not always individually, at least collectively--a moment

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1 The Tudor Drama, (Boston, 1911), p. 58.



of profound doubt, a psychological and moral concern which constitute a worthwhile footnote to the history of man's mind and soul, apart from purely historical or literary significance. Like all true allegorical works, this group of plays possesses a surface simplicity and makes a generalization of life, in this case, into Christian terms. Yet it harbours a view--of man, of society and of the universe--of enduring validity.

Despite the obvious significance of these plays, however, there has not been any study which, to my knowledge, subjects the whole group to an analysis from quite the same point of view. Most authors have used the plays as purely historical events in the history of drama or in the development of dramatic techniques. They have been examined as extensions of medieval thought, as humanist tracts, as Puritan propaganda, as examples of allegorical treatments of good and evil. In these analyses no significance is given to the plays as primarily educational in theme. Nor has the whole "series" of educational dramas been subjected to an analysis at once comprehensive and organized. The significance of the plays here considered as representative of a profound and continuing theme--the education of the mind and soul--has never been fully stated. Yet these dramas derive their chief value as idea from their common themes--themes which lie at the heart of the age which produced them. It should be noted, as well, that no author, no matter what his point of view, has treated all the plays in one study, but has chosen certain plays to

illustrate certain points. Here again, my purpose is different; it is the significance of all these dramatic treatments centred around the educational themes that is focused upon. The reader will find the bibliography useful for consulting books dealing with these plays from other or somewhat similar points of view (as well as, it may be added, for background material of an historical or philosophical nature).

Interested persons will find the text of these plays somewhat difficult to come by unless they have at hand a very comprehensive library. Any reader desirous of discovering the most readily available copy of a play for him may consult that most useful and thorough work, Bibliography of Medieval Drama, by Carl J. Stratman (University of California Press, 1954). This book gives all the editions of every play treated of in this essay (except Gascoigne's The Glass of Government). It gives, as well, the names of the libraries in North America, the United Kingdom, and Eire which possess a copy. In addition there is a list of works which study each play--books, periodicals, and dissertations. The usefulness of this book is very great indeed.

I would add a note on the system of reference employed in this essay in referring to quoted passages from the plays. Inasmuch as in most texts of the plays the lines are unnumbered, it was deemed most useful to give page references to the edition of the play used. For the sake of convenience these editions are listed as follows.

- Medwall, Henry. A Goodly Interlude of Nature (1495). In John S. Farmer, ed., Recently Recovered "lost" Tudor Plays. London, 1907. 41-133.
- Rastell, John. Interlude of the Four Elements (1520). In R. Dodsley, ed., A Select Collection of Old English Plays, Vol. I. London, 1874-1876. 5-50.
- Anon. Hyckescorner (1534). In Dodsley, I, 143-195.
- Anon. Mundus et Infans (The World and The Child) (1522). In Dodsley, I, 239-275.
- Redford, John. The Play of Wyt and Science (1540). In Farmer, 135-175.
- Anon. The Interlude of Youth (1555). In Dodsley, II, 1-40.
- Sometimes attributed to one Wever. Lusty Juventus (1565). In Dodsley, II, 41-102.
- Wager, W. The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art (1569). In Alois Brandl, ed., Shakespeare Jahrbach, XXXVI, (1900), 1-64.
- Fulwell, Ulpian. Like Will to Like (1568). In Dodsley, III, 303-359.
- Anon. The Marriage of Wit and Science<sup>2</sup> (1569). In Dodsley, II, 321-329
- Anon. Nice Wanton (1560). In Dodsley, II, 159-184.
- Ingeland, Thomas. The Disobedient Child (1569). In Dodsley, II, 265, 320.
- Sometimes attributed to one Francis Merbury. The Contract of Marriage of Wit and Wisdom (1579). In T. Amyot, and others eds., A Supplement to Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. II, London, Printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1841.
- Gascoigne, George. The Glass of Government (1575). In J.W. Cunliffe ed., The Complete Works of George Gascoigne, Vol. II. Cambridge, 1910, 1-90.

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2 Stratman (pp. 210-211) appears to have confused two plays that are related, though, as W. Carew Hazlitt notes in his edition of Dodsley, they are "distinct and independent" (p. 322). This unfortunate confusion of The Play of Wyt and Science with The Marriage of Wyt and Science renders Stratman's bibliographical notes on these particular plays (which he treats as one) more confusing than helpful.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE INNER MAN: AN IDEAL OF ORDER

#### General Admonitions

The Tudor age, no less than any other, had its ideal of what a virtuous youth must be. In the dramatic embodiment of this ideal in the plays under consideration, one finds a shifting emphasis centering around two ideals, "piety" and "learning," with enough overlapping of the two that a synthesis proves possible and enlightening. The plays contain many passages of general admonition which present in summary form the general results which training and education should, in the author's view, produce.

In Lusty Juventus, for example, the young are advised to study the Bible, avoid fickle pleasure, seek knowledge and wisdom, avoid idleness and remember that God comes suddenly in judgment. In The Longer Thou Livest, Exercitation, along with Discipline and Piety, will teach youth a good occupation, and avoidance of idleness and

God to serve, to feare, to love, to honour  
And his parents to obey with humillitie.  
(p. 21)

Discipline further on advises the child to fear God, pray for wisdom, be meek, fast and abstain, and--a topical note--avoid the taints of Romanism in religion.<sup>1</sup> The child

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<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 78 ff.

must also know Jesus Christ, listen to God's word, honour God's ministers, obey "rulers and magistrates" concerning "the statutes and lawes of the countrie" (p. 26), obey his parents, defend the Prince and the country, and comfort the poor.

In Thomas Ingeland's The Disobedient Child young people are exhorted to obey their parents, worship God daily, serve the King, mend their faults, be honest of hand and tongue, and study well and learn while still young.

In that highly artificial and blatantly hortative play, The Glass of Government, by George Gascoigne, the parent desires for his child that

. . . they may be perfectly instructed by some godly teacher, the summe of their duty first towards God, then to their Prince, next to their parents, and consequently as well towards the benefites of their country, and also how to behave themselves to all magistrates and officers in the same, in conclusion whereof they may also learne what they are of themselves, and how they may be most acceptable both to God and man . . . (p. 13)

They must also look upon themselves as Christians who are the Temple of God, indulge in "clean" conversations only, and avoid devilment, remembering that if Christ whipped the desecrators of the "outward temple," how much more to be cared for are "the inwards Temple of their bodies."  
(p. 33)

A much more pleasant and capable play, Wyt and Science, by Redford, contains the desire, expressed by Science, that those youths who pursue her be careful, painstaking, tractable and proficient ("capax").

Even more graphically, some of the plays present pictures of what youth perhaps is but ought not to be. In

Lusty Juventus we read:

The time were too long now to recite  
 What whoredom, uncleanness and filthy communication  
 Is dispersed with youth in every congregation,  
 To speak of pride, envy and abominable oaths,  
 That are the common practices of youth,  
 To advance your flesh, you cut and jag your clothes,  
 And yet you are a great gospeller in the mouth . . . .  
 (p. 94)

These passages are representative of the general goals held up for youth either by what they urge or urge to avoid. In the attainment of this goal, or the struggle towards it, or its tragic loss, one finds the basic plots of the educational morality plays. But if one is to understand them fully they must be examined in what they reveal of the nature of the person to be educated, the environment in which the education is to be conducted, the inner strengths and weaknesses which impede or propel the youth towards his goal, the philosophical and theological shifts of the age which affected profoundly the kind of education desired, and the chief formative influences of persons other than the youth himself -- teachers, parents, companions, and so on. We can begin at no better place than with the child himself.

#### The Inner Man

The understanding of what is taking place in educational morality plays requires some concept of Tudor psychology. This is because the plays are essentially psychomachia, and moral personifications imply a person who is their base. The lists of characters in the plays are to a large extent, then,

personifications of a human person's qualities of soul and body, as these qualities affect morality -- religious or "academic." They are fragmentizations of a person.<sup>2</sup> To clarify the notion, one may call them projections of the medieval dialogues or debates of the Soul and Body, with the particular elements of each concretized as characters in a play. It is the great theme of man's "double-nature" already dominating the stage since medieval times.

Tudor psychology<sup>3</sup> inherited from previous ages a certain view of man; a certain desirable order could be postulated of the human person. There was at the "top" of the interior hierarchy the rational soul and its faculties, then the sensitive soul, the seat of sensation, emotion and motion, and then the vegetable soul which consisted of the physiological processes below the level of consciousness. To introduce into this orderly arrangement any disrupting force was moral danger and weakness. The passions, seated in the sensitive soul, were the chief danger, prone, as they were, to rebellion. Passions were physiological and psychological states capable of overthrowing man's proper interior order, unless controlled carefully. Thus, conflict is conceived as an interior warfare between various parts of man's total being, between the spiritual and the bestial, in its ultimate terms. The rational soul was the seat of control. Reason must be eternally vigilant

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2 See Chapter V, p. 122.

3 For an interesting but brief discussion see Lawrence Babb, "On the Nature of Elizabethan Psychological Literature" in J. S. McManaway and others, eds., Joseph Quincey Adams Memorial Studies (Washington, 1948), pp.



and Will unremittingly firm if the individual was to remain in proper balance. In this continual struggle, self-control was the essential element that assured victory. Whether the goal was the salvation of the soul--and all instruments, including education, were bent to this end--or whether the goal was knowledge itself, the seeker must 'regain' the proper order of interior nature. Often enough, as we shall see, this human nature was conceived as vitiated in its very roots. In this concept of man we find the reason, in part, for the highly ethical and hortative drama we are considering. When, as in the more purely academic educational moralities, the ultimately religious goal becomes a more 'immediate' one of the acquisition of knowledge, the reformatory zeal of the writers remains undiminished. The same passions are belaboured, the same debilitating influences are excoriated, but for a different end. Instead of interior order for the sake of salvation, it is interior order for the sake of knowledge to be acquired in as organized a manner as possible. Instead of a zeal to reform society for the sake of preserving souls from moral taint, it is a zeal to reform society so as to lessen the pitfalls a scholar may meet in a disjointed world.

The plays, taken as a group, unmistakably posit a view of human nature. Man is born such and such a way, with such and such a make-up. When, in Mundus et Infans, the child says that he is

Goten in shame and in grete synne  
(p. 244)

he expresses in its extreme form what generally lies at the

root of the concept of man the plays present. It is the fact of Original Sin, not, indeed, always named, but usually implied. In Lusty Juventus we are straightway informed by the messenger, who quotes scripture to the effect, that man is prone to evil from his youth and that "concupiscence of sin" (p. 45) is his natural appetite. Though man may be drawn to goodness by grace, says he, he is led by nature to ill. The roots of vice remain, even when by effort and piety they have been long suppressed, and they may easily shoot up again. Virtuous Living in Like Will to Like echos the same lament of how prone human nature is to vice. Nature herself, in The Marriage of Wyt and Science, says of man's intelligence that it is "imperfit at first" (p. 329) and that to acquire knowledge one must work "with travail and with time" (p. 331). As a result of this basic weakness, which shows in the moral and educational struggle, good of either kind may be quickly lost.

Behold and see, how soon deceit is wrought;  
 How soon men's minds of harmefull things take hold,  
 How soon the good, corrupted is with naught.  
 (The Glass of Government, p. 43)

Alongside such a view of nature, we must place the view of man's possibilities. If the age conceived of man, as Barnabas in Nice Wanton says, as gradually revealing the evil tendencies seated in his nature, it nevertheless saw his ultimate goal as potentially glorious. Whether he was being trained for heaven or for knowledge's sake, the destiny was great. And with so great a goal and so enfeebled a nature to achieve it with, the struggle began. All these factors led

to the "double-nature" view of man which found its most effective expression in Hamlet's famous lament. One finds a keen awareness of man's glory and shame in these plays as well. Man declares in Nature that he is set "by sovereign decree" over the universe; he enjoys the profit of "every earthly thing," of "fruits and beasts living." He possesses that which of all things given him is "most precious"-- "heavenly wisdom"--so that he can do "works marvellous." He holds "a common being" with the universe: he takes nourishment from "herbs and trees;" with "sensual beasts I have a manner of knowing" -- the senses; but "surmounting all other in high perfection is understanding" whereby "I may aview And will discern what is to be done." His will may make "free election." Like to the angels in understanding, yet the angels

. . . be ordained to endure perpetual  
And I, wretched body! shall have my funeral.  
Man is not ordained here to abide.

The painful division is interior as well:

O, blessed Lord! what manner strife is this  
Atwixt my reason and sensuality  
That one meaneth well, and that other all amiss.  
In one is sikerness, and in tother great frailty;  
And both they be so annexed to me  
That needest I must with one of them abide . . .  
(p. 46ff)

In this situation man "is wondrously entriked" and is brought "into perplexity." Later on, innocency is warned by the world not to be soft, because man is faced with innumerable practical difficulties-- trouble, heat, cold, indigestion, a human lot to content him. Yet he is "lord of every region!"

In The Four Elements, we find Rastell instructing man that he must reconcile--and put to use the two 'parts' of

his nature -- the material and the soul. In the Interlude of Youth, we find Youth drawn between two poles, and fearing commitment completely to either. He wishes to follow Riot to the Tavern of sensual abandonment, and yet fears the return of Charity which attracts him. One need not multiply examples here to illustrate this point. My discussion of the plays will make it abundantly clear that it is the basic conflict within man and between man, his nature, and his goals, that supplies the elements of these moral allegories. We must now take a closer look at man himself.

### Reason, Will, Passion, Imagination

#### Reason

The Humanist revival which entered England from Germany, Italy, and France through the influences of the court and the universities, was a matter of thought and training, not emotion. The influence of the Oxford humanists with a new emphasis on reason and experimentation, was very great. In 1516, Erasmus in The Order of Study (De Ratione Studii) asserted that reason was the guiding force in human nature.<sup>4</sup> The elevation of human reason did not conflict with the basic medieval philosophical position exemplified in St. Thomas Aquinas and Scholasticism, although the humanists had long since grown impatient with sterile and pointless debate, which characterized a decaying system. The rise of Puritan-

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<sup>4</sup> See S. J. Curtis, and M.E.A. Boulton, A Short History of Educational Ideas (London, 1958), p. 113ff.

ism,<sup>5</sup> on the other hand, led to a conflict over the relative position of reason and faith in the pursuit of truth and in the moral and educational training of youth. As M.M. Knappen states: "The Puritan was quite explicit in his denials of any primacy of the intellect."<sup>6</sup> The heart, the emotions -- to use a phrase of the same author -- were superior to the head.<sup>7</sup>

This conflict led inevitably to different views of how youth must be trained and what role reason, which we are here considering, should play therein. This division of approach shows up clearly in the educational morality plays and we shall turn our attention to it now. The chronological approach is the most revealing in this case, and we shall employ it here.

Nature, by Medwall, is a picture of the conflict of reason and passion. Man is led by Mundus to an enslavement by the Seven Deadly Sins and, later on, returns to the rule of reason and is saved. At the outset Man is exhorted to

Let Reason thee govern in every condition.  
(p. 48)

Only thus can Understanding, which surpasses all other facul-

5 While the term Puritan apparently was not in use before 1566 (See J. W. Allen. A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century. London: 1960) Puritan tendencies and doctrines were important almost from the beginnings of the Reformation in England, as Knappen's book and other recent studies make clear. I have not attempted to confine my use of the term to the Elizabethan period nor to distinguish between explicit and implicit Puritanism by a use of the capital letter.

6 Knappen, M. M., Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago, 1939), p. 342.

7 Ibid.

ties of man "in high perfection" and by which man may "well discern what is to be done" (p. 48), remain unclouded. To abrogate reason is to lose freedom as well:

Farewell thy liberty! thou shalt wax thrall.  
(p. 48)

Not only that; reason is the very means of salvation, for if man is to please God, reason must take precedence:

For he can best lead him to the way  
Of virtue and grace.  
(p. 50)

There follows a debate between Reason and Sensuality for the control of man, and the dialogue is so couched as to make it plain that Sensuality is the rebel. God Himself established reason over sensuality,

. . . to advise thee and reform thee when thou ginst to err.  
(p. 52)

God has given man "a wondrous mind" (p. 52) to discern good and bad. Sensuality, seeing defeat coming, desires a partnership, but Reason refuses and asserts its unique supremacy.

In a passage to which we have already referred (p.7), man remarks that Reason always "meaneth well".

Further on, when man is assailed by Pride, it is Reason which rescues him.

But I was forbid by Reason  
On mine own fantasy to run,  
Or take any presumption  
Of mine own wit.  
(p. 74)

When man is overcome by the love of this world and falls a prey to the Seven Deadly Sins, Reason laments pathetically over him:

O good Lord! to whom shall I complain  
 And show the sorrows of my mind . . .  
 (p. 1331 ff)

Reason weeps over "the decay of mankind." Yet it cannot ever entirely be stifled in man:

And yet, notwithstanding  
 That he doth me distain,  
 I will resort to him again:  
 And do my labour and busy pain  
 To assay if I can him refrain  
 From such beastly living . . .  
 (p. 1345 ff)

Reason thus becomes, in addition to the characteristics we have already noted, the principle of reform. Reason determines to watch man carefully for any sign of virtue upon which it may work to lead him back to good living. Thus virtue and reason are so closely linked as to be, for all practical purposes, one. When man is finally converted, he begs help in the first place from Reason. It is Reason, too, which instructs man, using the allegory of a castle (the human person) besieged by enemies (the world, the flesh, and the devil). When Man succumbs again to evil, Reason is pictured as fasting and doing penance to bring man back to virtue.

The play thus exemplifies in a startling way the supreme position Reason had assumed in the mind of a humanist, such as Medwall, by 1495. Reason is the source and stay of virtue, and (as in the play's 'battle scene') it vanquishes and preserves from vice. The morality play has already in this instance 'left out' the typically and totally religious approach. Though ultimately it is "God's high pleasure" (p. 50) that man must fulfill, it is reason which

. . . must be preferred evermore  
 For he can best lead him in the way  
 Of virtue and grace . . . .  
 (p. 50)

The trend toward the supremacy of reason and the de-emphasis of purely religious content is even more pronounced in Rastell's The Four Elements (1520). The play asserts that everything should be tested "by natural reason and good philosophy."

In The Marriage of Wyt and Science, Reason, in the allegorical family tree, is the father of the beautiful maiden, Science. In the conduct of her affairs with her various suitors, it is Reason that guides her and decides ultimately who is worthy of her. Furthermore, he assumes the role of guiding her most favoured suitor, Wit, to his goal, the winning of Science. He cautions and restrains Wit's impetuosity. He is wed to the queenly lady, Experience. Reason refuses the hand of his daughter, Science, to Wit until Wit swears to be knit to her forever. When Wit has succumbed to the monster Tediousness, it is Reason that calls in Shame to beat him; it is Reason that reminds him of how he ignored his promises to his mother, Nature, and to his beloved, Science; how he rejected Instruction and followed Will and Ignorance to ruin. Thus, Reason is the head of the desirable dynasty of Experience and Science; it is the director of the human mind in its pursuit of knowledge; it enables the mind to conquer the pitfalls of scholarship; it is the means to bring back the mind to its goal of knowledge. All this is conveyed allegorically in the play, but the importance of Reason in the meaning of



the morality is plain. It is the supreme governor which enables the human mind, on one side, and Science, on the other, to come together, which is the goal of learning.

