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Between the Household and the School: Socialising the Child in England, c. 1400-1600

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Submitted May 2008

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University
This thesis is the work of the candidate, Merridee Lee Bailey, except as otherwise indicated.

Merridee L. Bailey
Acknowledgements

As one would expect, this thesis has benefited through the care and attention of a number of people. The first acknowledgment must go to my supervisor Dr. John Tillotson and my co-supervisor, Dr. Stephanie Tarbin at the University of Western Australia. Mr. Robert Barnes has also worked as an advisor, particularly in the area of early printing and incunabula. Dr. Douglas Craig graciously assisted with administrative matters over the course of my time at The Australian National University. Thanks must also go to the School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts, College of Arts and Social Sciences at The Australian National University for hosting me over the course of my candidature.

While at The Australian National University I benefited enormously from the collegiate atmosphere fashioned by Dr. Tillotson and the sharing environment he fostered amongst his PhD students, past and present. Of these, enormous thanks go to Bob Birks, Darren Buck, Tania Colwell, Julie Hotchin, Libby Keen, and Val Spear for thought-provoking conversations about the medieval world in all its minutia.

In conducting research for this thesis in both Australia and the United Kingdom, I have been fortunate to have benefited from the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research), Fieldwork Grant, which allowed me to spend nearly a year in England at various Oxbridge College libraries where much of this material is located. I wish to thank The Bibliographical Society for a grant in July 2006 to study select examples of early incunabula, particularly William Caxton’s publications, at the Cambridge University Library. I also wish to thank the Richard III Society for awarding me their 2006 bursary for this thesis.

Staff at the Bodleian Library were exceptionally helpful, particularly Greg Colley and Dr. B.C. Barker-Benfield who assisted with locating obscure manuscripts and early printed books, and discussing various dating issues with me. Dr. Frances Willmoth at Jesus College, Cambridge was also extremely helpful, both in person and through correspondence. Nicholas Rogers, Archivist at Sidney Sussex, Cambridge was also welcoming and inviting over the course of several visits to the Muniments Room.

The Network for Early European Research (NEER) graciously provided funding in order to present papers at various conferences arising out of this research. The NEER research cluster ‘Children in Europe and the Australian Colonies c. 1300-1850’, also welcomed me as a cluster member in 2007, and I wish to thank them for this.

Final thanks go to a number of colleagues, friends and family. These are, Professor A.S.G. Edwards, Professor Emerita Beryl Rawson, Emeritus Professor Christopher Allmand, Professor Philippa Maddern, Dr. Elizabeth Archibald, Professor George Shuffelton, Dr. Stephanie Trigg, Dr. Juanita Feros Ruys, Dr. Alessandra Petrina, and to my family Roy and Wendy Bailey and sister, Aleshia Bailey.
Abstract

This thesis explores the transmission and reception of literature concerned with childhood, and the socialisation of children, in England between 1400 and 1600. Literature reflects and fashions social concerns, and furnishes the opportunity to observe contemporary reactions and understandings of society, politics and religion, and in this case to understand a particular anxiety regarding the socialisation and behaviour of children. Reading networks which are addressed include parents, pedagogues, and the frequently overlooked reading group of children and young people. Throughout, I note how competing ideologies and interests are encountered in relation to particular audience networks, as well as the high probability that audiences were critical readers of texts, reading and resisting notions they encountered even as they were directed to accept them.

In this thesis I develop a framework where I examine English vernacular literature in manuscripts and early printed books which guides readers towards understanding childhood and socialisation, and which explores the fashioning of child identity. I build on recent interest in tracing early print culture, which is both ‘new’ and ‘conventional’, ‘transforming’ the literary landscape, but also fixed and looking to the past. It is possible to observe how ‘childhood’ as a distinct phase of life was conceptualised and understood by contemporary observers and to evaluate changing concepts of childhood socialisation over this period, as well as those aspects of behaviour which remained consistent over time.

This evidence speaks about children in particular environments. I interpret this evidence by looking at the domestic household that was commonly made up of kin members, as well as large elite households where young children assumed functional working positions. In addition I analyse school environments to detect how the formal space of the school, particularly the Grammar School, served as an arena for the socialisation of children according to academic, religious and social criteria. In this way schools also served in establishing the new English Church by securing the religious orthodoxy of new generations.

This research reflects wider developments occurring in English culture, society, and politics. In late-fifteenth and sixteenth century texts and particularly in the books William Caxton published that were relevant to childhood, I detect an increasing focus on the qualities of virtue and morality. This is distinct from codes of courteous and noble behaviour that had previously dominated narratives relevant to youthful socialisation. Mid-to late-fifteenth century literature increasingly drives readers towards understanding moral identity. I argue that this has to be viewed in a context of wider political disturbances and turmoil generated by the conflicts of the ‘Wars of the Roses’. Religious change in the sixteenth century adds to this context. While escalating turbulence would have been felt most strongly in adult circles, I suggest how broader English society and contemporary literature responds to the same anxieties, traversing downwards to affect secondary social groups, including children.

The importance of the late-fifteenth century as a time of social and political transformation serves as an introduction to my thesis as a whole, providing the scope to question long-term continuities, and to identify change in how childhood was perceived. The result is fresh understandings of childhood as a distinct phase of life, of literary transformations and continuities between manuscript and print, and how social and political networks affect change at a micro level in society.
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A note on transcription conventions:

In transcribing texts, 3 has been typed as ‘y’; þ as ‘th’; and, ß as ‘s’. However in the Good Wife Taught her Daughter, 3 more often stands for ‘th’ or ‘gh’ (and may be the result of occasional corruptions in the manuscript from þ).

In Caxton’s editions, the final flourish on some words (signalling ‘e’) has been left off.

Expanded letters appear in square brackets.
Introduction

‘Nature is an effectual thynge, but educacion more effectual’. 1

Childhood represented more than a chronological age or physical form; it was a time of instruction and learning, of the building of relationships and abilities, and the creation of identity. As Erasmus told us, nature was effectual but ‘educacion more effectual’. This thesis investigates how English society looked towards children as the standard bearers of good conduct and behaviour, charging socialisation with broader social and political meaning. Looking at the socialising role of the household and the school in late medieval and early modern England places this study in a broader context, showing us not only how childhood was imagined, which is valuable in itself, but the developments in English society, politics, and religion from a perspective which has been marginalised. Each chapter in this thesis analyses a particular genre of literature that articulates something about childhood and children. This is done on a chronological as well as thematic basis, building a picture of socialisation between 1400 and 1600, and of literary transmission in England across manuscript and print. Between Chapters Two to Six I intend to show conflicting and sometimes contradictory changes in English literature, with different discourses about socialisation in the household indicating how childhood was conceived as a series of different concepts by authors. Chapter Seven goes outside this study of household literature to see how socialisation was imagined within the school and discussed within contemporary educational charters and documents.

Households and families are the basic units of any society, and one of the principal fields for historians to investigate to develop fully a picture of the make-up of society and culture in the past. Different households perceived childhood and socialisation against their own sets of parameters and desires. In this thesis, socialisation is analysed in terms of the relationships between households and common socialising issues; the elite household and the bourgeois household; elite

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1 Richard Sherry, A treatise of schemes [and] tropes very profytable for the better understanding of good authors. gathered out of the best grammarians [and] orateurs by Rychard Sherry Londoner. Whervnto is added a declamation, that children euem strapt fro[m] their infancie should be wel and gentyl broughte vp in learnynge. Written yeirst in Latin by the most excellent and famous cleare, Erasmus of Roterdame (London: John Day, 1550), Bvi1. Includes a translation of Erasmus’ De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis from which this passage comes.
courtesy and bourgeois morality. Our ability to understand households takes us into the world of late medieval social mobility, mercantile practices and elite-bourgeois parameters. Children and young people were participants in these worlds. How they were socialised says much about English identity and culture. The fifteenth century Venetian traveler who wrote about the English practice of sending children out of the natal household, recognised that socialisation said something about English culture as a whole. His views are one way to look at how and where socialisation occurred, although this thesis goes beyond its obvious biases and preconceptions with English identity and culture.

One way of understanding attitudes towards childhood is to look at the anxieties and concerns that were held in the past; at what preoccupied intellectuals and writers, if not parents themselves. Socialisation was an ongoing and persistent topic of concern for those concerned with the next generation of children and by extension, the wellbeing and security of the nation. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these concerns were articulated in poems, tracts and advice manuals in manuscripts as well as in early printed books. These contemporary texts offered rich and colourful perspectives on the dynamics of childhood and of how children were perceived in ways we might find confronting. Throughout this thesis there is an understanding that this literature must be analysed with a respect for the contexts in which it was circulating, particularly how family organisation, household formation and educational practices affected and were affected by literary ideals. I understand this literature as representing an idealised portrait of childhood, framed by the personal biases and preoccupations of authors and audiences. These texts revealed how conduct and behaviour were ideally fashioned, unsullied by pragmatic concerns with misbehaving children, indifferent parents, and economic realities. The 'ideal' serves as a useful starting point to

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2 The need to recognise the late medieval (urban) household as fundamental to society and as an emotional and functional site, has been demonstrated by the York Medieval Household Research Group. The scope of questions and issues raised in a recent review article demonstrates the importance of current household studies. Sarah Rees Jones and others, 'The Later Medieval English Urban Household', History Compass, 5.1 (2007), 112-158. Susan Dwyer Amussen writes: 'What happened in the household was important for the village, the county, and ultimately the state. Actions and ideas in one arena were interpreted and given meaning by reference to other more familiar ones.' Susan Dwyer Amussen, 'Punishment, Discipline, and Power: The Social Meanings of Violence in Early Modern England', The Journal of British Studies, 34.1 (1995), 1-34 (pp. 4-5).

3 For a transcript see P.J.P Goldberg, Women in England c. 1275-152: Documentary sources, translated and edited by P.J.P. Goldberg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 87-88. Many historians have directed attention to this source.
uncover what was privileged and what tools were available to articulate religious, political and social ideologies concerning children.\(^4\)

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the English vernacular was one of the mediums in which these matters were expressed, in addition to material written in Latin and French. However, in this thesis I intend to demonstrate the importance of vernacular writings on childhood, as opposed to Latin or French literature. There was a unique relationship between the vernacular language and literature in England, and between the English vernacular and the construction of English nationhood and identity. This relationship was not replicated on the Continent, and it deserves serious attention. Early English printing developed and cultivated this interest in vernacular writing, with 59% of incunabula composed in English as opposed to 33% in Latin. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp compare this to Latin incunabula in Europe which made up over 70% of the market.\(^5\)

The importance of vernacular printing to English culture and to the self-fashioning of identity should be understood by looking at the antecedents of English vernacular print in vernacular manuscripts, and I begin with fifteenth century English courtesy poems. These developed out of older Latin or French sources. However, in the fifteenth century the vast majority of courtesy material was written or translated into English and not Latin or French.\(^6\) Language mirrors the needs of household audiences and I follow the progression of this vernacular literature out of the elite household (where this material was also interestingly written in English) and into the gentry, merchant and urban bourgeois household. I extend this by investigating vernacular printing in the 1470s and 1480s at William Caxton's Westminster presses. This leads into a study of sixteenth century books, and I focus on the format of parental advice or household advice manuals written for lay audiences. Comparisons between these sources, aimed at family or household members with varying educational standards, and educational


textbooks and grammars, sometimes in Latin, is made. I am interested in how these vernacular works made literature accessible to non-Latinate readers and how, as William Kuskin suggests ‘The unique relationship between English printing and vernacular writing is...representative of a much larger relationship between the material production of goods and the symbolic production of national identity’. I end in the first century after Caxton introduced print to England, in order to establish a sufficient period to expose continuities and change in these developments.

At the same time, historical studies often create artificial boundaries between the medieval and early modern, defining their studies as either one or other. These boundaries, although variable and permeable in reality, can lead to an arbitrary and false marking out of territory. A growing interest and desire to collapse these boundaries has developed over the last several decades in historical studies. At the very least there is a confidence in using sources from both the ‘medieval’ and ‘early modern’. I am interested in challenging the supposed margins between these periods and in introducing more subtlety and complexity to our understanding of childhood in the late medieval and early modern world.

The theory of literary transmission is addressed throughout this thesis and I note current work on manuscript commissioning, commercial scribes and scribal collaborations. Detailed work has also been done on poll tax records, which are valuable mines of information on urban household patterns, and which are useful sources on families and servants in the fourteenth century, prior to the

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7 I am aware of, but do not analyse, Latin moral exemplars such as the fifteenth century collections lifted from Valerius Maximus’ writings, penitential lyrics, romances, printed sermons and pamphlets. The literature of Christine de Pizan is also excluded, partly as a response to the substantial body of work already written on her.


commencement of my study. Current work on these areas frames this thesis and wherever possible I include references to studies to which we can turn. A wealth of detailed information on elite households is also available from household ordinances and accounts. Several studies have looked at these sources in order to penetrate the now lost world of the noble medieval household, its organisation and formation. Courtesy literature offers a richer and more colourful perspective on these environments and how they were imagined and seen as emotional, and not just functional sites, by contemporary writers.

A considerable proportion of this material was focused on the concerns of male childhood. This was particularly true with educational material, given that much of the extant evidence comes from surviving grammar school documentation. Here we encounter an open privileging of male education. Literature was more receptive to multiple audiences and gendered interests, and it is possible to find texts written concerning infant and adolescent girls, although this literature may not have automatically been intended for these groups, but rather for anxious parents. An analysis of literary sources provides the scope to question upbringing and socialisation in terms of both male and female children. The benefit in focusing on childhood is that girls are visible in a distinct cluster of literature, and had an equality when it came to the care, concern and outright anxiety expressed with their upbringing. The pious concerns of parents, pedagogues, and the Church is of benefit to us by making female socialisation visible and so clearly addressed, although perhaps not to the girls weighed down by the mass of didactic instruction.

Chapter One introduces the methodology I use in this thesis. I define how the term ‘courtesy literature’ is used and outline current debates in this field. Based on this historiographical review, I am able to set up a context for how courtesy and morality have been presented as interchangeable concepts, without first considering if moral questions were indeed raised in the ideology of courtesy. I explore the implications this has for how and why young people were socialised.

13 A more complete study of the socialisation of young women in the medieval period has been done by Kim M. Phillips, Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270-1540 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).
In this thesis I ask if morality provided a more sophisticated tool to articulate socialisation, responding to religious change and social disruption in the sixteenth century, or even earlier? Was there a site of conflict between the two ideologies of courtesy and morality or did they keep their own separate identities and traditions alive in literature?*

Chapter Two introduces issues in socialisation articulated in the fifteenth century in courtesy poems. These are surprisingly rich and colourful sources, both for understanding the dynamics of large households, and the dynamics between elite society and children. Historians have been aware of courtesy literature since nineteenth century antiquarian scholars tracked down and recorded quaint and curious examples of the ‘Manners & Meals of Englishmen in former days’, publishing transcripts through the Early English Text series. These antiquarian scholars made as much of the process of hunting and finding verses as they did of analysing content. However, we should place these poems in their broader context by looking at how lessons were consistent with the characteristics of large households. I focus my research against the role of courteous gestures and the emotional recognition of young people. The poems I have selected represent sustained narratives of varying lengths. Some poems appear in a number of manuscripts. **Stans puer ad mensam, John Russell’s Boke of Nurture, The Lytlyle Childrene’s Book and Urbanitatis** are found in at least two manuscripts. Others, including The Babees Book and the boke of curtasye are extant in single manuscripts only. Of these poems, the boke of curtasye, and Russell’s Boke of Nurture offered complex and detailed instructions on elite household offices. **Stans puer ad mensam, Urbanitatis, The Lytlyle Childrene’s Book and The Babees Book** are shorter and more focused on behaviour at the table. I draw on *How the Wise Man Taught his Son* to compare these poems against a contemporary (fictional) dialogue between a father and his son. 

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*14 I refer to Furnivall of course. In the 1868 edition of Caxton’s Book of Curtseye he gives a lovely description of celebrating the discovery of the poem in the Oriel manuscript by describing how he ate several slices of bread and butter and drank seven cups of tea for the joy of it. The ‘Englishness’ of antiquarian research says much about nineteenth century English society and academic research. Caxton’s Book of Curtseye, Printed at Westminster about 1477-8 A.D. and Now Reprinted, with Two Manuscript Copies of the Same Treatise, from Oriel ms 79 and the Balliol ms 354 ed. by J.F. Furnivall (London: Trübner, Early English Text Society, 1868), p. v. Seth Lerer describes a similar antiquarian enthusiasm for Caxton’s works and the joy of discovery felt by early researchers in ‘Caxton in the Nineteenth-Century’, in Caxton’s Trace, ed. by Kuskin, pp. 325-370.

*15 I have excluded the ABC of Aristotle, about which an excellent article has been written by Martha Dana Rust. Martha Dana Rust, ‘The “ABC of Aristotle”’, in Medieval Literature for...*
Chapter Three extends this analysis by looking at interpolated and variant narratives also from the fifteenth century. Historians and literary scholars are increasingly sensitive to the significance of variant manuscripts. However, courtesy poems are less rarely seen as offering multiple and intrinsically valuable readings, often studied in diplomatic editions or antiquarian transcripts which described the ‘best’ version of a poem or which altered lines to suit modern sensibilities. It is perhaps because of this literature’s relationship to children that these sources have been seen as less important than adult ‘classics’, devaluing the study of variant readings. The highly reworked edition of Stanza puer ad mensam in Ashmole 61 is one example of a modified text that deserves serious attention. I also examine versions of The Lytyle Childrene’s Book, The Young Children’s Book, Peter Idley’s Instructions to His Son (Liber Primus only), and the three known courtesy poems for girls; The Good Wife Taught her Daughter, The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage, and The Thewis off Gud Women. In this chapter I explore how these poems responded to urban bourgeois households and offered complex statements about socialisation. I question whether it was possible for poems to integrate moral arguments into courtesy lessons, and how emphases on courtesy and morality reacted to contemporary contexts and audiences. I test whether it is possible to couple these variations to developments in elite and bourgeois readerships. Examining socialisation in this light foregrounds broader debates on the process of civility, as first advocated by Norbert Elias.\textsuperscript{17}

Chapter Four investigates how early printing may have affected the transmission of ideas for merchant audiences, acknowledging a gradual and not a sudden change in textual transmission in the late-fifteenth century. I query recent book history approaches, not by considering books for adults, but a different, youthful genre altogether. Looking at children’s literature in this period, as opposed to Victorian children’s literature, has yet to be done. No one has conceptualised incunabula aimed at, or for children, as part of a genre, let alone studied them as a

\textit{Children}, ed. by Daniel Kline (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 63-78. Furnivall transcribed and published numerous courtesy poems in several anthologies, including Queene Elizabethes achademy, Early English Meals and Manners as well as Rickert’s edition of The Babees’ Book, taken from Furnivall’s texts. This antiquarian work should not be dismissed too readily. It was meticulous and painstaking and care was taken to offer accurate transcripts according to the standards of the time. Anyone wishing to survey extant courtesy texts would be well advised to start here. However, such a project is beyond the scope of this thesis. The courtesy poems I examine in Chapters Two and Three nevertheless represent a considerable proportion of extant texts aimed at both genders and I endeavour throughout to analyse a representative sample of the manuscripts where the narratives are found.

‘series’ in preference to books for adult readers. Yet the material Caxton chose to print does reveal a preoccupation with a literature for children and young people. Of the eighty-seven publications produced between 1476 and 1491 (covering one hundred and eight editions)\(^\text{18}\) six books published between 1476 and 1487 were relevant to youths and fall within the courtesy/instructional genre. Six books may seem relatively few, but in the context of early printing when a book represented a significant involvement of time, energy and money, six individual books concerning children and young people was a substantial body of work. In this chapter I examine the first printed edition of the courtesy poem *Stans puer ad mensam* (1476), as well as *Hic incipit parus Cato* (*Parvus Cato*) (printed for the first time in 1476/7), the *Book of Courtesye* (1477/8), *Caton* (1484), *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* (1484), and the *Book of Good Manners* (1487). The analysis of these books builds on changing audiences and interests considered in Chapter Three.

In Chapters Five and Six I extend this to look at sixteenth century books, and how socialisation was articulated in response to religious disruption, as well as the increasingly prominent position of the household, and fatherly authority. I have drawn on Chilton Powell’s seminal work on English domestic conduct books to identify and choose material. One criterion concerns the intrinsically English nature of this literature: ‘although foreign books continued to be translated, the continuation and development of the writing of books concerning domestic affairs may be said to have been almost entirely a native product.’\(^\text{19}\) I test this by selecting books which represent both the domestic English market, by the authors Richard Whitford, Robert Shelford and William Vaughan, and translated material by Richard Hyrde (from Juan Luis Vives), Thomas Salter and William Phiston (from Giovanni Michele Bruto).\(^\text{20}\)

In Chapter Six I return to the question of courtesy and its presence in the literature read by and for children. Three texts published in this century by Hugh Rhodes, Francis Seager and William Fiston/Phiston are relevant to the earlier fifteenth century archive. The association between these later household books as part of an ongoing genre for and about children is tested again by Powell’s hypothesis.

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\(^\text{20}\) See Appendix Four and also Chapter Five for full bibliographical details.
that ‘earlier interest in domestic affairs is evidenced in England by writing on morals, manners, and so forth, especially in books for the instruction of children’. 21

In Chapter Seven I introduce a new dynamic to see how far the evidence about courteous and moral socialisation can be transferred out of the household. I explore the role of educational institutions in socialising boys, in conjunction with and sometimes exceeding the role of the household. This is also analysed against a context of changing religion and the establishment of the Protestant Church under Elizabeth I. The educational material analysed in this chapter includes Statutes and Account Books, as well as printed Latin grammars and educational tracts that emphasised practical educational matters. Analysing educational sources provides fresh perspectives on how recurring concerns with socialisation, religion, obedience, conduct, manners and virtue were dealt with in different locations and by different groups. I re-examine continuities with the courtesy and moral literature, noting where educational narratives repeated common phrases, concerns and issues. Socialisation for girls remained more firmly attached to the household, as discussed in Chapters Three and Five.

Studying medieval childhood is of course different from studying medieval children. Studying theories of socialisation necessarily privileges the former, focusing as it does on the characteristics of childhood and dominant (and therefore adult) perspectives on this time of life. We come closer to examining medieval children by examining children’s relationships with their peers or by looking at how children engaged with or comprehended customary childhood events and activities. The benefit in studying literary sources is that we can gain a sense of both childhood and children. One author may emphasise the role of a senior adult servant as a voice of experience and authority, while another may offer a more nuanced picture of children’s activities and play, found in Stans puer ad mensam. While this thesis therefore ostensibly concerns childhood socialisation, the interests and preoccupations of children are identified where possible.

21 Powell, English Domestic Relations, p. 101, my emphasis. Powell also identifies Caxton’s the Book of Good Manners as one of the earliest English family books.
22 Further socialisation occurred for some young people in the universities. However, examining this is beyond the scope of this thesis. For a study of university books, see The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. II, 1100–1480 ed. by Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) and Hellinga, The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. III.
Chapter One
Concepts, Methodology and ‘Historical Childhood’

‘Wel knew I thi cortaysye, thy quoyst soffraunce,
Thy bounté de bonerté, and thy bene grace’

Historiography of Courtesy Literature

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the state of current research on historical childhood, as well as research currently underway on book history. I also explain the theoretical position developed in this thesis concerning the development of courtesy and morality in patterns of ‘civilization’. This develops out of questions arising from Norbert Elias’ and Anna Bryson’s work. Subsequent chapters will then introduce more complex arguments as the evidence develops.

This thesis begins by looking at the role of courtesy in socialisation. What can we understand of courtesy as it existed at different moments in English literature? The theme of courtesy can be found within a number of genres. It was part of chivalric literature and romance literature from both the English and continental archive. Wolfram von Eschenbach’s Parzival and the hero Gawain were young men whose identity was partially observed through their courtesy. Chaucer also chose to use courtesy as a way of defining the squire in The Canterbury Tales. Courtesy played its role in fictional narratives, helping readers situate unreal characters into realised worlds. It was usually coupled with elite prerogatives, often transforming the impressionable and unformed youthful hero into the fully accomplished courteous and chivalric man. These fictional accounts of courtesy were more fully realised and developed in the non-fictional genre of courtesy literature. Here I use the term ‘courtesy literature’ as I do throughout this thesis, to mean the general genre of non-fictional work concerned with behaviour. These fictional stories owed a debt to these courtesy poems which offered the definitive account of courtesy in its

minutiae, explaining how courtesy was practiced step by step; not in the process of a quest or in declaring love, but in the pragmatic realm of household interaction, table manners, and gentle service.

Courtesy literature encompassed a spectrum of subjects, connected throughout by a preoccupation with elite social behaviour and conversely on how misbehaviour affected elite identity. This literature was intermittently interwoven with religious and educational themes, but courtesy poems retained a distinctively pragmatic emphasis setting them apart from religious, chivalric and romance material. Courtesy itself was a style and manner of behaving which was particularly relevant to the royal court of tenth century Europe. Stephen Jaeger identifies courtly ethics as modelled on semi-remembered Roman ideologies holding meaning to the Ottonian emperors and the imperial church. Courtliness may have spread outwards from the court and into the empire, possibly moving east to west from Germany into France. These values, from which courtesy comes, were embedded in the courtly romances of Europe, finding an enduring, but not exclusive, home within French texts in particular.

The theme of courtesy extended outwards from texts during the process of being copied and re-copied. Behaviour, identity and manners were prone to imitation by authors, who reproduced material from the courtesy archive for their own 'new' works. In the fifteenth century, the courtesy narrative changed in England. It was written in English as opposed to Latin or Anglo-Norman and was customised to suit times and places, and to suit prospective audiences with an interest in English vernacular writings. The constant invention and reinvention of courtesy literature allows us to study texts existing within and for a particular time. We can reconstruct what pressures were at work which led to the re-working and amendment of material and hypothesise what these changes were responding to.