### Will

The emphasis upon self-control in the approach to making the child as commendable a representation of the Tudor ideal as possible brings into prominence the Will of man. While, as we have seen, the Humanists and "medievalists" placed great emphasis on Reason and the governance of man according to its dictates, there was as great, and in the case of the Puritan element, a greater emphasis on the Will. It was a case, not only of knowing the truth, but of acting conformably to it. I skirt here the problem of faith and works which is central to the religious debates of the time. For the moment I shall focus upon the concept of Will as such, as conceived in these didactic plays. It should be noted as corroborative evidence to the support of the emphasis on the importance of Will that most of the Vices (the "bad" characters of the plays) that attack man in his pursuit of moral or academic training are onslaughts, in the first place, on his Will. This fact may be borne in mind.

The statement of Man, in Medwall's play, Nature, that he can make "free election" (p. 48) and is able

To do what I will, be it evil or ill;  
And am put in the hand of mine own counsel,  
(p. 48)

puts forth the basic notion that man's will is free. The later confusion over Predestination is not encountered here. In

fact, the whole tone of these moralities is that, while man has tremendous influences to contend with, his ultimate choice is his own, as well as his ultimate responsibility. In Nature, danger is expressed in terms of what Man does with his personal liberty, and the prize of wisdom is moral freedom. Reason herself is at the mercy of Man in her contention with other forces for the rule of him.

This man is put in his own liberty;  
 And certainly the free choice is his  
 Whether he will be governed by thee or by me.  
 (p. 54)

But Will is notoriously fickle. It is "all amiss" and suffers from "great frailty" (p. 55). Indeed, Medwall implies that this is the cause of the painful interior struggle of man, that, while Reason may know what the good is, the Will does not easily submit to its rule. One senses in places like this, throughout the plays, that the Scholastic teaching that the Will is a "blind" faculty, needing constant "prodding" from the intellect,<sup>8</sup> is firmly imbedded in the thought of the age. Every conceivable plea is made to move man towards what even he recognizes is his best end.

Free will can obviously be abused by Man. Hyckes-corner, is a morality play in which it shows how Will gone bad can, under the influence of virtue, be redeemed. In this instance, Perseverance and Contemplation play the chief redemptive roles. I shall later on deal with the general concepts of 'Redemption' or 'Reformation', but here I shall

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<sup>8</sup> See, for example, St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica: Ia. q. 82, a. 111-1V.

maintain the focus on the Will as such. In this play, Freewill begins as a very refractory person indeed. In the company of Imagination (over which he has, significantly, control), he boasts that he can do good or ill. He does precisely as he pleases, in this case all the wrong things--"fight, chide and be merry" (p. 154), gamble, and fornicate. Freewill is also in charge of the boat, The Envy, which carries a load of vicious characters of all kinds, and on which Hyckescorner maintains a bawdy house. Freewill is thus the root of all the vices which leads it to fear neither man, nor God, nor the devil. It jokes about Newgate and about Hell --the devil will have to fetch him as long as he is free. Headlessness brought on by the blinding power of vice afflicts him. In the sudden conversion which he undergoes, it is plain that only the mercy of God has saved him. We should note, too, that Perseverance does not give him a new name but only a new goal (here, Heaven), since the faculty is not of itself evil. He only gets a new garment to show his new desires to live with Perseverance and be virtuous. He is advised, in a clever play on words, to have good will. However, the unremitting nature of the battle Will must wage is made plain when he meets Imagination again. This latter character shrieks in appalled horror, seeing, as we gather, his own freedom threatened. This play makes it plain that man's power of Will is basically good and not perverted. What Will fixes upon as desirable is the good or evil. Unbridled liberty is the source, not of happiness, but of unrest. It is only after Will has placed itself under the care

of two reasonable elements, Contemplation and Good Remembrance (Perseverance), that it restores the harmony which signifies truth.

If Hyckescorner is, in its instructive nature, a lesson on how a disorderly Will may be redeemed by virtue, The Marriage of Wyt and Science is an instruction in part on how Will may be a prey to useless fears and apprehensions in its submission to Reason. Nature gives wit,<sup>9</sup> her child, a companion to help him in his life's journey. He does not prove to be a help for very long. Indeed, he asserts his independence right from the start, saying he is going to come and go and do as he pleases. Wit quickly sees that he shall have to keep a close watch over this companion. Nature herself, as if to underscore the natural order of things, tells Will to follow Wit. Trouble breeds immediately. Will wanders, and when called back by Wit, says that he is not convinced that Wit is a good master, "rich, lusty, pleasant, wise." Will foresees little glamour and much boredom in the pursuit of knowledge. Will's irresoluteness is symbolized by his deprecatory remarks when he is sent to bring Wit's picture to his beloved Science--will she like his "spindle shanks" and "these black spots on your nose"? He hopes to prevent the marriage of Wit and Science because he sees that all will be lack of liberty, no gay times, thrift, and the rule of a woman. He asks Wit what will happen if his wife doesn't care

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<sup>9</sup> In this play, as in others in which it appears, we must consider Wit, not in the meanings it assumed in later ages, but as equated to Reason or Intelligence: See, O.E.D.

for him, Will. He tells Wit to dominate his wife completely the first year of their marriage to assure his liberty. Wit reassures Will that under his care no harm will befall him, and Will believes he will be treated well. What is observed here is the allegorical presentation of the relationship between Will and Wit--the interior dialogue in every man. It is man perceiving the goal, distressed by difficulty, comforting himself.

Wit continues his education for knowledge by coming under the guidance of Experience. Here Will again grows apprehensive; he finds Experience too solemn and stern a character. When, at last, Wit acquires Instruction, Diligence and Study for his companions, Will is yet more distressed. He fears the great effort their presence presages. Wit holds out the prospect of three to four years of labour before his marriage to Science. Will, unable to endure the prospect, advises Wit simply to take advantage of the lady at once and forget her--a kind of pre-marital relationship which may be interpreted as hasty and ill-founded scholarship.<sup>10</sup> At this suggestion, Wit balks. When Science arranges a meeting between her parents, Reason and Experience, and the suitor, Wit, and suggests a testing with the monster Tediousness, Will falls into a frenzy of impatience and is put down by Wit from

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<sup>10</sup> The particular allegorical pattern of this play, and of others in the series, is that of "winning the fair lady". The fair lady, wooed by the hero after a semichivalric style, is, of course, Science. Will is, in this case, the Vice. This character has developed into a kind of comic servant combining, at once, diabolical strains, the possibility of doing serious damage to the hero's pursuit, and delightful humour.

his impetuous course. However, they do prematurely battle Tediousness without sufficient aid and Wit is left dead. Will then comes to his rescue, illustrating the virtues of that member, which, if it cannot long endure restraint, is nevertheless unconquerable in the good sense as well. To assist in the restoration of Wit, Will brings in Recreation. Wit next contends with Idleness and the net result is that Will becomes completely worn out. To his distress he brings a touch of humour, remarking that its a good thing he is a small wiry fellow and not a big "lubber" (p. 387) or he would long ago have collapsed from all his running about. We may also take this as a comment on the essential adaptability of Will to the requirements of the individual. In fact Wyt and Science shows us Will under several aspects-- its fear of effort, its impatience with long and painful work, its usefulness to man in times of discouragement, its adaptability to the needs of the moment, the necessity it is under of being recreated, and so on. All these aspects are expressed in terms of the pursuit of science, and while the play must be accepted in its academic terms as a lesson on how to pursue knowledge in a sensible manner, it can as well be looked upon as a useful psychological comment.

#### Passion

To define passion adequately in terms of Tudor thought one must consider two aspects. The one is "passionate feeling" and the other "sensual passion." It is necessary, however, to fuse the two notions if a true notion is to be arrived at. One

must admit here that the definition of passion, even after the centuries of experience since the plays we are considering were written, and even after the advance in psychological knowledge of the last decades, is a confusion and wide-ranging task. The solution is to accept the plays on their own terms and consider the passions not as they are in themselves, but as they manifest themselves in human affairs both within the individual and in relation to the world outside him. I also leave aside the new emphasis on the usefulness of the senses and, thereby, of experience and experiment. Following this method, we find ourselves immediately involved in the vices which commonly afflict a youth who pursues education--moral or academic. The influence of Christian medieval asceticism and of Puritan asceticism, the influence of Humanist concepts, and other general notions will be left aside till the evidence which the plays present has been examined.

I may begin with a "broad" vice, before going into particulars of individual vices. This inclusive vice is Sensuality, which, as will become evident, is a combination of wayward tendencies and a cause of other vice. In Nature Reason says to Sensuality that it

. . . has brought many a man to a wretched end.  
(p. 50)

Sensuality is warned by Nature that, since it has been privileged to dwell in the best of creatures, Man, it must take care not to bring him to ruin. It must submit to the rule of Reason. Sensuality waits till Nature departs to begin its assault on man. It hopes to weaken man by the weight of ex-

perience, since it is by experience that the senses are fully awakened.

For as soon as we shall to the world resort,  
I put no doubt he will me support.  
(p. 51)

Reason endeavours to silence it, but it will not be defeated by default. Reason asserts its right to rule man, and, in a curious evolutionary note, Sensuality screams

Thou liest! . . . .  
Thou camest but tonight and mayst hap go tomorrow.  
(p. 51)

In the development of man, Reason is a late comer.<sup>11</sup> In the continuing debate between Reason and Sensuality for rule of man, Sensuality begins to perceive his ultimate defeat. With such a prospect he changes tactics and uses insinuation.

Which is the worthier? forsooth! I trow neither;  
We be good fellows . . . .  
(p. 53)

Sensuality asks for equal footing. He says:

Meddle thou in no point that belongeth to me,  
And I shall promise thee never to meddle with thee.  
(p. 53)

This is an attempt to relegate sensual acts to the realm of amorality, but Reason promptly rejects the notion. To follow unbridled Sensuality, asserts Reason, is to destroy "Innocency." Sensuality, short-tempered and ever-changing character that he is in the play, flies into a rage.

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<sup>11</sup> Whether this idea is born of the story of the order of Creation in Genesis or born of a notion held by many or few in Medwall's time is a point I am unable to decide at the present moment. I lean to the view that it is Scriptural in origin, and this because of the general Scriptural notions that underlie so much of the theory of these plays.



That one chattereth like a pre; that other like a jay;<sup>12</sup>  
 And yet, when they both have done what they can  
 Maugre their teeth, I shall rule the man.  
 (p. 55)

"I shall rule the man"--in these words is underscored the tremendous battle faced by Man in the ordering of his nature to the ideal presented to him. And so the see-saw struggle goes on, until Reason and Innocency triumph. Man, experiencing a kind of peace in interior order, says:

But Reason and Innocency; chiefly these two,  
 Have the whole rule and governing of me;  
 To whom eke is subdued my sensuality.  
 (p. 60)

Sensuality appeals to Mundus (the World), in which he has placed his hope, as we have seen, from the beginning, to have the order removed and a check put on Reason. The World agrees that Sensuality should have equal sway with Reason. The World introduces Man to Worldly Affection, and man, much to the delight of Sensuality, rejects Innocency--"a drivell" (p. 63).

Worldly Affection tells man:

Ye are not bound to live like an angel;  
 Nor to be as God, always immutable.  
 (p. 63)

In the wake of man's decline, Lust and Pride enter. They greet Sensuality as an old ally. Sensuality calls Pride "the root of all virtue" (p. 70). Sensuality, at last triumphant, gives a gleeful and comic account of man's fall. He then presents a far from comic picture of man's present state:

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<sup>12</sup> Meaning Innocency, which has come in during the debate.

He is now as familiar  
 With bodily lust as ever ye were.  
 Yea! and thereto as great a swearer.  
 When time requires  
 Knew I never, of his age,  
 A man of better courage  
 To do all manner of outrage  
 After our<sup>13</sup> desires  
 Sith Reason and he were at variance  
 He hath be full of much dalliance;  
 And hath called to his favour and acquaintance  
 Your kinsmen by and by--  
 Envy Wroth, Gluttony and Covetise,  
 Sloth and Lechery become to his service  
 And utterly he hateth their contrariwise,  
 And that he professeth openly.  
 (pp. 80-81)

All the vices change their names to signify the perverted blindness of man under the rule of sensuality.

The rule, however, is not secure. Reason reminds man of "his frail carcass and caronous body" (p. 89). Grace and Repentance endeavour to get a hearing from man. The whole tempo of the battle quickens. Sensuality counters with the contention that following Reason is too hard and will "shorten your days" (p. 91). He weeps to soften man's determination. Under the onslaught man again succumbs. Reason again is put to flight and, as Pride observes, Sensuality is "chief ruler when Reason is away." Eventually, but only after Age has worn his energies down, and the virtues are able to come to man's aid by grace and repentance, man rejects the rule of Sensuality. It will be necessary later to consider the nature of this reform. What has been observed so far is the intense struggle between man's Reason and Sensuality that the play

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<sup>13</sup> That is Pride, Sensuality and Worldly Affection.

portrays. The power of Sensuality to corrupt man from virtue and knowledge is, as here conceived, very great. Sensuality is a wily enemy boring from within human nature -- by turns domineering, insinuating, raging, despairing, overconfident, dormant, self-pitying, fearful of age and death, and nostalgic for lost enjoyments. The play is, from its bias, a most effective portrayal of this side of man's nature.

In the Four Elements, a more purely "academic" play, Sensuality is a character who endeavours to deter man from study by a cheerful bawdiness and promise of good times. Studious Desire and he abuse one another. Sensuality, ever cheerfully offhand, lists his offerings for man's approval--gay times, eating, drinking, refreshment, pleasant sounds (music), delightful pictures, colours, the pleasure of touch--in a word, all the gratifications the senses of man might wish for. The only study man needs, says Sensuality, is to study how to enjoy himself. He enlists the aid of a Taverner. He tries to make Studious Desire and Experience appear foolish by a comic spelling match, in which they solemnly refuse to become involved.<sup>14</sup> This enrages Sensuality who, unable to stand denial, becomes angered and stalks off with a threat to return and make them "repent and be sorry" (p. 37). He seeks out his friend Ignorance and boasts to him of a ridiculous fight he had had. He is full of false bravado. Man, however, does not persevere in good, and Sensuality runs to his comfort telling him that Study has made him mad. Sensuality tries to persuade man to

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<sup>14</sup> This spelling match suggests a schoolboy audience, which, from what is known of other plays, is not improbable.

come carousing and wenching in the tavern, but man is worn out by the battle he must wage:

By my troth, I care not greatly,  
For I am indifferent to all company,  
Whether it be here or there.  
(p. 43)

Nature eventually must come to man's rescue. She tells man he cannot live above the senses entirely, but that he should not put in them his

. . . felicity  
And all thy whole delight  
(p. 50)

The real villain of the piece is Ignorance.

Here we see a more balanced view of man in which, unconfused by ascetic or Puritanical fanaticism, man is able to come to terms with himself by Experience. This represents the same influence of humanism--a religious humanism. It also has about it a core of realism, since it is only after a struggle with the world around him, and encountering experience, that man finds the balance Nature intends. Sensuality has been by turns humorous, gay, cajoling, angered, full of false courage and, then, of cowardice, and finally exhausts the seat of the battle--man. Nature heals the discord, grants to Reason and Sensuality their proper role, and man finds peace. It is not the one-or-the-other solution of Nature, with its shades of endless tyranny on Reason's part and endless rebellion by Sensuality.

Imagination

We must now consider the role of the imagination in

this process. These Tudor dramas do not lay great stress on this faculty, either as an instrument of man's corruption, or of his advancement in sensitivity. It should be observed that there is no concept of Imagination which could be compared to that developed in later centuries and especially since the Romantic Period. The "creative Imagination" is never meant in these plays. Where Imagination does take a role in these dramas, it is a very different thing.

In Hyckescorner, Imagination appears as the aid in vice of Freewill. It is Imagination which gives Freewill the objects upon which to exercise itself. Imagination is seen as very keen in devising vicious acts. When Freewill is incarcerated in Newgate, Imagination robs an apothecary to obtain money to bribe Freewill's jailer and let him out. Imagination is also pictured as the enemy of Contemplation, whose ears he threatens to box. He is also necessary and very helpful in fights, because he can devise ways of tricking the opponent; Freewill refuses to battle without him. He also declares that he does not give a feather for anything. He is made

. . . a knight  
 And of the stews I am made controller  
 Of all the houses of lechery.  
 (p. 188)

Imagination is held in check, if it is checked at all, by Will, so that when Freewill reforms he says, "Ament, Imagination, and mercy cry" (p. 190). Imagination is furious at the prospect of restraint and says of Perseverance and Contemplation, his chief enemies, that he would kill "these two shoresons" (p. 190) if he had a dagger. Under the prodding of these two

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and of Freewill, Imagination repents, and, always fearful, asks for money lest he "have need" (p. 193) in the future.

In The Contract of Marriage of Wyt and Science, Imagination is called Fancy. There are no fine distinctions drawn anywhere in the plays between Imagination and Fancy, such as might be expected as a result of later refinements in thought. Fancy enters and describes her wandering nature. She is a bother to scholars and cannot fathom wisdom. She will try to get Wit to follow her. She will be smooth and flattering and masquerade as an emissary of Wisdom, a situation which warns against, it may be assumed, capricious and misdirected scholarship. She manages to get Wit to follow her, but he easily overcomes her because she is pictured as being without real power, a reflection of the little importance Tudor thought gave to this "faculty" of man.

Thus imagination is found as a character in only two of fourteen plays. In both cases it is a nuisance "faculty," easily put down or brought under control. It may be thought of, as here represented, as the "wandering" part of man's intelligence. It must not be thought that the age was unaware of the human mind's tendency to stray to idle or vicious goals, but rather that Tudor concepts left Imagination as an undistinguished element from the general nature of Reason and Will. This is due, in part, to the location of disorder more forcibly in the Will and Passions. It is implied that to cure these greater evils is to cure the lesser. The very nature of Tudor morality, as we have discovered it, with its strong emphasis on active virtue and firm control by Reason leaves the concept

of Imagination in a subordinate place.

Thus Reason, Will the Passions and Imagination constitute the interior state within which the conflict of these plays takes place. The chief means of corruption were the vices. They were the great enemies of that interior order which the means of education were meant to produce in a man.

## CHAPTER II

### THE INNER MAN: THE ANATOMY OF VICE

#### Lust

We may now proceed to examine more closely certain components of sensuality, which we may also consider, if we will, as full-fledged vices in their own right. The first of these and one of the most ubiquitous in the whole series of plays is Lust. So entangled is the vice of lust with other factors such as bad companions, low life, and social decay (and, therefore, in the plays, social criticism), that it is necessary for clarity's sake to disentangle it from these other elements for the moment. It can then be seen operating in the plays more obviously.

We have already seen how Man succumbs, in Medwall's play, Nature, to Sensuality, and how Lust and Pride follow upon this capitulation. In his pursuit of lustful pleasure, Man falls in with a tavern wench, Margery. After his first conversion, Margery was so heart-broken she

... entered into a religious place  
At the Green Friars hereby  
(p. 92)

The "Green Friars" is a home of prostitution, and the reli-



gion they practice is libertinism.<sup>1</sup> Man cries

Foorsooth! that is a noble religion;  
It stirreth me to great devotion.  
(p. 93)

They make ready to go to "the shrine." Bodily Lust and Worldly Affection enter to accompany them. The inbred nature of vice is quickly made plain, for Bodily Lust says to man,

Sir! ye know well that ye and I  
Be never much asunder,  
(p. 94)

They proceed to their tryst in "a house of bawdy" (p. 95). The essential indiscriminate nature of Lust is made clear when Worldly Affection suggests a substitute for Margery. Fearful of losing his arrangement, Man will not consent till he is sure of obtaining "this other pretty new thing" (p. 96). The other pretty new thing is, however, entertaining a gentleman in her room and cannot come, so they go off to see Margery. We have here a comment on the nature of Lust as Medwell sees it--fickle, fearsome, jealous of its object, unfaithful. It brings in its wake a kind of anxious fear.