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4 It is possible that the interest in courtesy developed within monastic houses. Monastic customaries provided detailed information on domestic offices and the 'courtesy' of life and activities within religious environments. This then filtered outwards to secular environments. Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1985), pp. 22-44.
I bring a new focus to how we can define courtesy and morality in the literature. To consider courtesy more carefully we must break the phrase into its constituent parts, acknowledging contemporary word uses. One of the earliest uses of courtesy in England can be found in Ancren riwle (c. 1225). Here 'courtesy' was related to behaviour, politeness of manners, consideration and elegance. Robert of Gloucester's Metrical chronicle from 1297 expanded 'courtesy' to refer to nobleness, goodness or as a way for describing a quality. Courtesy denoting obeisance or an 'expression of respect by action or gesture esp. to a superior' was recorded from 1513, related to the courtesy poem The Book of Keruynge. I suspect this particular meaning predated 1513 and that earlier courtesy poems defined courtesy in similar ways. In The Babees Book, from 1450, 'courtesy' identified a particular act or expression. This corresponded with how courtesy was used in the vernacular poems examined in this thesis which meditated on the role of courtesy in everyday life.

This identifies contemporary word uses, but how have modern scholars treated 'courtesy' since then? In the early twentieth-century John Mason defined courtesy as a code of ethics that was relevant to a particular class group. He distinguished parental advice books as offering practical rather than theoretical advice. F.B. Millet crafted a slightly different notion of courtesy, arguing it could be called the 'ornamental' product of morality. While separating courtesy from morality to an extent, his assumption that courtesy was connected to morality still coupled the two ideologies at a theoretical level. Sister Mary Brentano's study of facetus literature and courtesy poems by contrast made no attempt to distinguish courtesy from morality, celebrating the lack of division between the two: 'indiscriminately casting into their works definite admonitions

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5 See 'courtesy' in the Oxford English Dictionary Online. Hereafter the Oxford English Dictionary Online will be referenced as the O.E.D.
6 O.E.D.
7 O.E.D. See particularly the analysis on concepts of duty and hierarchical obligations in Chapters Two and Three.
8 O.E.D. This poem should not be confused with the anthology of courtesy poems by F.I. Furnivall in The Babees' Book, Medieval Manners for the Young, now first done into modern English from Dr. Furnivall's Texts by Edith Rickert (New York: T.N. Fairbanks, 1913; repr. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966). This edited book will be identified as The Babees’ Book, ed. by Furnivall/Rickert, throughout this thesis.
11 Deanna Delmar Evans, however, read Mason's and Miller's statements as indicative of a separation between courtesy and morality. Deanna Delmar Evans, 'The Babees Book', in Medieval Literature for Children, ed. by Kline, pp. 79-92 (p. 83).
concerning both morals and manners.¹² A related literature on the symbolism of ‘gestures’ also connects outer show to inner ethical conduct, as Millet described.¹³ Gestures were a part of how courtesy was practiced and were symbolically and pragmatically analogous.

These studies suggest the possibility for variant readings of the relationship between courtesy and morality. In this thesis I ask if courtesy and morality can be, or should be, treated as separate, although occasionally intertwined teachings, with ‘virtue’ separated from ‘courtesy’ by its emphasis on morality and compliance with moral principles in life and conduct. Some recent scholarly work has begun this. Mark Addison Amos notes that courtesy poems provided ‘simple’ cause-and-effect statements, while other texts used complex moral terms.¹⁴ Jonathan Nicholls commented that morality was generally subordinated in the literature.¹⁵ Mark Johnston distinguished between ‘ethical literature’, including Latinate works on moral philosophy and theology, from ‘courtesy literature’ which provided information on table manners, chivalry and courtly love.¹⁶ Recently, Medieval Literature for Children, edited by Daniel Kline was organised to separate moral texts from courtesy texts.

Anna Dronzek has acknowledged this recent interest in identifying a clearer relationship between courtesy and morality. However, her categories of ‘courtesy literature’, as the literature which was concerned with morals, and ‘etiquette guides’ as those which examined behaviour are problematic in themselves. I believe etiquette should not be used when describing literature from this period since it was not coined until 1750 by the Earl of Chesterfield and has a particular frame of reference. Regardless of this, Dronzek has agreed

¹⁴ However, he believes ‘In medieval courtesy literature, the language of morality everywhere links polite behaviour to a moral valuation: as the texts offer advice on personal hygiene, table etiquette, and conversational niceties, they detail the rewards and punishments for these activities in terms of virtue and vice.’ Mark Addison Amos, ‘“For Manners Make Man”, Bourdieu, de Certeau, and the Common Appropriation of Noble Manners in the Book of Courtesy’, in Medieval Conduct, ed. by Ashley and Clark, pp. 23-48 (p. 30, p. 34).
¹⁵ Nicholls, The Matter of Courtesy, p. 14. However, Nicholls also stated ‘it is a contention of this study that at the heart of each poem lies the conviction that observable gestures of human behaviour are indicative of inner virtue,’ p. 1.
that distinctions can be drawn between literature which exemplified morals as opposed to manners. However, she has argued this is not conducive to medieval understandings of conduct and ethics: 'In a society such as medieval Europe, in which external qualities were believed to reflect internal qualities, people would no doubt consider a person's behaviour towards others as an indicator of that person's morality or goodness, thus erasing the modern distinction between courtesy and etiquette.'

I argue differently. Courtesy poems displayed varying agendas that indicated contemporary differences between outward courtesy and inner morality. Some poems obfuscated moral issues and focused on superficial courteous and elite behaviour, concentrating on how gestures were displayed. Some poems alternatively incorporated more effective moral/religious discussions. A study of extant courtesy literature from the fifteenth century, and particularly manuscripts from the mid-to late-fifteenth century, shows a restructuring of basic themes to accommodate courtesy or morality. Authors or scribes were able to take a particular courteous or moral argument and devote attention to it, appropriating lessons to suit a particular paradigm. These revisions were not so great as to completely detach the various examples from the courtesy genre overall and we can still find overriding commonalities in audiences, structure and basic lessons. However, amendments and variations do suggest that the original courtesy theme could be customised to suit different audiences and contexts over time.

Anna Bryson has observed a gradual disappearance of 'courtesy' when looking at social change and conduct in England over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She found variations occurred not in specific rules, but in a new conceptual understanding governing the existence of these rules. Her argument concerning a gradual movement away from the limited sphere with which early courtesy literature was so concerned, namely social interaction in the great household, to one that was inclusive of a wider social milieu, is

\[17\] Dronzek, 'Gendered Theories of Education', in Medieval Conduct, ed. by Ashley and Clark, p. 137.

\[18\] 'the birth of the concept of civility in manners signalled a gradual restructuring of the principles and assumptions governing the social behaviour of the elite, and its development reflected a new pattern of values linking overall concepts of social and political organisation with ideals of everyday social behaviour.' Anna Bryson, From Courtesy to Civility: Changing codes of conduct in early modern England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 276-277. I would also suggest that late-fifteenth century literature replayed the established ideas about manners and advice, but with a new twist towards morality and virtue.
supported by the evidence examined in this thesis. However, Bryson, as Elias before her, accepted that a change towards ‘civility’ was part of the restructuring of overall sociability in sixteenth century society. A case was made that ‘civility’ was uniquely able to represent ideas about citizenship, membership in a wider community and a growing awareness of others.¹⁹

Bryson suggested that throughout the sixteenth century, English printers were unlike their French cousins in embracing ‘civility’, continuing to employ distinct courtesy values and terminology in English vermicutor books.²⁰ In one sense she is right to suggest that older courtesy terms remained visible in literature. The titles of Caxton’s Book of Curtesye and The Book of Good Manners demonstrates this effectively. However, Bryson analysed vocabulary changes from the perspective of notions of ‘civility’. I believe that her argument can be refined and that what she has taken as distinctively ‘courteous’ needs more rigorous definition in order to break it down into different and diverse values.

More surprising was the lack of attention both Elias and Bryson paid to childhood. Elias’ focus on social processes, and not on the specifics of childhood connected to the development of manners, can be accommodated more easily because of the general dismissal of children in historical studies at the time he was writing. There was even a measure of interest in children in Elias’ work, although children remained largely marginalised subjects.

Significantly he suggested differences between children and adults increased only as the civilising process itself came nearer completion.²¹ However, Bryson also stated far more recently that childhood was only recognised as distinct in the sixteenth century, citing Ariès as an authority.²² In contrast, Barbara Hanawalt’s work is closer to the rationale of this thesis. She looks at the fifteenth century as a time of increased anxiety about youthful groups and especially ‘middle-class’ adolescents, with literary texts increasingly positioned to respond to social anxieties.²³ She detected this through studying the portrait of an apprentice in the poem ‘A Childe of Bristowe’, and his behaviour as it

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²⁰ Bryson, Courtesy to Civility, pp. 47-48.
²² Bryson, Courtesy to Civility, p. 67.
echoed contemporary worries, including financial extravagance and filial and master-apprentice bonds.

Unlike Elias and Bryson, my work does not equate the displacement of courtesy with an increased awareness and attentiveness to others, and I locate changing interest in manners as a distinct topic of interest for those anxious over the behaviour of youths. I also suggest that courtesy literature itself attested to a concern with the welfare of other people, with behaviour affecting the quality of another’s experience. *Parvus Cato*, which was translated into English in the mid-fifteenth century and printed by Caxton in the late-fifteenth century, was not unique in saying:

Though sumtymne nature hath ben vnkynde  
And geuyth a man to be of smal stature  
Yet remembre my chyll and haue in thy mynde  
That thou neuer dispysye that creature

I develop a position in this thesis that outward consideration for others was a literary and cultural phenomenon in England long before the sixteenth century.

The ‘History of the Book’

Caxton is a touchstone in bibliographical and book history studies, with great value attached to his work as paradoxically ‘medieval’ and ‘modern’, different from manuscripts and conservative. There is a current and very interesting debate over how the transition between manuscript and print should be considered, and what agency printing held in literary and cultural transformations. My work builds on recent research into the relationship

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24 William Caxton, *Hic incipit parus Catho* (*Parvus Cato*) (Westminster, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2), biii. Although this consideration was based on the self-serving warning that God may send such men fortune and good counsel.


26 The relationships between manuscript production and printing has been studied elsewhere. Of these the best are *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing*, ed. by J.B.
between early print and culture, and its conflicting ‘newness’ and ‘conventionality’. I also believe that much can be made from analysing early printing against approaches in manuscript studies, where variant manuscripts have long been recognised and valued in understanding the complex relationships between texts and reading communities.\(^{27}\)

William Kuskin has argued that Caxton actively contributed to shaping and defining late-fifteenth century literary culture through ‘ideologically complex’ works. Kuskin sees the production of multiple texts, unified by common themes, as creating a cohesive framework or program for English readers.\(^{28}\) I suggest that Caxton’s ‘series’ of courtesy/instructional texts can be read in this way, as a unified body of work, which in their small way presented a cohesive, although also conflicting and sometimes contradictory, sequence of advice to readers.\(^{29}\) These books can be considered proto self-help books, providing information readers were assumed to want and need. Paul Voss finds ‘The concept of “expertise” became a valuable commodity itself, a commodity that one could promote and sell to others…Technical expertise became a service

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\(^{28}\) William Kuskin, ‘Caxton’s Worthies Series: The Production of Literary Culture’, *English Literary History*, 66.3 (1999), 511-551. He used the Worthies Series as a case study for how three separate books were presented as a unit structuring and shaping literary culture.

desired by others. Knowledge could be captured, packaged and sold.\textsuperscript{30} I develop the position that courtesy and good upbringing were in their own way an ‘expertise’ which authors and publishers were professing to hold; behaviour which was ‘sold’ to consumers in degrees previously unattainable with manuscript production.\textsuperscript{31}

In addition to the six courtesy/didactic books I analyse in Chapter Four, two further books are generally seen as appropriate to the reading interests of children and young people: \textit{Reynard the Fox} and the \textit{Fables of Aesop}.\textsuperscript{32} These titles raise the proportion of books implicated in the literature and culture of childhood to eight, or as slightly above 9% of Caxton’s known output.\textsuperscript{33} This ‘series’ deserves more serious attention.

In this thesis I extend the methodology of manuscript studies to look at revisions, deletions and interpolations, not just within printed books, but \textit{between} manuscripts and early print, similar to Coldiron’s work on how texts were re-envisioned by those involved in their production.\textsuperscript{34} In Chapter Four I investigate the extent to which pre-existing texts from the courtesy archive were chosen for print and distributed in quarto and folio form for late-fifteenth century readers. A survey of extant printed material reveals what type of courtesy literature was privileged by the presses and how knowledge and information were passed to readers. Carol Meale’s work on romances has shown the value in tracing print culture through longer-term manuscript

\textsuperscript{30} Paul J. Voss, ‘Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England’, \textit{Sixteenth Century Journal}, 29.3 (1998), 733-756 (p. 747). He discusses this through Eisenstein’s work that highlighted the importance of ‘technical’ volumes as a key genre in printing culture. This was related to developments in the seventeenth century in mechanics, scientific instruments and in an associated literature explaining their uses. The growing exploitation of print as a medium to teach and disclose various specialty fields is relevant to this genre of courtesy/instructional books.

\textsuperscript{31} Although manuscript production can suggest a similarly systematic approach. Nicole Clifton finds that some manuscripts testified ‘to a serious and sustained production and appreciation of medieval children’s literature.’ Nicole Clifton, ‘The Seven Sages of Rome, Children’s Literature, and the Auchinleck Manuscript’, in \textit{Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance}, ed. by Classen, pp. 185-201 (p. 187).

\textsuperscript{32} Warren Wooden, \textit{Children’s Literature of the English Renaissance, edited, with an Introduction, by Jeannie Watson} (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986). Wooden categorised these two texts, and particularly Aesop, as being of interest to children in schools. They also had imaginative narrative structures, used woodcuts and contained fictional elements, pp. 2-7. While relevant to children in terms of audience and readerships, these texts did not engage with notions of childhood socialisation and courtesy/instruction, and have been excluded from detailed analysis in this thesis.


awareness, investigating how one genre was represented across manuscript and print. Meale analysed Caxton’s and de Worde’s romances against the existing and much wider romance corpus, asking ‘is any correlation to be noted between the currency of a particular romance in manuscript and its transference into print.’ Insight into printing in the 1470s and 1480s in England is possible not by looking at what was printed, but what was not printed. Meale’s conclusions, that ‘a surprisingly small proportion of romances in English were printed during the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries’ is significant. There is an opportunity to apply this to the genre of courtesy texts and suggest the range of relationships, the consolidations and separations, that were possible between manuscript and print, and therefore the information available on courtesy and upbringing in the late-fifteenth century.

With manuscripts we are sensitive to reconstructing how texts were read and understood by studying these intertextual relationships, interpolations and glosses. Similar approaches to printed material should be made. The agency of the scribe can be compared to the agency of the printer. Intertextual relationships can be studied through the compendia nature of printed works, of which a case in point is the printed edition of Stans puer ad mensam which included a series of five small works. ‘Intertext’ and anthologised manuscripts can also be re-written as a study of ‘Sammelbände’, describing the contemporary or near-contemporary binding of printed texts into a single volume. Printers also inserted their own glosses into material with the


36 Meale, ‘Caxton, de Worde, and the Publication of Romance’, p. 287. She writes: ‘One of the most surprising aspects of the history of English romance in the age of the printed book is how few texts were published...Of the eighty-eight romances in English which are extant in codices...it appears that only twenty-one made their way, in one version or another, into print before de Worde’s death.’ p. 285. In a later article she and Edwards write: ‘it seems to have been the choice of books to print which constituted his [Caxton’s] most significant marketing decision.’ A.S.G. Edwards and Carol M. Meale, ‘The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England’, The Library, Sixth Series, 15.2 (1993), 95-124 (p. 95).

intention of drawing a reader’s attention to a passage, of inserting their own voice and authority onto the narrative, and constructing how they believed a reader should approach the text. Rethinking a printer’s editorial power shows how material was rethought and redefined, ‘constructed anew’ for readers.

Detailed work has been carried out on reading communities in terms of ‘adult’ texts and readerships. Research increasingly takes into account gentry, London merchant and bourgeois reading communities, extending upwards into the nobility. Yu-Chiao Wang studied annotations found on the pages of Caxton’s romances, including the Recuyell of Troye (1473/74), Le Morte Darthur (1485), and Enyedos (1490), prompting her to evaluate networks of ownership and class. Despite a number of Caxton’s prologues overtly promoting a courtly readership, Wang argued this assigned a symbolic value to the book, likened to modern day celebrity endorsements favoured by publishers and marketers. Caxton’s target markets were more likely composed of merchants from London and the Continent, provincial gentle families, lawyers, officials and clerics. Readership and ownership of books amongst servants in the Tudor court was also possible. Current work on class-based reading networks shows how this literature spoke to different, although always adult groups, with readers equally constructing their own literary culture through their reactions to print and their own malleable reading habits. Sammelbände are a case in point.

An approach to understanding editorial techniques in printed form has flourished with Gérard Genette’s Seuils. Paratexts define those elements outside of the narrative itself, the ‘threshold’ Genette identifies at which the reader pauses before they reach into the text proper. Paratexts can best be understood by an inventory of what they comprise: principally, the title(s) which were used, prefaces and table of contents, pagination, rubrication, colophons, borders, printer’s flower, illustration(s) and types. In short, paratexts cushioned

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38 Yu-Chiao Wang, ‘Caxton’s Romances and Their Early Tudor Readers’, Huntington Library Quarterly, 67.2 (2004), 173-188. Annotations in the Huntington Library copy of the 1481 Godfrey of Bologna suggests connections to English merchants. The Huntington copy included handwritten annotations and marginalia on Flemish monetary payments. It also listed several names linked to the Mercers’ Company. For details of these annotations, including reproductions of the relevant hands, see Wang, ‘Caxton’s Romances’, figure 3. Penninger wrote that Parvis Cato and other didactic texts may have been printed for Caxton’s ‘merchant friends and acquaintances who were seeking instructional texts for their children’. Penninger, William Caxton, p. 38.
texts and provided visual and hidden clues to how the reader should approach
the book, what status the book had and, as I develop in this thesis, what the
reader could expect to find in their reading of the text itself. In this sense
paratexts were not strictly utilitarian or concerned with categorisation but, as in
the case of prefaces, had something to say about the narrative.

Of the paratextual elements we find in Caxton’s books, prefaces are significant.
It is accepted that prefaces operated as intermediaries between a text and an
audience, directing readers to messages within a narrative often by citing public
figures and political events that were particular to England in the 1470s and
1480s. Knowing and astute readers would have identified with the direct
contemporary nature of prefaces and engaged with them as part of a dialogue
with a directly accessible literary figure, in this case Caxton. Caxton cleverly
inserted himself into his books through a series of shrewd manipulations and
strategies. In the most overt sense he simply referenced himself (Polychronicon,
The Golden Legende, The Fayttes of Armes). A more elaborate game was
played with his audience when he constructed a text’s ‘history’. Often he
invented a powerful prehistory for the narrative he was selling (Caton), perhaps
explaining how the book came into his hands (Book of Good Manners, the
Curial, The Royal Book) and then how and why he decided to undertake the
arduous task of translating a foreign language text into English (The Historie of
Jason, The Royal Book). What Caxton reveals in these statements, is a
remaniement of the text.\footnote{Remaniements are when two or more authors work on a text in succession.} Caxton therefore becomes a legitimate ‘author’ of
the book and not just a scribe or an editor.

Caxton himself acknowledged the symbolic value attached to audiences,
shrewdly utilising royal and noble patronage as a means of advertising certain
publications. The Dicts or Sayings of the Philosphers (1477), Christine de
Pizan’s Morale Proverbes (1478) and The Cordial (1479) were translated and
published at the behest of Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, and Caxton went to
some lengths to publicise these networks in prologues. In Reynard the Fox
(1481) he acknowledged the interests of non-noble readers, symbolically tied to
the imagery of elite environments: ‘men maye lerne to come to the subtyl
knoweleche of su/che thynges as dayly ben vsed & had in the counseyllys/of
lordes and prelates gostly and worldly/and also/emenge marchantes and other
comone peple/And this/booke is maad for nede and prouffyte of alle god
folke'.\textsuperscript{41} The descriptions of merchandise and merchant occupations in *Vocabulary in French and English* (1480), also established a merchant’s perspective and a utilitarian purpose: ‘Who this booke shall wylle lerne/May well entreprise or take on honde/Marchandises fro one land to anothir/And to knowe many Wares/Which to hym shalbe good to be bought/Or solde for riche to become.’\textsuperscript{42} These prefaces revolutionise the often-anonymous relationships between narratives and the networks they were part of. So often these networks have to be inferred in a study of manuscripts. Even if fictional, the relationships Caxton created say something about what was privileged and seen as important, or even as commercially viable, at the time.\textsuperscript{43}

As Wang found, the strategy of promoting books via a symbolic status does not automatically reflect accurate readerships or even genuine patronage networks.\textsuperscript{44} The top-end market was relatively small and limited, while growing gentry, merchant, bourgeois and urban wealth would have opened up these wider business opportunities for Caxton.\textsuperscript{45} From the limited evidence we have regarding book prices we can ascribe a general readership to the texts, with books not limited to only the wealthiest of magnates. We know that in 1510, five Caxton/de Worde folios were bought at costs ranging between four pence to two shillings eight pence.\textsuperscript{46} We should consider incunabula as affordable material items for merchants and even some craftsmen.\textsuperscript{47}

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\textsuperscript{41} William Caxton, *This is the table of the historye of reynart the foxe* (Westminster, 1481), a3\textsuperscript{r}. Caxton’s *Le Morte Darthur* similarly expanded traditional noble concepts of chivalry to a wider audience.


\textsuperscript{43} When Caxton says the text of *Caton* was in the library of the pope’s secretary in Florence, what he was suggesting was the religious orthodoxy and high status value of his book.

\textsuperscript{44} Blake has increasingly seen Caxton’s prefaces as symbolic and strategic rather than strictly accurate. We can compare his early comments on *Charles the Great* (1485) from *Caxton and his World*, pp. 95-96, with, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture*, p. 13, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{45} Later in this chapter I will discuss these social categories and how I define these groups.

\textsuperscript{46} Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner*, p. 19. See also p. 80 for a list of the five books and their individual prices. A nineteenth century study was done on some later book prices. See Falconer Madan, *The Day-Book of John Dorne, Bookseller in Oxford, A.D. 1520*, *Collectanea*, 1, part. III (1885), 71-177; ‘Supplementary Notes’, *Collectanea*, 2 (1890), 454-478. For some comparisons on the cost of paper and manuscript books, see H.E. Bell, ‘The Price of Books in Medieval England’, *The Library*, 4\textsuperscript{th} series, 17 (1936-7), 312-332. Some wholesale
Reading the amendments made in manuscripts and printed books as suiting variously; gentry, merchant, or urban bourgeois markets (or fostering more complex negotiations between multiple class groups), lets us examine literary culture as fashioning multiple identities. Recent work has shown the potential in this approach. It was certainly possible that drawing on status garnered by associations with the nobility and royalty would have appealed to some status conscious gentry, merchant, and bourgeois readers using the purchase of books as a signal of their participation in elite society. Raluca Radulescu has shown that in the fifteenth century, the gentry ‘appropriated chivalric and political texts read by the nobility, with the difference that, while maintaining the narrative, specific themes of interest were given precedence.’\(^{48}\) This was stipulated in terms of adult readers, but we should also be asking the same questions of courtesy/instructional books. We should think of Caxton as contributing to this process by singling out certain themes at the outset, and certainly there is evidence from the prologues to suggest a conscious judgment was applied to textual choices and audiences.

At the same time we need to look for more complex relationships between texts and audiences, beyond the division of books based on obvious and perhaps misleading class appropriateness. Dorsey Armstrong finds print amendments in *Le Morte Darthur* were illustrative of the effect of literate merchant and bourgeois classes on literary paradigms.\(^{49}\) Seth Lerner’s work has also shown that Caxton adepoly created an inclusive public readership, rather than an exclusive one.\(^{50}\) More complex engagements with this were also taking place, with gentry, merchant and bourgeois interests overtly fuelling the production of certain types of courtesy/instructional literature, and even competing with traditionally ‘noble’ (courteous) values. My analysis builds on current interest in identifying reading communities, and the increasingly visible involvement of merchants and bourgeois groups not only as readers of these books in their final

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book prices are noted in Kuskin, ‘“Onely Imagined”’, in *Caxton’s Trace*, ed. by Kuskin, pp. 204-205. Further study on the cost of manuscripts and printed books is needed.


physical form, but as active agents in promoting, supplying and encouraging the publication of texts.

What did the books in this instructional series look like in a physical sense? H.S. Bennett has argued that Caxton's decision to publish smaller quarto volumes\(^{51}\) suggest he was testing the strength of his market ahead of more ambitious folio editions.\(^{52}\) Risking the publication of cheaper works was financially justifiable, but it is interesting that of the six courtesy/instructional books identifiably aimed at children, or parents with children or young dependents, three were in quarto. Size has a flow on effect to status and Gillespie has suggested that smaller books were symbolically equated with trivial, 'childish' matters, with larger books holding greater value and status.\(^{53}\) Publication of quarto books may suggest Caxton was testing childhood reading interests by an identifiable physical type. A symbolic connection may have occurred consciously or subconsciously concerning physical appearance and likely audience.

I locate this research on courtesy/instructional books into these broader debates, with current challenges to the idea of the 'fixity' of print firmly in view. My intention is that by focusing on one genre as it was found in manuscripts and printed books I can contribute to current debates on the conflicting shifts between manuscript and print. It is clear from research of Caxton's overall publishing habits that a broad class of readers were reached through the printed medium. By placing the six courtesy/instructional books within this framework of current research, it is possible to demonstrate a context for how the elite courtesy narrative met and interacted with the cultural preoccupations of gentry, merchant and urban bourgeois communities. This literature both responded to, and was part of, the relationships between elite and non-elite readers, who were on some level bound by certain shared interests and commonalities. Caxton's literature was a map to how the courtesy theme was worked and re-worked in

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\(^{51}\) Including four of Lydgate's poems, what he describes as the more serious Parusus Cato, Christine de Pizan's Morale Proverbes and The Book of Courtesye.