In the tavern they indulge in much food and drink, led thereto by Gluttony, for

. . . hot drinks and delicate refection  
Causeth fleshly insurrection.  
(p. 106)

Gluttony is pictured as friend of Worldly Affection and the breeder of Lust. The unreliability of Lust is scored when Man asks for some time off and requests Bodily Lust to keep

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<sup>1</sup> The fact that religious terms are used to describe lust is here ironic and constitutes criticism of ecclesiastics.

his friends together, which he does not do. Lust is also so great a lover of ease that when Envy and Wrath enter "defensively arrayed" (p. 108) for battle with Reason, Lust begs off, saying,

I will not come where strokes be;  
I am not so made a man.  
(p. 108)

He promptly leaves.

Similar characteristics of Lust are graphically portrayed throughout the plays. In the Four Elements, Lust has not a large role as such, but is part of a larger character-concept, Riot. In this play it is used for some humorous effect and is essentially irreverent. It jokes of sacramental absolution and blessing and relates a tale of a man who hit his wife on the buttocks with a beer-pot.

In Mundus et Infans, when the child of seven is gone out to face the world, he immediately encounters Lust. Embraced by the world as "my derlynge dere" (p. 247) he is given new names--Love, Lust, and Lykyng--and urged to participate in

All game and gle and gladness,  
All love-langynge in lewdness.  
(p. 247)

Lust thus is pictured as well-nigh inescapable to the child in the world. When he, the child, is attired in his new clothes, he sets out to "attract a ladie with is locks". He sees the court of the Seven Kings that wait upon the world, the Seven Deadly Sins, and swears he will worship Lechery with all his might. When he meets Folly he discovers that he is the brother of Lechery. Conscience undertakes to warn him to beware of the

fiend of the flesh that conspires against man. What this particular play postulates about vice is that it is inevitably met with in the world and is, at its roots, sheer folly.

In The Interlude of Youth, we meet lady Lechery, introduced to us by Riot. She is Pride's sister. Youth is to take her as his mistress.

Sir, in faith I shall tell you true,  
 She is fresh and fair of hue,  
 And very proper of body;  
 Men call her Lady Lechery.  
 (p. 20)

As if to charm timid Youth, she quickly puts down a panting Riot who rather bluntly asks her to go to the tavern. She accuses him of not going "gingerly" (p. 22) and of giving her bold looks. Youth, captivated by her because she is so "courteous, gentle, and free" (p. 22), swears to pay this coy deceiver great attention.

In Lusty Juventus, Hypocrisy, desiring to bring about Youth's religious and moral decay, brings in a girl called Abominable Living to beguile him. It is her job to bring him to lechery. Youth is so young that she flees at the sight of him, a comment on the corruption of the young. Hypocrisy reassures her and Youth says he likes "fair women" (p. 83). She too is coy and deceitful and says that she had heard that Youth scorned wanton women like her. In a burst of false chivalry, Youth swears to kill the one who dared call her an ill-famed woman. Youth suggests a private rendezvous. Abominable Living fears gossip but Youth, completely heedless by now, swears he will kill the first gossiper:

I will run through his cheeks with my sword.  
(p. 87)

Lust is the root of anger and division as well.

Good Counsel meanwhile is desolate at Youth's conduct. He presents the tone of the play in his lament over Youth's wantonness. In a paraphrase of St. Paul to the Galatians<sup>2</sup> he says,

Your own flesh is your most bitter enemy.  
(p. 94)

In The Longer Thou Livest The More Fool Thou Art, part of the decline of Moros is his addiction to Lust. Incontinence is termed by Idleness "the greatest vice of all" (p. 31). It has significantly changed its name to Pleasure and has blinded Moros so that

He discerneth not clean from unclean.  
(p. 33)

Lust has the power to blind us to the reality of sin. It also makes for rashness. To be "companied with a hoore" (p. 40) makes a man bold. If it blinds youth, it is absolutely ridiculous in "an old man lecherous" (p. 57).

In Like Will to Like, which as a play shows the movement of the morality genre into farce, Tom Tossopot is deeply immersed in lust. He knows scores of loose women (or so he boasts) and spends his time with them when their husbands are away. He blames his bad state on his parents, but for the moment that is by-the-by. One should note the ever-present seeds of fleshly corruption in even the humour of the play.

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<sup>2</sup> Galatians 5:17.

Although there is little graphic description of, or even advertence to, Lust in The Marriage of Wyt and Science, we do learn that wit is preparing for death slain by "scornful chance and lawless love" (p. 370). Unbridled lust brings with it despair.

In Nice Wanton we are presented with the picture of two children who delight in dalliance and, as a result, come to a bad end. They associate with "lusty companions" (p. 165), drinking beer and wine and idling the hours away. This leads to abandoning education completely:

Farewell our school !  
 Away with books and all . . .  
 (p. 106)

Eulalia, a solicitous neighbour, tells Xantippe, the mother, that her daughter has learned three or four "nice tricks" (p. 167) with men. Even their songs, so to speak, betray them. They sing of a "lusty lover" (p. 168). Lust divides them eventually. The children quarrel over whether Dalilah has lost her virginity and over Ishmael's supposed mistresses. Iniquity describes Dalilah in the following terms:

By Gog's blood, she is the best whore in England  
 (p. 170).

When at last the children have met their long-expected bad end, the audience is reminded that God will give the gift of purity to those who ask for it. One is reminded of Solomon's declaration that unless God gave it he could not be pure.<sup>3</sup> The play has a stern Puritanical tone to it throughout, and the punishments for sin are severe.

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<sup>3</sup> I Kings 3.



a warning against infatuation, and practical as it is, against acting on mere lust, especially marrying on it. It stresses the necessity of parental consent. Love, we may deduce, must be tested by time.

In the Marriage of Wit and Wisdom, Lust follows on the heels of Idleness and is disguised as Modest Mirth. The trap for Wit is thus not easily discernible and Wit is not able to avoid it; he is blinded by disorderly affection. In this play, however, the stress is not on Lust itself, but on Idleness.

Although the tedious schoolmaster in The Glass of Government warns the Youths of their body's sacredness as an "inwards Temple" (p. 33) of God, two of them ignore his admonition. They avoid school on a false excuse to flirt with the clever prostitute Valentia. Since, by a curious irony, it is not polite for ladies and gentlemen to talk long in the streets, the youths go to the homes of the money-hungry ladies. The chorus which closes each act says that they are corrupted by the "parasites and bawdes" (p. 43) of the World. When the fathers of the two wayward youths decide to send them to the University their chief motive for agreeing is that women will be more readily available in that less constraining atmosphere. The schoolmaster, hearing of the wild life his two students are leading, cries,

Oh, how perilous is lewd company unto young men!  
(p. 69)

One of the youths travels to accomodate his tendencies, acquires a mistress in Brussels, is whipped publicly in Geneva

(where else? one may ask) for fornication, and is banished in disgrace from the town. The other youth tries robbery when his riotous living has exhausted his funds, is caught and executed. Such are the rewards of passion gone wild.

Looking back over the discussion of the role of Lust in the educational process one sees that almost all these authors conceive of it as a dark and destructive passion. Lust is, in summation of their opinions, irreverent, irreligious, ridiculous, inevitably met with in the world, the greater part of Folly, present in all classes, follows on wild living, brings Pride in its wake, is a hazard of beautiful people, disguises itself in coyness or pleasantry or false chivalry, makes for quarrelsomeness and jealousy, blinds its victims, is farcical, causes despair and death, feeds gossip, causes hasty and later lamented marriages, is used by parasites to achieve their ends, is fed by wealth and leisure. Such a catalogue of ills springing from one passion speaks for the Tudor fear of Wayward Affection. This fear is born of the rise of Puritanism, but has roots as well, if Knappen's theory is accepted, in medieval asceticism.<sup>4</sup> The humanist effort to temper this distrust of the sexual tendency in man is not very apparent in the plays. The "academic" moralities stress, almost as much as the morally orientated educational plays, the evil effects of lust. It can be safely asserted that the fear of bodily and affectionate passion is characteristic of

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4 See M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago, 1939).



these plays, which are characteristic of the practical concerns of their age. One is tempted, however, to postulate the theory tentatively that this very struggle is indicative of the rise of new opinions in the matter. It is a fact that the Humanists were beginning to stress the value of the senses, and these plays may be said to represent the reaction of traditional morality and Puritanism. When this "new view" of the senses is discussed, this aspect will become clearer. Here we may state that so violent an assault on sensual indulgence is more than an assertion of a generally-held and traditional opinion; it is a traditional opinion on the defensive in the midst of rapidly changing religious concepts that supported it.

#### Gluttony

There are other hazards about which the authors warn young people endeavouring to find their way in life. Some of these are very closely allied to Sensuality and Lust. Among those so allied is Gluttony, which is at once a breeder of vice and a consequence of it. Babb states that diet plays a role in Tudor concepts of morality because what one eats effects psychological variation and consequently body fluids and other elements in the psychological processes.<sup>5</sup> This is allied to the theory of humours which influenced Tudor concepts of man. Consequently, it is not surprising to see enacted on the stage dire warnings against over-indulgence in food and drink.

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<sup>5</sup> See Lawrence Babb, "On the Nature of Elizabethan Psychological Literature" in J. S. McManaway and others, eds., Joseph Quincey Adams Memorial Studies (Washington, 1948), pp.

Such, indeed, is the case. In Nature, Gluttony is procured as a companion to man by Sensuality and Pride--by Pride, because he is displaying his largesse. Gluttony clears the stage by sending Man and Worldly Affection off to look for food, and gives an account of himself in a soliloquy:

Of all things earthly I hate to fast;  
 Four times a day I make repast;  
 Or thrice as I suppose.  
 And when I am well fed  
 Then get I to a soft bed  
 My body to repose;  
 Then take I a nap or twain,  
 Up I go straight and to it again.  
 (p. 106)

Gluttony thus breeds sloth and idleness and grows by its own satisfaction. It also breeds lust, for

. . . hot drinks and delicate refection  
 Causeth fleshly insurrection.  
 (p. 106)

Further, it abhors restraint and feels abused if Reason rules it. Through a kind of pity for itself, it makes man feel his loss.

Alas! the while had ye no meat  
 As long as you were under his diet?  
 (p. 107)

It expresses shock at man's emaciated condition and tells him he needs fattening up. It is also slothful to the point of cowardice. When the various Vices are trying to organize for an attack on Reason, Gluttony, enjoying his "cheese and a Bottle" (p. 112), says that his food is armour enough for him and refuses to get involved. The cures administered to man at the end of the play to allay his gluttonous tendencies are Abstinence and Chastity, which enable him to overcome and avoid superfluity and surfeit.

Nature is the only play in the series in which Gluttony appears as a character, but the vice is part of the general decay of man when he abrogates reason. This is true of all the plays. Sometimes gluttony appears as an aspect of the character Riot or Riotous living, but it should be noted that excessive drinking and eating constitute in the view of these authors a definite part of the sensual man's decline.

### Idleness

Idleness is no less a threat. In the moral genealogy of the plays, it is born of Sensuality, on the moral level, or Tediousness, on the academic level. It is especially insidious, assuming alluring or amusing forms, hiding its identity under various guises such as that of Recreation or Honest Recreation. In The Longer Thou Livest, the general rule is laid down that Idleness is the father of many evils. Exercitation instructs Moros, that men need "to be well occupied night and day" (p. 62) and, as an example of the disastrous results following on Idleness, says paraphrasing Ezeiel<sup>6</sup>, that

Idleness taught the Sodomites impietie.  
(p. 62)

Other plays spell out the effects more in detail.

In The Marriage of Wit and Science, we see the causes of man's collapse into Idleness. After Wit has been beaten by Tediousness, he falls a victim to the vice. In the play,

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6 Ezeiel, 16:49.

Idleness is an alluring and light-hearted female. She lures Wit into taking a nap in her lap and lulls him to sleep with a song which admonishes him to forget care and distressing thought. While he sleeps, she and her son, Ignorance, change Wit's clothes for those of her son. By this it is made clear that Idleness causes Ignorance.

In Nice Wanton, there are repeated warnings to keep children from wasting their time while yet young. The whole play shows the disastrous effects that follow on neglect of hard work at school. The Messenger (who recites the prologue) tells us not to allow children to grow up in idleness and ill (p. 163).

In Wit and Wisdom, we are told that youth has a natural tendency to Idleness and that

Most of them frequent where Idleness still sits.  
(p. 5)

Severity warns Wit to keep to his books and beware of Idleness. When Idleness enters, he himself recounts his characteristics: he loves simply lingering about; he is so lazy the moss grows over him. His mother is Ignorance, his brother Irksomeness, and he disguises himself as Honest Recreation to help men deceive themselves. He is full of pleasant jests to further the seduction. He deludes by lies about his true nature. He is also a singularly persistent individual, and is greatly aided by the monster Tediousness. It is only under the guidance of Wisdom that Wit is able to defeat the monster Tediousness and thereby defeat Idleness.

In The Glass of Government, with typical directness

of approach, we are told by one of the parents that

Idleness is the cause of many evils  
in youth, whereas being occupied or  
exercised in any thing that is verteous  
or commendable, they shall not have so  
great occasion to think of vanities  
(p. 53).

The play Wyt and Science, by Redford, shows us how a youth, beset by Sloth and weariness, yields himself up to Idleness. He disports himself with Recreation, till exhausted from a dance he falls in Idleness' lap. Honest Recreation is appalled that Wit is going to stay with the harlot Idleness, "the very root of all viciousness" (p. 149). Idleness says that she will bring him back to himself and repair his sagging energies. She tries to make Honest Recreation out as evil, saying that she does a great deal of harm with "her dancing, her masking, her muming," "her carding, her dicing" (p. 150), her idle music, taverns full of devotees, and her other abominations. Thus she manages to confuse thoroughly the youth on what is really proper and restorative Recreation. Honest Recreation warns youth that Idleness will bring him "to shameful end" (p. 151). By means of Idleness, youth obtains Ignorance as a brother, and the end result is that he is "conjured from Wit unto a stark fool" (p. 157).

It takes a notable number of virtues to restore Wit to himself.

In all the plays in which Idleness plays a role, it is allied to Ignorance, in one case as a mother, in another as a brother, and so on.

The discussion so far has, in part, pointed up the

fact that these dramas lay stress upon certain debilitating influences which are the causes of a whole catalogue of disorders. These generating influences we have seen as a concept of freedom of the will which leads to lack of control, just as Sensuality when it is uncontrolled leads to Lust, Gluttony, Idleness, and a host of other vices. It is now necessary to consider what these other vices are and how these broader influences, which have been studied up till now, produce them. It is not a question here of the social aspect of these matters, but the inner world of the person. Certain more "educational" vices, such as Tediousness, lack of application, and so on, are also left aside for the moment.

#### Pride and Its Companions

In Nature, the first of these vices is Pride, and, allied to it, Vanity. Pride enters the play full of cantankerousness and haughtiness, saying that he will break the knaves' heads if they do not open promptly to a gentleman such as he. He is snobbery personified:

Wot ye not how great a lord I am?  
 Of how noble progeny I cam?  
 My father a knight; my mother called  
 madame  
 (p. 66)

Ancestral pride is here satirized, inasmuch as such a despicable character takes so much pride in his origins. Vanity of dress is likewise notable in him.

How say ye, sirs, by mine array?  
 Doth it please you, yea or nay?  
 (p. 67)

He has gilt spurs, scarlet clothes, loves "to have hair at the

side" (p. 67) and a stomacher of satin. His doublet, he proudly points out, is "on-laced before"(p. 67). He is also completely blind about himself.

Some men would think that this were pride;  
But it is not so--ho, ho, abide!  
(p. 68)

He is an old friend of Sensuality. He is called Worship by people in the world's grasp. Sensuality, indicating the reversal of values which Mundus represents, calls him "the root of all virtue" (p. 70). Pride explains his method of operation. He spreads good cheer, builds up confidence in money and pleasure, fills his victims' heads with lofty ideas and the desire of social eminence, and leads them, by excessive trust in their "own brain" (p. 71), to abandon Reason. Pride is in service for twenty pounds to Sensuality, a significant fact, but, equally significant is the fact that Pride will not take the twenty pounds lest it become known that he worked his way into Sensuality's service. Sensuality makes good use of Pride's service. Sensuality sees to it that Pride is comely and a good companion, that he is obsequious and slyly deceitful. Pride becomes a master of flattery. When Man asks Pride what he wants, Pride replies that he wants nothing except to see the great man everyone is praising. Even when Man asks Pride's advice, Pride will not give it but, expressing horror at man's naivete, tells him to stand on his own two feet and not take advice from any wretch. Reason, Pride says, is a "lewd fool" (p. 74) who treats man like "a very lad" (p. 74) and deceives him. Pride first makes man very vain about his appearance.

But, in faith! I like not your array  
 It is not the fashion that goeth now-a-day.  
 (p. 76)

He makes a very gaudy set of clothes for Man. When he sees his plans going well, he rejoices that

Reason!  
 He is foresaken utterly!  
 (p. 77)

Jealousy quickly follows on Pride and Sensuality. Man becomes especially jealous of his reputation as a lover, which points up allegorically the close connection between Sensuality and Pride. He becomes so enamoured of his reputation that Sensuality cries

He is so full of jealousy  
 As ever I knew man.  
 (p. 80)

Man also loses his sense of shame once he succumbs to Pride and Sensuality. Of these two, Shamefacedness says:

It is according to Sensuality  
 With Pride for to go.  
 (p. 83)

It is these two who put Shamefacedness to flight.

Pride also leads a man to forget past transgressions and to learn nothing from his errors.

And make as though you know nothing  
 Of his diverse and variable dealing.  
 (p. 100)

Sloth now makes its assault on a proud and sensual Man, in such a state now of blindness that he may fall victim to any vice. For example, Sloth now has a new name--Ease. He announces that he comes in

. . . straight from my bed, I make Gad  
 Mine eyes be almost out  
 For lack of sleep . . .  
 (p. 101)



Man says of Sloth

For ye do nothing  
But ever after your own sweet will  
(p. 102)

Man is now prepared for his complete moral debasement, and not unexpectedly, Envy and Wrath enter. Envy and Wrath are in "defensible array" (p. 109), ready to do battle with Reason. The battle, however, is poorly organized because the vices are a singularly cowardly crew. This causes Envy much annoyance. Bodily Lust refuses to fight at all. Sloth sends a message that he "lieth sick in his bed" (p. 114). And so it goes. It is apparent that all the vices are of such a nature as to be essentially passive and that they take root in man as the negation of virtue. They spread to fill a kind of moral vacuum which they pre-suppose in their victim. This explains, to a large extent, the emphasis, in this drama and in the others of the series, on positive and active virtue. It is clear that this is a central concept of the Tudor notion of virtue as revealed in these plays.

Man, at last wearied by the contradictory demands of Vice, which this battle symbolizes, leaves the scene. The vices descend to bitter wrangling among themselves: Envy accuses Pride of tardiness in the battle; Envy boasts of his natural contrariness:

When I see another man arise,  
Or fare better than I,  
Then must I chafe and fret for ire,  
And imagine, with all my desire,  
To destroy him utterly.  
(p. 117)

It is by disagreement among the very passions that

man seeks to gratify that is conveyed so effectively the unrest, irritation, and cross-purposing that a man enslaved by passion is heir to.

In Hyckescorner we also have a portrayal of the vices that engulf the unwary man. The ship that carries all the other vices is called The Envy and was owned by Ill-Will. Here again, as we have seen, the perverted will of a man leads to disorder. There is also a hint at the brutality and coarseness that a man falls into when the vices reign. Freewill and Hyckescorner plan to go out into the town and rob someone, and, if he resists, to throw him "into the Thames quite" (p. 166). Disregard of human life follows the debasement of self. Quarrelsomeness and division among evil companions appears in this play again. Freewill objects to the lustiness of Imagination. They quickly make up, however, since neither can effectively pursue their ends divided. The play seems to say that a mind and will need to be united in a common pursuit (here, of evil), if that goal is to be achieved. Freewill and Imagination also must contend with Pity, and in so doing reveal other of their characteristics. They accuse Virtue of being merely "a fair face" (p. 171) and claim it would succumb to vice as fast as the next person were it in "a privy place" (p. 171). Vice leads, too, to a general criminality of life--thievery, prison terms, and so on. Boastfulness to cloak cowardice becomes the rule of procedure. Imagination, when challenging for a fight, is taken up, but quickly lets himself out with "Yet I was never wont to fight alone" (p. 182). He needs constant encouragement, which says something about the nature of Imagination, although

it is the aspect of cowardice that is here stressed. Vice also entraps one in ineffective self-pity, which paralyzes rather than enables one to effectively reform. In a truly pathetic speech, Imagination says,

But methought I lay there too long,  
And the whoreson fetters were so strong . . . .  
(p. 192)

Self-pity leads however to something--the desire for better things. The Prison in which Imagination lies "too long" symbolizes the entrapment of man by vice.

In Mundus et Infans the engulfment of the worldly man by all the vices is portrayed by the court of the Seven Kings that wait upon the World--the Seven Deadly Sins--Pride, Wrath, Covetousness, Sloth, Gluttony, and Lechery. Having sworn to serve Lechery "with all my might" (p. 249), Infans inherits all the other vices as well. Thus the pattern we are tracing recurs. Mundus boasts,

To, syr, I am wondrous prynce, peryllous yproyde,  
(p. 250)

and appeals to the innate pride of Infans. The World further boasts vainly, and in a twisted self-centred way, not as a cry of joy in the senses of man, of his eyes and form and the fear people have of him. He tries to dazzle Infans with the pomp at his command:

I have knytes and toures,  
I have ladyes brigghtest . . .  
(pp. 250-251)

Infans learns his lesson quickly and recounts his own virtues in an exaggerated way:

And many a kynges crowne have I crakyd.  
(p. 252)

He is a fighter, loves fame, makes laws, slays kings, is witty and considers himself wise. Conscience, however, answers with a warning to beware of pride, and an example of one who did not heed a similar warning--King Robert of Sicily who died in poverty. What results of excessive pride is Folly, and

Folly is a fellow with the world.  
(p. 264)

Folly, however, is simply that and says, "a cuckoo for conscience" (p. 264).

In The Interlude of Youth, we find Youth a prey to pride and vanity, which leads to a general heedlessness of conduct. He is boastful and takes pride in being "goodly of person" (p. 6), he calls himself peerless and a noted wit.

My hair is royal and brushed thick;  
My body pliant as a hazel-stick;  
My arms be both big and strong;  
My fingers be both fair and long;  
My chest big as a tun,  
My legs be full light for to run,  
To hop and dance and make merry.  
By the Mass, I reck not a cherry,  
Whatsoever I do.  
(p. 6)

What we have here is not so much conscious maliciousness as the natural tendency towards the pride of life which, if not guided properly, leads to greater evils. It is the incipience of vice. Greater evils soon follow the vain youth's heedlessness. He does not respect people, shoves for room, puts all his hope in his father's lands which he has just (like the Prodigal) come into. He is attractive, but callous. He is inclined to levity about ideals. Charity tells him, as it were, to "aim at the stars," and he says he will need a ladder or he might fall from his climb. To an admonition on the mercy

of God he answers "gibb'rish!" (p. 9) and jokosely asks "why do men eat mustard with salt fish?" (p. 9). Charity rises above the question and Youth calls him a fool; he threatens to beat Charity, if he does not leave him alone. The whole process we have been describing is a picture of the hardening of the heart, of natural wayward inclinations riding unchecked from vanity to the expulsion of charity. Youth even perverts the means of salvation saying that Charity will never attain Heaven, because does it seem likely that God

. . . will have such fools  
To sit on his gay stools?  
(p. 10)

Finally, Youth makes the ultimate rejection:

And talk to me of no goodness.  
(p. 11)

Charity, however, persists and brings in, as it were, the ultimate appeal to counter the ultimate rejection. He tells him of Christ's Passion. Youth replies

What is that to me?  
(p. 11)

He is afraid of losing his "jollity" (p. 11). Youth threatens Charity's life again. Charity leaves to get Humility. Youth is now alone and pursues his worldliness. He goes servant-hunting.

Thereupon, Pride enters. He is "a pretty man and a wise" (p. 17), and promises to bring Youth "to high degree" (p. 18), if Youth lets him rule him. Pride tells Youth to be hard-hearted, to put down the poor, to wear gay clothes to attract the wenches, and to accept the obsequiousness of men. Youth likes the advice -- "counsel that is so good" (p. 19).

To gratify his anxious lust, Pride suggests getting a wife immediately. The bride is Lady Lechery, whom Youth welcomes "as the Heart in my body" (p. 21). Thus fortified in vice, Youth gives Charity short shift when it returns. He haughtily inquires by what right Charity speaks to a gentleman. Youth boasts of being "king eternal" (p. 30) over everyone. Humility is treated as sheer stupidity. He has lost all sense of God, as the play makes clear by the fact that, when God is mentioned to him, Youth replies that he would not recognize Him, and he offers to buy God a quart of wine if God has bought anything of him. (What God has, of course "bought" is his soul). We have in this play a very effective picture of youthful 'harmless' vanities flowering unchecked into full-fledged blindness. The terms used are expressly Christian, but the general sequence of decline is, even on the natural psychological level, very competently expressed.

In Lusty Juventus, Youth is a prey to the love of pleasure. Juventus sings

In Youth is pleasure!  
(p. 46)

He looks for companions for revelry and music-making. There is, however, a seed of unhappiness right from the beginning --his companions do not appear for the revelry. Youth goes to look for them in much annoyance of mind. He ignores the advice of Good Counsel to leave off the pursuit of frivolity. He says that keeping the commandments is for divines. He says, as well, that he is too young for such a programme. Inasmuch as the play is a rabid piece of propaganda for

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Puritan Protestantism, the zenith of vanity becomes the 'old religion'. This is the primary form of vice youth is warned against. Hypocrisy is the chief vice of the adherents of the Catholic form and Juventus is duly warned to beware its treachery. Abominable Living, the female who tries to seduce Juventus, is also in the service of Papists. She brings quarrelsomeness and lust in her wake. If we can, for the moment, separate the religious element, we can see the pattern of corruption emerging. Through worldliness, lust and unhappiness assume the ascendancy over man. This leads to the rejection of that "old whoreson", Good Counsel.

The natural tendency of man to vice is stressed in The Longer Thou Livest:

For neither councell, learnings nor sapience  
Can an evil nature to honest matters allure.  
(p. 17)

Idleness is the result of these natural leanings. Discipline gives an admonition to Moros for wasting his time:

And set at naught Vertue, given to pastime vaine.  
(p. 19)

Quarrelsomeness is characteristic of the frivolous pleasure-mad youth who takes pride in his ability to fight. Likewise, insolence is close at hand.

But it is a malicious Insolencie  
Which proceedeth from a wicked harte.  
(p. 22)

Excessive levity on serious matters, such as the reform of life, leads to a beating for Youth, which symbolizes his unhappiness. Youth tries to escape more punishment by pretending to reform, thus falling a victim of hypocrisy. Moros learns to

simulate virtue and mock it secretly. He finally gains the praise of the World and Lust when he succumbs to lewdness. To pursue lewdness, he needs Idleness, who is already looking for him. Wrath, which is akin to madness, and will strike a brother, and comes and goes quickly in "fooles" (p. 32), now enters. These assembled vices consult on how best to get Moros to neglect his education. Youth enters, pretending to be seriously reading (like Hamlet). He is trying to avoid another beating, but Idleness and Wrath see through his pretense and enjoy it immensely. They, hypocritically, have changed their names from Idleness and Wrath to Pastime and Mahood (Manhood), but they see that Youth is very bold and does not need a change of name. They will teach him "to handle a wenche" for

Foolles love alway such daliance.  
(p. 36)

Wrath tells Youth not to reason with people, but to use blows and not care how people take it. To make it more effective, he gives him a dagger and sword:

Draw thy dagger at every word,  
(p. 36)

since

He sheweth the nature of a foole right  
Which is to chide and fight without a cause.  
(p. 36)

Moros falls a victim to false courage, saying that he would now face Discipline. Discipline enters and Moros, who only a moment before was flourishing his sword, runs and hides. This signifies Youth's still unhardened heart, but a cure is proposed for this softness. For, to be "companied with



a hoore" (p. 40) makes a man bold. Incontinence, therefore, becomes one of his companions, as does Fortune, which promises him "lande, wealth and treasure" (p. 43), as well as a host of gifts including women, clothes, food, adulation, and so on. Wrath brings along Impiety, Covetousness, and Ignorance. In a hypocritical name-changing, Impiety becomes Philosophie, Cruelty Prudence, and Ignorance Antiquitie.<sup>7</sup> Ignorance is pictured as the chief ruler of Papists, a typical attitude of the author of this play.

Vanity, in the person of Moros, now enters "gaily disguised and with a foolish bearde" (p. 47). He praises his shapely leg and boasts of "his bearde" (p. 47). Ignorance conspires to keep youth from dulling his wits with too much learning. Cruelty, born of Wrath, causes Youth to desire that Piety and its friends be done away with--"burn them, hang them, and boyle them" (p. 49). One must appear to be honest, however; smile and be cruel. Vanity undergoes a symbolic fall while reaching for a feather for his cap which Ignorance holds up to him. It is Ignorance here that fathers Vanity, as it sets about to make his clothes look smart. Moros, overcome by the pride of his own person, practices effective posturings.

Vice, however, is its own come-down. The contradictory demands of vice cause man to weary of his waywardness. Impatience and anger result.

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<sup>7</sup> Several authors of plays in this "series" make use of the device of name-changing. In every case, it is the Vices that change their names in order to show the way in which vice may insinuate itself, and the blindness and moral confusion it produces in man.

But as fooles all are impatient,  
 So was he geven to hastiness and ire  
 (p. 55)

Moros becomes angry and irritable, and overjealous of his position:

Am I not a gentleman, knave?  
 (p. 56)

It is the pathetic complaint of a man who judges his own merit in terms of self-indulgence. As Discipline says,

A fool uttereth his anger in hast . . . .  
 Where much anger is, strength is past . . . .  
 (p. 56)

To a fool honour is undecent  
 As snow in harvest is untimelie . . . .  
 (p. 56)

To a perverted judgment of honorableness, he joins ever-growing voluptuousness:

As a beastly swine doth in his filthie sty.  
 (p. 56)

Moros has placed his hope in all the wrong things, not realizing that money or treasure cannot buy "sapience". Moros appeals to Tandiditie to fight Discipline for him, but both it and Ignorance refuse to fight, stressing again the cowardice of vice. Man has now regressed to the point where he is a passive victim of his vices. His only resistance is surface resistance, mere display of boast and shadow-boxing, in which Youth now indulges, or a vain appeal to his once held gentlemanliness and position. We note that this play, The Longer Thou Livest, views nature, after the Puritan style, as bad from the beginning, as essentially evil. Man is conceived in sin and when rescue comes, it is a purely spiritual one at base.

The chief protagonist of Like Will to Like is called Nichol Newfangle, a name which satirizes the desire to be the latest in everything from religion to clothes. Before Newfangle was born, he was tutored in Pride by Lucifer himself, who taught him the making of new clothes to maintain vanity. When he sets about to decide which man of the company is the greatest knave, he reveals great touchiness about the deference shown him; he thinks them unforgivably rude for calling him by his first name, Nichol, and keeping their hats on. He fights with them to teach them manners. He is given over, as we have seen, to Lust, and, as we shall see, to Riotous Living. The net result of all this, as Virtuous Living says, is the heavy conscience of the sinful man, a death in life.

In The Marriage of Wyt and Science, Wit begins his career a victim of a kind of intellectual sloth, born of the fear of effort. Wit is so paralyzed by the Will, which is "drown'd in sloth" (p. 333). Because his Will is paralyzed in this manner, Wit becomes a prey to unreal fears about his presentableness to his beloved, Science. He fears that she will not like "his spindle shanks" and "those black spots" (p. 336) on his nose. When Wit arrives at the house of Science, he is afraid to go in, and Will, for whom the fear of lack of liberty has been removed by a promise from Wit, urges the latter on. Then, with too great haste, Wit goes to the other extreme (once having seen Science) and wears himself out by ignoring Instruction and Experience. He falls a victim to Tediousness as a result. He will win Science immediately or die. Wit is, however, easily overcome by the monster Tedious-

ness. Soon he is a prey to Shame, which causes him to long for death because of his encounter with "scornful chance and lawless love" (p. 380). Sensuality and imprudence have brought him to despair. Having, as we have seen, fallen a prey to Idleness, he falls into Ignorance. This character speaks broken and vulgar English, which symbolizes his general lack of learning and refinement. Ignorance put his clothes on Wit. Then Ignorance goes off and leaves Wit sleeping-- symbol of the sleep of the mind in ignorance. When he awakes, he feels apprehensive and guilty. He is unrecognized by Science and Reason, and completely frustrated, he becomes distressed when Science, his once beloved, says:

Thou are some mad-brain, or some fool, or some disguised sot  
(p. 378)

Science shows him the picture which she has of him from their first encounter, and he compares it to his appearance in the mirror. He is horrified, and at that moment self-knowledge is granted him. Here we have symbolically enacted the importance of self-knowledge and reflection on one's past. Only when Wit sees its poverty can it begin to take Instruction and submit to Discipline for its improvement. He fears as well what the world may say, and this decline of reputation makes him all the more desirous of self-betterment. Reason, however, must cure him of a tendency to despair of acquiring wisdom, and instruct him in the best means to achieve it.

In Nice Wanton, besides the root tendency to Sensuality, we find other vices thriving as a result. The wicked brother and sister fear school because of vanity. They fear that going to school in cold and heat will affect adversely

their beauty and good looks. Here we see how the making of flimsy excuses and the valuing of external beauty more than beauty of mind or character lead the young astray. Having given themselves up to idleness and neglect of education,

They swear, curse, scold, as they go by the way,  
Giving other ill example to do the same.

(p. 166)

They become "light-fingered" (p. 167) too, in order to have the means to live riotously. Indeed, to get money the boy has "picked out" of his father's purse (p. 169). Brother and sister fall to quarreling over their proficiency in lewdness, and only Iniquity can cause them to forget their differences and unite. Their truce is short-lived, however, and they fall to quarreling with Iniquity over the division of the spoils of their robbery. Dalilah, the girl, is beaten by Iniquity, which leads ultimately to her reform, which proves efficacious only for a brief time. She falls victim to Despair and Shame. At the trial of the brother and sister they are abandoned by a cowardly Iniquity. Barnabas, the wayward boy, is hanged. This play, ending in semi-tragic circumstances, presents a stern view of sin, especially of parental sin, as well as an interesting sequential study of vice--from neglect of education, to lewdness, to jealousy and anger, to despair and death. The pattern of vice fathering vice recurs again.

The chief characteristic of the Rich Man's Son, in The Disobedient Child, is a pride in self, based on his large fortune, and producing an imperviousness to good advice. He is independent and stubborn; he refuses to go to school; he is young and lusty and contracts a hasty marriage. He spends

his fortune foolishly, is abandoned by friends, and finds his wife a tyrannical shrew. The wife is, as her maid says, sharpnosed, shrill-tongued, pleasure-loving, and unbearable. She sits around idle all day and puts her young husband to galling work. This play, adhering to the Prodigal Son theme in the manner here noted and in other ways pointed out earlier, recreates the gradual decline of youth under Pride and Sensuality, with sufficient means at his disposal to gratify them. The vices which quickly follow the initial capitulation are, as we have seen, typical of the pattern apparent in all the plays.

In Wit and Wisdom, Idleness, as we have noted, leads to Irksomeness, and the abandonment of Reason. Wantonness takes over the passions of the youth and weakens Wit. Idleness leads to thievery, to boasting of his vice and to vanity in clothes. Wit ends up making a parade of himself. Self-deceit is symbolized again by name-changing, calling vice by sweet names. Idleness becomes Due Disporte, and Wantones becomes Pastime. This latter female flirts with Wit and leads him to foolishness. While he sleeps in her lap, she darkens his face and puts a "fooles bable" (p. 20) on his head.

Idleness takes him to the house of Irksomeness and once he is there, abandons him. This represents the ultimate restlessness of the idle person whose days pass in uselessness and lack of achievement.

In the last play of our series, The Glass of Government, the pattern recurs again. The two wayward sons fall a prey to clever prostitutes, whose rule of life they express

as "trust noman," despite his fair words; "Reject noman," that has possessions: "Love noman" after he ceases to give (p. 25). When the two young men are placed in school, they lie their way out of it to pursue their lustful gratifications with these women. Vice creeps into the hearts of the youths and

With reckless mind it casts aside all truth.  
(p. 43)

When they are taught poetry, they use it to flatter their "heavenly dame" (p. 48) which, in the Puritan spirit of the play, is evil. Confusion of mind as to what is virtuous or evil results from blindness of the heart. The chorus at the end of Act Three sings of the vices growing up among the flowers like weeds. Hypocrisy results, as when the young men pretend to be hard-working students to cloak loose morals. They spend their time, whenever possible, in "Bordelles or Taverns" (p. 75). After they are put to school in Doway,<sup>8</sup> they leave for travel in Europe, without parental consent, to gratify their desire for wild company:

. . . yet behold how concupiscence and vayne  
delight have carried them to run another  
race. . . (p. 79).

They come to a sad end, and the unhappy lot of vice unchecked is theirs.

It is now possible to detect the general pattern of

<sup>8</sup> The famous English College at Douai in France, which trained priests for the mission to England, was founded in 1568, but it does not seem likely that Gascoigne would have this institution in mind. His play was published in 1575, but it may have been written considerably earlier.

the corruption of the interior man. When Reason is abandoned, when Will becomes weakened or perverted to evil ends, when the passions of Sensuality, Lust, Idleness, Pride, and others allied to them gain the ascendancy, man becomes a passive victim of evil.

We must now pass from the world of the inner man to another sphere, the world in which this troubled struggling creature waged the battle for moral or intellectual excellence.