\(^{53}\) Gillespie, 'Poets, Printers, and Early English Sammelbände', p. 204.
the late-fifteenth century and to the complex and challenging relationships
between changing technical modes of production and cultural traditions.

Sixteenth Century Sources

Considerably less research has been carried out on printing and print culture in
the century after Caxton’s death, and yet the sixteenth century saw a massive
explosion in printing. We should also be asking more detailed questions about
how the Reformation affected printing culture and books in England. Chapters
Five and Six examine printed literature in the century after Caxton’s death.
Texts have been selected according to several criteria, some entirely practical.
The upsurge in English publishing in this century saw the publication of several
thousand books, some important texts and some less remarkable. The first
criterion concerns thematic content; I have selected household or parental advice
books as the most likely to contain extended references to children. The motif
of the household also corresponds to earlier fifteenth century material which
related socialisation to household issues and environments. The books I
selected for this chapter were also published in English for non-Latinate lay
audiences. I have deliberately selected books published between 1529 and
1600, the date of publication for William Vaughan’s The golden-growe, to
represent pre- and post-Reformation printing. Over Chapters Five and Six I
examine how socialisation was articulated across different contexts and
paradigms; by secular or clerical authors, by English or Continental works, and
by the socialisation of girls or boys,

Other criteria concern gender. I have chosen household or parental advice
books concerning both young girls and boys. Girls were served by Hyrde’s
translation of Vives’ book, and also by Salter’s and Phiston’s books
(interestingly all three were translations of foreign material). Grant, Whitford,
Vaughan and Shelford represented boys, as well as ‘children’ in general, in their
books. Whitford’s book is particularly significant as it was one of the earliest
books in England to combine household and religious material before this
became commonplace. No study of sixteenth century household books would

54 Gillespie calls for more serious attention to be paid to printing after Caxton in, Alexandra
55 Powell, English Domestic Relations, p. 108. See Appendix Four and Chapter Five for full
bibliographical details of all of these books.
be complete without this important work. As I earlier commented, the selection of texts was also based on practical matters. I have excluded books which examined the state of matrimony\textsuperscript{56} in order to focus on those which developed a distinct position on children in the household.

Books that addressed moral socialisation are analysed in Chapter Five. They are assessed in this way if they repeatedly and extensively used moral language and included references to virtue, or else repeatedly situated religious ideology into the question of socialisation. Whitford’s book in particular demonstrated a religious ethic. Vives did not employ an overt religious premise, but the emphasis on virtue was ably demonstrated through repeated references to chastity, moral conduct and control. Salter’s and Phiston’s translations also match my household criteria and repeatedly discussed a maiden’s upbringing in terms which correspond best to moral and virtuous issues. The criterion of repeated and extensive references to virtue, morality or religious values, also justifies the selection of books by Grant, Shelford and Vaughan. These three books articulated a theoretical position on virtue; what it meant to contemporary writers, and how its role was visualised in upbringing. Incidental references to the role of courtesy are acknowledged.

In Chapter Six, I have selected three books which demonstrate ongoing interest in courtesy, and in a continuing tradition of courtesy literature aimed at children. This literature is Francis Seager’s \textit{The schoole of virtue}; Hugh Rhodes’, \textit{The boke of nurture for men, servantes and children} and William Fiston’s/Phiston’s \textit{The schoole of good manners. Or, a new schoole of vertue}.\textsuperscript{57} These authors occasionally cited virtue and virtuous principles, as we can read in the titles. However, a distinguishing feature setting them apart from moral household literature was the central message of service. This motif of youthful service, and particularly how young people were to serve courteously in households, reflected real differences with moral exemplars. These texts also carried on a tradition of courtesy which stretched back to earlier fifteenth century poems. With Rhodes’ book there was an exact lineage which linked his work to \textit{Stans puer ad mensam}. Arranging Chapters Five and Six to differentiate between these paradigms acknowledges the stronger continuity of some books with past.

\textsuperscript{56} Such as Miles Coverdale’s translation of Heinrich Bullinger, \textit{Der Christlich Eestand, The Christen state of matrimony} (Antwerp: M. Crom., 1541).

\textsuperscript{57} See Appendix Four and Chapter Six for full bibliographical details.
ideals. It also continues the analysis established in Chapter Four concerning the development of a semi-courteous/moral literature for children.

Social Classes and Hierarchy

We in England divide our people commonly into four sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeoman, and artificers or laborers. Of gentlemen the first and chief (next the King) be the prince, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common usage of speech is) lords and noblemen; and next unto them be knights, esquires, and, last of all, they that are simply called gentlemen; so that in effect our gentlemen are divided into their conditions.\(^{58}\)

Harrison’s hierarchy of Tudor society was presented in seemingly logical fashion, offering his readers a commentary of social estates in their diversity, but one which was also clearly defined. We know however from later comments that Harrison was troubled by how to distinguish between certain class groups.\(^{59}\) The purpose of this thesis is not to investigate the progression and development of social estates in their minutiae up to the late Tudor period, as Harrison represented here. However, by referencing the characteristics of estates to particular reading groups we gain a better understanding of literary transmission. This is particularly relevant to how social mobility was articulated in the literature. What follows is not a new account of these issues, but a brief over-view of current research into class terms and categories. In brief, it explains how in this thesis, ‘gentry’, ‘elite’, ‘urban bourgeois’ and ‘merchants’ will be associated with certain broadly defined occupations and lifestyles.

Courtesy literature radiated outwards from the elite environment. This of course raises the first question of how elite social groups are to be categorised. In this thesis the term ‘elite’ serves as a useful encompassing term for wealthy and landed members of the nobility (sometimes referred to as the parliamentary peerage)\(^{60}\) whose main residence was the large household with its political and social standing. Social status is thus a defining feature of the large or elite


\(^{60}\) See Mertes comments on this in, The English Noble Household, p. 4.
household. Similar terms used in this thesis for this broadly defined social group includes the ‘nobility’. As a point of note, the term ‘non-elite’ will be used when I need to suggest any or all of these groups that existed below the nobility. More problematic were groups which moved in the same networks, but which lacked the distinction of large inherited estates and titles. This included knights, esquires and the always challenging ‘gentleman’.

Gentleman was and is, an ambiguous descriptive term, removed from the nobility and, according to 1363 sumptuary legislation, lower also than knights and esquires. By 1414 the term ‘gentlemen’ appeared in records of common law with increasing frequently and assuredness, consequent from the 1413 Statute of Additions. This was a group which, from the fifteenth century onwards, was determined to differentiate itself from the yeomanry and from the wealthy merchants and urban bourgeois, while claiming an affinity with the nobility with whom they shared the characteristics of gentility. Lines between these groups were in a constant state of flux and apt to be blurred. Conversely, this helps us see how courtesy literature was able to speak to the broadest possible audiences imaginable, excluding of course the peasantry whose social status and economic realities put them further outside the ‘courteous’ sphere than was easily surmountable. Courtesy literature itself contrasted behaviours of a chosen social group with those seen as below it. In this way the nobility could, and did, distinguish themselves from the gentry, the gentry from the yeomanry and so on. Courtesy literature was malleable enough to call attention to, and bemoan, inferior social behaviour seen as coming from any, or even all, of these groups.

Land is, and was, often cited as a positive distinguishing mark for classes. The elite had access to land holdings but were not required to work it themselves. The gentry may in part be defined as lesser landholders, although Rosemary Horrocks has shown that fifteenth century urban gentry did not necessarily

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61 Christine Carpenter writes: ‘Nobility’ or ‘magnates’ will be reserved for the peerage or men of equivalent standing, even when they were not legally peers’. Christine Carpenter, Locality and Polity, A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 35-36. This is an excellent analysis of the development of the gentry.

62 The term ‘gentry’ did not only describe ‘gentleman’. The gentry did not have the militaristic roots shared by knights and esquires.

63 Maurice Keen, Origins of the English Gentleman, Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c.1300 - c.1500 (Gloucesteshire: Tempus, 2002), pp. 101-102. Poll tax records show some of the divisions in social hierarchy. See, Keen, Origins of the English Gentleman, pp. 72-73. There is not the space to do more than note these studies here.
participate or choose to participate in land networks. In the fifteenth century urbanisation also distorted gentry status. P.R. Coss notes that earlier in the thirteenth century, distinctions between urban and rural society were distinct, with the gentry falling upon rural land holdings as a positive marker of identity. By the mid-fourteenth century this was re-understood by a move towards urban environments. The professionalisation of careers and growing merchant wealth expanded the gentry category to include urban groups, at least at some levels. Office holding also confirmed gentry status, significant to the discussion of Peter Idley in Chapter Three, where his office as gentleman falconer and under-keeper of the royal mews and falcons, and later as Controller of the King’s Works, would have confirmed his gentlemanly status. It was noticeable by 1500 that an increasing array of people were identified, and identifying themselves, as ‘gentlemen’, making this a significantly large, if not more ambiguous, group. As others have suggested, the ambiguities in defining gentry status, acknowledged as problematic even at the time, are significant. The importance of public perception of status was particularly important. As Keen suggests, it was recognition as being of the gentry class that established status. Courtesy literature played its own role in confirming gentry identity through the ‘natural’ implementation of particular activities and the adherence to certain notable behaviours.

Throughout this thesis the term ‘gentry’ will try to take into account these ambiguities. In this way, ‘gentry’ is taken as meaning those groups below the nobility, yet probably with land holdings in the country or possibly with substantial status and wealth substituted for land, in the case of those who were part of the urban gentry classes. Regardless of location, incomes would have

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65 A more complex model is proposed by Carpenter. In the early-fifteenth century lawyers employed in noble households were not uniformly titled ‘gentlemen’: ‘while professional service in both noble household and law courts was indeed being subsumed into the same category, the title of gentleman was not yet in common use’. Up to the 1430s, such people could be known as ‘esquires’ although this changed by c. 1500. Carpenter, Locality and Polity, p. 69. Interestingly, Peter Idley was identified as ‘esquire’ in one manuscript gloss, Text H, dating to the sixteenth century.

66 ‘By around 1500 the number of those identified as gentlemen in official documents and legal record begins to be quite striking.’ Keen, Origins of the English Gentleman, p. 104. See also Carpenter, Locality and Polity, p. 82.

67 Keen talks of ‘common fame’ and ‘common repute’. Keen, Origins of the English Gentleman, pp. 103-105. Some criteria for gentry status included; ancestry; landed income; office holding; kinship; and service, either in war, administration or noble households. This was gentry status by association.
needed to support a household with servants and retainers. Specific groups which could claim membership in this estate must also include ‘soldiers, lawyers, administrators and household servants, as well as the archetypal country squire’. A discussion of urban hierarchy must at some stage include a discussion of merchants. In Chapter Four, the character and identity of London merchants is raised, with the London bias explicated by the focus on Caxton’s books with their overt sense of a London environment and readership. Sylvia Thrupp’s study of London merchants remains an authoritative study. In this thesis, with its interest in how literature imagined and described households, urban houses are of interest. Points to be considered are the size and relative comfort of wealthy merchant homes, with similar characteristics to noble and gentry houses (although possibly developing independently from rural architecture), with these houses also including the public and ceremonial space of the hall. However, merchant houses also incorporated commercial areas including storerooms, workrooms and shops.

70 Caxton specifically referred to London or to London environments or to London people in; Mirrour of the World (Prologue, Second Edition, 1490), Caton (Prologue), the Book of Good Manners (Prologue), The Royal Book (Prologue, 1488), and Eneydos (Prologue, 1490). In various other books he made the point of calling himself ‘William Caxton, a mercur of London’.
More generally, Horrox has suggested a convergence between gentry and
merchants in the fifteenth century, with merchants and gentlemen equated in
precedence lists.\textsuperscript{74} The boundary between merchants and the gentry was
particularly permeable. Younger gentry sons without access to family lands
could turn to mercantile work or training in law for successful careers. Some
merchants also reinforced their access to gentry status through marriage and
rural land purchases, often after fortunes were established in cities. The sons of
merchants likewise participated in the legal professions. London merchants
were notable for their role in civic administration and royal service. Chapter
Four acknowledges the influence and prominence of this class.

Just as there was an urban gentry, so too does this thesis take account of an
urban bourgeois. Like the gentry, this is an ambiguous term and open to
potentially endless speculative discussion. In this thesis, the urban bourgeois is
taken as referring to artisans, craftsmen, shop-keepers, lesser merchants and
those directly involved in urban trades, often the victualling, cloth working
trades and so forth. These groups were financially secure in that they might hire
a small number of live-in servants on one-year terms of employment, and
perhaps also takes into account longer term live-in apprentices. Those in craft
and trade works included husbands and wives who shared workloads, often with
the production centre part of the domestic household. Urban households might
therefore have consisted of a husband and wife, young children (before the age
of going out into service or apprenticeship themselves), young household
servants between the ages of twelve and mid-twenty, and longer-term
apprentices.\textsuperscript{75} These characteristics are relevant to the three courtesy poems for
girls in the \textit{Good Wife} tradition, two of which were associated with urban
bourgeois environments.

In this thesis I look at the relationship between the head of the household,
including both large elite households and smaller merchant and urban bourgeois
households, with those in service. In this thesis size is used as a distinguishing
feature of these households. The term ‘servant’ also takes into account the
status of the household. Service was not automatically a demeaning position
and for elite families it was expected that young sons would live and learn
conduct elsewhere. Those participating in gentle service included the sons of

\textsuperscript{74} Horrox, ‘The Urban Gentry’, in \textit{Towns and Townspeople}, ed. by Thomson, pp. 32-33.
\textsuperscript{75} This typical (but not necessarily universal) household is described in Dyer, \textit{Making a Living},
p. 320.
earls and barons, as well as those from the gentry classes. Elite service was integral to the alliance making process between families, and served as a tool for policy making. It also served as a way to ensure noble behaviour was based on collective characteristics that were shared by all in that cohort. The type of service described in courtesy poems embodied these concepts and excised and suppressed any lower-status or heavy manual work role. Most often the serving occupations took account of carving, table manners and personal support to the lord, such as preparing water for washing hands, pouring wine and other intimate tasks not trusted to those outside the lord's own close social standing. The gentle servant also kept his own social status within the household, based on his family, his future inheritance and his responsibilities.  

Service progressively moved further down the social scale until one arrives at a different class and size of household and servant altogether. The characteristics of young people working in lower status homes were slightly different and more directly responded to manual work and labour. Yet some texts that discussed lower status environments combined a pragmatic work ethos with borrowed notions from the elite cluster. Hugh Rhodes' book of 1545 mapped practical serving as well as laying claim to notions of courtesy and high status conduct. The distinctions between different serving characteristics will be noted where appropriate.  

This picture of hierarchy and service is relevant to this thesis only as long as it is situated within a study of households and related literature. It is from the literature that we gain a sense of the importance of the household in the formation of youthful identity. Both courtesy and educational texts described socialisation against the ideology and emotive language of the household. In  

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76 For an interesting analysis of gentle service see Rosemary Horrox, 'Service', in Fifteenth Century Attitudes, Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England, ed. by Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 61-78. A distinguishing feature between high status service and lower status service, was the element of mutuality. Horrox writes: 'Indeed, it is, in an important sense, mutual; something that menial service could never be.' p. 65. She also suggested the potential for material gain and power networks in gentle service, something some courtesy poems hinted at, although never too overtly as this would destabilise the primary themes of obeisance and honour.  

77 For a discussion of service within a non-noble context see P.J.P. Goldberg, 'What Was a Servant?', in Concepts and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages, ed. by Anne Curry and Elizabeth Matthew (Vocatio: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 1-20.  

78 Live-in servants in non-elite households were also defined by their age. It was common for these servants to be between the ages of twelve and mid-twenty. This reinforces the relevance of servant life to a study of childhood. See, P.J.P. Goldberg, Medieval England: A Social History 1250-1550 (London: Arnold, 2004), p. 21.
courtesy material this worked closely with the issue of elite and noble groups, while the characteristics of smaller households informed less-status driven literature. I tie the composition of these smaller households to the word ‘family’. David Herlihy’s definition of a family as ‘a coresidential unit, with a kin group at its core’ reflects the family-household described here, although I am aware that not all household members would have been related. The literature addressed to fathers as the head of the household, is particularly significant to the discussion of hierarchy and the concomitant position of children and servants who lived in the space. In Chapter Seven, changing household design for the gentry, merchant, and urban bourgeois is noted to see if changing relationships, and particularly the socialisation of young people, occurred differently in response to the re-organisation of space in the home.

As stated at the outset, it has not been my intention to re-write or dramatically redefine these terms or concepts, rather I have outlined how I intend to use the terms ‘elite’, ‘gentry’, ‘servant’ and ‘household’. It is a given of course that within these social groups, movements, both horizontal and vertical, took place. Families moved into and out of particular estates via deaths, marriages, wealth both lost and won, as well as movements backwards and forwards between urban and rural areas. My study also moves beyond the demographic or legal household as it was being defined in this period, to examine the social household written about by authors. This literature was a means through which social movements and transitions were interpreted, discussed and talked about. These households were ones that were perceived to exist or that were seen as desirable, at the time.

The Historical Child

‘that there ben mony diuers ages. The firste hatte
infancia ‘the firste childehode’ withouten teeth and
neuliche ige and bore’

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79 Including live-in servants, apprentices or sub-tenants. However, this literature privileged the idea of related members making up the ‘family-household’, although often youthful servants were connected to this in interesting ways. For the demography of the family see David Herlihy, ‘The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure, and Sentiment’, Journal of Family History, 8.2 (1983), 116-130 (p. 117); ‘The Family and Religious Ideologies in Medieval Europe’, Journal of Family History, 12.1-3 (1987), 3-17.

‘In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist... In medieval society this awareness was lacking.’

How do we reconcile the inherent contradictions between these two statements when it comes to understanding historical childhood? The first was a contemporary observation and the other a modern scholarly examination. Ariès’ work has had a dramatic impact, although perhaps it has not been lasting in the positive sense, on studies of historical childhood. His work was part of a larger study concerning the ‘idea of the family’ through which Ariès developed these views on children. Ariès’ methodology was beset with problems. His use of art and portraiture to suggest a lack of awareness of childhood in the medieval period has been roundly criticised. From this however, a succession of historical and psycho-historical works contributed to understanding childhood in other ways. Lloyd deMause controversially contributed to this, as did more traditional historians in the vein of Lawrence Stone and Edward Shorter, also working on the history of the family. Later historians have been more willing to credit Bartholomew’s perception of childhood as genuinely indicative of an awareness and interest in this time of life. Studies by Linda A. Pollock, Shulamith Shahar, Barbara Hanawalt, and more recently Nicholas Orme, have substantially added to the weight of our understanding of childhood and its unique characteristics and distinctiveness.

Press, 1975), Liber Sextus, p. 291. This was Trevisa’s 1398 translation of Bartholomew the Englishman’s thirteenth century text, and is referred to throughout as Bartholomew/Trevisa.


Recent scholarship has drawn closer attention to gentry, merchant and non-elite childhood as a distinct phase of life, and one that was recognised and understood by contemporary authorities, parents and writers. It has also increasingly been seen as a legitimate and dynamic addition to the field of traditional history. Orme has done a great deal to advance this. However, his work, while extensive and intensely detailed, has perhaps suffered as a result of its range and scope. His recent and popular work, Medieval Children (2001) surveyed childhood from the seventh to the mid-sixteenth centuries. While he directed this towards English evidence, the scale of his topic imposed a certain distance to his conclusions. My own thesis brings the question of household contexts more directly into view and asks if different households approached childhood socialisation differently and why this may have been the case.

Bartholomew's/Trevisa's work offers us the opportunity to see how contemporary ages of childhood were identified, which is of some use in this thesis in determining the age ranges of implied audiences. Trevisa's translation betrayed a fourteenth century perspective which is closer to the context of this thesis. In Bartholomew's/Trevisa's work, the classification of the 'ages of man' began with infancy, which in turn was followed by puericia, lasting until fourteen years of age and identified with the phrase 'tendir age'. Adholoscencia followed this and lasted for an indistinct time, certainly not ending before twenty and possibly continuing until thirty-five.83 There were telling commonalities in the phrases and words used to describe this, including a repetition of 'tendir' and a recurrence in a belief in youthful malleability, as well as an understanding of the care which had to be taken with young people. We cannot take these references too literally as the text was highly influenced by spiritual and metaphorical reasonings. However, we can find value in this evidence for circulating a concept of childhood which was clearly apparent to contemporary observers. The courtesy literature examined in this thesis has a particular relevance to these age groups, concerned as it was with formative behaviour and the process of learning about society; tasks best accomplished in youth and overtly associated in many of the poems with notions of youthful malleability and softness.84

84 Understanding childhood in terms of malleability and softness was not unique to this courtesy literature. Medical, political and religious understandings of childhood often made use of the notions of malleability and pliability. These concepts are analysed throughout this thesis.
Courtesy literature was itself often characterised by a directness and straightforwardness in language and teachings, and there was a sense of immediacy and action within the narratives conducive to younger readers or aural audiences. Most courtesy poems were written in verse, either in Rime Royal Stanzas, or in rhyming couplets. There is some connection between verse structures and the ability to remember texts, and children and young people may have been directed to learn and remember, at least the shorter poems, by heart. A direct narrative style may be a prudent way of teaching children and young people, although some caution should be shown here because too often this promotes the idea of children and youths as unsophisticated readers. There is also the danger of suggesting courtesy poems were crude, unsophisticated texts when compared with ‘adult’ literary works. Although many courtesy poems were written simply and with a simple structure, this did not make them primitive. Rather the structure of rhyming stanzas and the quick fire leaping from rule to rule gave the poems a sense of energy and immediacy.

The anonymous author of The Babees Book in Harley 5086, was aware of the symbolic nature of particular writing styles: ‘Also thenke nouht[e] to st[ra]ungely at my penne/ In this metre for yow lyste to procede/ Men vsen yt therfore on hit take hede’. An interesting insight into the practical use of these texts in actual households can be found in The Babees Book. The author suggested children should take note of difficult words and ask other, presumably adult and learned people, what they meant. We cannot tell if this was part of private reading or aural reception, and it is likely that both mediums were commonly utilised, particularly if manuscripts were accessed throughout.

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85 Including The Babees Book, Caxton’s Book of Courtseye, and Stans puer ad mensam excepting Ashmole 61 which was written in quatrains abab. Full references to manuscripts, with complete library designations appear in the Appendices.

86 Including, The Lytylle Childrenes Book, the boke of curtasye, Urbanitas, and The Young Children’s Book.

87 Diane Bornstein, ‘Courtesy Books’, in Dictionary of the Middle Ages, ed. by Joseph R. Strayer and others (New York: Scribner, 1982-1989) 3 (1983), p. 661. Jambek has an interesting analysis on the psychology of learning to read and how linguistic patterns were absorbed by children. ‘Book sharing’ was particularly important, involving reading aloud and discussing a book. Jambec, ‘The Tretis of Walter of Bibbesworth’, in Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. by Classen, pp. 177-180. For one of the most detailed studies on this area see Joyce Coleman, Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

88 British Library, Harley MSS, 5086, fol. 86’. Alessandra Petrina also cited this passage as evidence of a conscious decision to use poetry within courtesy poems. Alessandra Petrina, ‘Young man, reading: children’s education in late medieval England’, paper presented at Medieval Children, 1200-1500, Canterbury Conference 2006, p. 3. Dr. Petrina kindly provided access to a draft of this paper.
different household environments, ranging from very large elite households to smaller urban or merchant ones.  

89 Suggestively, in *How the Wise Man Taught his Son* we can trace an aural heritage: ‘th[is] songe for yonge men was be
gon[e]/To make them trew & stedfast’. 90 This has connotations of an aural past and may suggest a mode of dissemination not gleaned from the static page.

In this thesis we are confronted with many texts which do not make immediate references to age. Instead we rely on the terms ‘child’, ‘children’, ‘young’ and a separate term, ‘young man’, or ‘son’ as the author/scribe’s method of addressing readers and identifying ‘characters’. Often the complexity of rules, the types of courtesy or manners described, and the variety and skill level of activities can suggest a more precise age for implied readers.

The poem *How the Wise Man Taught his Son* is unusually specific on this. In several manuscripts the son was identified as fifteen years of age: ‘Yt was A wyse man had A chyld/ Was fully xv wynt[er] of Age’. 91 We can correlate other texts to similar age groups. The phrase ‘yonge men’ was also used, which narrows the age range and indicated a slightly older person, which the generic ‘child’ cannot do. Texts which designate ‘young men’ as implied characters, or readers, may have likewise been for an age-range of perhaps fifteen years onwards. Interestingly in *How the Wise Man Taught his Son* in Lambeth 853 and in Balliol 354, the age of the son was not stated with such chronological precision. Hill wrote in the latter: ‘A wyse ma[n] had a fayre ma[n] child/ he
tawght hy[m] well in te[n]d[er] age’. 92 Bartholomew/Trevisa’s ‘tendir age’ was associated with *puericia*, ending at fourteen years. This phrasing also suggested an ambiguous and evocative stage between childhood and adulthood: ‘a man

89 For a study on the ‘publication’ of manuscripts and their circulation, including the work of notable scribes such as John Shirley, and the informal manuscript production networks of the time, see Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, ‘Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts’, in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 279-315. A London circulation network can be partially recreated for anthologies and miscellanies; there are also some indications of a provincial network, although this is more tenuous. Perhaps most intriguing is the suggestion that some of Shirley’s manuscript anthologies were purposely created to be lent to his acquaintances and consulted by others as ‘stock copy’, p. 287, also pp. 295-296.
90 In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MSS, 61, fol. 6', and British Library Harley MSS 5396, fol. 297'. In Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth MSS 853, p. 186: ‘This song was maad bigood reform/to make men true and stidfast’. Or in Oxford, Balliol College, MSS, 354, fol. 152*: ‘This sample for yong me[n] was first son/To make the[m] trew & stedfast’.
91 In Ashmole 61, fol. 6'. Cambridge, University Library, MSS Ff.2.38, fol. 53'. Harl. 5396, fol. 297*: ‘A wyse man had a fayre chyld/Was well of xv yere age’.
92 Balliol 354, fol. 157'.
child’. In Lambeth 853, these lines were again different: ‘Ther was a wise man taught his child/while it was yong and tendir of age’.