## CHAPTER III

### THE WORLD THAT LAY ABOUT THEM

The Tudor Age was an age of new social awareness.<sup>1</sup> These plays bear ample testimony to that fact. In educational matters it becomes apparent that learning and virtue were no longer to be considered remote from the realities of life in the work-a-day world. Once Reason has decreed, for example, that Man, in Medwall's Nature, is ready for the world's testing, Man cries

Be it so! In God's name I pray you go we hence!  
(p. 56)

Reason exhorts Sir World to "entreat him well" (p. 56). The world is seen as the natural environment of man:

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<sup>1</sup> While the economic and social revolutions of the sixteenth century had earlier origins, having been in progress since perhaps the period of the Black Death in the fourteenth century, there can be little question that the acceleration of these revolutions in the Tudor age was enormously disturbing. J. W. Allen's chapter on the writings of More, Starkey, and Crowley ("The Very and True Commonweal," in A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century London, 1960, pp. 134-56) makes very clear that this disturbance was reflected in the work of every writer of the period. He says that "Cranmer and Tyndale, Hooper and Latimer, Becon and Lever are at one with Crowley, Starkey and More" (p. 139), and that, indeed, "in the first half of the sixteenth century, almost every one who thought about landownership and trade and money-making from a religious standpoint, was saying much the same thing" (p. 138). What they were saying--that wealth and social standing were now pursued without regard for Christian charity--was also being said by the authors of the educational morality, as this chapter will show.

. . . this man  
is ordained to reign here.  
(p. 56)

The World, however, is not easily conquered by Man. Man is received by Sir World in a manner too obsequious to warrant a hope that all will go well. The World rejects the rule of Innocence for Man and tells man that he must essay the world and try "worldly prudence" before he can wisely submit to the rule of Innocence. The inner desire for innocence of life and the World aggravate man's struggle.

Sir World, in order to further man's education in "worldly prudence" (p. 60), introduces him to Worldly Affection which represents the control of man by purely material and worldly things.

Worldly Affection is this man's name;  
He is well-brained and wondrous of invention;  
A forecasting man, and payne of Shame!  
You shall not find in any Christian region  
A wiser fellow in things to be done;  
Specially of matter that be concerning worldly pleasure.  
(p. 62)

Man promises to obey the world and reject Innocence. He begins to take pride, not in virtue, but in exterior pomp, such as his pride of ancestry and in his attire. Worldly Affection now takes charge of Man and leads him to eschew the rule of Reason completely. Pleasure becomes Man's chief concern. This play presents in general terms what other plays spell out in more particulars--the dangers to youth in the world, in society. For, if we are to judge by the testimony of these plays, the Tudor examination of society did not produce such self-satisfaction. In fact, reformatory zeal characterizes

the attitude of these playwrights. Even those plays which are more specifically academic contain innumerable warnings of the evil to be met with in the world. This is true despite the new emphasis some of the plays display on the senses, experience and observation of life.

In The Four Elements, for example, we learn that wealth is over-estimated:

Except he wax rich men count him but a daw.

(p. 8)

The new rich abuse the poor, from whose labour wealth derives. One's fellowman is crushed in the rush for wealth, and neighbourliness is forgotten. Ignorance is rampant, as he himself says when he declares that he has lots of servants in England.

In Hyckescorner, the worldly, travelled libertine brings all kinds of disorder in his path. The first is discontent. Pity says that men have everywhere grown bitter over poverty. The rich are cruel. People marry for money,

Yea with old woman that is fifty and beyond

(p. 152)

All preach God's mercy and forget his judgment. The professions are corrupted by desire for wealth. Lawyers, for example, will "prove right wrong" (p. 156) to cheat a man out of house and possessions. Prisons are crowded, and breeders of evil. Imagination gives a pathetic description of the crowded fear-ridden Newgate cells where "two hundred had been thrust in a holter" (p. 158). One can get out of prison and escape Tyburn if "with an ointment the judge's hand he can grease" (p. 159).

So bad a picture is given of the social state of Eng-

land at the time that all the good people are pictured as taking ship for Ireland never to come back. The ship is "full of religious and holy women" and aboard it are Truth, Meekness, Humility, maidens with their virginity, preachers, right conscience, faith, devotion, alms-giving, abstinence, good councillors, "piteous" people, penitents, and "good rich men that helpeth folk out of prison." On it, all, even the young, are devoted to prayer. But, as if to show that virtue has had its day, the ship sinks and all aboard are drowned (pp. 162-163).

There is a boat coming to England as well. It is The Envy, owned by Ill Will and containing falsehood, favoritism, jollity, thieves, whores, liars, backbiters, flatterers, brawlers, chiders, "walkers by night", murderers, the guileful, card-players, oppressors, swearers, false law, vengeance, obstinateness, "mischevious governance", the wanton, haters-- in a word, all "the devil's officers" (pp. 164-165). Pity cries,

We all may say well-a-day, for sin that is now-a-day.  
 Lo virtue is vanished forever and aye.  
 (p. 174)

There is a total indictment of society. Now promises are easy, charity small, "now is lechery called love indeed," murder is "named manhood," "extortion called law," youth "walketh by night" with "swords and knives," "we occupy other men's wives," many are scorers, few mourn for sin, few love truly, knaves procure wealth, mayors do nothing about vice in their towns, adultery abounds, amendment is seldom, and

God's commandments we break them are ten.  
 (pp. 174-175)

Gay courtiers and clever harlots abound.

In Mundus et Infans, the World begins by telling the Child that all men must obey him if they wish to escape poverty. The child offers to serve the world for meat and clothes. He is given the name Wanton, and promised riches. Now he is introduced to the Seven Deadly Sins, whose operation on him has already been discussed. He is soon knighted and given "grace", beauty, gold, silver, plenty, a sword, strength, and might

Of the wrong to make thee right.  
(p. 250)

Thus, by means of worldly success and wealth, he is enabled to pervert the truth. He has made a compromise, not simply, the play makes plain, with the World to obtain Necessities, but for evil ends as well. The Tudor dramatist is here struggling toward an adjustment between necessity, which requires that one have a compromise and commerce with the World, and the truer order of values, so likely to be lost in the world. This effort to adjust characterizes much of the Tudor search. They saw only too well that

Folly is fellow with the world.  
(Mundus et Infans, p.264)

and that

. . . this man  
Is ordained to live here.  
(Nature, p. 56)

The Interlude of Youth poses the same problem. Youth is urged to follow the world and be emperor "ere ye die" (p. 34). On the other hand, there is a terrible risk of suffering moral ruin, since as Good Counsel tells Juventus (in

Lusty Juventus), in the world there is

. . . No verity nor knowledge of God . . . now in the land,  
But abominable vices have gotten the upper hand.  
(p. 92)

The oppressed call everywhere for release. Even allowing for Puritan exaggeration of vice, the problem is no less real to the age.

What Farnham points out is, indeed true, that The Longer Thou Livest is an exercise in condemnation.<sup>2</sup> The author, so to speak, begins at the top--with the rulers, who, badly brought up,

Virtue of them ever after be distained:  
So that, when authorities they have obtained  
They themselves being given to incontinence  
Oppress their subjects under their obedience.  
Oh how good a thing is education  
For all estates profitable.  
(p. 16)

As if to forestall trouble he adds

But, truly, we mean no person particularly  
And only do specify of such generally.  
(p. 17)

Moros, to fit into this 'crush-or-be-crushed' world, must be

Counterfainting a vain gesture  
And a foolish countenance,  
(p. 17)

--which excoriates artificiality in the manners of the age, especially of the wealthy and courtly. Youth is beset with Idleness in this vain atmosphere:

Who so passeth through England  
To see the Youth he would wonder,  
How idle they be and how they stand.  
(p. 41)

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<sup>2</sup> Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Oxford, 1956) p. 235.

Fortune decries the decline of manners generally, and adds that there is

No God's mercy, no reverence, no honour,  
 . . . no knee bowed, no homage . . .  
 (p. 41 ff)

Incontinence says

Virtue is mocked of every man  
 then of whores and harlots there is no small som,  
 Nothing but eating, drinking and play,  
 Only voluptuousness foolish and filthy  
 Encreaseth more and more day by day  
 And hath the rule in Realm and Citre.  
 (pp. 41-42)

Pietie, too, deplores the times:

But now, alas, what manners, what heavy times . . .  
 (p. 45)

Piety is dead, contempt and crime abound, God is despised,  
 Charity has cooled, hatred is plentiful, falsehood is subtle,  
 bodily lust grips all; the good must pray God

The wickedness of our times to restraine.  
 (p. 45)

The wealthy are wicked and the people deceived by intolerant  
 and covetous power.

Nichol Newfangle carries the same theme forward in

Like Will to Like:

It is common trade nowadays, this is plain,  
 To cut one another's throat for lucre and gain.  
 (p. 314)

When Severity, coming in judgment, asks Nichol how things are  
 in London and the country, he answers that both are full of  
 knaves. The play proceeds to give us sufficient examples of  
 knavery in individual persons. In The Marriage of Wyt and  
 Science, Reason laments that

We know not whom to trust, the world is so ill.  
 (p. 362)

The brashness of the world's evil is made plain by Iniquity's boast (when he is brought to trial) that if they bring him low, he will rise again because he has a multitude of friends and followers. In The Disobedient Child, the effect of all this on the pursuit of learning is deplored:

But, alas, nowadays (the more is the pity)  
Science and learning is so little regarded . . .  
(p. 280 ff)

The priest widens the criticism:

Sirs, by my troth, it is a world to see  
The exceeding negligence of everyone,  
Even from the highest to the lowest degree  
Both goodness and conscience is clean gone.  
(p. 291)

The Perorator tells us, at the end, how careful a man must be

Because I do see that virtue is  
With most men and children at this day.  
(p. 319)

It can now be stated as a fact that there runs throughout all these plays a discontent with the condition of society, and specifically with the effect of society upon young people. The Puritans deplore the corrosion of their strict principles by the pleasure-mad world. The Catholics and medievalists see the collapse of traditional morality and belief and see youth seduced by new notions of life and religion, and the old pieties vanishing. The Humanists see the debasement of learning in a distracted and disturbed society. All these influences are, as we have seen, made plain in these dramas. And what of the child finding itself in the midst of this society? Certain ideals of conduct, certain values viewed as supreme, come face to face with a world that runs in the other way. A great conflict results between ideals and making one's



way. Having seen the general nature of society that these moral plays present, we must now see what happens to the child in this society.

#### The Sequence of Corruption

The plays reveal the effect of the world chiefly through allegorical figures, called variously, Riot, Riotous Living, Abominable Living, and so on. Other figures are sometimes the practical means of corruption in the world. In Nature, for example, it is Pride and Sensuality that take Man to a Tavern, symbolic of riotous ways, where he obtains a gaudy up-to-date outfit. Here he gets drunk with wine, succumbs to the barmaid Margery, and nearly destroys Reason. He

Drew out his sword without more tarrying  
And smote Reason so on the head  
That I have great marvel that he be now dead.  
(pp. 80-81)

In the Four Elements, a similar sequence takes place. Humanity is taken by Riot and Sensuality to a tavern. The taverner boasts of his wines that will make you "stark mad" (p. 24) and his profusion of food. They are amused by three wenches-- Little Nell, Joane, and Bess. In another orgy-like gathering, Sensuality diverts man with a troupe of merry makers, a big dinner and a wench to sleep with. Ignorance performs a solo which symbolizes the result of unrestrained pleasure-seeking.

In Hyckescorner, a picture is presented of a youth, who, puffed up by travel and worldly amusements, scoffs at

God.

In Mundus et Infans, the child of seven is introduced by Mundus to a life of "game and glee" (p. 247). The child partakes of "all revel and riot" (p. 248) as the years pass. Folly, whose chief dwelling place is London, attempts to get Manhood to follow him. He says that "in Holborn I was brought forth" (p. 262) and in Westminster among the courtiers. His haunts are taverns, where the barmaids always welcome him. He asks Man to come with him over London bridge "to the Stews" (p. 263). Conscience bothers Manhood while he drinks, but Folly says that where himself and Conscience are, one of them cannot remain. So they go to Eastcheap to dine and play at dice.

Folly before and Shame behind  
Lo, Sir, thus fareth the world alway.  
(p. 266)

In The Interlude of Youth, Riot is able to cast out Charity. Riot had been in Newgate for robbery and was more than ready for some amusement. Youth, now deluded, praises Riot for being "stable and steadfast of mind", and not being "changeable like the wind" (p. 14). When Riot was released he became the mayor of London! He leads Youth to the Lady Lechery, and dissipation generally. Riot teaches Youth various dice and card games, as well as various forms of licentiousness and sport.

In Lusty Juventus, Abominable Living urges man on to the wild life by reminding him that age kills the flower of youth speedily and enjoyment must be seized while it can. It is akin to the philosophy of Moros, in The Longer Thou Livest

--"make mery, daunce and sing" (p. 23). Moros gives instruction on where to eat and have a good time in London.

In Like Will to Like, several characters personify riotous living. One is Tom Tossopot who drinks from morn to night and ends up a blasphemer and confidence man. Ralph, another character, boasts of being able to entice young gentlemen to give up virtue and live riotously. He teaches servants how to rob their masters and roam about with the gangs of ruffians on Salisbury plain. Tom Tossopot's servant is Hance Hangman, which signifies the likely end of the criminal rioter. Philip Fleming, another friend, is likewise addicted to beer. They all meet at Hob Filcher's house for long hours of carousing. They foolishly waste money on dissipation and vain clothes. To make up for this, Tom says he prefers to steal rather than beg or work. One has the sense that these pathetic characters come to an evil end as a result of natural affinities, but the graphic picture of rather merry dissipation leading to a violent end is very effective. We can note the evident guise that evil wears in this play--good fellowship, merry times. These enjoyable things lead, by excess, to vice and death.

The children in Nice Wanton also are brought low by too great a love of "Lusty companions," "good wine, ale, and beer" (p. 165). In The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom, Riot significantly resists the efforts of Honest Recreation to rule man's leisure. In The Glass of Government, education itself is perverted to assist the two university students to enjoy "fayre woman" and good times. They are

. . . blynd youth, which holdeth pleasure best  
 And skorns the payne, which might their state improve.  
 (p. 43)

They spent their time in "Bordelles or Taverns" (p. 75). They travel through Europe for women and good times.

Thus does the world play upon the tendencies of youth to ease and pleasure, and, often enough, beginning with innocent amusements leads on to grave excess. The result is moral blindness, the abandonment of reason, and of learning.

#### Evil Company

One of the means by which the world brings about this decline is by "bad companions." The "lusty companions" (p. 165) of Nice Wanton appear elsewhere as well, leading youth to greater immersion in the corruption around him. In Lusty Juventus, Fellowship and Friendship lead Juventus to the house of little Bess for merry-making, and to other places for similar ends.

The author of Like Will to Like quotes Cicero to the effect that it is natural for persons of similar tendencies to be drawn together. The vicious dislike the company of the virtuous. The play goes on to illustrate, through the characters of Tossopot, Hangman and their friends, this principle:

For the virtuous will always virtue's company seek out;  
 A gentleman never seeketh the company of a lout;  
 And roisters and ruffians do solemm company eschew:  
 For like will ever to like, this is most true.  
 (pp. 320-321)

In Nice Wanton, we are warned against corrupting company because

Lewd speaking corrupteth good manners.  
(p. 165)

Similarly, in The Disobedient Child, it is too early association with a grasping woman that traps the Rich Man's Son into this unhappy marriage.

Sometimes, as in The Glass of Government, these evil companions are within the child's own household-- the servants. Phylopaes, a parent, remarks;

. . . nothing is more perillous to seduce  
children or young men, than the consort  
and councell of a lewd servant . . . (p. 11)

Echo, the evil servant, assists the two wayward sons to try to win the prostitute, Valentia. He is also a parasite of the rich, gratifying their whims by procurement.<sup>3</sup> In a remark which clearly indicates the bourgeois audience the play expects, Severus, the judge, remarks, when sentencing Echo to be whipped for leading the youths astray, that

. . . we will not suffer the sons of honest  
and wealthy Burghers to be seduced by such  
lewd fellows. (p. 79)

All the evil servants are eventually sentenced to three days of disgrace in the marketplace, followed by exile. Severus tells them:

. . . such lewde servants as thou art, are  
the casting away of many toward young per-  
sonages . . . (p. 87)

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<sup>3</sup> The play contains a variation on the classical evil servant character, who is at once parasite, procurer and seducer of the innocent youth.

## Parent &amp; Child

Even more intimately involved with the child than either society or servants and companions are parents. The plays are replete with admonitions to parents and examples of neglect or successful care by parents of their offspring.

Erasmus wrote in a letter concerning young people:

Ide the more lament that such wits commonly  
be kept from learning by fond father . . .<sup>4</sup>

The authors of the morality plays display a similar concern over the effects (more often than not, in these plays, bad) which parents may have on their children. In *Moros*, the leading character of The Longer Thou Livest, we have an example. When exhorted to reform his frivolous ways, he refers to the foolish games his mother taught him, and his father's lessons on how to fight--pull hair, bite on the nose, etc. His father had also taught him to abuse his mother if she bothered him. Discipline points the moral:

As one bringeth up his children, saith he,  
So shall he have them with or without wit,  
Therefore parents are to blame, as here we see.  
(p. 19)

Discipline goes on to say that, besides Idleness, there is another thing that destroys youth "at this day", and that is

Indulgentia parentum, the fondness of parents.  
(p. 41)

They will not only not correct their offspring, but go so far as to encourage their laxity of morals and indulgence.

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<sup>4</sup> Quoted in S. J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood, A Short History of Educational Ideas (London, 1958) p. 128.

A like theme recurs in Fulwell's Like Will to Like.

Tom Tossport, brought to judgment, issues this warning:

O ye parents, to you I say:  
 Have respect to your children and for their education,  
 Lest you answer therefore at the latter day,  
 And your meet shall be eternal damnation.  
 (p. 349)

His own case is an example:

If my parents had brought me up in virtue and learning  
 I would not have had this shameful end.  
 (p. 349)

They neglected teaching him, as he also points out, an "honest trade" (p. 349). Cuthbert Cutpurse echoes the theme of his friend Tom:

And you that fathers and mothers be,  
 Bring not up your children in too much liberty.  
 (p. 354)

Parental neglect is, perhaps, the central theme of Nice Wanton. The Messenger tells us that the play will show a weak mother who

doth excuse when she should chastise. (p. 163).

Favouritism by a parent for one child over another is also blameworthy, as illustrated in the case of Barabas who is beaten by his mother because of a false tale told by her wayward son on whom she dotes. The mother also displays misdirected sympathy. She refuses to beat the children because they already get beaten in school and she fears that additional punishment at home "should make them lame" (p. 167). When a neighbour points out that Dalilah and Ismael are displaying signs of delinquency, the mother flies into a rage and calls the informer a liar and a jealous woman because her children are not as handsome. She is full of misguided sympathy for

her "weary" children and so she goes "to get them meat to make them merry." She has embarked upon a programme of spoiling them through fear of correcting them. She gets little thanks, for when Dalilah is old and sick from debauchery, she blames her mother for being too indulgent. She says that this led to disrespect for her mother, not greater love.

By father and mother we set not a straw,  
(p. 174)

The mother's punishment is further intensified when she learns that Ismael, her beloved but spoilt child, is hanging "in chains, and waveth of his locks" (p. 180). He has been executed. Eventually, the daughter dies of the pox, and the distraught mother tries to kill herself with a knife.

In The Disobedient Child, the father laments his inability to decide what will be good for his son. The son sums up the division of child and parent:

I know not in the world how to do the thing,  
That to his stomach may be delighting.  
(p. 277)

Finally, he decides not to help his Prodigal-like son if he gets into trouble. It never occurs to this parent that the father of the Prodigal in Christ's parable did help his repentant son. This father resolutely refuses and the result is that the son is condemned to pass his life with his shrewish wife.

Wherefore of my goods thou gettest not a penny,  
Nor any succor else at my hands  
For such a child is most unworthy  
To have any part of his father's lands.  
(p. 279)

This over-severe father prevents by this act none of the evils



he had hoped to avoid. This complete rejection of the son for disobedience proves futile for either the good of the youth or the parent's peace of mind. The trouble is that the father in this play had begun the upbringing of the children in too much ease and gratification. So appalled is he by the way his first son goes, that he determines to give the raising of his other children into other hands, lest he spoil them.

Wherefore we parents must have a regard  
 Our children in time for to subdue  
 Or else we shall have them ever untoward  
 Yea, spiteful, distainful, naughty and untrue.  
 (p. 280)

He had bought the latest fancy fashions for his children, had pampered and overfed them, had blessed and kissed them, and had tried to make them clever, debonair and clean. This, however, is not enough. The love of learning and virtue must be inculcated before other elements can be placed in their proper context. The Perorator says

By this little play the father is taught  
 After what manner his child to use.  
 (p. 316)

The parent is admonished to avoid too great indulgence to his pupils and to

Instruct your children and make them students. (p. 317)

In The Contract of Marriage of Wit and Wisdom, a picture is presented of what happens when parents are divided in mind. The father is called Severity and the mother Indulgence. The child is Wit--confused, here, by conflicting tendencies within itself. This represents, as well, as we have seen very early in our study, an aspect of that painful division which

the "double-nature" concept of man suggests. The wife, Indulgence, desires that Wit marry immediately, but the father, Severity, says that he wishes Wit to marry Wisdom and unless Wit follows his advice, he shall not inherit his patrimony. Severity says of his wife:

Such pampering mothers doe more harme  
That ere they can doe good.  
(p. 9)

Good Nurture attempts to guide Youth through the confusion of conflicting parental advice. It tells him that

Severitie, his father, sure  
Is grave and wise withall,  
And yet his mother's pampering  
Will bring his sonne to thrall.  
(p. 22)

#### The Religious Disturbance

All the conflicts which the Tudor dramatist -moralists saw the child facing in the world--a corrupted society, evil companions, riotous living, venal servants, and misguided or divided parents-- are set against a new disturbing element. The traditional faith and morality were collapsing. This religious disturbance adds new dimensions to the general problems the child faces within and without himself. Not only must he bring to harmony his interior faculties, not only must he try to make his way uncorrupted through a dangerous world, but he must as well listen to the claims of rival religious groups each threatening him with damnation and social ruin if he does not follow its particular demands. The religious zeal which characterizes many of the plays is an essentially topical element. By this zeal, the child is presented with the

choice which, to the age, was the choice of choices-- the true religion. The methods the dramatists use are threats, propaganda, vituperation of opponents, and similar forcible means of urging a decision. This religious element is also the chief divisive influence within the group of plays as a whole. One might, without it, have arrived at a synthesis of notions about what the age considered the essential elements of moral and educational development. The religious factor is, however, entirely partisan, and in our attempt to focus on what these dramatists propose, we must give it its place. Only after, can one extract the commonality of moral notions and the basic areas of moral agreement which underlie the profound divisions of sects. We should observe that the Humanist emphasis on experience, on observation, on the value of learning, and so on, is absorbed without great upheaval by the majority of the playwrights, excepting a Puritan extreme, which is not to say all Puritans represented in these plays. There is evidence of a Puritan synthesis taking place in the reconciliation of scholarly pursuit and narrow moral views, just as there is evidence of an extreme Puritanism rejecting the ancient pagan authors, distrusting the new view of sense experience, and so on. These divisions within the large divisions of Catholic and Reformation elements are touched upon as we proceed. However, our chief area of interest is the propagandizing to force a decision between old and new. The Reformation controversy strikes at the foundation of the Tudor world.

It is, however, well to note here the observation of

H. C. White concerning devotional literature and apply it by transference to these educational morality plays, which are, in many instances, so profoundly based on religious ideals:

One becomes no less aware of the very large elements of continuity in a period of such profound transformations, enduring elements in religious thought and feeling. 5

A similar theme is pursued by M. M. Knappen who sees Puritan asceticism as directly related to Medieval Catholic asceticism, and Puritan economic doctrine related to the social teachings of the Scholastics. One may agree to some extent, allowing the reservation that Puritan asceticism represents a change in basic concepts concerning the nature of a man and the morality of human acts from those held by Catholic ascetics. The senses, the emotions, the role of reason, the role of Scripture and revelation as spiritual authority--these and other notions have undergone sometimes obvious and sometimes subtle changes. Of these changes the educational morality plays bear witness. The ascendancy of the ethical over the intellectual and aesthetic, the forming zeal for a puritan commonwealth and the emphasis on scriptural study and authority are particularly notable in these plays. A study of religious criticism in these plays will make these notions apparent.

In Hyckescorner, a pro-Catholic play, the decline of the old devotions is deplored. Few now meddle with "brother Contemplation" (p. 152). Of the clergy, few know Contem-

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5 H. C. White, "Sixteenth Century English Devotional Literature", in McManavay, J. S., Dawson, G.E., and Willoughby, E.E., Joseph Quincey Adams Memorial Studies (Washington, 1948), p. 446.

plation well, and some know it not at all. And as for living "clean",

Nay, that is the least thought they have of fifteen.  
(p. 153)

Clerics are incapable of instructing the people, even when they know something, and, if the clerks be so disordered, there is little hope for lay folk. Timid preachers are afraid to speak the truth. Of the present religious situation (c. 1535) the author exclaims, "Worse was it never" (p. 175).

In Lusty Juventus, one finds an emphasis on zealous Protestantism, with a strong emphasis on Lutheran notions. The doctrine of salvation by works is preached against. When Good Counsel tells Juventus that he must have faith to please God, Juventus asks him if he means that to observe God's commandments is nothing unless one believes to be saved thereby. Good Counsel asserts that faith in Christ's merits is the only thing that makes us good in God's eye. Juventus, logically enough, asks why one should do good works. Good Counsel replies that such works are but the works of true repentance, such as all Christians do. The reward is, however, solely due to the power of Christ.

There is also a strong emphasis upon the division of the generations over religious matters, When Juventus says that his elders do not teach him such doctrines as have been illustrated here, Good Counsel bluntly declares that his elders are blind and ignorant and led by false preachers. Juventus, when convinced, says:

I know right well, my elders and parents  
 Have of a long time deceived be,  
 With blind hypocrisy and superstitious intents  
 Trusting in their own words, which is nothing but vanity.  
 (p. 58)

Such an admonition on Good Counsel's part to forsake the opinions held and taught by parents illustrates the acute nature of the religious problem for any youth. The Devil is introduced to further impress upon the youth the necessity of rejecting parental advice. The Devil says that, of late, since the rise of Protestant notions, his authority, operations and plans are on the wane:

The old people would believe still in my laws,  
 But the younger sort lead them a contrary way.  
 (p. 62)

To follow the ancient religion is evil, and so Satan desires to turn youth from the study of the Scriptures. The Devil, fearful of defeat at the hands of the new religionists, calls in the aid of Hypocrisy, whose job it is to mingle "vain zeals and blind intents" (p. 64) with God's commandments. Hypocrisy gives a long chart of all the devices he uses, which turn out to be a list of Catholic practices and customs of every kind:

As Holy cardinals, holy popes  
 Holy vestments, holy copes . . .  
 (p. 65)

The list includes images, relics, fasting, devotions, and so on. The devil adds that all these things

My honour and laws have maintained.

Now the devil says that he stands to lose all because Youth are taking to God's Word. Youth is a "New Gospeller" now. (p. 66). The Devil wishes to set Youth and true religious knowledge at odds. Hypocrisy will disguise itself and bring

youth to a bad end, masquerading as a boon companion, leading to riotous living and Catholic practice. Hypocrisy, however, runs into an "enlightened" Juventus. Hypocrisy tells youth that he must obey his parents, which would lead to the old religion. Youth says he is bound to obey only in things that are lawful and just. Hypocrisy expresses a fear for the welfare of such bold youths who will set their parents to school. Youth, however, does not fall victim to the ruse, but rises above it, as he does above ridicule (when Hypocrisy pokes fun at his Bible), and as he does above human respect (when Hypocrisy asks him what his old friends will think). Eventually, however, Hypocrisy gains youth's allegiance. To maintain a front as a cloak for vice, Hypocrisy tells youth to mock popish priests, and make fun of the old people that believe them, and to carry his Bible tied at his girdle-- so that he appears enlightened and learned, while he gives himself up to carnality.

Good Counsel, in operation to rescue youth, laments the religious divisions of the day:

O, where may a man find now one faithful congregation,  
That is not infected with dissention and discord.  
(p. 90)

In such an atmosphere of "dissention and discord", youth was to discover the truth.

The conversion of youth, in this play, is wrought by doctrinaire means. Youth, in despair at his evil acts, is assured by Good Counsel of the sufficiency of faith. St. Augustine is quoted to the effect that only those who die faithless and unrepentant lose their reward, because Christ

said that those who have faith, even though dead, shall live. Juventus, dead in good acts, is reassured. Thus, this play may be said to illustrate very plainly the attempt to win over youth to the new religion. The picture it gives of the painful division between parent and child over life's essential meaning makes it clear how keenly felt was the problem.

In The Longer Thou Livest, youth is advised to avoid at all costs taints of Romanish corruption, such as allegiance to the Pope, the Mass, devotion to the saints, and all "horrible" heresies, which are "most pestilent" (p. 23). Further on, Ignorance declares that it rules Papists. There follows a savage attack on Catholics, which ends with the declaration:

Therefore when they shall come before the Lord,  
He shall condemne them with Satan the Devill.  
(p. 47)

There is also an attack on atheism-- a dangerous new doctrine, in the author's view.

. . . Impietie  
Which persuadeth him God to denie.  
(p. 55)

The foole saith in his heart, there is no god.  
(p. 55)

The general decline of piety is commented upon in

The Disobedient Child:

Sometimes to the church they do repair  
To hear the sermon that shall be made,  
Though to remember it they shall have small care,  
For why they be now but few of that trade.  
(p. 297)

It is also significance as an indication of the new critical attitudes that Idleness is dressed as a priest. The priest breeds evil thoughts and evil deeds.



We have now come to the completion of our picture of the child and his world. Faced with rebellion within, corruption without, and uncertainty of faith, the child stands now in need of rescue. What remedies does the age offer to save youth and bring him to interior harmony and a not ignoble compromise with an imperfect world?

## CHAPTER IV

### REDEMPTION OF THE HEART AND MIND

#### Moral Redemption

It is now necessary to speak of that redemptive process which plays a large part in these dramas. We have seen how there was a gradual decay of youthful resolution and virtue under innumerable forces. We must now see what means are urged to bring youth out of its disorder to a happier state.

There are two general areas of redemption that of the heart, and that of the mind. How much each obtains in any given play depends upon the degree of secularism or religiosity the play contains. These two strains are far from independent or distinct. A pure secularism does not exist in any of the plays, although some are very near it. In our examination, we shall treat of the moral process of redemption first. In this particular process of rescue, two elements play a prominent role-- the acquisition and practice of virtue, and faith.

To counteract the onslaught of the vices or to repair the damage to a person in whom they have lodged, a whole battery of virtues is called into play.

In Nature, the first of these virtues recommended is

moral courage:

Pluck up Thy Heart and hold thine head upright;  
And evermore have heaven in thy sight.  
(p. 45)

The hope of heaven, the escatological emphasis, will be seen emerging as an important instrument of good. The basic of this moral courage is faith in the omnipotence of God:

O Lord of Lords, my Lord God immortal!  
To Thee we honour and joy ever to endure;  
Whose heavenly empire shall never be final  
But world without end shall remain stable and sure . . .  
(pp. 46-47)

The author, under the spell of fervour, rises to a fine ringing poetry throughout this speech. Before this great Creator, it behoves man to humble himself and obey the laws he gives.

Enforce you, therefore, his creature each one  
To honour your Maker with humble obeisance -  
Namely, thou man! I speak to thee alone  
Before all others, a chief of His creance.  
(p. 45)

To this courageous faith must be added an awareness of death.

And I, wretched body, shall have my funeral,  
because

Man is not ordained alway here to abide.  
(p. 48)

If the world be evil and difficult, it is there to try virtue,  
to put a man to the test

For the season that he doth in this world abide.  
(p. 53)

But, since it is man's nature to fall away, he must "be holpen by power supernal" (p. 54), namely, grace. Innocence of life will thus result and man will not "distain nature or dishonour it" (p. 54).

. . . thanks be Thy grace,  
 As I did never assent, nor agree  
 To things that should be contrarious unto Thee;  
 Of sinful deed and thought all innocent,  
 Subdued to Reason as his obedient.  
 (p. 55)

To achieve the inner harmony of faculty, with Reason governing, man needs God's aid.

Man, however, goes on to a fall, despite his good resolutions, his faith, and his attempt to live innocently. As a result, Shame must enter into him and bring him to repentance. Shamefacedness is the beginning of reform and moves man to repair his evil by deeds of charity, such as almsgiving. By Shame, too, man is made aware of his foolishness and vice, and of his need for God's mercy:

God is merciful if ye lust to crave;  
 Call forgiveness and soon he will it send.  
 (p. 87)

Repentance must contain "a firm purpose of amendment," so that by diligence man may "accustom yourself to the way of virtue" (p. 87).

But man's striving is not, in the moral order, against himself alone. He must resist the Devil, as well. After a vivid picture of the devil's operations, it is declared that only grace can save from Satan. Against this terrible enemy, man is cautioned to pray for God's merciful help and to avoid occasions of temptation.

The very process of man's aging enters into the process of his redemption and is a comment upon the nature of the human heart; often it is the only factor that proves effective. Of Age it is said, "He has brought in Reason" (p. 118).

Gluttony and Lust are the first to leave when Age comes. Man regrets his folly and wants to relive his life. Reason is annoyed that man only abstains now that he is old. Man admits his foolishness:

As long as mine appetite did endure  
I followed my lusts in everything.  
(p. 120)

In the face of this, man is near Despair. Reason outlines a programme to prevent this. Man must take "physic" (p. 121) to repair the physical damage of his excesses; meekness must rule pride; charity and patience must rule wrath and envy; alms-giving must replace covetousness; chastity and continence must replace sensuality and lust. Man, unpracticed in virtue, asks where he shall find these. Reason says:

Thou shalt find them within thine own breast;  
Of thee it must come; it must be thy deed;  
For voluntary sacrifice pleaseth God best.  
(p. 122)

By this process the Will is able to choose virtue freely and repair its earlier waywardness.

The virtues then enter to instruct man. Meekness is first, and tells man that Pride is the root of all evil, as Adam and Lucifer reveal, and that Christ's death for man is a clear sign of the primacy of humility. Charity enters, and warning against envy which leads to slander, backbiting and "sorrowful sadness" (p. 125), tells man to love God and his neighbour generously. Patience, "the remedy of wrath and outrageous ire" (p. 126), the source of comfort is worldly tribulation, enters and tells man to learn patience from the Passion of Christ. Good Occupation, enemy of sloth, enters

and informs man that he must work for heaven, and occupy the body and mind well to prevent idleness, "the very mother and mistress of sin" (p. 128). Liberality teaches man to avoid avarice, to make restitution for wrongs and to be compassionate and generous to his neighbour. Abstinence and Chastity enter together to enable man to reject Lust quickly, to avoid Gluttony, superfluity, and surfeit. Now Reason rejoices that man seeks "the contemplation of light that is endless" (p. 132). God is praised for withholding punishment and enabling man to repent. Man goes off to visit Repentance, Confession, and Satisfaction. Lastly, Perseverance is invoked. Thus by a process of Instruction, Fall (Experience), Shame, Acquisition of Virtues, and Perseverance man is saved.

In Hyckescorner, we have a process of the moral redemption of the Will. The Will is initiated as bad, but under the guidance of virtue, is made good. Pity, which seems to be a combination of love for God and the reconciler of opposites, begins the play with a prayer to the Trinity to mend sick man. Pity leads to heaven, where it is "chief porter" (p. 148). Contemplation enters and tells man to meditate on the Passion. It is the support of the saints and the envy of Satan. Contemplation lives alone "in heath and in wilderness" (p. 148), and prays devoutly there. Perseverance enters and speaks of going forward, without discouragement, in grace. The Virgin Mary is praised as "the flower of meekness" (p. 151). Once Contemplation leaves, Imagination takes over Free Will and leads it astray. Imagination and Freewill drive out Pity, but Pity

simply resolves to be patient and suffer wrongs without complaint, even when he is put in irons by the two wayward "faculties" of man.

Natural disorders such as disease, pox, pestilence, sudden deaths, and great poverty are means used by God to awaken man to Repentance. The hard school of experience teaches man not to put his hope in this world. This experience leads man to pity, to a softened heart, without which Perseverance and Contemplation are helpless. The first thing they do is to bring free will under control. Contemplation instructs man to beg for God's mercy, and when the youth says he prefers Jane or Kate, Contemplation reminds him of life's brevity:

For fortune will turn her wheel so swift,  
That clean fro thy wealth she will thee lift.  
(p. 182)

To enforce the argument, Perseverance warns him of Hell's pains. Freewill however is unimpressed, so Contemplation quotes from the Office of the Dead:

Qui est in inferno, nulla est redemptio.  
(p. 183)

Since their remonstrations are unavailing, they change to thoughts of Heaven's bliss, with a warning that to die in sin is to be "lost and damned for evermore" (p. 186) and lose Heaven's joy. To love God is to have the opposite fate. We should note that these notions represent Contemplation in action, in this case considering, in the ancient Christian tradition, the End of Man. When at last Freewill capitulates, Perseverance takes over and gives man a new garment represen-

ting sorrow for sin, application to virtue, and sober conduct.

Having converted Freewill, it is now necessary to work on Imagination. They begin in the same manner, by a reminder of how suddenly death comes. Then they appeal to him to remember how much Christ endured from him and for him on Good Friday. Imagination declares that he was ten years in Newgate and Christ never helped him. To this, Contemplation replies that, indeed, Christ had helped him and brought him to this moment of repentance. Imagination, here depicted as shallow and blind, says that if Christ had helped him, he would have been able to see Him. Perseverance now enters the argument with a declaration of the power of Christ. If Imagination amends now, Christ will bring him to bliss. Ever blind, Imagination cannot picture bliss that is not here and now, a fact which corresponds to the Scholastic notion of the nature of Imagination. Finally, Freewill declares that once we are dead we are all forgotten, and this last statement draws from Imagination the admission that he truly fears death. Now docile, Imagination gets a new garment too, and the admonition to be steadfast. Freewill changes name from Imagination to Good Remembrance, to symbolize his new constructive role as an aid to the Will. Perseverance urges him to "forget not repentance" (p. 194).

We see in this play the Scholastic notion of the Will as a blind faculty 'informed' by the intellect being freely worked out.<sup>1</sup> To convert the Will, it is necessary to bring in

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1 See above, p. 13 ff.



many facts of life and religion for consideration--life's brevity, fortune's fickleness, Hell, Heaven, the Love of God, and so on. Once Contemplation seizes upon these ideas, the Will makes its response. Once the Will is settled by Perseverance in virtue, Imagination, a "sensate faculty," corresponds. The play testifies to how completely medieval philosophic notions of man's nature had imbued the thought of the time and how redemption is conceived in their light.

At the beginning of Mundus et Infans the World enjoins man to be obedient to it:

I commande you all obedient be (p. 244).