93 This stripped the passage of age specific identifiers. However, in Chancery Petitions similar references to ‘tender age’ are found in cases where young servants claimed they had been taken advantage of when making contracts. This suggests an age of fourteen for boys, and twelve for girls, reflecting canonical ages of marriage, at which time young people were assumed to be rational enough to consent to marriage contracts.94

These ambiguities make it necessary for terms to be fluid. In this thesis ‘childhood’ and ‘children’ will be used as generic descriptive terms that refer to infancy through to adolescence, and which will be representative of both genders. Youth refers to later childhood, from middle teenage years (a modern word) onwards and is often a male term. Where a more specific meaning is intended for particular texts or issues, I make a note of this by citing a more direct age group or gender. An additional qualifying term which is occasionally used in this study is middle childhood or pueritia. Youth or adolescentia, in turn lasted from pueritia until adulthood, which could occur as late as twenty-eight years, as intimated by Bartholomew/Trevisa.95

93 Lambeth 853, p. 186.
94 I am grateful to Dr. Stephanie Tarbin for bringing these Chancery petitions to my attention. For canonical ages of marriage see, R.H. Helmholz, Marriage Litigation in Medieval England (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974). See also On the Properties of Things, ed. by Seymour, Liber Sextus, p. 291. Despite each of the stages of childhood referring in some way to ‘tenderness’, it should be noted that it was only puericia (seven to fourteen) that was labeled with the specific phrase ‘tendir age’; ‘and hath that name puericia of pubertas, the age of fourtene yere, that is yit a tendir age’, p. 291.
95 There have been a number of discussions on the ages of childhood. See in particular Shahar, Childhood in the Middle Ages, pp. 21-31. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). Orme, Medieval Children, pp. 6-8. Also, Hanawalt, Growing Up in Medieval London, pp. 8-13, pp. 109-114.
Chapter Two
The Function of Courtesy in Socialising Children and Youths

‘Curteis he was, lowely, and servysable, And carf biforn his fader at the table’

Did courtesy poems teach the qualities embodied by Chaucer’s squire? These poems taught courtesy obviously and allowed a person, nearly always a man, to be flattered by the approbations of ‘courteous’ and ‘full of courtesy’. Did they also teach these young men from very young ages how to have a character that was ‘lowly’ or perhaps ‘meek’? Or was the practical skill of carving and good table manners just as important if not more so? Or were these skills and character traits part of a larger and more complex ideology that was not able to easily differentiate between the character of a man and his skills? In this chapter I set up this inquiry by looking at the meanings of meekness and churlishness as two ways that authors determined could explain these broader value judgements and enclose wider socialising parameters.

_Stans puer ad mensam_ is possibly the most recognized of all vernacular courtesy poems that spoke about these issues, a fame spread by its extended life in both manuscript and printed books. The poem was one of only a few privileged narratives reinvented for print, becoming a staple vernacular text for early printers and late-fifteenth and sixteenth century reading networks. Surviving manuscript copies attest to it circulating widely prior to 1476 when Caxton recognised its commercial value and printed it in quarto size. _Stans puer ad mensam_ was originally written in the mid-thirteenth century in Latin verse by the theologian and long serving Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste (c. 1170-1253) before it was translated and rewritten in the English vernacular by John Lydgate in the early-fifteenth century. As such, the poem was part of the

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1 Geoffrey Chaucer, _The Canterbury Tales, General Prologue_, in _The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer_, ed. by F.N. Robinson, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 18. Chaucer could be depicting someone drawn straight from the courtesy poems. We should keep in mind that Chaucer’s squire was both twenty years of age, and had already served in France. His father, in the Knight’s tale, tells of the qualities of nobility, chivalry and courtly love.

2 It was printed by William Caxton in 1476 and Wynken de Worde in 1510, 1515, twice in 1516, 1518, twice in 1520, and in 1524. Richard Pynson also printed it in 1516, as did Johan Redman in 1540. In 1560 and 1577 it was printed as a compilation with another courtesy text, by Hugh Rhodes (printed by Abraham Veale and H. Jackson respectively). Another edition was printed by Ioannes Kyngstonus in 1572. The English Short Title Catalogue does not record any editions dated after this.

3 Given the constraints on this thesis it has not been possible to analyse all manuscripts, and I have concentrated on English vernacular translations attributed to Lydgate. See Appendix One
culture of ecclesiastical households with high-status entitlements. Lydgate’s poem was not associated with a religious context and the distinctive concerns of an elite secular household were privileged, a secular trope common in this literature and one I am interested in in this thesis.

However, religious values lingered in these poems, unsurprising given the role of this literature in addressing children and describing upbringing, and which was bound to incorporate a degree of orthodox character formation. The clerical careers of some authors, such as Grosseteste and possibly the authors of the Good Wife poems examined in the following chapter, attest to a pious interest in youthful socialisation. The vernacular Stans puer, as well as many of the other extant courtesy poems have a non-specific secular-religious quality that make them appropriate for various environments. They also contributed to the education of people from the elite and upper gentry echelons with the potential to move easily in the highly politicised world of the court and noble household.

What did courtesy and socialisation mean to people in the fifteenth century, and to what extent did this literature preserve a record of their interest in courtesy as opposed to other values, such as morality or religious character? In the previous chapter I outlined the relationship between courtesy and morality. It is true that the two concepts could be analogous in some instances, and certainly there were connections between morality and religious behaviour. Some readers would have been led to equate courtesy with morality via rules offering dual perspectives on life, such as conventions on gluttonous eating and orthodox religious behaviour, and which takes us back to the religious context outlined above. The presence of moral and semi-religious instruction within some poems can be established; however, in many cases the depiction of courtesy was the focus of lessons, based firmly on the specific needs and the secular nature of elite households. I am interested in the balance between advice on courtesy and

for more details. Orne noted that the first four stanzas followed closely from Grosseteste’s original, while later stanzas were the work of Lydgate himself, although Grosseteste’s themes were observed throughout. Orne, Table Manners for Children, Stans puer ad mensam, p. 10. 

4 R.W. Southern’s biography of Grosseteste highlighted the regard in which he was held for observing the rules of courtesy and for the smooth and courteous running of his own household, despite his humble beginnings. Southern writes: ‘The greatest magnates recognized the charm of his personality and the good manners that prevailed in his household, and they were glad to send their sons to him to learn the rules of courtesy’. This included the sons of Simon de Montfort. Stans puer ad mensam sprang out of this environment. R. W. Southern, ‘Grosseteste, Robert (c.1170–1253)’, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edition, Jan 2007, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11665> [accessed 31 July 2007] Hereafter the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online, will be cited as the D.N.B.
morality in this literature, and how the extent of either courteous or moral instruction altered the tone of socialisation and created images of ‘churlishness’, as well as telling us something about which class groups were best represented by an upbringing that was focused on polite gestures and manners.\(^5\)

Lydgate’s vernacular version of Stans puer extended Grosseteste’s Latin work to a wider secular lay audience, telling how young males could achieve and perhaps confirm their elite status over the course of their day in a large household. In general, food-related lessons and counsel on eating characterised poems in this genre. We can see an emphasis on rules for eating and how to serve food, often arranged so that both the practice of eating and serving were described. Without the establishment of courteous rules such as these, there was no avenue for elite status to be demonstrated on a daily basis. This emphasis was able to introduce readers or listeners to a convincingly elite world, while raising the cultural value of both the text and the reader through the hierarchical associations that were played upon.

The following discussion will consider these issues in more detail as I assess the evidence from Stans puer ad mensam and other courtesy poems. I will analyse the ‘characters’ found in the poems, how the elite household setting was presented through descriptions of spaces, and universal lessons that suggest a pre-determined set of ubiquitous behaviours were in place.

In Stans puer ad mensam, two roles in the household can be inferred from the lessons, although Lydgate created no obvious ‘characters’. The first of the implied roles, and therefore audiences, was the noble foster child, or more generally the young person who may have been present in the elite household as part of a visiting retinue. For these young people, a knowledge of how to interact with others and how to eat when dining in the communal hall took on a primary importance in their lives. Related to this were the gentle servants for whom interaction with superiors and peers was also a prominent concern. For this group, the lessons contained a double significance in serving the lord in high-status tasks. The information for servants and guests were not exclusive

\(^5\) A parallel study has been done by Sharon Wells on the gestures and ritual meanings of courtesy at the table. She looks at how table manners functioned as a sign of manhood and were a rite of passage. Sharon Wells, ‘Manners Maketh Man: Living, Dining and Becoming a Man in the Later Middle Ages,’ in Rites of Passage, Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century, ed. by Nicola F. McDonald and W. M. Ormrod (Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 2004), pp. 67-81.
nor clearly defined, probably reflecting the indistinct position of gentry servants who did not hale from subservient ranks in society, and who might come from only one or two steps below that of the lord they served. They themselves might be part of visiting retinues in due course, underlining the itinerant nature of elite lifestyles. From the fourteenth century, ‘gentle’ servants tended to belong to the social rank above that of the yeomanry or peasantry and made up significant proportions of workforces in large households. A high proportion of these gentle servants came from privileged backgrounds, with children around the age of seven years placed into households to practice and learn the rules of courtesy, and in this way to buttress family and political networks. Mertes finds that throughout the fourteenth century, the status of gentle service rose as ‘household posts became much more sought after as a source of influence and advancement, particularly for younger sons of gentle families. Stans puer, and other courtesy poems were part of a literary tradition that revolved around describing this service, creating cues that explained what was important.

This poem, as with others, was not directly structured to correspond to any exact group or activity, although a repeated consideration for the public nature of courtesy, the implicit acknowledgement of behaviour which was under scrutiny, and the ever present critical gaze of ‘truly’ courteous superiors, spoke to how socialisation was imagined in this space. In courtesy texts extant from this period, the context of hospitality, gentry service and fostering played their part in allowing readers or listeners to approach texts and subsequently act out the learnt behaviours within the court and household environments they were part of. The male gender bias in narratives finds its parallel in the organisation and structure of these households. Large households of the thirteenth century commonly comprised up to a 90% male workforce, only decreasing in the fifteenth century with the acceptance of female servants and family groups working together, although most courtesy poems tend to be conservative when it

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7 Although this was a finite practice that became less important by the end of the sixteenth century. The repercussions that this change had for socialising processes is significant and sets a context for the developments I analyse in this thesis. For an analysis of child exchange based on anthropological approaches see Grant McCracken, ‘The Exchange of Children in Tudor England: An Anthropological Phenomenon in Historical Context’, Journal of Family History, 8.4 (1983), 303-313, and also Patricia Fumerton, Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 36-44.
9 For a study of childhood within the royal family and aristocracy in England, which takes into account training in music, dancing, political culture and martial skills, see Orme, From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530 (London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 163-210.
comes to this and may have ideologically reflected back on an earlier period.\textsuperscript{10} The lessons for males in these poems responded to this ideal environment. Notions of violence and disorder, of rash actions leading to social and political penalties and of concerns with hierarchy were apparent. A show of courtesy, and perhaps more directly, a well thought out show of meekness, diverted possible tensions, as Chaucer’s ‘lowely, and servysable’ squire suggests. An upbringing prioritising courtesy could deflect the potential for disorder and was a tactical move in creating social relationships, and one particularly significant at an elite level where the potential for misinterpreted actions could have severe consequences. The upper gentry and knighted classes shared in these anxieties to socialise their children according to these rules and contexts.

The setting and characters of \textit{Stans puer} confirms the dynamics of youth, privilege and male interests. In the title, \textit{puer} indicated a young child in a pre-adolescent stage of life, although it should be noted that the full title \textit{Stans puer ad mensam} was absent in some manuscripts, as identified in Appendix One of this thesis. Stephanie Trigg has also noted that \textit{pueri} could describe young people from non-noble backgrounds who entered into service in elite households, not to contribute to the elite hierarchy, but to secure permanent positions of service.\textsuperscript{11} While this might reflect multiple social groups with an interest in the poems, the status of the elite household remained absolute and dominated what children and young people were learning. References to ‘chylder’, ‘yonge’ and ‘son’ further delineated identifiable age groups, gender and status, with ‘child’ dually referring to adolescent males in service as well as to young people of aristocratic birth. Images of childish behaviours and activities emphasised a problematically youthful age.

The education, or more generally, the socialisation of young people could partly be carried out in noble households through the acquisition of courtesy books. Mertes has shown that ‘The third Duke of Buckingham’s wardrober has left us a rare account of some of the books he bought for the children in the duke’s care in 1503-1504: courtesy books, primers and grammar books’.\textsuperscript{12} Rickert also

\textsuperscript{10} There is always a ‘golden age’ for people to yearn for. Woolgar, \textit{The Great Household}, p. 8 and p. 36. It was only in the fifteenth century that the presence of female servants or cohabiting married couples appeared in household accounts.

\textsuperscript{11} Stephanie Trigg, ‘Learning to Live’, in \textit{Middle English}, ed. by Strohm, pp. 459-475 (p. 466). Dr. Trigg kindly allowed me access to an early draft of her work.

\textsuperscript{12} She also provides some tantalising information that Robert Melton, a yeoman farmer, purchased a courtesy book for his young brother-in-law. Mertes, \textit{The English Noble Household}, p. 172, p. 173.
commented that Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, served as henchman at Edward IV's court and was 'brought up on "the booke of urbanitie"'. In some manuscripts the introduction to How the Wise Man Taught his Son played upon allusions to an elite audience, calling for 'Lordyng[es] & ye wyll[e] here/How A wyse man taught hys sone'. The symbolic figure of the wise man also appeared in The Babees Book, a courtesy poem dating to a time when Edward V and Richard of York were boys, with the poem deliberately claiming a royal social connection. The introductory passages show how elite networks and settings could be established by authors. The early passages explain that the activities were taking place in the great household and hall, with some phrases confirming the elite heritage of people: 'Yif that yee se youre lorde or youre lady/Touching the housole speke of eny thinge/Latt theym alloone for that is curtesy'. The author was evidently disposed to emphasising this elite network, associating the narrative to children of royal birth: 'But O yonge Babees whom[e] bloode Royall[e]/With[e] grace Fetur and hyh[e] habylite/Hath eno[ur]nyd on yow ys that I calle/To knowe this Book for it were grete pyte/Syn that in yow ys sette soveryne beaute/But yf vertue and nurture were with[e] all[e]/To yow therfore I speke in specyall[e]'. If this were not clear enough, the author also stated at the outset: 'But amonge alle that I thenke of to telle/My purpos ys first only forto trete/How yee Babees in housholde that done duelle/Shulde haue your[e] sylyf whe[n]e yee be sette at mete'. This equipped the reader or listener to be aware and impressed by the elite associations and contexts that were laid out, even if we can see them as symbolic rather than accurate. Interestingly we should remember the parvvenu status of Edward V's maternal family. In this way courtesy poems suggest both that courtesy could be acquired but also, conflictingly, that it was associated with heritage and birth. Admission into these environments could be at least partially secured by knowing and adhering to prescribed rules and guidelines, which may in part explain the interests of the wealthier merchants and urban bourgeois in acquiring such texts.

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14 Ashmole 61, fol. 6'. The phrase and its variants, 'Listen Lordylings and you shall here', seems to have been a popular one. This conventional beginning may have been meant to flatter readers. In Ff.2.38, fol. 53' the opening was more generic: 'Lystenyth all'. However on fol. 55' A Lament of the Blessed Virgin Mary began with 'Lystenyth lordyng to my tale'.
15 Harl. 5086, fol. 88'.
16 Harl. 5086, fol. 86'.
17 Harl. 5086, fol. 86'.
The Babees Book expanded and developed this description of the household to include more specific information on how to enter a hall, how to greet superiors and how to behave in front of others. Specific instructions about this included not clawing or picking at oneself, or leaning against a post: ‘Youre heede youre hande yo[ur] feet holde yee in reste/Nor thurb[e] clowyng yo[ur] flesshe loke yee nat Rent/Lene to no poste whils that ye stande present’. 18 Similarly, ‘Kutte with[e] yo[ur] knyf yo[ur] brede and breke yt nouht[e]/A clene trenchour byfore yow eke ye lay’. 19 Or again: ‘And with[e] fulle mouth[e] drynke in no wyse/Youre nose yo[ur] teeth[e] yo[ur] naylles from pykyng’. 20 The conventions used in this poem were strikingly similar to the phrasing and idioms of other courtesy texts in the cluster, and create something of an ‘archive’ of universal lessons. If it is not possible to hypothesise a direct physical relationship between these manuscripts and tangible households and libraries, we can begin to presume that a symbolic relationship was formed between these courtesy lessons and the activities of elite households. Authors deliberately played to this, perhaps part of what Petrina has seen as a developing professional focus on practical advice manuals. 21

In Urbanitatis public courtesy was symbiotic with the elite environment and integral to the socialisation of young people. The poem again described the ostensible physical setting of the lessons, anchoring the text and the reader or hearer to a set location: ‘When th[ou] comeste be fore a lorde/In halle yn bowre or at the borde’. 22 Mannerly behaviour was clearly defined in terms that were consistent with particular spaces: ‘In halle in chambur or[e] wher[e] th[ou] gon/Nurtur & good maners maketh man’. 23 Class laden language further defined the socialising forces which benefitted elite groups: ‘In to th[e] halle when th[ou] dost wende/Amonge the genteles gode & hende’. 24 An alternative reading may suggest this reconstruction of an elite environment helped an absent reader understand the world being described, with unfamiliarity with elite spaces acknowledged and recognised.

18 Harl. 5086, fol. 87’.
19 Harl. 5086, fol. 88’.
20 Harl. 5086, fol. 88’.
21 Petrina, ‘Young man, reading’, p. 4.
22 British Library, Cotton MSS, Caligula Aii, fol. 88’. Also in British Library, Royal MSS, 17 A.1, fol. 29’. The poem probably dated from the end of the fourteenth century, yet surviving manuscripts date only to the fifteenth and late-fifteenth centuries. See Appendix One for more details.
23 Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 88’. Also in Royal 17 A.1, fols 30’.
24 Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 88’. Also in Royal 17 A.1, fol. 30’.
While the internal rooms of a household were favoured in most courtesy poems, an additional public area was given some attention in *Stans puer ad mensam* which extended how young people could be socialised in environments outside of the household. In this poem the young boy or man received information on how to behave when in more general locations:

Who speketh to the in eny man[ner] of place  
Lomysshycche cast not thi hed adowne  
But w[ith] sadd chere loke hym in the face  
Walke demovery by strete in the tounge and a vertise  
the by wisdom and reson  
Withe Insolnte laghtins thou do none offence.²⁵

This gave the child or young person a role in both the public space of the street as well as in the household itself and conjured the image of public performance (‘Walke demovery by strete in the tounge’). It also reinforced the importance of the child’s observable gestures as an indicator of good manners (‘Withe Insolnte laghtins thou do none offence’ or ‘bi no wantowne lauginge th[ou] do noo[n] offence’). This widened the standard setting of the interior household to a public environment and connected the basic lessons learnt in the household to other places. However, most courtesy texts privileged the elite household, with the emphasis placed on the internal environment. This was all the more noticeable when set against an atypical example.²⁶

We can ask why it is that other domestic tasks and environments were not commonly identified as important in socialising young people within these sources, and why authors were at some pains to emphasise lessons through references to elite households, as the author of *The Babees Book* did. To answer this we have to bear in mind the importance of the hall in public courtesy, commonly the location where people interacted throughout the day. Meal times, a public event, were also held in the hall and were the occasion when courtesy, at least as represented within this type of literature, came into its own.²⁷ The


²⁶ We can also see the location extended in *the boke of curtesy* to include travelling on pilgrimage and how to interact with people when in new spaces. There are further details of this later in this chapter.

²⁷ The function of the hall and servants is discussed in Mertes, *The English Noble Household*, pp. 38-40. Woolgar walks us through the hall and meal times step by step in *The Great Household*, pp. 145-165. For the ‘centralizing’ function of the hall see, Matthew Johnson,
implied reader or listener would have been able to imagine their own role in the
elite sphere through these descriptions, whether they belonged in this
environment or not, and visualise themselves as a legitimate member of the
household. The characters, and therefore the implied readers or listeners of
these poems, traversed these passages which projected this information about
the elite location, and safely and knowingly entered into the elite, although
fictional, space. Due deference had usually also been paid to the credentials of
the lord. Readers and listeners who had been paying attention to these
descriptions of location and status would have participated in a knowing and
informed dialogue with the narrative.

In the lessons, readers or listeners were led to equate their status as a ‘good man’
with how they acted and behaved in front of others. Most lessons played upon
the observational nature of courtesy and gestures: ‘pike not thi nose’; 28 ‘pare
clene thi nailis thi hondis waische also’, 29 and ‘kepe clene thi lyppes for fat of
flesche or fische’. 30 Similar instructions in Urbanitatis included ‘Fyrste loke
th[at] thy handes be clene’, 31 and ‘Ther on th[ou] shalt not thy nose
wype/Noth[ur] at thy mete thy toth th[ou] pyke’. 32 This emphasised physical
conduct, with the young reader or listener accepting that hygiene informed how
they were viewed in the elite household. Hygiene was one of the more
discernible and visible elements of physical appearance and outward show, and
as with many courtesy gestures, encompassed a distinct physical component
with a strong practical edge. There was no complex moral reflection in this,
and superficial, observable behaviour was shown as being a paramount indicator of
character and identity, or perhaps, were a part of identity. I disagree with
Nicholls statement that these ‘observable gestures’ indicated inner virtue. 33 The
understanding that gestures did code for virtue was only articulated so openly

Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape (London: University
28 Stans puer ad mensam. Lambeth 853, p. 151. Also in Stowe 982, fol. 10r, Add. 5467, fol. 67r,
Harl. 4011, fol. 1r, Harl. 2251, fol. 148v, Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 14r, and in Ashmolean 61, fol.
18r.
29 Stans puer ad mensam. In Stowe 982, fol. 10r, Add. 5467, fol. 67r, Harl. 4011, fol. 1r, Harl.
2251, fol. 148v, Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 14r, and Lambeth 853, p. 152. Similar, but not identical
lines were in Ashmolean 61 fol. 18r: ‘Ete th[ou] not mete w[ith] th[i] unwasche honds’, and: ‘luye
th[i] honds be clene when th[ou] eys th[i] mete/ Pare clene th[i] nayles for aught th[at] may be’.
30 Stans puer ad mensam. Stowe 982, fol. 10r. Also in Add. 5467, fol. 67r, Harl. 4011, fol. 1r,
and Harl. 2251, fol. 148v and Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 14r. In Ashmolean 61 fol. 18r: ‘Ne w[i]th
flesch ne fysshe w[i]th th[ou] eth[er] mete nep bred’.
31 Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 88v. Also in Royal 17 A.1, fol. 30v.
32 Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 88v. Also in Royal 17 A.1, fol. 31v with some minor differences.
33 Nicholls, The Matter of Courtesy, p. 1. Although he was referring to the poems of the Gawain
poet, his statement has broader implications for all courtesy texts.
and explicitly in sixteenth century literature. In the English translation of Ulrich Zwingli’s *Quo pacto ingenui formandi sint praeceptiones pauculae*, (Certye preceptes) in 1548, young men were directed to control their body’s movements because of this connection to inner character ‘tha[n] that euery man maye learene with him selfe/to rule the exteriour vices/the which are the moost certeine tokens of a corrupte minde.’\(^{34}\) This perception was reinforced through the list of directions on how to control and moderate physical actions: ‘that we do not frowne to moche/or alter our mouth or contenaunce/or shake our heade/or cast abroade our handes’. The specific rules may be similar to earlier courtesy poems, but there were more complex statements in this later literature describing why it was necessary for young men to control their bodies, for reasons that were not solely related to how the action was perceived by others and how it related to social position.

As some of these poems show, authors or scribes could include the term ‘virtue’, often in direct connection with the more evident ‘courtesy’, which could be taken as an indicator of this complex inner-outer paradigm. We can take some literal descriptions of ‘virtue’ from different poems: ‘Alle vertuys ben closyde in curtesy’, from *The Lytyle Childrene’s Book*;\(^{35}\) ‘Hyth ys a charitable dede to tech vertu & good lyvy[n]g to kepe a man fro harm’,\(^{36}\) from *Russell’s Boke of Nurture*; and ‘And Facett seyth[e] the Book of curtesye/Verties to knowe thaym forto haue and vse/Is thing moste heelfull[e] in this worlde trevly’, from *The Babees Book*.\(^{37}\) A relationship was partially fashioned between courtesy and virtue which created a sense of compatibility between the two and potentially gave courteous acts a deeper moral and virtuous significance. ‘Virtue’ added a layer of complexity to socialisation and furnished the opportunity for the ensuing codes of behaviour to be relevant both to religious ethics and therefore, to inner conduct.

References such as these within the poems make it easy to associate this socialisation with moral and ethical values. Yet if we look again at these

\(^{34}\) Ulrich Zwingli, *Certye precepts, gathered by Hulrichus Zuinglius, declaring howe the ingenious youth ought to be instructed and brought vnto Christ. Translated out of latin into English by master Richard Argentyne Doctour in Physyck* (Ipswich: Anthony Scoleton, 1548), p. bvy, both quotations.

\(^{35}\) British Library, Egerton MSS, 1995, fol.58’.

\(^{36}\) British Library, Sloane MSS, 2027, fol. 37’.

\(^{37}\) This was elided in British Library, Royal MSS, 17 D, xv, fol. 333’, instead: ‘Charite wil tech aaman kep heyym felfe fro harme/For many ayonge man of wit is full barene’.

\(^{37}\) Harl. 5086, fol. 86’.
examples we can see that ‘virtue’ always appeared next to ‘courtesy’ or was separated by only a few intervening words. Zwingli’s complex framework equating gestures to inner character was not being articulated in this literature, although there may have been an awareness of these connections in society at this time. My argument is that these beliefs were not incorporated in courtesy poems in the fifteenth century, for the reason that it was not necessary for readers to think and reflect on this. Behaving well, because it demonstrated a good background and a knowledge of current sensibilities, was sufficient. In this way, courtesy could be equated with virtue in the poems, but not systematically. Courtesy might ideally have served as an indicator of moral continence or ethical behaviour, but the reader or listener was not drawn to this position via any explicit exemplars or systematic moral questions. In courtesy literature, virtue held a precarious and uncertain position, with authors, scribes and we can presume audiences, more interested in what these narratives could teach about outward courteous rules and behavioural tropes for purely practical and pragmatic purposes.