We are introduced immediately, too, to the counternotion of the play--repentance--and by this means: the child is called Daliance, but the World warns him that that is a name that has no substance when he "waxest old" (p. 245). The Child, on his way through the World from youth to age (and through the play), changes names: from Infans to Wanton (age 7) to Lust and Liking (age 14) to Manhood (age 21) and so into age.

Conscience confronts man, "dressed like a frere" to signify its holiness; it praises Christ and puts the devil over "on side" (p. 253). It declares that all must know conscience to gain Heaven. It knows all man's mysteries, and

Mankind and Conscience been at debate.  
(p. 253)

The necessity of self-knowledge in the process of redemption is emphasized. Conscience gives Infans an analysis of his state of soul--his lechery, gluttony, sloth, envy, wrath and covetousness. By argumentation he leads the Child to con-

version and moderate pleasure, permitting him "mirth in measure" (p. 258). He tells him to act with meekness, mercy and discretion. When Folly attempts later to pull man away from his good resolutions, it is conscience that casts out Folly. Where one is, the other cannot abide. Conscience must preach on the rigours of the Last Judgment to enable man to give up lustful living. In order to stay on the path of virtue, with so many enemies lying in ambush, Perseverance is required. This latter is a brother of Conscience and enters, singing a hymn of praise to Christ and Mary, and pleads for the conversion of the multitudes.

When Manhood reaches Age, he compares the wealth and health he enjoyed in former days to his state now. He recounts his youthful follies and the sorrows vice brought. For example, when he was in Newgate jail, he grew old and feeble:

I cough and roght, my body will burst,  
Age doth follow me so,  
I stare and stagger . . . .  
(p. 270)

He wishes for death to relieve him. Thus brought low, man is able to be converted. Perseverance tries to encourage him, changes his name back to manhood, and comforts his shame for "all sins." Perseverance teaches him the nature of true repentance, free of despair, based on Christ's help. He learns contrition and abstinence, and takes as his models the great penitents of other days--Peter, Paul, Thomas, James, John, and Mary Magdalene. Manhood, now deeply sorry for sin, expresses a desire for Heaven, and Perseverance gives him the list of things necessary for salvation: bodily, we need hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting, and feeling; spiritually, we need

clearness of mind, imagination, reason, understanding, and compassion; besides this, we must hold to the twelve articles of the faith (which the author presents in a simple and beautiful recasting of the Apostles' Creed). The Ten Commandments must be observed, Perseverance gives the last blessing:

And I pray to Jesus, which has made us all,  
Cover you with his mantle perpetual. Amen.  
(p. 275)

It is to be observed, that this play comes near to a workable compromise between the inner world of faith and the outer environmental world. It displays a zest for life, allows room for excitement and experience, and yet adheres to traditional Christian principles. There is no contempt for the world--only for Folly--in it, for the abuse of the world by individuals. Salvation here is worked out without a Puritan revulsion from either the world or pleasure "in measure."

Charity opens The Interlude of Youth, begging Jesus "you defend" (p. 5) for the audience. It is descended of God, and its motto is:

Qui manet in charitate in Deo manet.  
(p. 5)

And again:

Deus caritas est.  
(p. 6)

There is no salvation or virtue without Charity.

Youth, however, is corrupted by the times and declares to Charity that it will follow vice, as the age does, not virtue. Youth boasts of its fine body. Charity counters:

What will it be, when thou shalt flit  
From thy wealth into the pit?  
(p. 7)

The body is proud when youthful, but in age it is like a tree to be cut down and thrown into the fire. Charity, using another approach, tells him to repent, so that he may go to Heaven.

Where thou shalt see a glorious sight  
Of angels singing, with saints bright  
Before the face of God.

(p. 8)

To attain this, one must follow faith and the mercy of God. Youth is furious at such restraints, and angered by the persuasive argument. Charity refuses to fight, and urges youth to repent. It appeals to the Passion of Christ, the testimony of God's love for man. When Charity persists, Youth threatens its life, which expresses allegorically the danger youth is in of killing of virtue and stifling the stirrings of charity. Charity goes to get the advice of Humility, which, the reader now sees, this arrogant youth badly needs. Youth, in his blindness, sees Charity go, and with it gone, has reached the depths of his debasement. He seeks out Riot, who promises not to let Charity return. Pride, as well, assumes the rule of Youth. Charity returns, but is rebuffed. A wavering occurs on the part of Youth between the two ways of life. Charity prays in the name of

Jesus, that was born of Mary mild,  
(p. 27)

that youth amend. Riot tries to put charity in chains, and eventually Riot and Pride tie up charity, who suffers patiently for justice sake. Charity laments the evil that grows, like weeds, in the goodness of man. Humility returns and sets Charity free, and the two encounter youth again. Youth covers

them with abuse:

Were thou born in Trumpington<sup>2</sup>  
 And brought up at Hogsmorton?  
 (pp. 30-31)

Charity beseeches Youth to ask mercy and amend. Riot uses folklore to offset Charity's appeal, saying that Youth is too young to become a saint:

A young saint an old devil.  
 (p. 31)

Pride echoes him:

It is time enough to be good when that ye be old.  
 (p. 32)

Charity appeals again to the Passion of Christ, saying that Jesus has bought us true freedom with His Blood. After Adam's fall, God sent the Second Person of the Trinity to die "on the rood" for us (p. 36). Youth at last is won over, and Humility instructs him on the means of repentance: ask God's mercy, mourn for sin, pray, avoid temptation, and help others to amend. For this purpose, he is given a robe, symbolic of new life, a pair of "beads" (p. 39) and a promise by Charity that he will be

. . . an inheritor of bliss,  
 Where all joy and mirth is.  
 (p. 39)

Humility cries:

Amen, Amen for Charity!  
 (p. 40)

Charity, here, represents the love of God, the tendency of the heart to prefer God and his law to all other goods.

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<sup>2</sup> A place in Essex whose inhabitants were famous for stupidity. See footnote, page 30, in the text of the play to which we are referring.

In Lusty Juventus, a much less compromising tone is noted. The emphasis is on darker aspects of the problem. Good Counsel is the means used to convert youth. His first argument is that God created Youth from nothing, and Youth spends his time in useless frivolities. It quotes Moses to the effect that all men, old and young, rich and poor, must serve, honour, obey and fear God. There are no rewards or benefits for him who does not do these things. Youth must follow The Lamb and profit by the Passion of Christ,

The only price of our health and salvation.  
(p. 52)

The Holy Spirit "and Comforter" (p. 52) must be invoked by continual prayer in order for youth to live well. Youth, impressed, kneels and asks for light and perseverance. Knowledge, as if in answer to Youth's prayers, enters and asks God to inflame them with His Love. Knowledge is "appointed to give the blind their sight" (p. 54). It quotes David and Christ that man must know and keep God's "law, precepts, word, or verity" (p. 55), and show the fruits of the spirit which are, to paraphrase St. Paul,

Love, joy, peace, long suffering, and faithfulness,  
Meekness, goodness, temperance, and gentleness.  
(p. 55)

God must be feared, all His promises must be believed, and He must be loved with all one's heart and soul, and the neighbour must be loved as oneself. To enlighten Youth, Knowledge gives him a copy of the Scriptures, "a well or fountain most clear" (p. 59). Scripture will give strength in adversity and temptation, and rest to the heart. It is to be studied seriously, valued as "the most precious treasure" (p. 60), and others

must be led to it.

Sermons are lauded, further on, as being excellent means to help Christian men forsake evil, and place trust in Christ's death as the means of redemption.

Youth, however, led by Hypocrisy and Abominable Living, falls. Good Counsel laments this relapse and threatens youth with dire judgment. He will be punished severely

When the Lord shall come  
As a rightful judge at the day of doom.  
(p. 90)

There is a furious "hell-fire" sermon, in which St. Paul is quoted to the effect that those who sin after having got the truth will receive a terrible judgment. The sin against the Holy Ghost cannot be forgiven in this world or the next. Youth, struck with fear of Hell, falls down and laments his fall in despairing tears. Good Counsel tells him that he must trust to God's mercy with confidence. Then God's Merciful Promises enters and says that we are forgiven, not by our own deserts, but by God's promises freely given. Good Counsel then recites the story of the Prodigal Son, in order to encourage Youth in his near despair. Juventus then renounces the way of fleshly pleasure, the broad path of ruin. He renounces the Devil who led him astray by hypocrisy to forsake "the mortification of the flesh" (p. 99). He swears allegiance to God.

It is apparent that the tone of this play is Puritan. The emphasis on fear of God, obedience, the supremacy of the Scriptures, reformatory zeal, sermons, judgment and Hell are, when taken together in the general tone of the play, evidence

of Puritan spirit.

In The Longer Thou Livest, the importance of training children to virtue from their earliest years is stressed:

The bringing up of a childe from his tender age  
In vertue, is a great help to be an honest man.  
(p. 16)

Piety and Discipline are the chief means of training a child. Discipline leads to good manners and correction of vice, and Piety carries on to all virtues, since without it virtue is likely to be vanity. Exercitation, which signifies the opposite of Idleness, enters and is praised by Pietie. Pietie in return is called the "true honour of God's maiestie" (p. 20). The result of this possession of virtue--Pietie, Discipline and Diligence--is the observance of the commandments. Fools cannot achieve this prize because

Grace will not enter into a foolish heart.  
(p. 21)

Virtue is also the way to true learning. Pietie hopes to reform Moros, the youth, so that

With labour and diligent admonition  
He may in process of time learn wit  
And be willing to take erudition.  
(p. 21)

But all such erudition would be vain unless the basic aim of education were achieved, which is

God to feare, to serve, to love, to honour  
And his parents to obey with humillitie.  
(p. 21)

Diligence is a good friend of Exercitation, since youth must be profitably occupied to avoid sin. Diligence explains:

I mean a science or occupacion,  
Which to learne do your diligence,  
And, being learned, do the same occupie.  
And occupied by experience,  
Seek to exercise them busely.  
(p. 27)



He also recommends good companions because

. . . conversations with persons of virtue  
 Altereth nature sometimes . . .  
 (p. 29)

Moros is beaten by Discipline and Exercitation when he suffers a relapse, and here the use of punishment is recommended. Scripture reading is also urged, and, significantly, this is one of the first things Ignorance tries to get Moros to give up. Punishment by natural disaster in this world, and by Hell in the next, also is used to persuade Moros to reform. As a last persuader, God's Judgment enters "with a terrible visure" (p. 59). Since Moros is a fool he will get a fool's portion, because God acts swiftly once his purpose is set. The first reason why Moros is to be punished strikes a topical note:

Who hath sayd there is no God in his hart.  
 (p. 59)

Then, he has blasphemed God's laws and did not practice discipline. He has lost charity--deals wickedly with neighbours, oppresses the poor, bribes, defrauds, and steals. Only fools deny God, Heaven, and Hell, and are "punished in fire" (p. 59). Moros is then struck with the sword of judgment and falls down. He begins "strangely to sicken."

. . . the falling sickness  
 Or with the Palsey I am stricken.  
 (p. 59)

Then God's Judgment calls for mercy and grace--God's greatest works. Moros, still frivolous, asks for some wine to aid his recovery from his faint. This is too much for the puritanical character, God's Judgments, who calls Moros an "indurate"

wretch (p. 60) who will die in his sins. At this point (the lowest for Moros) Shame and Confusion enter. They are to be his everlasting companions, and Confusion changes Moros' clothes and predicts for him, in this world, "reprofe, deresion, open shame" (p. 60), and, in the next, death. He will have a lingering bad name when he dies. Such are the effects of vice in this world. Fools, the "peasant of all peasanter" (p. 61) receive nothing but confusion, poverty, sickness and punishment,

And after this life eternal fyre  
Due for fooles that be impenitent.  
(p. 61)

Moros is still unconvinced and says that the devil may come and carry him off. Confusion, however, will save the devil the trouble, he says, and carry Moros to him.

God's Judgment, intervenes with the Scriptural maxim that God revenges himself "on fooles" (p. 61), not on innocent fools who have imperfect reason, but on stubborn fools who "distaine to learne sapience" (p. 61). They speak and work in a disorderly way. Thus "wilful ignorance" stops intelligence (p. 61). Exercitation reiterates his position that Moros needs wise occupation to avoid idleness and "to be well occupied night or day" (p. 62). Piety, which is beloved of Christians and hated by sinners, which, as St. Augustine says, brings all other good things with it, pleads for Moros to repent. Discipline instructs him to seek God first and then learning, for a wicked man with learning is like

. . . a madde man having a sword in his hand.  
(p. 63)

He kills, Piety adds, himself and others. Intelligence needs humility and a desire for God, or "many thinges amisse" will result (p. 63).

This particular saga of repentance reconciles, to some extent and in one way, the conflict of religion and humanism. As we have seen, religion reigns supreme. It is to be noted too how much of the drama is taken up with analysis of the evil state of Moros, of learning run wild without God "like a madde man" (p. 63), of the necessity for Piety before all else. Education is not despised, but it is not loved for its own sake, but as a tool to keep one out of vice and busy. Education in this scheme does not exist in its own right in the pursuit of non-religious knowledge, but as a servant of piety.

In Like Will to Like we have an example of non-repentance and final ruin. One could hardly dignify the piece by calling it a tragedy, but it might rather be described as a 'fooling of fools.' Nichol Newfangle, the Vice, is proud to show us his "whole education," (p. 310) which was to be tutored by Lucifer in *Pride*. His mission is to separate the vicious from the virtuous, to draw like will to like, and carry his victims off to his Satanic Master. By means of a series of unfortunate victims--Tom Tossopot, Hankin Hangman, Tom Collier, Hance, Cuthbert Cutpurse, Ralph Roister, Philip Fleming, and Pierce Pickpurse--he achieves his purposes. The result is a bizarre combination of folk humour and underlying terror.

On the "serious" side, *Virtuous Living* gives instruc-

tion on how to achieve salvation. The message is simple and direct--keep God's law. Virtue and honour go together. Satan is always overcome by virtue, and vice is always defeated by it. It is necessary to avoid bad company or vice will follow, which brings "shame in this world and pain eternally" (p. 340). Good Fame accompanies Virtuous Living and edifies everyone. Virtuous Living praises the Saviour and deems him the source of all goodness, at whose injunction all must repent. To follow these precepts means honour and glory eternal. Honour gives Virtuous Living a sword of victory and a crown for his head. Life's brevity is one powerful motive for conversion of life. The despair of Ralph, Tom, and his other friends, is based upon the ignoring of all these precepts. Ralph urges Youth to

Use well your youthly years and to virtuous law agree.  
(p. 349)

Severity enters. He is come to suppress vice of all kinds. Pierce urges all to repent, but it is too late for most of them. Hangman leads off Cuthbert and Pierce, and Newfangle gloats over his work of corruption. The devil enters and carries Newfangle off on his back. Virtuous Living has the last speech, a celebration of virtue:

O worthy diadem, O jewel most precious,  
O virtue, which doth all worldly things excel.  
(p. 357)

In this play, there is no real conflict for the souls of those who perish. They are set in their ways of vice and do not change, except when it is too late. The play is a kind of negative example of repentance. The pattern is the

same at the start, but there is no reform of character.

The necessity of early education to virtue is made plain in Nice Wanton.

Early sharp, that will be thorn,  
 Soon ill, that will be naught:  
 To be naught, better unborn,  
 Better unfed than naughtily taught.  
 (p. 161)

The first means of assuring virtue is punishment:

He that spareth the rod the child doth hate.  
 (p. 163)

Reasonable correction in time will keep the child in the desirable state of "awe always" (p. 163). Thus the aim of education--an honest, quiet life of keeping God's law--will be assured.

One child (of three) proves the reward to his parents that a good child is. That one is Barnabas--"the son of comfort" (p. 163). He consoles his mother by means of the Scriptures. He is given to prayer in affliction. Barnabas reproves his foolish sister's frivolity:

Soberness becometh maids always.  
 (p. 164)

He tells her to learn to spin and sow and other "housewifely points to know" (p. 165), because such

Learning bringeth knowledge of God and honest living to get.  
 (p. 164)

Iniquity manages to lead the sister and her other brother Ismael to ruin by means of riotous living.

Repentance comes to the sister Dalilah when she is completely brought low by vice. She enters

in ragged, her face hid, or disfigured,  
 halting on a staff.  
 (p. 173)

Her state is graphically portrayed. She is a "wretched wretch ...full of pain and sorrow," afflicted by disease, forsaken by the world, her sinews shrunk, her "flesh eaten with pox," her bones aching, her head bald, her back crooked, her eyesight dim, her hands trembling, with bad digestion, or no food, "foul and horrible to see" (p. 173).

Justly for my sins God doth plague me.  
(p. 173)

She is tormented by her conscience "which shall never die." She fears damnation. Barnabas finds her and tells her that if she repents God will restore her "to health and grace." She refuses to admit who she is to her brother, and in a pathetic speech laments how her "wanton nice toys" (p. 174) have brought her to her present state. Barnabas says that

the soul is more precious, more dearly bought  
With the blood of Christ dying therefore.  
(p. 175)

He says Christ will forgive her and lead her "by his rod of pure love" (p. 175). She must only repent her sin and believe firmly.

Meanwhile Daniel, the judge, enters and Iniquity tries to bribe him. He is not corruptible, and brings Ismael to trial. Ismael is sentenced to be hanged "tomorrow, nine of the clock" (p. 177).

Having caught "two birds" (p. 179)--Ismael and Dalilah--Worldly Shame now plans to catch "their dame" (p. 179). When the mother hears of her sons death and her daughter's shame, she tries to commit suicide. Barnabas, however, forestalls her with a reminder of God's mercy and an injunction to "take his

correction with patience" (p. 181). He continues,

Christ has paid the ransom.  
(p. 182)

We are further instructed to have a good conscience in order to be happy.

In this play, repentance comes too late for the two children, and only the mother really "profits." The means of repentance, however, are those we have been observing throughout the plays--bitter experience, stern punishment for sin, dependence upon God's mercy and the merits of Christ. Thus moral regeneration takes place on the level of the natural and the supernatural. All the plays emphasize the absolute necessity of God's assistance in arriving at moral enlightenment.

#### Intellectual Redemption

In the more purely secular and academic play of the education of youth, many new elements are introduced into the process of redemption, and less supernaturalism is evident. The ethics of the new learning prevail, and we have a kind of educational propaganda. New ideals are established in the old morality form. The "new men" begin to be heard raising voices in opposition or in independence.

The general educational ideas of the period are mirrored in the morality plays. The influence of the great educationalists of the period and their relevant theories is evident.

New areas of learning are urged, such as science,

geography, history, and so on. These disciplines, it is true, have medieval roots, but to find them urged on youth from the stage is indicative of far-reaching change in approach. The soul's struggle now is for knowledge. That is why we find schoolmasters taking to the stage to advocate the new principles, as Redford did with Wyt and Science. As the Oxford Humanists, William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, John Colet and others, begin to make their influence felt, the dramas reflect their ideas.

Among these ideas we may note the following: a new emphasis on, and new confidence in, man and his knowledge, which encourages experimental work, such as that of Grocyn, in fields of great variety--medicine, philosophy, science, divinity. A new scrutiny of the means of education takes place. John Colet turned his attention to educational establishments, and found them in deplorable condition:

So mean the place, so mean the pittance,  
you could say that the pigs were being  
reared there, and not that respectable  
people's children were being taught.<sup>3</sup>

Schoolmasters, as well, came in for criticism. Erasmus wrote, in a representative vein, that they seemed content

so long as they can bawl and shout to their  
terrified pupils, and box and beat and flog  
them, and so indulge in all kinds of ways  
their cruel dispositions.<sup>4</sup>

He deplores "lewd schoolmasters." Sir Thomas Elyot echoes

<sup>3</sup> Sir J.A.R. Marriot, The Life of John Colet (London, 1933), p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in S. J. Curtis, M.E.A. Boulwood, A Short History of Educational Ideas (London, 1958) p. 124.



his remarks in The Book of the Governour, desiring for pupils from their earliest years "an ancient and worshipful man."