The type of ‘virtue’ identified in these poems deserves some attention, although ultimately virtue in these sources may best be thought of as another term for good manners or courtesy itself. In these poems, references to courtesy and virtue were used interchangeably, or as two complementary points to an argument as I suggested in the examples above. At the same time, audiences may have been aware that true virtue had a clearly defined range of ethical connotations that incorporated notions of chastity, and sexual purity, as well as linking with the four cardinal virtues of justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude, and the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity. Readers would have recognised that the courtesy poems they were reading or hearing did not attempt to speak on these issues. Courtesy literature did not ultimately reflect socialisation based on these values nor would I argue was it trying to, given the background of the genre within the court and in elite houses, where observable gestures were so important in themselves.

Alternatively, a reader of other contemporary literature, including the poems Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Pearl or Cleanness, read of courtesy which was allied to a moral and spiritual world. In this literature, courtesy as well as spiritual and moral behaviour, were developed. These connections were reinforced by placing courtesy within contexts which alluded to fully developed moral conditions. Gawain’s integrity was important to the story and there was a
sense of moral symbolism to his actions and his knightly apparel. This concern was not replicated by these courtesy authors and nor should we expect it to be given the intrinsic differences between the literature and their different aims and motivations as teaching aids. I would not like to suggest that courtesy poems were insignificant when compared to ‘important’ chivalric or romance works. Just because these courtesy poems did not replicate complex fictional narratives did not mean they offered nothing to the reader, or that they had no long-lasting relevance to the lives of young people.

Mary E. Shaner’s analysis of Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates 19.3.1, a late-fifteenth century manuscript, also detected an emphasis on the practical value of courtesy. In this manuscript, the usual six line closing stanza from Urbanitas concerning Christ was reduced by four lines, with the result that ‘The piety is somewhat perfunctory and thus emphasizes the pragmatic values of courtesy over any moral or spiritual considerations.’

Hygiene and cleanliness are highly pragmatic values, and while cleanliness does contain a symbolic element it did not, in these poems, lead to a moral or religious assessment of the person. In this way, improper behaviour and offensive bodily appearances were identified as acceptable ways to categorise people. We must remember how these practical directions would have been of value to young people newly introduced to elite households. The visible and immediate nature of actions and gestures, which could be learnt, instantly displayed ‘identity’, divorced from any more complex ethical or moral considerations.

Misbehaviour was itself identified in courtesy narratives in ways which gave obvious credence to the importance of social class, particularly with the pejorative ‘churl’ identifying someone from low rank; a serf or bondman; a peasant or a rustic and with clearly subjective overtones incorporating a strong sense of disdain. If non-elite people were accessing these texts they were introduced to the notion that their churlish behaviours had to be suppressed and replaced with contrasting ‘gentility’. Conversely, elite audiences had this reinforced for them. Churlish behaviour was straightforwardly dismissed. In Stans puer ad mensam in the Ashmole manuscript, the reader or listener

accepted that he might be called a churl if his behaviour did not meet certain standards: ‘leste th[ou] be callyd els both cherle or gloton’.

The act of spitting was identified as an act which was denigrated because of its supposed lowly associations: ‘For th[a]t is A cherles dede who so doth it’. The dismissal of lowborn actions allowed readers and listeners to accept that their social superiority, indeed their identity, could be established via how they conducted themselves. A positive/negative referral to gentility again alerted people to this: ‘lowde for to soupe is agen gentilnes’, and later: ‘Of gentilnesse take salt w[i]t[h]i thi knyf’. Again these manners were situated at the table and defined socialisation in terms of outward behaviour and the need to understand household rules. These sources made gentility easily recognisable, although of course the reality of social mobility would have made this less obvious.

*Urbanitatis* similarly used ‘gentility’ as a descriptive term ‘Amonge the genteles gode & hende’. It is clear in *The Babees Book* that the separation of people into gentle and ‘other’ was part of how young people were taught to prioritise courtesy, with accusations of poor manners when eating committing the reader or listener to make a decision as to their own status. The author wrote with force and abruptness:

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Kutte nouht[e] youre mete eke as it were Felde men
That to theyre mete haue suche an appetye
That they ne rekke in what wyse where ne when
Nor how vngoodly they on theyre mete twyte
But swete children haue al wey yo[ur] deyte
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40 Ashmole 61, fol. 18v. Similar directions appear in other manuscripts. The twelfth century Latin *Facetum* poem used ‘rusticus’ to distinguish boorish behaviour. See, John Gillingham, ‘*From Civilitas* to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 267-289 (p. 271). Gillingham notes that in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. MSS, 171, fols 167v7 seven courtesies and seven rusticities were listed. I have been unable to view this manuscript, but a transcript appears in Gieben, ‘*Robet Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy Books*’, pp. 54-55.

41 Ashmole 61, fol. 18v. Similar directions appear in other manuscripts.

42 In Lambeth 853, p. 152. Also in in Add. 5467, fol. 67v, Harl. 4011, fol. 1r, Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 14v, Q.G.8, fol. 77v and Harl. 2251, fol. 148v, although here the scribe reversed the order of some of the lines. A similar phrase was used by Rate, the scribe of Ashmole 61, on fol. 18v.

43 In Lambeth 853, p. 153. Also in Add. 5467, fol. 68v, Harl. 2251, fol. 148v. Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 15v, and Q.G.8, fol. 78v. In Ashmole 61 fol. 18v, Rate amended this to ‘Ley salt on thi trenchere with knyfe that be cleene’. The abbreviated text in Harl. 4011 concludes somewhat abruptly mid-way through the poem, leaving off this and several stanzas commonly found in other manuscripts. Given how closely the scribe followed the text until this point, there is no valid reason to suppose he would have made any deliberate amendment to this phrase. Harl. 4011 concluded with: ‘Atte mete & souper kepe th[e] still & soft/Eke too & froo meve not thi feete to ofte’. This in no way reads as a neat final remark. It was more likely the scribe broke off at this point, or was working from an incomplete copy.

44 Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 88v. Also in Royal 17 A.1, fol. 30v.
In curtesye and in verrey gentynnesse
And at youre myht[e] eschewe boystousnesse

The act of eating and how food was eaten demonstrated social position and bracketed you as both 'courteous' and 'gentle' or as 'other'. These instructions had a practical value in socialising young people from legitimately elite backgrounds as well as those undesirable 'other' groups. It may have helped those from gentry backgrounds who, in the process of acquiring wealth, found themselves moving in even higher social groups. In the case of Richard Whittington (Mayor of London, partial term 1397, full terms 1398, 1406 and 1419) and others, having to deal with royalty and elites would have meant moving in court circles. These simple rules, ostensibly for young people, may have equally benefited older people and made the process of learning social rules easier. Knowledge of these criteria and the ability to project a courteous image allowed someone, particularly if they were young and open to new experiences and learning, to participate in the most advantageous of social environments and confirm their right to be there. Simultaneously the act of promoting these manners in literature also kept out those who were so lowly born as to be unable to access manuscripts or hear them read aloud. This medium both permitted entry into elite spheres for people from some backgrounds, while keeping out those who lived too far below the gentry level. This type of socialisation, with its emphasis on courtesy therefore had meaning and relevance only to some people.

Different behaviours and socialising forces can be identified in the courtesy poem The Lytyle Childrene's Book. The opening stanzas are particularly important and were used to introduce another courtesy poem, The Young Children's Book, in Ashmole 61. The Lytyle Childrene's Book shows how one poem in this genre could incorporate more complex and multifaceted values. The poem opened with a sequence on religion and courtesy. Outwardly the subject was a young boy's manners whilst eating at his lord's table, an archetypal courtesy theme paralleling the older and more established Stans puer ad mensam, and introducing all of the common aspects of elite socialisation found in these sources. Despite this, a more significant religious and social theme was fashioned for the reader or listener in the opening moments. The poem began:

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45 Harl. 5086, fol. 897.
46 This will be examined in the following chapter.
Ltylle chyldrynne here may ye lere
asoche curtesy that ys wretyn here
ffor clerkys that the vii artys con
Synne that curtesy from hevyn cam
Whenne gabryelle oure lady grette
And Eleizabethe with mary mette
Alle vertuys ben closyde in curtesy
And alle vysye in velony⁴⁷

This made a connection between the supposedly secular and the overtly religious, with the effect of drawing children’s attention to courtesy and religion in a deliberate although naïve way. It also hinted, but did not develop, the ideology of courtesy as an expression of virtue.

The male character of the poem⁴⁸ was given a series of rules concerning how to behave when eating in public, in what seems to be a relatively high status location: ‘And yf thy lorde drynke at that tyde/Drynke thou not but hym a byde.’⁴⁹ As with other courtesy poems, these actions were important in and of themselves. Nevertheless, the poem was initially introduced through the maxim that all courtesy came down to earth from heaven at Christ’s coming. In this way readers or listeners could equate courtesy, and socialisation in the elite household, with Christian values. However, this denies the secular nature of most of the instructions. The author claimed a connection between courtesy and religion, but perhaps we should see this as a shrewd ploy to impart authority. Young readers or listeners would have found it hard to reject the behavioural lessons since Gabrielle and Mary were invoked.⁵⁰

Practical lessons remained paramount. The young reader or listener learned about cleanliness of nails, hands and teeth; how to break apart bread; how to eat meat, fish and cheese; not to gorge on the food set before them; how to close

⁴⁷ One of the examples of the close grouping between the words ‘courtesy’ and ‘virtue’. Egerton 1995, fol. 58r. Also in Balliol 354, fol. 142r, British Library, Additional MSS, 8151, fol. 201r, Cambridge, University Library Ee. 4.35, fol. 22v, and British Library Harley MSS, 541, fol. 210r. Rate’s version was somewhat different. Ashmole 61, fol. 20r. In Cambridge, University Library, MSS Ee.4.35, fol. 22r (early-sixteenth century), the scribe inserted ‘courtesy’ where ‘Elizabeth’ normally appeared: ‘Whan gabryell owre ladey met/And cortesey with[th] marey met’.

⁴⁸ This was a clear gendered distinction: ‘Thenne wylle they sey there aftar/That a gentyly man was here’. Egerton 1995, fol. 59r–60r. Also in Harl. 541, fol. 207r, Add. 8151, fol. 203r and Balliol 354, fol. 143r. Ee.4.35 was clumsier: ‘And then men sey her aftar/Th[at] he ys a gentyll man ther aftar’, fol.23r.

⁴⁹ Egerton 1995, fol. 59r. Also in Harl. 541, fol. 207r, Balliol 354, fol. 142r (‘tyde’ is replaced by ‘howre’), Ee.4.35, fol. 23r and Add. 8151, fol. 202r.

⁵⁰ Petrina dismisses this as ‘a half-hearted attempt to attribute a divine origin to good manners’. ‘Young man, reading’, p. 5.
their mouth when eating and not to spill food or throw bones on the floor. The most acceptable way to eat included the conventional wisdom:

Byte not thy mete but cut hit clene
Be welle ware that noo drope be sene
Whenne thou etyste gape not to wyde
That thy mouthe be in euerysyde
And sone be ware of one thynge
Blowe thou not in thy mete not drynke.\(^{51}\)

The child, especially the male child, understood that these were essential rules governing appropriate conduct, relating his identity to the visible display of status and class. The use of class distinctions in differentiating between good and bad manners (or behaviour and misbehaviour) dominated this literature. To the best of my knowledge the use of class distinctive language in these poems has not been explored, but it is apparent that poor behaviour was tellingly vocalised through the use of pejorative language. In common with other courtesy poems, negative, but also practical, examples were used to show this: ‘Pyke note thyne errys nothyr thy noscrellys/And thou doo men wyly say thou comyste of karlys.’\(^{52}\) And later: ‘Bulk not as a bene were in thy throate/As a karle that comythe oute of a coote.’\(^{53}\) The author of *The Lytylle Childrene’s Book* reminded his readers of desired gentle status, followed by the threat of what poor behaviour would bring to the child:

Thenne wylle they sey there aftyr
That a gentylle man was here
he that dyspsythe thys techynge
he ys not worthy with owte lesygne
Neuyr at a goode manmys tabylle for to sytte
Nothy of noo worschippe to wete
And there fore chlydryn pur charyte

\(^{51}\) Egerton 1995, fol. 59\(^{v}\). Similarly in Balliol 354, fol. 142\(^{v}\), Ee.4.35, fol. 23\(^{v}\), Add. 8151, fol. 203\(^{v}\) and Harl. 541, fol. 207.

\(^{52}\) Egerton 1995, fol. 59\(^{v}\). ‘Karle’ or ‘carl’ meaning churl from the German and French *kerl* and *carle*. Given in Harl 541, fol. 210\(^{v}\) as ‘cherls’, and in Ee.4.35, fol. 22\(^{v}\) as: ‘cherleys’. Balliol 354, fol. 142: ‘cherles’, the French line gave: ‘de villains’. Add 8151, fol. 202\(^{v}\): ‘chorlys’. In *The Young Children’s Book*, a similar phrase was used: ‘Wype not thi nose nor thi nos thyrlys/Than men wyll say thou come of cherlys’. Ashmole 61, fol. 21\(^{v}\).

\(^{53}\) Egerton 1995, fol. 59\(^{v}\). Also in Ee.4.35, fol. 23\(^{v}\), again with the spelling ‘cherle’. Balliol 354, fol. 142: ‘as a chole y[a]l co[m]meth owt of Cote’. The Harl. manuscript is torn but it is still possible to make out: ‘Bulk not as a Been were yn thi throtte’, followed by the top of the letter ‘k’ at the beginning of the word: ‘[jerle that comyd oute of a cote.’ fol. 210\(^{v}\). Add 8151, fol. 202\(^{v}\): ‘As a cherle th[a]l comyn oute of a cote’.
Lernythe thys boke that ys callyd Edyllys be\textsuperscript{54}

Children and young people became a part of the dissemination of class ideology and participated in the hierarchical framework by learning that social superiority was grounded in outward conduct. The importance of this was acknowledged in the Boke of Nurture which took these lessons to their logical conclusion, illustrating how knowledge of courteous behaviour would lead to eventual employment and economic and social security.

Showing meekness, as part of courtesy, was another tool for the young reader or listener to construct their ‘gentle’ identity, and also connected with their practical skills. Meekness inserted a personal attribute into what was taught in these lessons. It is one of the occasions when a complex inner quality was overtly associated with the outward show of behaviour. Activities in Stans puer ad mensam were credited with a meek quality: ‘Be quik & redi meke & seruible/weel await[n]ge to fulfille ano[o]n/What th[at] thi sou[er]eyn co[m]au[n]dith to be doon.’\textsuperscript{55} Respect towards social superiors reinforced the hierarchical structure of the household and of society at large, and reinforced the meek and ‘servysable’ character in young people. This was particularly important in socialising children for the roles they were to undertake in the household, and which could be taken as a metaphor (as well as direct counsel) for later life.

Character was not always described as ‘meek’ and it could be associated with other values, including demureness and softness. In Stanspuer the boy was told to ‘walke demurely bi streetis in the tou[n] /And take good hede bi wisdom & resou[n]’.\textsuperscript{56} Meekness was still implied, and it was also given more patent form in variant manuscripts. This is best demonstrated by close comparison between the Lambeth manuscript dating from c.1430-1450, and four manuscripts from the decades after Lambeth was written. In Lambeth, the young boy was told ‘Be

\textsuperscript{54} Egerton 1995, fol. 59\textsuperscript{v}. 60\textsuperscript{r}. And similarly in Harl. 541, fol. 207\textsuperscript{v}, Balliol 354, fol. 143\textsuperscript{v} (‘lernythe’ is replaced by ‘love’) and Ee.4.35, fol. 23\textsuperscript{r}. Add. 8151, fol. 203\textsuperscript{v}; ‘Lenyth this boke thou it lyttel be’.

\textsuperscript{55} Lambeth 853, p. 153. Also in Stowe 982, fol. 10\textsuperscript{r}, Add. 5467, fol. 68\textsuperscript{r}, Harl. 2251, fol.148\textsuperscript{v}, Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 15\textsuperscript{v} and Q.G.8, fol. 78\textsuperscript{r}. Harl. 4011’s abbreviated structure ended before this.

\textsuperscript{56} In Lambeth 853, p. 151. Also in Stowe 982, fol. 10\textsuperscript{r}, Add. 5467, fol. 67\textsuperscript{r}, Harl. 4011, fol. 1\textsuperscript{r}, Harl. 2251, fol. 148\textsuperscript{v}, Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 14\textsuperscript{v} and Q.G.8, fol. 77\textsuperscript{r}. Ashmole 61 is different in that neither meekness nor demureness were directly referenced. Yet Rate’s version still emphasised the points of decorum and subservience. Ashmole 61, fol. 18\textsuperscript{r}.
soft i[n] mesure not hasti but treteable.\textsuperscript{57} In the four later manuscripts this was amended to ‘Be meke in mesure not hasty bot tretable’.\textsuperscript{58} Softness and meekness have a similar relationship and it is likely scribes associated the two words, particularly considering the legitimate application of both to young people. Meekness was also a necessary quality for servants and subordinates in general. At the same time ‘soft’ was itself a genderless description and harked back to the semi-medical and religious philosophy about the wax-like, fluid softness of young children and especially of infants. This was particularly conducive to customs relevant to the early years of life, including swaddling, bathing and massage; factors which were thought to alter physiognomy.\textsuperscript{59} The impression of youthful softness continued to be defended in later literature, and Caxton’s \textit{Book of Good Manners} discussed ‘softness’ in relation to classical learning: ‘And therefore saynt An-selme in his boke of symylitudes compareth Infancye or chyl-dehode to ware whiche is softe’.\textsuperscript{60}

This youthful meekness and softness was similar to the theoretical and psychological understandings of adult behaviour described elsewhere in medieval literature. This aspect of socialisation was not at odds with advice for adults concerning the avoidance of strife. In the twelfth century \textit{Liber Urbani} of Daniel of Beccles, John Gillingham calculated that less than 0.5% of the text discussed war or soldierly activity,\textsuperscript{61} with the principal theme one of restraint. Jaeger similarly identified \textit{mansuetudo} (gentleness of spirit) as a dominant element in medieval writings.\textsuperscript{62} Elias hypothesised that the increased awareness of others developed only over the course of the sixteenth century and that only at this time did ‘the degree of consideration expected of others [become] greater’.\textsuperscript{63} However, the recognition of how and why meek behaviour was important in socialising young people shows an ample awareness of others. It attests to a perception, or at least one in literary narratives, that interaction was monitored and adjudicated based on consideration for others long before the

\textsuperscript{57} Lambeth 853, p. 154. My emphasis.
\textsuperscript{58} Harl. 2251, fol. 149’. My emphasis. Also in Add. 5467, fol. 68’, Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 15’ and Q.G. 8, fol. 78’. Absent in Ashmole 61. Harl. 4011 was cut short before these stanzas would have appeared.
\textsuperscript{60} William Caxton, \textit{Here begynmeth the table of a book entytled the book of good maners} (Westminster, 1487), fvi’.
\textsuperscript{61} Gillingham, ‘From Civilitas to Civility’, p. 275.
\textsuperscript{62} Jaeger, \textit{The Origins of Courtliness}, pp. 36-40.
\textsuperscript{63} Elias, \textit{The Civilising Process}, p.69.
‘modern’ sixteenth century. The socialisation of young people always integrated this, perhaps because the lessons prioritised outward behaviour.

In other courtesy poems there was also a close relationship between socialisation and meekness. Two contrasting ideas reveal broader expectations of its value, and possible flaws. In *the boke of curtesye* the anonymous author introduced meekness in relationship to youth: ‘Be not to meke but i[n] mene the holde/For ellis a fol thou wyll[e] be tolde’.

Overly meek behaviour has here been associated with pliancy and a lack of judgement. However, this was reversed when the child was instructed: ‘Onswered hum mekely [and] make hym glose’, implying meekness was a useful contrivance for young people to use as it flattered others. There was a self-serving quality to the act, as there was to most of these acts. In *Urbanitatis*, the author/scribe put forward self-advancement in even plainer language and it is possible to see how the lessons laid out in these poems had very specific hard-headed goals and intentions:

To th[at] lord thou moste lowte
W[i][h] thy ryght kne let hyt be do
Thyn owne worschepe th[ou] saue so

These allusions hint at the precarious balance between courteousness and self-interest which was debated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries concerning etiquette, suggesting the cyclical nature of social anxieties.

Some passages from the poem *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* are useful in considering the qualities of meekness. This poem contains references to elite networks and may have suited gentry readers preoccupied with the issue of primogeniture and the behaviour of the eldest male child. In *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, meekness was correlated with certain manners and

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64 British Library, Sloane MSS, 1986, fol. 15v.
65 Sloane 1986, fol. 17v. ‘Glose’ meaning a flattering speech. O.E.D.
67 Royal 17 A.1, fols 29v. I noted Horrox’s explanation of passages such as this in Chapter One.
68 This is discussed in Chapter Four and also in Chapter Six.
69 George Shuffelton has suggested that passages on the dangers of excessive wealth may suggest a bourgeois audience, although he cautions that gentry readers may also have found meaning in this. This information comes via correspondence with Professor Shuffelton. He has generously shared his work on Ashmole 61 prior to its publication. George Shuffelton, forthcoming edition of Ashmole 61 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: TEAMS Middle English Text Series, Medieval Institute Publications).
tenderness: 'meke & myld'.\textsuperscript{70} In some manuscripts the son’s ideal wife was described as ‘meke & gud’.\textsuperscript{71} Two readings are suggested by this. It is possible that far from being gender neutral and hence applicable to males and females, that meekness was in fact gender specific but from the perspective of being considered a suitable feminine trait. It may have been their youthfulness (and hence lack of ‘manliness’) that allowed meekness to be attributed to boys. However, Christ himself was the ultimate model of meekness and it is possible to read in this a more general interest in meekness as a reflection of religious piety.\textsuperscript{72} In a hierarchical society, meekness would have been a valuable tool to use with those holding social and political power. For young people moving within an elite world, the careful demonstration of courtesy and meekness helped to show rational and balanced behaviour. We can also remember that Chaucer’s squire was introduced as ‘lowely, and servysable’ and even though his manliness had been proven by his involvement in wars overseas, his identity was still coupled to how he demonstrated submissive courtesy and service before other people.

This begins to suggest the sophistication of courtesy texts in transmitting information about childhood. Far from being simple and trivial texts they suggest a clever manipulation of youthful conduct and activities. No overt psychological conditioning, as we would understand it, can be found in these poems. However, the way they were structured to include these issues does suggest that authors were creating certain complex pictures of upbringing for readers or listeners to follow. To see this in more depth it is necessary to consider not only the content of the narratives, but how the poems were arranged to include certain types of information, and how specific phrases and language influenced the reader or listener. In these poems, the child/young person appeared as the main protagonist of the lessons. In \textit{Stans puer}, the child was addressed consistently with the pronoun ‘thi’ as in: ‘pyke not thi nose’, and ‘kepe clene thi lyppes for fat of flesche or fishe’.\textsuperscript{73} This directly appealed to the child or young person as an active and individual participant in the ‘story’. The use of ‘thi’ may also have reinforced that sense of inferiority. In \textit{The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage}, the girl who was possibly older, perhaps at the stage

\textsuperscript{70} In Ashmole 61, fol. 6'. Also in Lambeth 853, p. 186; Harl. 5396, fol. 297'; Ff.2.38, fol.53'. Balliol 354 also had references to being ‘mild’.

\textsuperscript{71} Balliol 354, fol. 152'. Also in Harl. 5396, fol. 299' and Lambeth 853, p. 190.

\textsuperscript{72} Peter Idley wrote: ‘A kynge to be meke and not vengeable’ in \textit{Instructions to his Son}, Text E, fol. 17'.

\textsuperscript{73} Stowe 982, fol. 10'. Similar directions appeared in all manuscripts.
of entering adolescence, also heard lessons about good behaviour, often linked to sexual conduct.  

Margaret Higonnet has commented that a first person narrative created ‘voluntary self-discipline’, related to Locke’s principle of deliberate and internal control. What underpinned this was the promotion of children and young people as individuals responsible for their own actions. These poems foreground self-monitoring of behaviour as a key feature in contemporary concepts of childhood. While it is true that the child or young person addressed in these poems, and in other contemporary sources, received advice and instruction, this did not remove their personal responsibility for their behaviour. Young people had an important role in demonstrating courtesy and good conduct of their own accord, bringing the time of childhood closer to the responsible adult state.

The notion of self-responsibility rests upon the double-edged sword of the child being both a responsible agent, as well as the receiver of knowledge. The first words we often hear in a courtesy poem were those of the experienced adult who possessed knowledge of the social conventions, often the voice of the author or narrator. In contrast, there was the inexperienced young person in need of advice. Russell blatantly used the arrangement between the two ‘characters’ of the youth and adult in the Boke of Nurture. The poem began by identifying the experienced adult (Russell) and the inexperienced young man, and used this as a platform to ‘reveal’ rules governing behaviour and actions: ‘Sonne yf I the teche wylte thou hit lere/wylte thou be clerke marchaute or artyfycere/Chamberlayne butteler panter or a kerv (carver)/ussher sewer ploweman or laborer’. To which the young person replied ‘Off the office of

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74 I analyse this poem in the following chapter. Dronzek argues poems for girls, including but not limited to the The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage, were more aural than those intended for boys. It seems boys were encouraged to read texts while girls participated in aural networks. Dronzek, ‘Gendered Theories of Education’, in Medieval Conduct, ed. by Ashley and Clark, p. 140-142. National Library of Wales, Brogynyn Mss ii.1, formerly Porkington Mss 10, fols 135v-138v. I will use the Porkington designation throughout.

75 ‘Tellingly, the narrative voice is first person – a perspective which reinforces the Lockeian lesson of voluntary self-discipline: we must speak the poem in our own voices, affixing our own names at the end.’ Margaret R. Higonnet, ‘Civility Books, Child Citizens, and Uncivil Antics’, Poetics Today, 13.1 (1992), 123-140 (p. 132).