He laments:

Lord God, how many good and clever wits  
of children be nowadays perished by  
ignorant schoolmasters. <sup>5</sup>

Scriptural study is pushed forward with a new emphasis, deriving from Colet, on the plain historical meaning, not on wideranging, pious interpretive meanings. To lead in this reform, Colet himself published influential commentaries on St. Paul. Scripture was taken to be the first source of true wisdom, a notion which several moralities on education support. There was a new emphasis, besides, on the practical, here-and-now, in-this-world aims of education. The statement by Erasmus which follows finds echoes throughout the academic morality play. He wrote that the first aim of education was that youth

drink in the seeds of piety, the next that he may love and learn thoroughly the liberal studies, the third is that he may be informed concerning the duties of life, the fourth is that from the earliest childhood he may be habituated in courteous manners. <sup>6</sup>

Sir Thomas Elyot had similar aims in mind. He recommended an all around liberal education, the protection of young people from evil influences, and moderation in everything. He echoes as well the desire of the age for emphasis on the

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<sup>5</sup> Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book of the Governour, Quoted in S.J.Curtis and M.E.A.Boultwood, A Short History of Educational Ideas (London, 1958) p. 158.

<sup>6</sup> S. J. Curtis & M.E.A. Boultwood, A Short History of Educational Ideas (London, 1958) pp. 125-126.

vernacular, on "pure and elegant" English. Juan Luis Vives stressed the natural sciences and experimental work, emphasizing maps, the study of geography and voyages, as an example of the practicality desirable in education both in means and matter. In methodology, there was a tendency to adapt the matter to the child's capacity in order to prevent tedium. The curriculum was varied to further this aim. Music, drawing, crafts, and so on, added interest and variety. Roger Ascham urged games and recreation. The study of antiquity was emphasized, so that youth might have the fruit of literary, moral and social excellence, and a standard whereby to judge the present. Classical languages were to be taught, as Sir Thomas Elyot recommended, from the earliest years. All these trends, and others which will become apparent, are reflected in the morality play-- even in the names of their characters: Studious Desire, Experiment, Science, Tediousness, and so on.

These remarks, which are necessarily limited, reveal the tone of the new spirit which gave birth to the academic morality play. Illustrative details might be multiplied but the dramas speak for themselves, and point out the close connection of idea between these plays and the theories of the day. It should be remarked that the concept of redemption is the point here-- that process by which a weak or disorderly mind might reform and acquire knowledge, or by which the enemies of a worthy education might be put down.

Nature, by Medwall, illustrates the new secular con-

cerns of the morality play. It replaces the religious element by secular learning, and is a morality of the new educational interests. It is youth being prepared to enter life in this world. This is not to say that God is denied, but that the emphasis is on the practical matters of acquiring knowledge. There is also a new emphasis on punishment in this world, which Farnham sees as a hint of mundane and tragic justice, a concept to be developed in the great rise of Elizabethan tragedy.<sup>7</sup>

The cosmological concept at the bottom of the play pictures God as presiding over the World, with Nature as His servant. Nature is a kind of mystical power that has

. . . suaged the old repugnance  
And knit them together, in a manner of alliance.  
(p. 43)

If man and the universe desire to reconcile the conflicts that torment them, they must do so by following nature. Under the figure of the pagan goddess "Diane" Nature's powers are pictured:

Lady of the sea and every fresh fountain  
Which commonly decrease oh when she grineth wane,  
And waxe oh abundant when she creaseth again,  
Of ebb and flow she is cause certain  
And resigneth, as princess, in every isle and town.  
(p. 43-44)

Pagan and Christian elements are mixed together. Ovid's account of the creation is reproduced. Science is emphasized--the moon, the stars, and every

such impression  
As appear oh wondrous to man's sight.  
(p. 44)

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<sup>7</sup> William Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Oxford, 1956) p. 201.

Popular superstitions, such as the myth of falling stars, "Which causeth the ignorant to stand in dread" (p. 44), are ridiculed. There is an apologia for the new inquisitive science of "things here below":

As fowls, beasts and fishes in their kind  
Of trees, stones and herbs how they grow.  
(p. 44)

There is a catalogue of natural events: how beasts eat certain foods that are good for them, why the cock crows at certain times, and so on. Indeed, one perceives the excitement of an awakening awareness. Nature says:

Wherefore, sith God, of his great largesse  
Has thus enriched me with dower of his grace  
But with heart's joy and entire solace  
Myself address to his high pleasure  
And to this same move all creatures . . . .  
(p. 45)

To be good and happy is to be conformed to what nature, God's servant, intends.

There is, as well, a new emphasis on the value of the senses:

For if there be in him no manner of feeling,  
Nor no lively quickness, what lord is he?  
(p. 49)

The senses are seen as means of observation and experiment.

The love of ancient learning is apparent. The author calls Aristotle "my philosopher elect" (p. 45) because Aristotle teaches one how to "know the effect of things natural, by true conclusion" (p. 45). Ovid is quoted, from The Transformations, on the creation of the universe.

In The Four Elements, Rastell treats of the situation of the four elements, that is to say, the earth, the water, the air

the fire, and of their qualities and properties, and of the generation and corruption of things made of the commixation of them.  
(p. 5)

The Prologue contains a plea for the writing of more learned material in the English tongue. A hint of the split of the generations over knowledge is given when the forefathers of the age are called ignorant for thinking the earth flat, whereas it is a sphere twenty-one thousand miles in circumference. This huge sphere rests in space. Providence has made earth the centre of the universe and all other bodies revolve around it. The play is an attempt to make science popular, and to present in interesting form the scientific knowledge of the day, in the English tongue--which is equal, Rastell says, to the difficult sentences needed. He deplores the trivial books being written in English. It is a work of mercy to bring, by wise means, ignorant people to knowledge. The knowledge of God is acquired by studying creation first: from the "gross" one rises to the "pure" and, finally, to God. One must begin with "the visible things" first, unlike "the clerks" who dispute "of high creatures celestial" (p. 9). On the contrary, the author insists that

The more thou desirest to know anything,  
Therein thou seemest the more a man to be.  
(p. 15)

Studious desire is left by nature to instruct Humanity in his search for "causes natural" (p. 16). Studious Desire uses the device of elimination and questioning. He could, he says, prove a lot of his theories, such as how many miles the earth is around, by experiment and instruments.

The Senses which are to be used to eat, drink, refresh man, enjoy pleasant sounds, picture colours and enjoy the pleasure of touch, are abused by man and are the source of his trouble. He follows Sensual Appetite. To offset this abuse Recreation is admitted to teach man moderation in pleasure. Experience then enters and tells of his voyage to Africa, India, and Europe, and elsewhere. When Studious Desire asks how many miles it is to Jerusalem, he is referred to the map. Then Experience discourses on the discovery of the New World (with a deploring of the fact that Englishmen were not there first!), of the French fishing grounds, and so on. A lesson in cosmography is also conducted.

Humanity has to overcome Ignorance, which says that all this study will make man mad. It has already been discussed how Experience, Studious Desire, and Recreation enable man to win the victory and acquire knowledge.

In The Marriage of Wit and Science, Nature again appears in a manner similar to that in Nature. She speaks of herself as a "Grand Lady" (p. 325), the mother of all, nurse of all, conserver, cause of increase, "spring" of life and the soul (p. 325). Wit is her child and she wishes him "to run his race in honour" (p. 325). Wit, though poorly disciplined, is the lover of Science, which in turn is the daughter of Reason and Experience. Nature tells him that, if he wishes to win Science, he must set about the arduous task of wooing her. To win anything so worth-while, man must make the effort, and God will reward--or punish--the labour. Science is presented as an evasive lady, who tires of all

the inconstant youths who try to woo her and fail to persevere. It is only at the insistence of her parents, Reason and Experience, that she agrees to make herself available again. Youth (Wit) advances his cause when he declares that he seeks Science for her own sake, not to acquire wealth, or for his own good, or for blood reasons. To aid Youth and restrain his impetuosity, Experience gives him three aides--Instruction, Study and Diligence. A glass signifying self-knowledge is given youth so that he may check his progress. Youth sets about to woo Science:

O pearl of passing price sent down from God on high  
 The sweetest beauty to entice that hath been seen by eyes;  
 The well of wealth to all, that no man doth annoy  
 The key of kingdoms and the seal of everlasting joy.  
 The treasure and the store, whom all good things began  
 The nurse of lady Wisdom's love, the link of man and man.  
 (p. 359)

Such a passage bears testimony to the esteem in which learning is held.

However, there is a monster to be overcome--Tediousness. This enemy is

The bane of youth, the root of ruin and distress.  
 (p. 363)

He "beats and buffets down the force and liveliness of brain" (p. 364). Youth goes impetuously forth to battle the beast and is defeated. When he essays again, he takes advice from Instruction and Study and has been refreshed by Recreation and has defeated Idleness and her child, Ignorance, of whom he had become the victim. Thus fortified, he this time defeats the beast. The result is that the lady Science is won, Youth is redeemed from Ignorance, fame and happiness follow.

Wit and Wisdom treats of

. . . how Irksomeness doth more then many a one  
 Before that they to wisdomes-word the have way yet have gone.  
 (p. 5)

Wit and Wisdom must be married or else Reason does not rule, and Fancy brings the brain to idleness and ruin. There is a symbolic representation of the troublesome conflict in man in the portrayal of Wit's parents--the father Severity who tells Wit to set about and acquire knowledge while he is young, and Indulgence, his mother, who tells him to take life easy and marry early. Wit has to overcome Idleness, whose brother is Irksomnes (and who calls himself Honest Recreation) and whose mother is Ignorance. Youth becomes weary of study, wants to have a different profession, and longs for recreation and sport. Seduced by Wantones and made a fool of by Idleness, youth falls into Ignorance. To his rescue comes Good Nurture, who gives him the true Honest Recreation to help him. Wit, however, finds his ideas of Recreation pale and falls into Idleness again. To help him remain constant, Lady Wisdom gives him Perseverance. He subdues Irksomeness. Good Nurture, too, restrains him from wild pleasures when fatigue and weariness of mind beset him. Thus protected, he wins Wisdom and marries her.

In Redford's Wyt and Science, Reason the father of Science, admonishes youth to be "clean and trick about ye" (p. 137) when he goes in search of her daughter, Science. Wyt is in love with Science and Father Reason wishes him success, even giving him Honest Recreation to further his search. Confidence enters to bolster Wit in his job of wooing Science.



To these forces are added Study and Diligence, but one necessary companion is lacking--Instruction. Without it Wit goes perilously near the den of the monster Tediousness. Instruction warns him to keep away without the aid of Comfort,

which is the weapon doubtless  
That must serve you against Tediousness.  
(p. 140)

Instruction will not let him go near the monster till he also has a token of love from Science, since he must enjoy some success in his pursuit, to be able to continue it successfully. Study is some help, but

Study's office is  
Meet for the chamber, not for the field.  
(p. 141)

However, Wit, Study, and Diligence do not listen to Instruction and go off to meet with Tediousness. The monster mocks them and expresses chagrin that they dare

Without my licence  
To stall at my door,  
To that drab Science,  
To wed that whore.  
(p. 142)

Having done some exercises to limber up, he sets upon them and kills Wit. Honest Recreation, Comfort, Quickness and Strength enter to revive Wit. Reason tells Wit he was foolish to try to beat Tediousness without Instruction's help and encourages Wit to resume his search for Science. Wit, however, is discouraged and falls a prey to Idleness. Ignorance, the dumb country-boy son of Idleness, puts his coat on Wit, as a sign of his new condition. Confidence has been looking for Wit and enters with a message that Science will now meet Wit half-way, a sign that Wit has profited from his unhappy fall. To en-

hance the beauty of Science in Wit's eyes, Fame, Favour, Riches, and Worship enter and sing of their mistress' beauty, Science enters shortly after and sends her handmaidens off. She is sad because she is not pursued by her lover, Wit. Experience encourages her by telling her that the first hasty rush of love is over and now Wit will be more reasonable and steadfast. Wit is made to see his new condition of Ignorance, and this underscores the necessity of self-knowledge, of recognizing one's intellectual poverty before one can do anything about it. His companions are now Hatred, Beggary, Open Shame. Shame has a whip with which to beat Wit, but he is let off when he swears to wed Science. Instruction now returns, without which, as Reason says, Wit is no better "than an Ass" (p. 167). Confidence enters with a gold heart, a symbol of undying love from Science. Now accompanied by the full retinue of necessary virtues--Study, Diligence, Instruction, Confidence, Reason, and so on--Wit easily slays Tediousness. Science, minx-like, tells Wit that she must be retained by steady wooing once she has been won. A wise use of knowledge is urged when Science tells Wit that he must use her well. Wit says that Father Reason will correct him if he acts in an unbecoming way. Experience warns Wit that she will punish him if he does not use Science for his own good, the good of his neighbour, and God's glory. Wit promises to obey.

The logic and attractiveness of this allegorical presentation of the search for knowledge, and the admirable freedom of the play from rabid partisanship or extremity in its views, make it one of the most pleasing of our series.

In The Glass of Government, a parent goes in search of a schoolmaster for his son, and states the kind of master he hopes to find:

I would we could be so happy as to find some honest and carefull schoolmaster, who might enstruct them together: I say honest, because in the house of the virtuous there is seldom any vice permitted, and carefull, because the care of the teacher is of no less consideration than his skill: thē do I wish him both honest and carefull; because the conjunction of two such qualities, may both cause the accomplishment of his duty, and the contentations of our desires . . .

(p. 10)

The Schoolmaster must be able to give them a liberal education and "lay a sure foundation for their understanding." There are, however, we are informed, more parents searching for schoolmasters of such ability than there are such masters to be found. Money given to such a master is well spent. He will teach the children to be obedient to their parents, to be humble and patient, and virtuous in behaviour.

When they find the schoolmaster, the first thing he does is check what the youths have already studied, which includes the rules of grammar, the Colloquia of Erasmus, Cicero, Terence, Tully, Vergil and Greek grammar. Gnomaticus, the master, praises the classics but adds

yet the true Christian must direct his steps to the infallible rule of God's word, from whence as from the hedde spring, he is to drain the whole course of his life.

(p. 17)

They will learn much, he says, from Plato, Xenaphon, and Aristo the Stoic, but more from Scripture, of their practical duties towards king, country, parents and self. A long lesson fol-

lows on virtuous examples of goodness and patriotism drawn from the ancients and Scripture. Poetry is praised as a means of refining sentiment, and the youths are made to write verse. They are told their homework is

. . . to be put into verse everie one by himself and in sundrie device, that you may therein take the greater delight, for of all other artes poetrie giveth greater assistance unto memory, since the very terminations and censures doe (as it were) serve for places of memorie, and help the mind with delight to carry burthens which else would seeme more grievous . . . yet shall you find herein comfort or recreation, than any encombrance . . . you must also therein observe decorum, for tryffling or pleasant figures in serious causes are not most comaly . . .

(pp. 47-48)

Gnomaticus also advises parents to correct their childrens faults early. They must use discretion in physical punishment. He later recommends Doway as a good University because it is situated in a small town and pupils are more supervised to prevent evil. Scholars must also express their opinions freely:

. . . for conference is comfortable unto scholars, were it no more than to use, eache others advice and opinion . . . (p. 52)

The result of education is that

. . . you shall be acceptable to God, pleasing to the world, profits to yourselves, and comfortable to your parents . . . . (p. 67)

And they must avoid at all costs "the damnable opinion of atheysts." The value of experience is greatly stressed:

. . . for unto some wittes neyther correction nor friendly admonition, nor any persuasion will serve, until their owne rodde have beaten them . . . . (p. 78)

"Hotter heads" fail; moderate and temperate persons succeed in acquiring wisdom. The last lines express the hope that all the plays express: virtue triumphs.

You see that right, which evermore hath rained,  
And justice both: do tcepe their places still  
To punish good, and eke to punish ill. (p. 106)

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this study, a few major aspects of these dramas have been examined. In the first place, it is necessary to think of these plays as, in their essential nature, moral dramas. This is their fundamental quality which explains the atmosphere and mood which prevails throughout. It is the uniting force which welds all the plays into a kind of whole. This moral bias explains the emphasis upon the interior nature of man, his spirituality, his fall, his redemption, and his place in the world around him. It has not been possible to examine other important aspects of these dramas - to relate them closely to the forces at work in the age that produces them, to examine them in relation to previous and contemporary drama, to examine their place in the history of English dramatic poetry. From time to time, it was possible to point out certain basic themes or character types which continue into later drama. But what we have examined constitutes the basic elements of the plays - the ideal of interior order, the anatomy of vice, the picture of society, the means and manner of reform, the academic ideal.

One other essential quality remains to be stressed. That is the nature of the allegorical method employed in the plays for the use of allegory is essential to these dramas. If

all the characters of the plays are taken as a whole, they represent all the conflicting forces a man contends with both within and without himself. Fancy, Reason, Idleness, Tediousness, Experience, and so on are all abstractions of forces that are part of the character of a single man. We may state as a generalization that these characters are all externalizations of the interior battle of the main character.

In the actual construction of these plays, it is as if all the possible characteristics a man might possess were listed, and one was chosen as central by the author of a given play, the choice being dictated by the author's philosophical or theological or educational stance. The remaining characters line up according to "good" or "bad" positions and do battle over the central character. This explains the passive nature of the protagonists of the plays. Forces are at war for control of him, whether "he" is part of man (such as the "soul" or a state of man (such as youth). It may be said that we may think of all the characters in any given play as objectifications of elements of a man, so that the whole list of characters in a play equals one man.

This is readily apparent except in certain cases. For example Science, or Learning, Virtue or Vice, as they contend for man's being, are outside of him, but, in the concept of the play, they cannot exist separate from him, and are part of him. God and the good principle likewise exist only as realized in man, as the good principle in man, just as Satan and the wicked are the evil principle in man. Parents are always seen through the eyes of the central character, as they

effect him, and they are him - his heredity and environmental training. Even more directly, companions and friends are the effects on him of environment. They have no existence per se apart from the central figure of the plays. The World is the main character's experience of the world. The world does not exist except as known to his consciousness by experience.

What we witness is the fragmentization of the powers of a man through a conflict, and either they are harmonized and disorder expelled (happy ending) or they continue grinding against one another (unhappy ending). The dramatic movement of the play is really one of disintegration and reunification. It begins with a gradual fragmenting sequence and the climax occurs where this fragmentization is total. The opposing forces now grind against one another until by the see-saw of their battle one begins to predominate and a movement begins toward healing or tragic non-integration. The characters in this situation are curiously open to going either way, since the eye is single, the battle within, and the rescue within. Since we must conceive of the whole stage full of characters as one man, it is necessary to note that the only really external rescue is supernaturalism, when God is brought in to solve the problem.

This principle of allegory as we have briefly stated it could be applied in a broader way. It can be said, working from the witness of these plays, that all dramatic-art (perhaps all art in which man faces conflict) begins with an allegorical abstraction, which, as it is developed becomes



particularized and individualized, as the writer's genius and the development of technique enables him to express sides of consciousness more precisely and with, only apparently, more objectivity.

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