76 Orme discusses childhood responsibility in relation to legal and religious matters. He finds that while some children as young as four could be held on charges of (accidental) murder, on the whole the imprisonment of young people below the age of twelve to fourteen aroused pity and sympathy. He suggests that legal records ‘do not point to a regular practice of treating the young like their elders.’ Orme, Medieval Children, p. 325.
butterel pant[er] and chaberlayne/Sewer kerv uss[h]er ewer[er] for tayne/And yema[n] of the seler I fayne/All thesse to lerne I wolde be rygte fayne.’ Russell then finished with ‘Sonne I shalt theche ye with ryght goode wyll’. 77

The introduction to Stans puer ad mensam in Ashmole 61 called attention to youth (inexperience) versus age (experience) in this way:

Now chylde take gode hed[e] what th[at] I wyll sey
My do[c]tryn[e] to th[ee] I p[ur]pos to be gyn[e]
Herkyn well th[er] to [and] go no away

A further age/inexperience statement reinforced this:

To tech child[er] c[ur]tasy is myn[e] entent
And th[us] forth my p[ro]ces I p[ur]pos to begy[n]ne...
The child th[at] eu[er] think[es] th[at] he wold thryue or the
My cou[n]cell i[n] th[is] to hy[m] th[at] he take 79

In Urbanitatis, a similarly conventional opening identified the voice of the author or scribe: ‘Whoso wyll of nurtur lere/Harken to me & ye shall[e] here. 80
This placed the text/author in a position above that of the reader or listener. However, these introductions generally set up situations and scenarios that were more complex. While young people were told how to behave, the underlying expectation shows them as accountable for acting appropriately. The repetition of direct language to the child: ‘I’, ‘the’, and ‘thou’, allowed a young reader or listener to put themselves into the narrative and into the story. Even if this first person narrative was absent, the emphasis on the youthful character remained an access point to young people reading or hearing the poems. In addition, these texts rarely identified other adult characters in the story-arc who took responsibility away from the younger person by referring to adult behaviour or actions.

Could authors or scribes have inserted a destabilising adult voice if they had wished to and who could these potential adult characters have been? We do not

77 British Library, Sloane MSS, 1315, fol. 1r. In all probability this was directed at an adolescent rather than a younger boy given the detailed career options and sophisticated lessons that were taught. This is analysed later in this chapter.
78 Ashmole 61, fol. 17v. Opening stanzas act to introduce the text and mediate the interaction of the text and audience; a function of paratexts.
79 Ashmole 61, fol. 17v.
80 Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 88v.
of course expect to hear the voice of the father in these poems, given the location in which most courtesy narratives were set, which removed children from the natal home. With the exception of How the Wise Man Taught His Son, fathers were not found in poems describing elite courtesy, and children were almost entirely placed outside of the socialising structure of their own nuclear family environment, perhaps explaining at the same time why these poems were necessary.\footnote{Some other texts including Peter Idley’s Instructions to his Son, and two of the three courtesy poems for girls in the Good Wife tradition, did use a parental metaphor. However, with the exception of Idley’s poem, this was probably a fictional construction and not an actual representation of parental voices. These poems also did not belong to the cluster on elite courtesy advice, demonstrating a stronger bourgeois ethic. These texts will be discussed in the following chapter. Children living outside their biological family-households were often in apprenticeships and part of their master’s family-household. Hanawalt, Growing Up in Medieval London, pp. 129-153. For a wider European context see Kathryn L. Reyerson, “The Adolescent Apprentice/Worker in Medieval Montpellier”, Journal of Family History, 17.4 (1992), 353-370.} Yet even this does not fully take into account the reality of firmly established hierarchies in elite households. While fathers were absent from supervising duties, young people were nevertheless monitored by adults and lived under the authority of adult supervisors, roles filled by ushers, marshals, stewards, butlers and of course, the lord. Some courtesy poems directly indicate the position and authority of these offices, including the boke of curtesye: ‘Whille marshall[e] or vsshier come fro the dore/And byddle the sitte or to borde the lede’\footnote{Sloane 1986, fol. 12’. In Caxton’s the Book of Curtesye the authority of adults in these positions was alluded to:}

Be ye hush in chambre/seylcen in halle
Herken wel ande gyue gode audience
Ye vsshier or marchal for ony Rumour calle
Put ye lagueles to rebuke for silence

Caxton, Book of Curtesye, 5r.
Meradith Tilbury McMunn has looked at how children and young people were described in medieval vernacular French literature over the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, suggesting that part of the psychological awareness of childhood lay in the absence of responsibility. Accordingly, the less responsibility children hold the more ‘childlike’ they are. In this way, the children and young people with responsibilities in the elite households would not have been regarded as as ‘childlike’ as their counterparts were who lived in natal family homes and whose autonomy was subordinated to their parents’ rule. This has the tendency to play into the idea that childhood can be a ‘proto-adulthood’. A potentially more significant dynamic is that of employment, or more directly, of being a young servant and living outside the family home. The young people identified in these poems would therefore not have been seen as ‘children’. However, this does not take into account children and young servants holding onto their own unique culture and distinctly childlike characteristics which set them apart from the adults around them.

While these courtesy poems did instruct readers according to these notions of privileged behaviour and protocol, they were specifically concerned with children and not miniature adults. In Stans puer ad mensam the final passages offer a nuanced picture of life. Neither life experience in the elite household nor the emphasis on self-control completely counteracted childlike, indeed childish, behaviour:

And as hit is remeubyrd by writing
Wretche of childyrne sone is ouergon
With on apple partys be made at one
In childer wrathe now mery and now at bate
In ther quarrel is no gret violence
Ther fflare let passe all wrathe and unkind hate
To ther pleyts yeue no gretre credence
A yard refourmeth ther insolence
In ther corage no rankur may a bye


84 Ariès was the most famous proponent of the lack of awareness in childhood (as a distinct state from adulthood), with his now infamous statement: ‘In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist […] In medieval society this awareness was lacking.’ Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, p. 128. See also Chapter One of this thesis. One of the more recent works to argue against Ariès’ thesis, using an interdisciplinary approach to soundly demonstrate medieval and early modern psychological concepts of childhood, is *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by Classen.
Who spareth the yard all vertu settith a syde\textsuperscript{85}

This was sympathetically written to highlight the unique qualities and characteristics of young children, although we should be aware that this passage was elided in Ashmole 61.\textsuperscript{86} Petrina called attention to these stanzas in her study of the poem: ‘its only moment of interest occurs towards the end, when the speaker stops addressing children and discusses them instead, introducing what could be read nowadays as notations on child psychology’.\textsuperscript{87} This ‘psychological’ commentary shows a different culture of childhood, and we have the opportunity to observe how perceptions of child identity were transmitted in this literature.

Significantly these characteristics did not relate to the function of service, nor were they applicable only to young people in elite households, but rather to children in general. Childlike character was mapped for the reader or listener in this way. Children’s quarrels with their contemporaries were acknowledged, as was their tendency for fluid emotional reactions, changing from wrath to mirth in an instant. The fickle nature of children and young people was certainly observed, but a close reading suggests this was not criticised. Instead there was praise for children for not being vindictive when angry. This hints at a concept of innocence and purity, a notion found in some medieval and early modern writings about children. There is a surprising tenderness to some lines, such as ‘sone movyd and sone ffor gevyng’,\textsuperscript{88} which gives the poem a sense of empathy with children and young people. Although we should note that the scribe of the early Lambeth manuscript has perhaps more accurately written ‘Soone meued and soone figtinge’.\textsuperscript{89} The very clear distinction between the motivations of children and adults demonstrated a separate perception of childhood. The commentary on responsibility was certainly to be remembered from earlier passages, but the overall emphasis on this and even on service was destabilised.

\textsuperscript{85} Stowe 982, fol. 10\textsuperscript{r}. ‘Wreste’: Wrath. ‘Pleysa’: Plea. ‘Yard’: A straight slender shoot or branch of a tree; a twig, stick.’ (used c. 950 to 1450), also, ‘A stick or rod used as an instrument for administering strokes by way of punishment or otherwise.’ (c. 1000 up to c.1450). \textit{O.E.D.}

These dates correspond to the English translation of the poem. Most other manuscripts including, Add. 5467, fol. 68\textsuperscript{r}, Harl. 2251, fol. 149\textsuperscript{r} and Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 15\textsuperscript{r} had a slightly different passage, closer to Lambeth 853 and Q.G.8, fol. 78\textsuperscript{r}: ‘In childer were nowe myrthe nowe debate/in there quarelles is no grete violence/Now playng now weyping feld in one estate’.

\textsuperscript{86} As mentioned, the abbreviated Harl. 4011 concluded abruptly, leaving off several stanzas concerning table manners as well as these stanzas on the characteristics of children.

\textsuperscript{87} Petrina, ‘Young man, reading’, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{88} Stowe 982, fol. 10\textsuperscript{r}. Add. 5467, fol. 68\textsuperscript{r}, Harl. 2251, fol. 149\textsuperscript{r}, Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 15\textsuperscript{r}, and Q.G.8, fol. 78\textsuperscript{r}.

\textsuperscript{89} Lambeth 853, p. 154. ‘Fighting’.

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by these concluding stanzas. The popularity of the *Stans puer* poem suggests these remarks may have circulated throughout wider society in the fifteenth century. At the same time, the poem’s popularity may have itself been the result of this more authentic account of children’s emotions, setting it apart from other more conventional narratives.

This description of childlike behaviour was most strongly developed in the *Stans puer* poem, yet the other courtesy texts similarly reflected an ambiguous attitude towards behaviour and socialisation, most strongly developed by the reflections on *mis*behaviour. The disparity between responsibility and irresponsibility found expression in the constant pleas for young people to behave themselves in the great hall at meal times, including advice on not eating too quickly, not being greedy and the highly personal tone that admonished those who grinned and made faces or jested at the table. In *Stans puer* we read of children (servants): ‘Grennyng and mowre at the table’. Although high-quality service in the household was defined by good manners, which in turn identified how these young people were socialised, we can find a theme running parallel to this of young children behaving, or misbehaving, in recognizably unruly ‘childlike’ fashions, acknowledged even as the functional status of household service was identified. Status as a servant or retainer in an elite house did not automatically dictate character and identity in the fifteenth century.

These texts derived their raison d’être from the promotion of elite environments to readers who were assumed to share the same cultural understandings of behaviour and lifestyles, or who could be encouraged to accept how and why the elite household was important. The concerns of the upper classes fed the discussions on hierarchy, of service to the lord and courteous behaviour, which reflected not only on the individual but also on the household that they were an essential part of. *Stans puer ad mensam, The Babees Book, The Lytylle Childrene’s Book* and *Urbanitatis* addressed those matters which had a bearing on living in a lord’s household and of being socialised through courtesy and good manners. Chaucer’s squire epitomised socialisation of this type. For all the squire’s flaws as a storyteller, he nevertheless embodied the same principles of courtesy that found a place in these poems of more than a century later:

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90 Stowe 982, fol. 10'. Also in the earlier Lambeth 853, p. 152, Add. 5467, fol. 67', Harl. 2251, fol. 148', and Q,G,8, fol. 77'. Cotton Caligula Aii, fol. 14' has only ‘Grennyng’. Again, Ashmole 61 lacked these lines, although there were directions on not grabbing the best food, not being greedy and other general table manners.
‘Curteis he was, lowely, and servysable/And carf biforn his fader at the table’. 

The young male reader of Stans puer ad mensam, Urbanitatis, The Babees Book and other courtesy texts, could only hope that their cleverness in demonstrating these skills and their meek and serviceable character, would lead to something of the same being said about themselves.

A ‘Professional Perspective’ on Socialisation in Courtesy Poems

Two courtesy poems addressed the professional duties that gentle servants might eventually perform in elite houses. In both the boke of curtasye and the Boke of Nurture, youthful socialisation took on different complexities as a consequence of more adult and specialised tasks. The boke of curtasye can be found only in Sloane 1986 and was of 848 lines written in rhyming couplets. It was divided into three discrete segments or books, with each focussing on a different space, environment and theme. The poem looked initially at commonplace manners at table, followed by quasi-religious lessons and finally the professional duties of household staff members, including almoners, butlers and stewards, all senior household positions. These later passages dovetail nicely with the Boke of Nurture. The following analysis of both poems looks at the perceived problems that could arise later in life from not conforming to the type of behaviour set out in other courtesy texts, with their simpler and shorter structures suited to younger boys learning about the household for the first time. These two poems are from a different tradition that illustrated other avenues where courtesy was to be displayed, particularly in the context of asking for hospitality, or when working in high-status, senior household positions.

It is not possible to tell how widely the boke of curtasye circulated, given that we know of only one extant copy. It is valuable however, as an indicator of idealised concepts behind the socialisation of adolescents and young adults in complex and sophisticated ways. The Boke of Nurture, accredited to John Russell, is itself found in five manuscripts of varying length from 832 lines in Sloane 1315, to 1250 lines in Harley 4011.

92 Harl. 4011 was the only manuscript to cite Russell. However, his authorship is generally assumed to be valid. Interestingly both of these poems are relatively long in comparison to the other poems that range between ninety-eight lines (Urbanitatis) to two hundred and fifty lines (Stans puer in Ashmole 61).
Both poems played on the eminence and language of the elite house in ways that could have encouraged not only elite, but also non-elite readers or hearers, to identify with the great households and finding employment there. *The boke of curtesye* began by identifying prospective audiences, noting multiple classes with an interest, and perhaps the need, to acquire courtesy:

Whoso wylle of curtesye ler[e]
Yn this boke he may hit her[e]
Yf thow be gentylmon yomo[n] or knaue
The nedis nurture for to haue⁹³

Though courtesy suited gentlemen in the household, the author uncoupled this direct application to the elite group by referring to a range of different audiences, to the extent of ranking his readers or listeners from high to low. By the late-fourteenth century, yeoman, described a superior servant in a royal or noble household,⁹⁴ or a respectable small landholder under the estate of gentleman. Similarly, ‘knave’ is a now obsolete term for a boy or male child or more specifically denoted a boy employed as a servant or menial. ‘Knave’ can be correlated to very young males or, when used in a context relating to service, denoted low status. The references to different groups in the opening lines means we are able to position the poem against a broader context. From Dyer we know that the great households contained people from a range of social ranks, including both the gentlemen who needed this ‘courtesy’ and other groups, including yeomen and grooms.⁹⁵ Elite lessons would have filtered down through the household to touch on the manners and conduct of its less elite members. While the poem catered to the interests of non-elite people after this fashion, there were no consistent deviations from elite concepts or from describing the style and fashion of life in this environment, with one exception as I will show. Instead the poem overtly privileged the elite nature of the household and set up courtesy as a tool for socialising its members.

In these two poems, the emphasis on professional service created new themes in how young people could be socialised and what socialisation ultimately produced. An additional reference to ‘my chylde’ later in the poem suggested a young age group. However, after this came the line ‘Ther for worshipp god

⁹³ Sloane 1986, fol. 12.
⁹⁴ Ranked between sergeant and a groom or between a squire and a page. *O.E.D.*
⁹⁵ We can see something of this type of household make-up in Sir John Howard’s house (1467). He had sixteen gentlemen, forty-nine yeoman and twenty-seven grooms. Dyer writes: ‘Howard’s household represented a common balance between the two groups, some 23% being of gentle rank’. *Nookes, The Great Household*, p. 20.
bothe olde and yong’, \(^{96}\) which embraced both the old and the young. The type of activities described throughout the poem, were however, mostly suited to males between childhood and adulthood, but not old age. My sense of the poem is that adolescents would have found most value in its lessons. However, since courtesy poems were structured as a collection of rules and homilies on assorted topics, they were able to serve various stages of the age spectrum while remaining unified.

The poem addressed the role and meaning of hospitality directly. It began with a young man’s arrival at a house, again possibly indicating an activity relevant to adolescents. In an exception to the usual high status location of courtesy material, the text comments on how to distinguish between a high and low status house. First, was the reference to a house (occupant) of low degree, followed by one of higher status: ‘For yf he be of logh[e] degre/Than hym falles to come to the/Yf he be gentylmo[n] of kyn/The porter wille lede the to hym’. \(^{97}\) The reader or listener was quickly moved to the specifics of behaviour after arrival, based on the young man’s initial observation of the household’s status. The young man was accepted into this household according to how well he (the receiver) and the lord (the giver) jointly respected the laws of hospitality, and for the first time we are introduced to how courteous socialisation and upbringing prepares young people for this.

Julie Kerr has analysed twelfth century literature from the perspective of both of these figures. \(^{98}\) Courtesy texts particularly highlighted the responsibility of the receiver in whether hospitality would be granted. The youthful receiver had to demonstrate all of the appropriate forms of behaviour to visibly prove him worthy of hospitality and which marked him as a safe guest for the household. This was accomplished not by a dialogue between the lord and the visitor or through careful questions and answers to establish identity, but by the knowing display of behaviour. A prior knowledge of courtesy and manners was a code which guaranteed entry. This was a formulated process and was based on the need for gestures to correspond to the particular eminence of the household. Knowing courtesy was not enough; it had to be used in the right degree and with the right emphasis to match both the giver’s and the receiver’s social status. It

\(^{96}\) Sloane 1986, fol. 14”.
\(^{97}\) Sloane 1986, fol. 12”.
was necessary for young people to have been properly taught how to act and behave long before encountering this situation. In this poem, the specific nature of hospitality was established through the procedures the young man followed in their correct order once in the house. For example: ‘when thou come tho halle dor to/do of thy hode thy gloues also.’ The remainder of the first book continued in this vein, becoming more specific from this moment and losing references to lower status homes. Again a focus on meal times was established. The emphasis on the young man’s visible behaviour quickly led the reader or listener into general courtesy lessons, which included commonly observed table manners: ‘Byt not on thy brede and lay h[i]t dou[n]/That is no curteysye to vse in town’; ‘yf thy nose thou clense as may be falle/loke thy honed thou clense with[e] alle’; and, ‘ne blow not on thy drynke ne mete/neth[er] for colde nether for hete’.

These passages demonstrate how generosity of behaviour and a thorough grounding in courteous conduct deflected violence and disorder. In Chretien’s *Le Chevalier de la Charrette* hospitality was so politically significant that its breakdown occasioned violence itself. In *the boke of curtasye* the reader or listener reacted to a less fraught scenario where hospitality was given correctly and properly. This was only possible because all of the people concerned had been properly socialised in their youth. Abstract ideas of honour, friendship, vested interest in salvation and more immediate reciprocity encouraged the practice of hospitality within great households. Aristocratic wealth had certainly reached a peak in the thirteenth century with economic stability in aristocratic land and revenues matched by lavish hospitality practices. Literary sources from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries called attention to the role hospitality could play at this level in society, with chronicles, romances, histories, as well

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99 Sloane 1986, fol. 12'. This passage demonstrates how extraordinarily specific courtesy poems could be when describing how to behave. Kerr also categorised the gestures of hospitality according to spatial and chronological phases, including ‘the guests’ arrival’, ‘at the threshold’, and ‘the departure’. Kerr, ‘ ‘Welcome the coming’’, pp. 131-142.

100 Sloane 1986, fol. 12' and fol. 13'.'

101 See Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp. 27-29. For hospitality in the thirteenth century as opposed to the fourteenth century see, Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 21. The great aristocratic households in the fifteenth century were in a process of transformation. While household sizes generally decreased in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was an increasing elaboration of rituals on laying the table and use of tablecloths. From the fourteenth century there was also a heightened use of specialised servants and more formal and elaborate public meals. Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 14, pp. 149-150, p. 41 and p. 165 for evidence of this. Dyer has also written: ‘The aristocracy showed remarkable resilience and ingenuity in adapting their consumption to new circumstances,’ *Standards of Living*, p. 108. Dyer believes that by the 1470s-1480s the worst of the aristocratic ‘hardship’ was over.
as these courtesy poems speaking of these issues in fictional and non-fictional ways. Courtesy poems contributed another perspective to this by placing children and youths into the elite world of hosting and largesse, pinpointing the practical application of actual practices and hospitable rules within an elite environment. The very real adult duty of hosting also framed the activities and roles of children and youths who were functional working members within the environment. The courtesy narrative informed and was informed by the contemporary understanding and belief in these processes.

The practice of hospitality was essentially a performance in which the lord was able to enhance his status and confirm in a public way his generosity and munificence, both to his inferiors and his own superiors. The recurring preoccupation within courtesy poems regarding public good manners specifically met these needs. Mertes suggests that ‘As the household became more central to noble political life it also took on greater symbolic duties: household hospitality, always an important aspect of noble life, took on greater significance.’¹⁰² The relationship between household status and hospitality was also part of fifteenth century courtesy literature. In these narratives we can see an unspoken, yet often prevalent belief in how large numbers of well-trained and exquisitely mannered servants and gentle retainers were part of the display of the lord’s bounty.¹⁰³ Like the physical accoutrements of these great households, well-observed formalities were critical to a display of status, and critical to elite socialisation.

The second book replaced the general courteous format with a dialogue on conduct based on religious and secular activities, beginning with a fleeting reference to schools. The phrase: ‘Croschrist the spede in all[e] thi werke’¹⁰⁴ conveyed the practice of learning the alphabet, and would certainly have been familiar to children and youths. A short treatise on religion and religious activity followed. Describing the practice of pilgrimage and stopping at inns laid down a certain religious tone, yet one which had a secular emphasis. Pilgrimage was not applicable to young children, although it may have been relevant in the sense of the activities of elder family

¹⁰³ Woolgar believes that the role of servants went beyond their mere functionality in terms of tasks and duties and that their ‘courtesy, gesture and movement’ were utilised by the lord to enhance his status. Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 16. These courtesy poems demonstrated how this was to be done by all of those who were in the household.
¹⁰⁴ Sloane 1986, fols 14'-15'.
members or those in their close community. The passages on pilgrimage also included references to hospitality, which underlined the earlier episode. The reader or hearer was taught that how they behaved in front of others while travelling was important: ‘If thou be sted in straunge contré/Enserche no fyr then fall[es] to the/Nel take no more to do on honde/then thou may have menske of all[e] i[n] londe’.\textsuperscript{105} The author gave practical and detailed instructions for this: ‘W[i]t[h] woso men bothe fer and negh/The falle to go loke thou be slegh/To aske his nome and qweche he be/Whidur he will[e] kepe well thes thre’.\textsuperscript{106}

The religious discourse in the poem quickly turned to simple religious responses and to secular activities. What religious instructions there were, were neither doctrinally complex nor based on profound theology. Rather, religious adherence was achieved through a strict formula for approved behaviour and observable customs, such as kneeling and ritual actions used on entering the church. In this period, people were accustomed to following a formulated religious plan, not necessarily engaging with religious devotion spontaneously. This creates a parallel between secular and religious instructions in unexpected ways. Shaner likewise classifies religious instruction in \textit{The Lay-Folkes Masse Book}, in Advocates 19.3.1 as focused on the form of activity and not its meaning.\textsuperscript{107} The guidelines concerning behaviour in the church from \textit{the boke of curtasye} were also conventional, with the rules appropriate to multiple age groups:

\begin{quote}
To seche the kyngdam of god my chylde
Th[er]to y rede thou be not wyde
Ther for[e] worship god bothe olde [and] yong
To be in body and soule yliche strong[e]
When thou comes to the chirche dore
Take the haly wat[er] stondand on flor[e]
Rede or synge or byd p[ar]yeris
To crist for all[e] thy crysten ferys
Be curtayse to god and knele dou[n]
On bothe knees w[j]t[h] grete deuociou[n]\textsuperscript{108}
\end{quote}

In \textit{the boke of curtasye} orthodox religious behaviour was achieved not by understanding meaning or content but by a show of devotion to God, as well as a show of respect to the ritual space of the Church. The character, and the

\textsuperscript{105} Sloane 1986, fol. 16'.
\textsuperscript{106} Sloane 1986, fol. 17'.
\textsuperscript{107} Shaner, "Instruction and Delight", p. 13.
\textsuperscript{108} Sloane 1986, fol. 14'.

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reader, achieved and demonstrated religious orthodoxy by their visible and correct actions taken within the environment. Like the household, the Church was a space subject to the monitoring gaze of contemporaries and superiors, and of course God himself. Proper socialisation required that children learn how to behave at home as well as in the Church, and this poem touched upon this. It is important to recognise however that this aspect of socialisation was less often referenced in this type of literature and that it cannot often be found dominating didactic lessons.

By now the astute reader or listener had negotiated the generic courtesy information and hospitality topos from the first book, and the semi-religious information from the second book, and arrived back where they first began, in the elite house. Like the later poem by Russell, the third book in the boke of curtasye dealt with specific offices within a large household. Unlike generic advice found in other courtesy poems, this third book, as well as Russell’s poem read as a ‘bible’ of occupations. It was presumably aimed at those needing to learn specific practices for the various departments within the household, and again would have been relevant to the training of older children. The list of occupations in the boke of curtasye defies a casual reader’s interest. Amongst other occupations, the work of the receiver of rents was described, as were the duties of a baker, porter, marshal, the clerk of the kitchen, treasurer, almoner and a huntsman. These passages detail the structure and organisation of large households and could indicate the progression of professional servants between positions and occupations over time. How does one reconcile this level of detail with the interests of most young people? It was certainly possible that younger readers were dipping into passages at will rather than consecutively reading or hearing texts in a single sitting. This may well tie in with the increased sophistication and length of the boke of curtasye, aimed at an adolescent or young adult readership. The ‘child’ addressed in this poem was probably not the same young ‘child’ of Stans puer or Urbanitatis, who needed to be taught the basics of courtesy in simple, understandable ways. The importance of courtesy remained, but the ways of acquiring it and indeed, of demonstrating its qualities became more sophisticated and important. In part, this sophistication developed through how the practices learnt in childhood were to be displayed in increasingly prized arenas, such as when requesting hospitality. The value of

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109 Nicholls has shown that monastic customaries discussed various domestic positions, including chamberlain, almoner, kitchener and so on. For religious rules and later secular courtesy guides see, Nicholls, The Matter of Courtesy, pp. 26-27.
learning courtesy during childhood from the shorter and more direct, Strans puer, Urbanitatis, and The Babees Book, served the lessons in this poem.

There is similar material in Russell’s Boke of Nurture, with Russell at one time the usher to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and so familiar with the intricacies and daily working of these large households. The level of detail in the poem speaks to real household duties. Take for instance the step-by-step guidelines for laying a tablecloth in Russell’s poem:

Hyt ys tyme of the day that table wolde by layde
Wype hit wyth a clote or hit be splayed
Then lay the clote theron a cowcher hit ys layde
Take the felowe that one ende and tow the other ende
Drawe strayte the clote ley the bowght of the em[er] egge of the table
Lay astate of the upper parte asote brode hit ys greabull
And se that the ouer parte honge evyn and a butt

It is unclear why young servants would have been taught such practices from a manuscript, as presumably workplace activities were best learnt through example and practice. Both the Boke of Nurture and the boke of curtasye may have been styled to reveal elite practices to non-noble patrons wanting to emulate elite customs or to those suddenly thrust into new environments because of their wealth. At a time of social mobility, conformity to noble practices must have seemed a safe way to participate in elite society. Courtesy, by its nature as a learnt process, made it possible for lifestyles to be imitated or acquired; a diffusion outside the elite structure acknowledged in some texts. Courtesy poems may have served as a medium for the dispersal of elite behaviour to those without automatic access to such environments or to households which may have been unable to attract servants already trained in elite courtesy practices. This poem may have shown people how it was possible to turn non-elite houses into elite houses, at least in certain ways.

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110 That is of course, if we take at face value the image Russell presented.
111 ‘Bowght’: Fold of a cloth. Sloane 1315, fols 4r. The next line repeated this somewhat. Similarly in Royal 17 D, xv, fol. 336r. In Harl. 4011, fol. 173r these lines began with ‘Son hit is tyme of the day’, and had a slightly different order, although the sense of the passage and the level of detail was the same. Similarly in Sloane 2027, fols 40v which also began with ‘Son’.
112 See Hanawalt’s analysis of the Boke of Nurture. She highlights the passages on seating the Mayor of London as helpful for those aspiring to work with the elite. She has perhaps taken Russell’s guide a little too literally, as he also spoke of how the usher and marshal (positions not filled by younger people) should seat the Pope, Emperor, King, Cardinal and Prince, all slightly unlikely guests at a London feast, no matter how extravagant it might be! However, as she observes, courtesy poems would doubt have been useful learning tools for bourgeois consumers. Hanawalt, Growing Up in Medieval London, p. 86. This idea is developed in the following chapter.
As we found with the boke of curtayse, the character in Russell’s poem was also not a young child, but one who was older and with his own life experience, albeit unsatisfactory experiences resulting in the need for Russell’s mentoring. This young man was not a member of the elite environment, explained early in the poem:

Ser y have sowght ferr and ner many a day  
To gete me a master and eche man seethe nay  
By cause I can no good ther for this I pl[ay]  
ffor y am as lewyd as ys a popyngaye.113

From this character we gain the most detailed insight into the value of courtesy as a self-serving tool, and it is no surprise that this developed into a discussion of employment and security. The acquisition of courtesy was the first step towards gainful employment: ‘for moche youth[e] in co[n]nyng is baren & full[e] vnable/ther for[e] he th[a]t no good can ne to noon will[e] be agreeable/he shall[e] neu[er] y thryve th[er]for[e] take to hym a babul[e]’114. Russell was candid in suggesting that any that would not learn might as well be left with childish things. This was a more direct indication of what socialisation could ultimately achieve in young people. There is a distinction here between ‘education’ in the academic and scholarly sense, and ‘education’ in the socialising sense, which was part of learning skills and hands-on proficiency. In all of these courtesy poems, socialisation was obviously intended to serve young people by making them fit for certain tasks and responsibilities.

The association between learnt manners and stability was described differently in various manuscripts. In Royal 17 D xv this was shown as: ‘And said be cause he was nat wele lernede/he wold he were out of this lond exilid’.115 Sloane 2027 showed a correlation between courteous socialisation and future happiness: ‘Syr he seyd I wold I were out of thys land wend/Good sone be ware and sey thn nat

113 Sloane 1315, fols 1"v. Similarly in Sloane 2027, fol. 37" and Royal 17 D, xv, fol. 333"v.
While ‘pray’ would fit the context of this better than ‘play’, the ‘I’ is clearly distinct and is not an ‘r’. It is probably a scribal error. Harl. 4011, fol. 171' was slightly different:

In certeyn sir y have y sought ferr[e] & ner[e] many a wilsom way
 to gete mete a mastir & for y cowd nougt eu[er]ly man seid me nay
 y cowd no good ne noon y shewd[e] wher[e] eu[er] y ede day by day
 but wantou[n] & nyce recheles & lewd[e] as langelyng[e] as a laye

114 Harl. 4011, fol. 171'. Sloane 2027 lacked this reference to a bauble, instead having: ‘Thow he nevyr theyne no man shall hym lerne’, fol. 37". Royal 17 D, xv, fol. 333' and Sloane 1315 were written similarly to this. Harl. 4011 therefore appears to be unique.
115 Royal 17 D, xv, fol. 333'.
so in any man[er] wyse/For god forbedyth wanhope that a grete synne ys'. In Harl. 4011 a particularly effective atmosphere of despair and futility was created for the reader:

So god me soceur[e] he said/sir y serue myself & els noon oth[er] man is thy go[l]er[n]uance good y said/son say me iff thow can y wold y wer[e] owt of this world/seid he/y ne ne rougt how sone whan Sey nought so good son bewar[e]/me thynketh[e] thow menyst amysse for god forbedith[e] wanhope for that a horrible synne ys'117

This was a disturbing yet striking theme for a courtesy poem and served as a dramatic tool for Russell's 'story'. It was clear that the earlier failure of the young person to learn the rules of courtesy had subsequently excluded him from service. No explicit reasons were given concerning why the young man remained untrained and we do not know what audiences may have implicitly understood from the text, or what environments these five manuscripts circulated in. It was possible the poem referred to a character who existed outside the normal social estate that habitually moved most easily into elite service. The youth's description of himself as 'lewd' implied both belonging to lower orders as well as both unskilled and unlearned.

Russell's authority in describing these scenarios came both from being a professional in an elite household, with his position in Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester's court, as well as from the automatic authority he gained as the author and narrator of the story. This lent a strongly developed sense of authority and experiential weight to the poem. Russell's fictional responses to the youth reinforced his authority and took the form of offering to teach various serving occupations, settling on the offices of butler, panter, chamberlain and carver. Yet Russell also allowed space for general courtesy rules in the poem. The young man was required to learn specific professional duties as well general courteous ones which would serve in any elite household, and which may have been necessary considering the earlier implication that he had not been properly socialised for this type of environment. In Harl. 4011 a visual delineation separated the passages on general courtesy from the rest of the poem. A subdivided heading reading: 'Symple condicions' was written in a larger hand.

116 Sloane 2027, fol. 37'.
117 Harl. 4011, fol. 171'. Sloane 1315 also retained this sense of despair. The line 'he wolde he were oute of this londe e[j]yly' and 'God for bedyth wanhope a grete syn hyt ys', also appeared in this copy, fol. 1'. In Royal 17 D, xv, fol. 333' the line was given as 'Sonne I said he warre say not so in no wise/god forbiddeth wanhoope agethe syn[n]e it is'. In the poem it is explicitly explained that the young man has searched for a master and continually failed.

* 'Laud': unlearned, unlettered, untought (1225-1600); rude, artless (1425-1560); belonging to the lower orders, common, low, vulgar, 'base' (1380-1710).
Bolder red ink rubricated the S of the heading and the S in the line directly beneath it. These simple conditions were those which untaught and unlearned people commonly used: ‘Symypl condycions off a person that is natt taught/e I will the exchewe hem for eu[er] they be nawghte’. There may well have been a recognised ‘set’ of basic manners that were widely recognised as belonging to various social groups. Russell’s ‘simple’ guidelines included; not to claw and scratch your back as if searching for a flea, not to pick your nose: ‘pike not your[e] nose/ne that hit be dropping[e] w[ill][h] no peerlis cler[e]’, and to watch your tongue: ‘speke not lowde mowe not use no scornyg’.

Russell’s poem was sophisticated and complex in a way other courtesy texts were not. There was a conspicuous link between courtesy and employment as well as a frankness and imagination to his narrative, with genuine characters given personal characteristics and back-stories. Perhaps because we can infer so much from Russell’s own background as usher to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, we can understand why his poem takes the instruction of courtesy and behaviour to its next logical and pragmatic level. Russell focused on how and most importantly, why young people needed to be socialised. It was clear that the skills these young men had at the table, in carving food, and eating, were important. These skills demonstrated gentle status, as these authors were aware and encouraged. From Russell, however, we learn what had been suggested in other courtesy texts; that service in an elite household provided young people with exceptional employment opportunities, securing them a high-ranking position in society. There were also tantalising hints in these two poems regarding multiple audience networks and the role this courtesy literature had in social mobility. They also outlined different stages in socialisation, beginning with basic courteous rules and progressing upwards to more complex actions. Knowing the ‘rules’ of courtesy allowed people, including young servants and those they served, to participate in society perhaps without reference to initial background.

118 Harl. 4011, fol. 174'.
119 From Sloane 2027, fol. 42'. Similarly in Royal 17 D, xv, fol. 338'. While this lacked the heading given in Harl. 4011, it still prefaced the subsequent stanzas according to the principal theme.
120 Harl. 4011, fol. 174' and Sloane 1315, fol. 6'. Sloane 2027, fol. 42': ‘leste they say a lowes ye soughte’.
121 Harl. 4011, fol. 174'. A similar passage can be found in Sloane 1315, fol. 6'. Royal 17 D, xv, fol. 338' and Sloane 2027, fol. 42' also referenced picking and blowing your nose.
122 Sloane 1315, fol. 6'. Similarly in Sloane 2027, fol. 42', Royal 17 D, xv, fol. 338' and Harl. 4011, fol. 174'.
Conclusion

This chapter has examined a particular type of socialisation set out in fifteenth century courtesy texts that played upon the ideologies and concerns of elite groups. Tracking where courtesy and morality appeared in these texts affords new opportunities to examine what this material may have meant to audiences, and how and why parents, young people and other adults approached socialisation. In these poems, children and young people were learning and hearing about a rich social world and the possibilities and expectations that set them apart from their less mannered, churlish counterparts. The rules and guidelines in these poems still seem to be dynamic and lively, and the language used to describe them even more so. At their heart, we can see a consistent allusion to children as active participants in their own future and their actions. These courtesy poems were not written for adults to monitor children, but instead gave these young people a sense of responsibility and active participation in the direction of their lives.

In the following chapter I will be looking at sixteenth century texts and the continuities and discontinuities that can be seen in courtesy literature. Changes must be seen in the context of shifting household politics and aristocratic power. By 1500 there were only sixty peers remaining in England, a decline from the two hundred recorded in c.1250. At the same time those who were associated with, or who were attempting to associate themselves with the gentry were increasing exponentially. In the sixteenth century the pull towards the Tudor royal court instead of individual elite houses revised the role of the elite household and its social and status-driven meaning. As magnates and lords spent more time at the royal court and at Westminster, the need for on-call household staff lessened. This did not stop the nobility from maintaining large and elaborate seats, or suggest that elite socialisation based on courtesy and manners were not of continuing interest to people and continued to be played out in these poems. However, elite socialisation was stable only as long as it related to the elite household and the concerns of public conduct, hospitality and noble hierarchies.

As Mertes shows, household staffs and retinues were more likely to be broken up in the sixteenth century, with smaller groups travelling with the lord when he

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was at the royal court or in London. Interestingly, most courtesy poems have tended to date to the period before this, when elite households were politically and socially active. Lawrence Stone proposed that economic crises for the aristocracy in the late-sixteenth century led to the loss of social and political power for this group, allowing ‘social initiative to fall into the hands of the squirearchy’ by the mid-seventeenth century. These developments had a pragmatic impact on gentry servant numbers: ‘While a household position with a noble was still valuable for a young gentleman, the number of such positions available naturally decreased as the lord spent more time at court with a smaller entourage.’ Consequently there was a reduction in the total political power of the household and its lessening value in aiding young people to high-status positions. A movement away from gentle service in the household to other patronage networks became normal. Over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, previously high status household servants were progressively disconnected from the elite structure, requiring the socialisation of new generations to develop in other ways. The possible decline in the assumed dominance and supremacy of the nobility and the noble household (given this was the usual site of courtesy), suggests how and why changing social values and imperatives came to be discussed and cited in literary texts, which were then widely circulated throughout noble, urban, bourgeois and merchant environments. There was also a decline in the fostering of children in gentry households. The kin-related and moral themes of later literature would then be responding to the changing repute the elite household was held in, and subsequently, on the meaning attached to socialising young people according only to the elite strategies outlined in these poems.

This sets a context which sees elite courtesy lessons conflated with other agendas more in tune with gentry, bourgeois and merchant preoccupations. As the character of elite service changed, so too did the literature which had been

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intended to explicate and explain the purpose, meaning and value of serving roles to young people. The following chapter examines competition from gentry and bourgeois consumers anxious to appropriate elements from the elite household when describing socialising forces for children. Socialisation needed to develop in new ways to meet changing needs.
Chapter Three
The Elite Narrative Re-constructed for Bourgeois Readers

"Thys boke is made fo child[ren] yong"¹

Texts must take into account their audiences. Analysing textual variants in some fifteenth century courtesy manuscripts allows us to examine how socialisation was understood in different ways and in different periods. By looking at audiences, that is, asking who was this courtesy text for, we can understand the interests and approaches of different reading networks and subsequently, what socialisation meant for different groups. However, this literature retained its fundamental concern with the social education of children and young people. My intention in this chapter is to investigate a divergence occurring in the type of household audiences accessing courtesy literature and how lessons for socialisation outside of the elite household incorporated qualities other than courtesy. I investigate how socialisation represented in some manuscripts responded to bourgeois and mercantile interests.

In this context, an understanding of gentry and bourgeois issues helps reconstruct textual transmission and circulation. The work of Sylvia Huot and Kathleen Ashley on manuscript reception and ownership networks informs the following discussion on modified courtesy manuscripts for English gentry, urban bourgeois and in some instances, what is certainly a family audience.² Ashmole 61, a narrow manuscript dating c. 1480s and measuring 418 mm by 140 mm, now part of the collection of the Bodleian Library, is part of this cluster of customised narratives suiting a particular late-fifteenth century readership. This chapter looks at how manuscripts such as Ashmole 61 were modified to respond to a non-elite environment and how the lessons suited children and socialisation in new ways. This is followed by the analysis of several other variant manuscripts, including analysis of the sixteenth century Balliol 354, and the fifteenth-to-sixteenth century Harley 541. In addition to this, an examination of two further clusters of texts shows how the elite courtesy narrative could be modified to suit other readerships. The first concerns the

¹ Ashmole, 61, fol. 21r.
² In particular her work on the courtly French poem, the Roman de la Rose in The Romance of the Rose. Ashley uses these approaches to look more specifically at the context of one manuscript containing the Miroir des Bonnes Femmes. Kathleen Ashley, 'The Miroir des Bonnes Femmes: Not for Women Only?', in Medieval Conduct, ed. by Ashley and Clarke, pp. 86-105.
three poems for girls and young women in the *Good Wife* tradition, covering a total nine extant manuscripts, with the second concerning a gentry/professional advice tract written by Peter Idley for his son.

The household described in this chapter is one that we understand as the more familiar 'nuclear' family of parents and children, along with servants, in smaller households. The characteristics of the 'household', whether the small urban unit or the larger elite environments examined in the previous chapter, positioned the ideas and themes about socialisation. The development of multiple class groups with an interest and the ability to acquire this literature is also significant and correlated to the small household audience. Christine Carpenter has seen 'middling landowners' as a stable group between 1430 and 1470. Her case study of Warwickshire families suggests that during this period, elite families were subject to potential collapse in higher proportions than the 'middle ranks', also equating to the 'parish gentry'. She writes: 'it is the middle-rankng families that exhibit the greater degree of continuity over the whole period.'

This continuity is established in terms of family lineage and the survival of family names. These groups, defined as much by shared affinities as by economic ones, experienced a higher degree of cultural stability during this period. We can identify a sense of unity and internal cohesion within this 'middle' ranking strata, partly formed in opposition to restricted elite circles. These groups have ties to this literature.

Multiple reception histories reveal how readers were able to approach narratives in a variety of ways. Merchant, bourgeois and gentry groups were simultaneously absorbing information on the superiority of elite customs and lifestyles while distinguishing themselves in a positive fashion from elite extravagance, out-moded courtesy, falsely courteous behaviour and corrupt (and ailing) elite morality and chivalry. This occurred even as late-fifteenth century London merchants acquired the trappings of chivalric displays and became increasingly armigerous. Bourgeois and merchant readers read critically and resisted notions of behaviour, in the pattern of resistance and questioning that

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3 Herlihy's definition of a family as 'a coresidential unit, with a kin group at its core' represents the family/household being described here. Herlihy, 'The Making of the Medieval Family', p. 117; 'The Family and Religious Ideologies', pp. 3-17. See also Chapter One of this thesis where this was discussed.
5 'even if their entry to the elite were to be barred by outsiders, they could find a place amongst a group that was less powerful but still locally influential.' Carpenter, *Locality and Polity*, p. 144.
Roberta L. Krueger posits for female readers of French romances. Higonnet has more directly stated ‘Manners, as external tokens of propriety and class status, could be mocked even as they were being learned.’

An analysis of Ashmole 61 shows how elite texts could be reshaped for audiences which existed outside the original elite sphere but which were stable and consistent within their own social, and often local networks. Lynne Blanchfield’s work on the Ashmole manuscript has led her to hypothesise that it was part of the library of a devout merchant, or possibly the handbook of a family chaplain. The loose grouping of courtesy material at the start of the manuscript formed what she identifies as a ‘children’s corner’. Ashmole 61 could be described as a ‘one-book library’ with the scribe, Rate, editing his copy-texts to suit a religious and family bias. Blanchfield believes the manuscript progresses from ‘low-level and relatively unsophisticated ‘teaching’ verses’, towards weightier religious and romance texts. The intertextual relationships between romances, religious material and family-based teaching narratives made the manuscript suitable for a household, both as a practical resource and as a recreational one. M.B. Parkes categorises similar manuscripts as indicative of an interest in ‘literary recreation’, and that ‘pragmatic readers were becoming increasingly more cultivated.’ The tastes of these readers were refined over the fourteenth to early-sixteenth centuries, with the manuscripts owned by such bourgeois or merchant families evincing an interest in recreational literature. Sophisticated literary tastes developed out of initial contact with purely commercial and administrative material.

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7 Higonnet, ‘Civility Books’, p. 137. Although this had a very different meaning to the middle-ranking, bourgeois groups I am describing in fifteenth and sixteenth England, than it did to the nineteenth century French bourgeois who were politically motivated to find differences from the elite.
There is some suggestion that Rate may have been a household chaplain and Blanchfield has argued the manuscript may have been destined for the family of a religious guild, possibly the Corpus Christi Guild at Leicester. Rate’s personal voice is highly visible within the manuscript, part of what we can see as his role as a legitimate agent in re-working material. Rate’s interpolations, glosses, and amendments are the products of deliberate and considered choices. The following discussion necessarily focuses on changes to the courtesy material within the manuscript, most particularly the poems Stans puer ad mensam and The Young Children’s Book. Shuffelton identifies a discernable bourgeois theme operating in both Stans puer and throughout the manuscript.

Rate’s re-fashioning of Stans puer began with a new introductory sequence. A visible cue established how the reader was to approach this poem. His unique opening stanzas were divided from the rest of the Stans puer text by larger and more ornate capital letters. These were of the same colour as the text and did not approach any degree of elaborate rubrication, yet it structured the passages by separating and emphasising the opening stanzas. This may have provided a cue to anyone reading the text aloud to pause between the two sections. Once the reader or listener negotiated these visual clues, he or she was free to begin to read the poem itself. The term ‘child’ applied to both genders ranging in age from infancy upwards, as well as corresponding to adolescents in service or those of aristocratic birth. An attempt to distinguish this with further information was made with a specific qualification relating to economic circumstances: ‘The child th[at] is c[ur]tas be he pore or ryche/Yt schall by[m] a

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13 Huot privileges the notion of scribal agency in directing and working material. Huot, The Romance of the Rose, pp. 2-3. Some consideration has been given to a wider discussion of Rate’s scribal/authorial input in Appendix Two of this thesis.
14 The Ashmole manuscript had significant differences, to the extent F.J. Furnivall somewhat tetchily commented ‘the latter poem is so enlarged, by the addition of an Introduction and many new maxims, that it has hardly a claim to the title of Lydgate’s short poem.’ Queene Elizabethes achademy (by Sir Humphrey Gilbert). A booke of precedence; the ordering of a funerall, &c. Varying versions of The good wife, The wise man, &c.; Maxims, Lydgate’s Order of fools. A poem on heraldry, Occleve on lord’s men, &c. ed. by F.J. Furnivall, with essays on early Italian and German books of courtesy, by W.M. Rossetti & E. Oswald, ed. by F.J. Furnivall (London: Early English Text Society, 1869), p. xiv. Extra series, vol. 8
15 Rate’s version of Stans puer ad mensam ‘strengthens the advice about honouring one’s parents and following bourgeois ethics of hard work and respectability.’ Shuffelton, forthcoming edition of Ashmole 61 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: TEAMS Middle English Text Series, Medieval Institute Publications).
16 See Chapter Two where this was defined.
vayll[e] th[er]off haue no drede’. ¹⁷ Both the rich and the poor child was to be able to find something of value in the poem.

Unique lines on dress were another indication of potential audience and fashion:

Kepe wele th[i] sleuys for touchyng off mete
Ne no long[e] sleuys lasyd luke th[at] th[ou] haue ¹⁸

Furnivall had observed that sleeves of this type were popular during Edward IV’s reign (1461-1483). ¹⁹ Extensive lacing allowed sleeves to be padded with wadding to broaden the overall appearance. Edward IV’s 1463 sumptuary legislation prohibited the wearing of padded sleeves for yeoman classes or any degree below them, with this clothing the prerogative of the nobility and gentry. The dating of watermarks in the manuscript also fixed the date of the paper to approximately the 1480s, so we know it is likely that Rate was amending details, or following amended verses from another source, to suit an audience contemporary with this. We can also remember Chaucer’s squire who was identified not only by his external show of courtesy, but by how he clothed his body: ‘Short was his gowne, with sleves longe and wyde’, ²⁰ indicating the connections that existed in literature between clothing and people’s identity.

Interestingly in sumptuary legislation, children were mentioned only peripherally; three times in the 1463 Statute, not at all in the 1483 Statute and only twice in the 1533 Act. The language used is also revealing of contemporary attitudes towards children. In the Statute of 1463, the clothing allowed to children was based upon inherited rank and importantly, was governed by the father: ‘if any such knight do the contrary, or suffer his wife or child, the same child being under his rule or governance’, and later: ‘the same son and daughter being in his rule and governance’. ²¹ This established the behaviour of children as the parent’s responsibility. We have already seen that

¹⁷ Ashmole 61, fol. 17v.
¹⁸ Ashmole 61, fol. 19v.
¹⁹ Queene Elizabethes achademy, ed. by Furnivall, p. 62. The paper in this manuscript dates to this time: ‘The evidence of the various watermarks triangulate towards a date for the paper around the 1480s’. This information comes from a letter by Dr. B.C. Barker-Benfield to Dr. Blanchfield, 4 December 1992.
the language of contemporary courtesy poems was more focused on the responsibilities of children, particularly if they were in that seven to fourteen age bracket ('tender age') or fifteen years onwards ('young man'). These poems offered a different picture of the attitudes towards children to that found in sumptuary legislation, perhaps necessarily so as one was a legal document for the public, and the other an intimate depiction of family life.

By inserting the passage on clothing into an elite text Rate can be seen as doing one of two things, or creating multiple cues simultaneously. This warning may have been legitimately cautioning gentry readers about how impracticable it was to wear this clothing at the table, or more significantly prompting bourgeois, merchants and yeoman to remember they were forbidden to wear such clothes. In the forthcoming edition of Ashmole 61, Shuffelton comments that the manuscript corresponded to a time when social hierarchies were becoming increasingly complex: 'the challenge may have been in recognizing the proper order of a social hierarchy'. The definitive rules laid down in courtesy poems may have been of service at this time.

In *Stans puer ad mensam* we are familiar with the passage which described the young boy outside the household in the street. This was expanded in Ashmole 61 and included detailed descriptions of non-household spaces:

> And iff thou go w[i]t[h] any man in feld[e] or in towne
> Be wall or by hege by pales or by pale
> To go w[i]t[h] oute hy[m] luke th[o]u be bowne
> And take hy[m] by twyx th[e] & th[at] same walle
> And if th[ou] mete hy[m] luke th[o]u be sure
> Th[a]t thou go w[i]t[h] oute hy[m] & leue hy[m] nexte th[e] walle
> And iff the schuld enter[e] in at any dere
> Putt befor[e] th[e]e thi bet[er] for ougte th[a]t may befaile

Readers, including merchants, urban bourgeois, and even gentle servants, divided their time between urban and country estates during their careers and may have appreciated guidance on their behaviour outside households.

The young reader or listener of the poem was again confronted by the dual roles of consuming and serving and again this played a role in how they were

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23 Ashmole 61, fol. 19r.
socialised. In Ashmole 61 a direct task was set in relation to service to any superior: ‘And if th[ou] be in any plas w[er] th[i] souerand schall wessche/luke th[ou] be redy anon w[i]t[h] wat[er] in some vessell’. This was a high status task and one that gentle servants were more likely to be entrusted with. Rate’s opening stanzas presented behaviour and courteous manners as accessible to the rich and poor, with these lessons presumably aimed at a greater number of social groups than initially set out in some texts.

In addition to this, a second unique courtesy poem found only in the Ashmole manuscript is worth noting for its bourgeois work ethic. The Young Children’s Book described table manners as well as daily activities for a young man. The text was layered with a strong subtext of ethical and moral considerations. Specific passages relating to work, earning money honestly and buying and selling goods are suggestive of a non-elite audience and of socialisation in a trade environment which considered more than elite courtesy gestures. These changes suggest an adaptability in the late-fifteenth century literature, making it a genre relevant to multiple audiences and households. Furnivall/Rickert suggested ‘The stress upon morals rather than manners is perhaps due to the same cause’, that is, moral issues were worked into a seemingly standard courtesy narrative to better match a non-elite audience. This deserves serious attention.

Socialising children according to elite concerns was retained within the ‘story’, illustrated through acceptable rules concerning how to eat. The interpolation of stanzas from the well know contemporary courtesy poem, The Lytyle Childrene’s Book, to form the opening stanzas of The Young Children’s Book, indicates a direct borrowing from the established archive of courtesy material. This direct soliciting suggested Rate was familiar with contemporary courtesy literature and knew of its standard tropes. Any alterations to the standard patterns are therefore all the more revealing and instructive. The poem began with rising from bed, crossing your breast and head, simple ablutions and attending mass. Published books from the sixteenth century, such as the Book of nurture for men, servantes and chyldren as well as some Tudor school statutes used a template and sequence of activities similar to this. The first mention of ‘courtesy’ per se which appeared outside the interpolated stanzas, occurred in

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24 Ashmole 61, fol. 19'.
26 See later Chapters Six and Seven for further details on these sources.
relation to greeting others: ‘To whom thou metys come by the weye/Curtasly gode morne thou sey’.

Simple rules for eating breakfast followed, continuing a pattern in which food consumption was integrated into the courtesy theme. However, the high status location of the elite household was replaced with a more general setting. At breakfast, the central guidelines concerned the stomach and diet and incorporated simple religious conventions: ‘Blysse thi mouthe or thou it ete/The bet[er] schall[e] be thi dyete/Be for thi mete sey thou thi gr[a]ce/Yt ocypys bot lytell space’. This omitted the elaborate public responses and gestures identified with meals taking place in the elite house, although graces and prayer would have also been said in these households. A different household status may explain why there is little in the way of ‘courtesy’ in these maxims. Instead, there was a focus on less elaborate procedures and responses associated with eating: ‘When thou hast don[e] go brekhe thy faste/W[i]y[h] mete & drynke of god[e] repaste’. There was even a comment on poor quality meals: ‘Bot p[ra]yse thi fare w[er] so e[u]r thou be/For[e] be it gode of[r] be it badde/Yn gud worth it muste be had’. Once breakfast was over the reader was directed to go to his work, an allusion Furnivall/Rickert have identified as suiting a non-elite audience: ‘Than go lobo[ur] as thou arte bownde/And be not Idyll[e] in no stounde’. The passage on work practices described this in further detail and correlated occupations and work back to Scripture:

Holy scrypto[ur] th[u]s seyth
To the that arte of cristen feyth
Yf[e] thou labo[ur] thou muste ete
That w[i]y[h] thi hond[es] thou doyst[e] gete
A byrd[e] hath weng[e]s forto fle
So man hath armes laboryd to be

This could be read as an elaborate metaphor for the work of a lord or superior servant, but the emphasis on physicality; arms, hands, arms labouring, birds wings at work suggests a different type of manual labour. Stephen Knight looks at labour in English literature from the fourteenth century. He makes some interesting comments on labour terms that ‘dehumanised’ workers and

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27 Ashmole, 61, fol. 20'.
28 Ashmole, 61, fol. 20'.
29 Ashmole, 61, fol. 20' and fol. 21' respectively.
30 Ashmole, 61, fol. 20'.
31 Ashmole, 61, fol. 20'.
associated them with the land and animals. Here, the wings of birds were one and the same as the arms of workers. Later, the poem described the occupation of a merchant or perhaps even a shopkeeper or market seller:

Vse no sueryng noth[er] lying[e]
Yn thi selling[e] & thi byeng[e]
For[e] & thou do thou arte to blame
And at the last thou wyll[e] haue scham[e]
Gete thi gowd w[ji]th trewe[tj]h & wy[n]ne
And kepe the out of dette & sy[n]ne  

The emphasis on good reputation and honesty in dealing with other people reflects mercantile activities. Thrupp stressed the importance of moral values to merchants when she wrote ‘at a pinch, his children could go through life without much knowledge of Latin, but it was essential that they be brought up virtuously’. Hanawalt also recognised the connections between merchants and moral values: ‘The merchants’ superior moral values, in contrast to the usurous, impious, and uncharitable behaviour of Child-William’s gentry father, also find their place in the advice books’. Given The Young Children’s Book was addressed to younger readers, these ethical lessons would also have been highly relevant to apprentices. Apprentices could come from gentry backgrounds where elite courtesy would certainly have already been an agenda in socialisation. Mercantile careers required another strand to be added to the bow of socialisation. This emphasis on moral lessons professed a moral superiority within merchant and bourgeois groups, and we can begin to see this take shape in the connections that were drawn between mercantile and bourgeois manuscripts and ethical themes.

The second half of the poem returned to common courtesy tropes and to socialising lessons that concerned behaviour at mealtimes and public eating. Interestingly the poem was confined to eating and not to serving, which would

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33 Ashmole, 61, fol. 20.  ‘Sueryng’: Sloth, negligence. O.E.D.
34 Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, p. 164. She sees schools as unable to adequately meet these needs and that moral training was ‘carried on continuously through pressure exercised by all the older members of a household.’, p. 164. In Chapter Seven I examine schools and suggest that they were more than ready and capable of teaching morality and indeed, prized virtue and social conduct in scholars as highly as academic skills.
suggest Rate did not intend this for young gentle servants, although why advice for career servants was not incorporated is less clear. Rate could presumably have represented the non-noble child who entered into service as a professional career choice and not to take part in noble networking and fostering.\textsuperscript{36}

In this poem the lessons on how to approach a household or hall and gain entry into it for mealtimes taught the reader or listener about a different type of social interaction and conduct, similar to the \textit{boke of curtasye}, but lacking the third book of this poem which emphasised how to socialise and train older youths for positions in an elite house. What ‘courtesy’ information there was, was identified with how to act when in the household or hall. We should again consider the relevance of this to apprentices living within a master’s household, with the words ‘Sir’ and ‘Dame’ indicating the household of a knight or baronet (and his wife), or more generally that of any superior:

\begin{verbatim}
When thou com[m]ys vnto a dore
Sey god be here of[r] thou go ferre
W[er] eu[er] thou co[m]mys speke honestly
To S[er] or dame or th[er] meny
Stand & sytte not furth w[i][h] all[e]
Tyll[e] he byde the that rewlys the halle\textsuperscript{37}
\end{verbatim}

Rate relied heavily on traditional courtesy rules for the remainder of the poem, incorporating the activity of public eating into the narrative. Interestingly it was in the second half of the poem that the word ‘courtesy’ most often appeared, as well as the specific and distinctive phrase ‘Dame Courtesy’. Rate may have been working from another text and appropriated this distinctive phrase from a secondary source. We know of interpolations in the opening stanzas, and it is possible that another source was also on hand when Rate wrote the second half of the text, although this remains speculative.

It is also possible to see a merchant or bourgeois readership addressed at the end of the poem. Rate wrote about his presumed audience at this time, summing up the poem at its end:

\begin{verbatim}
This boke is made fo[r] child[er] yong[e]
At the scowle that byde not long[e]
Sone it may be conyd & had
And make them gode iff thei be bad
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{37} Ashmole, 61, fol. 20’.

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Rate explained the purpose of the poem by referencing the physical form of the book, not an uncommon technique in literature. The book, which may mean the manuscript, the poem or less tangibly the book’s ‘ideas’, were made for young children. The subsequent lines concerning school are more ambiguous. It may be taken as meaning young children who had only just begun their school years and which would certainly be compatible with the preceding emphasis on young children. A second reading could indicate that Rate was referring to children who would not attend school for long periods, but leave after they had acquired a basic education. Rate may have been deliberately ambiguous, offering a range of interpretations that family members/readers could privately identify with and find meaning in. In a search for literal interpretations we can sometimes lose sight of the open contexts which authors and scribes may have deliberately intended to create.

If we can accept for a moment that Rate was identifying limited schooling, we can turn to what we know of educational practices in this period to set a context. Rate’s ambiguous phrase may suggest that the child would not attend school for extended periods, excluding children who carried on with further University education or legal professions at the Inns. Presuming that formal education began at around seven years, we can suggest he was writing to children at the age of ten, perhaps rising to twelve years at the latest. However, given the ambiguities with which age-specific terms were used in literature, and given the level of detailed instructions within the poem, particularly the suggestion of mercantile work, we may have to increase this age range again. This is not incompatible with a youthful audience if we reconsider young apprentices.

Over the course of the fifteenth century, the average age of apprenticeship rose to between sixteen and eighteen in order to accommodate educational training. Educational institutions were also associated with Guild charitable endowments and London Companies increasingly emphasised the need for literate apprentices, to the extent of creating provisions for schooling during an

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38 Ashmole, 61, fol. 21v. This was the sole inclusion of the word ‘virtue’ outside the interpolated stanzas.
39 Shafftelton also raises this, forthcoming edition of Ashmole 61 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: TEAMS Middle English Text Series, Medieval Institute Publications).
40 Hanawalt, Growing Up in Medieval London, p. 82, p. 113. Hanawalt writes that the age of entry into apprenticeships rose from around fourteen years in the fourteenth century, to sixteen and eighteen years in the fifteenth century due to the increased desirability in having educated apprentices.
apprenticeship or before an apprenticeship commenced. An environment encouraging male children to attend schools subsequently increased the time of childhood and delayed adolescence and adulthood until later in life, a characteristic noted in sixteenth century London.

The ambiguity of the line could both legitimately refer to young children at the start of their schooling (not having bided there for long) or to those who would not be remaining in an educational environment, leaving to pursue working careers. That Rate suspected his youthful audience would have attended a school, but perhaps not continued with formal education, suggests a merchant context where the desire for educated apprentices was increasingly important. It also excludes the nobility and aristocracy who generally eschewed public schooling in favour of private tutoring in the home, at least until after the Reformation. It was also the aristocracy who favoured further university education. It was the gentry, merchant and bourgeois families who increasingly made use of expanding educational facilities, particularly in London, certainly from the early-sixteenth century and probably in the late-fifteenth century. In earlier passages, the restructuring of elite courtesy to show mercantile activities promoted this type of audience. The attention given to the interests of younger readers may also be explained by the ownership of the manuscript within a bourgeois family.

Another manuscript which shows signs of being for a family audience, to the extent of including material for the instruction of children, was Advocates 19.3.1. Shaner’s work on the manuscript has led her to detect a family bias in

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43 For information on private schooling in noble households during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries see Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, pp. 219-220. Entrants to Winchester (founded 1382) and Eton College (founded 1440) seem to have come from the gentry and knightly classes and not the aristocracy, Orme, From Childhood to Chivalry, p. 74. On universities Orme writes: ‘Specialised schools and universities existed from the twelfth century onwards...but their influence, as far as the aristocracy was concerned, only gradually developed during the later middle ages and the sixteenth century.’ Orme, Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England, p. 175. Aristocratic education in the household was more likely to require training in deportment, courtesy, military exercises, Latin, music and religion, and not practical numeracy or even ethical business practices as emphasised here.
the material, with an analysis of textual variations and scribal intervention pointing to a reworking of material to suit a domestic setting. The intertextual relationship between romances, religious material and courtesy material indicates the manuscript was a family miscellany. In addition to considering the compendia nature of the manuscript, Shaner argued there was also evidence of individual narratives being edited for children, with five types of additions and amendments having a potential relationship with a youthful audience. These included a) more violence, b) direct speeches, c) a greater emphasis on domestic and materialistic virtues, d) simple piety, and e) simple character development from sinful to repentant.44

If we are to understand interpolations, intertextual relationships and textual variations of this sort as indicators of audience interests, comparison with another elite courtesy poem found in different manuscripts may be of some use. We can turn to the mid-fifteenth century poem The Lytyle Childrene’s Book, previously examined in Chapter Two. Of the six known manuscripts containing this poem, two are of interest in terms of how elite imagery was destabilised and modified by the scribes or by the owners. The two manuscripts are Richard Hill’s commonplace book, Balliol 354, which perhaps should be called a household miscellany in keeping with Julia Boffey’s and John J. Thompson’s classifications,45 and Harl. 541. These manuscripts each show how the scribes understood the poem as malleable and open to interpolation.46 Harl. 541 will be analysed with reference to two other manuscripts, Stowe 982 and Lansdowne 699.

Hill wrote his manuscript over several decades, probably between the years 1503 and 1536. The manuscript may have been left to his oldest son John, born in 1518, and therefore kept within a family environment for at least two generations. Hill was ‘hansed’ at Barow in 150847 and also made free of the

44 Shaner, ‘Instruction and Delight’, pp. 8-9. This follows on from the earlier work of Phillipa Hardman on the manuscript. Phillipa Hardman, ‘A Medieval “Library in Parvo”’, Medium Aevum, 47 (1978), 262-273. I suspect direct speech, domestic/materialistic virtues and simple piety had the most relevance to didactic texts.

45 For a general discussion of informal and non-commercial manuscript production, particularly commonplace or household miscellanies, see Boffey and Thompson, ‘Anthologies and Miscellanies’, in Book Production and Publishing in Britain, ed. by Griffiths and Pearsall, pp. 292-303.

46 Hardman has noted that several lines from Urbanitatis were inserted into The Lytyle Childrene’s Book. Hardman, ‘A Medieval Library’, p. 267.

47 Balliol 354, fol. 107r. He also recorded that he was hansed ‘at brigi[us] at synsym m[ar]te’ in 1511 and also at ‘andwarpe in passe m[ar]te’ also in that year. ‘Hanse’: A company or guild of merchants, the merchant guild of a town. O.E.D.
Merchant Adventurers in that same year, before being sworn at the Grocers Hall in 1511. Hill married the niece of John Wyngar, one-time Mayor of London, whom he had served as an apprentice and secretary. His father-in-law was Harry Wyngar, a haberdasher in London. Both Dame Agnes Wyngar and John Wyngar were listed as being godparents to some of Hill's children. The family and business networks identified by Hill throughout this manuscript tie him to a prosperous merchant class, with a further gloss made on folio 176' that Hill was 'servant with [] Wyngar, alderman'. Hill's associations with the prosperous (London) merchant class, and the manuscript's role as a family record, were adequately attested to by these manuscript glosses, as well as by the textual choices Hill made as scribe and owner.

Hill's material reflected a mixture of personal and business interests, reaching a staggering three hundred and fifty-four items. Even a brief outline of its contents shows that Hill wrote or transcribed a range of material pulled equally from manuscripts and printed books. Individual items included Catholic religious tracts, poems, hymns, recipes, proverbs, arithmetic equations, puzzles, prescriptions, a Chronicle of London, and treatises on horse breeding and tree grafting. Parkes has argued that manuscripts associated with bourgeois owners tend to contain material relevant for an entire family, for both their entertainment and education. We know from Hill's own personal glosses and his listing of family dates, that a family readership would have been likely. Hill's commercial and business interests were particularly noticeable in passages on commercial arithmetic questions, a detailed table on lead prices (dated 1520) and commercial memoranda on the wool trade. This is by no means an exhaustive survey of the content of this manuscript yet even this brief list is suggestive of Hill's wide-ranging interests and his commitment to working on a private family volume over several decades as material became available to him.

48 Balliol 354, fol. 17'.
49 Gillespie has studied Hill's codicising practices against manuscript-early print culture in the early sixteenth century. Alexandra Gillespie, 'Balliol MS 354: Histories of the Book at the End of the Middle Ages', Poëtica, 60 (2003), 47-63.
50 D.C. Browning noted that this section was partially lifted from an earlier commonplace book, Arnold's Chronicle which was printed c. 1502. He determined that these 'borrowings' amounted to thirty pages in all. D.C. Browning, Commentary on MS Balliol 354, Comprising Introduction, Index of Contents, Glossary, Index of Proper Names, Index of First Lines, 5 vols (unpublished, 1935).
A merchant agenda and a family perspective can be seen in the thematic interests of certain texts. An interesting series of simple English and French phrases (possibly written c. 1520s) immediately preceded The Lytyll Children’s Book, and emphasised common merchant conversations, including ‘good cloth to sell/de bon drapt a vendre’ and which Hill explained as ‘For so myche as it is good For suche as vse m[er]chaundise’. Tables of numbers in English and French that began with single numbers (1, 2, 3…) and continued into multiple units (50, 100, 1000, 10,000…) also served mercantile ends. Similarities between this and Caxton’s merchant influenced 1480 Vocabulary in French and English are probably not coincidental as Hill also transcribed Caxton’s Stans puer ad mensam of 1476 (identified by a transposed stanza order), and also his Book of Curtesye (Lyttyl Iohn) originally printed 1477/8. Hill seemed to have been conversant with French, with The Lytyll Children’s Book firstly written in English with a French translation after each line:

Litill children here may ye lerne
Petitz enfans icy vous pouez apprendre
Moche curtesie that is here wretan
Beaucoup de curtoysse qui ecrípte ycy...

The simple French translation may have been done as an exercise in French language work for Hill’s own benefit or as a teaching aid for apprentices, as a small column of text on the right of the folio had a simple vocabulary list of English/French words, such as ‘My face/mon visage’, ‘My hondes/mes

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52 Balliol 354, fol. 141'.
53 Hill’s Stans puer and Book of Curtesye (Lyttyl Iohn) are generally identified as either Caxton’s editions or later de Worde reprints. I think we can be a little more specific. Hill’s Stans puer contained the line: ‘in chylides warre now myrth & now debate’, fol. 159’. This was the same as Caxton’s 1476 edition. de Worde’s 1510 edition (the next edition recorded in the ESTC) was mistakenly printed with: ‘in chylides warre now warre and now debate’. Further, Hill also copied the following items in this order: Stans puer, an abbreviated verse of simple precepts beginning ‘Aryse early’, the Salue Regina, a four line verse beginning ‘Wyte hath wonder’, and finishing with six proverbial phrases of two lines each beginning ‘Who so of welth takyth non hede’. This followed Caxton’s 1476 edition. Alternatively, de Worde’s 1510 ed. missed the four line verse ‘Wyte hath wonder’. In copying out Stans puer Hill also transposed stanzas ten, eleven and twelve. Caxton’s edition had three stanzas per page, while de Worde’s later edition had four and a half stanzas per page. It would be easier to mistakenly copy a complete page rather than, as in de Worde’s layout, only part of a page (stanzas ten through twelve appeared on the same page with part of stanza nine and stanza thirteen). However, we do have to note that Hill followed the above passages with the Book of Curtesye (Lyttyl Iohn). Caxton’s 1476 edition did not include this additional text, while de Worde’s 1510 edition did, as did Redman’s 1540 edition. Folio 165’ also has ‘Iohn 1503 per Ric[hard] Hill’. I speculate that either Caxton produced a now lost later edition of Stans puer that contained the Book of Curtesye (Lyttyl Iohn), which de Worde later copied, or that de Worde printed a book c. 1503 with these multiple items.
54 Balliol 354, fol. 142’.

mains’. Hill’s source for The Lytylle Children’s Book proper (the translation was probably his own work) is conjecture and given how difficult it is to track manuscript relationships, will likely remain conjecture. It can be noted however, that another poem in Hill’s manuscript, the Siege of Rouen, is found in Egerton 1995, which also contained the courtesy poem The Lytylle Childrene’s Book.66

In Harl. 541 the text of The Lytylle Children’s Book was compiled with reference to another contemporary and popular text, Rules for preserving Health, better known as Lydgate’s Dietary, extant from a substantial fifty-five manuscripts. In the fifteenth century there seemed to have been a shared affinity between courtesy poems and Lydgate’s poem on health and food consumption. In Stowe 982 (late-fifteenth century) the Dietary appeared directly after Stans puer ad mensam. In the fifteenth century manuscript Lansdowne 699, the scribe had also followed the Stans puer poem with this text, and Rate likewise wrote out a copy of the Dietary in Ashmole 61. Given Lydgate’s association with Stans puer ad mensam, scribes would no doubt have deliberately associated the two texts as comparable and of interest to readers. However, in Harl. 541 no such direct relationship can be made between Lydgate and The Lytylle Children’s Book, although in the same manuscript there were other works relevant to children and courtesy which would have connected these contents, including the ABC of Aristotle, a wassailing song for Christmas and a song concerning ale. Julia Boffey has commented that the manuscript belonged to the family circle of Sir Thomas Frowyk (c. 1460-1506), a chief justice of the common pleas with a connection to the mercers.57

In Harl. 541, the scribe’s interpolation of the Dietary and The Lytylle Children’s Book to create one larger poem could have been a result of scribal error in not realising the works were separate, revealing in itself. Alternatively, it may be a conscious association of the two to create one larger text. In the Dietary, food and drink played a role in depicting the environment of an urban/bourgeois household.58 In the Dietary, rules were associated with moderate and safe

55 Balliol 354, fol. 142’. This column of text runs along folios 142'-143’.
57 Boffey, Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics, pp. 126-127.
eating: 'ete no raw mete fede the on light bred',\(^59\) which was combined with guidelines for well-being and maintaining a healthy body. Unlike elite courtesy poems which illustrated how to eat according to the rules of courtesy, this taught people how to eat safely and how to ‘consume’ food according to the financial and social boundaries of bourgeois life. They were two sides of the same coin and were overtly associated with courtesy poems proper in at least four manuscripts from the fifteenth century, revealingly connected with a mercantile family audience in at least two instances.\(^60\)

The popularity of courtesy themes within bourgeois and family owned manuscripts could be explained by an imitation of elite values. Yet evidence of textual variation and scribal intervention suggested a more dynamic and interactive participation in reading culture and in the transmission of elite courteous ideals. The editorial prowess of Rate and Hill are a guide to how literature in the courtesy genre could be interpolated, amended and elided to suit bourgeois and mercantile ethics and work practices. Elias saw a similar bourgeois awareness with inner virtue and conduct in Germany.\(^61\) The ownership of courtesy texts within families also subverted the narratives that privileged the removal of children from natal homes. At the same time, these households would also have contained apprentices, servants and foster children who were equally exposed to the manuscripts. These readings of courtesy literature are suggestive of how audiences could both accept and contest representations of lifestyles, environments and socialisation.

The ‘Urban Bourgeois’ Context in Courtesy Literature for Girls

In the previous chapter I analysed elite courtesy literature which isolated and privileged the social training of young boys and adolescent males, reasoning that this literature paralleled male dominated work-forces in elite households. Ironically higher numbers of women employed in noble households between 1550 and 1600 played their part in reducing the political power and male patronage networks of this environment.\(^62\) The social upbringing of girls was

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\(^{59}\) Harl. 541, fol. 209'. In Stowe 982, fol. 11' this was expanded: 'ete no raw mete take good hed ther to/drynke holson drynke fede the on light bred'.

\(^{60}\) I refer to Harl. 541 and Ashmole 61. Lambeth 853 was another text which contained both the Dietary and courtesy material.


concealed by this emphasis on elite male training. However, female interests were portrayed in a separate cluster of texts, with three poems in the *Good Wife* tradition evidence of notions on female socialisation.\textsuperscript{63} In this cluster of poems the social environment and prescribed behaviours occurred not within the elite household, but in a smaller urban household as well as in public spaces including the street and the town. Female socialisation in these poems was expressed both in terms of appropriate gestures and manners to be used, as well as physical actions and instructions on controlling the body. However, the behaviour put forward in these poems suggests a more complex depiction of courtesy was prioritised for females when compared to the lessons from the elite male cluster. I would suggest that these three poems were also more complex and multifaceted in their understanding of female relationships and behaviours than the poems for young boys in merchant and bourgeois households. Deeper and more intricate moral and ethical socialisation was at work for girls in these lessons. Practical expressions of moral issues were given in terms of chastity and reputation.

In *The Good Wife Taught her Daughter* a ‘mother’ told her ‘daughter’ how to behave through a series of homilies and instructions, interleaved with the proverbial phrase ‘My leue childe’ or its variants. Six extant manuscripts contain redacted and expanded versions of the poem, with Text E the oldest, dating to the mid-fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{64} Advice in the poem was given on drinking, household economy, pride and courtship. Textual references to streets and towns suggest an urban bourgeois context. Passages on the daughter’s responsibility to discharge her duties in public without falling into boisterous behaviour were associated with the presence of taverns and the dangers of drinking, which are also suggestive of urban environments. The sense of an urban rather than a rural or elite setting was further fashioned with references to marketplaces and buying and selling goods. Felicity Riddy identified the significance of the small bourgeois household behind the poem’s ethos: ‘The

\textsuperscript{63} The three poems are separate texts but were probably part of the same tradition. Tauno F. Mustanoja has transcribed all nine known manuscripts, noting differences in stanza order and variations within the texts. *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter; The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage; The Thewis of Gud Women*, ed. by Tauno F. Mustanoja, (Helsinki, 1948). Another poem that has relevance to this is the *Book of the Knight of the Tower*. I examine Caxton’s edition of this in the next chapter.

\textsuperscript{64} Full citations for the six manuscripts appear in Appendix Two of this thesis. In the chapters I will use Mustanoja’s abbreviations (Text E, Text A etc). Mustanoja has examined the relationships between the manuscripts and created a manuscript tree. While E was the oldest manuscript, it was probably not the original, as some stanzas thought to be genuine are missing from it. *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, ed. by Mustanoja, pp. 117-122.
household ideology of “What the Goodwife Taught Her Daughter” locates the woman as wife and mother within the home; her domesticity is represented as a prime virtue and she herself as the repository and maintainer of bourgeois values.65

The similar but not identical The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage is extant from a single late-fifteenth century manuscript now held at the National Library of Wales.66 The mother/daughter device of the poem reflected and emphasised the domestic story. However, this was partly shaken by the projected absence of the mother when undertaking her pilgrimage. Although the text was framed by this overt religious event, the poem emphasised the secular environment in which the girl and her mother lived, also calling attention to courteous behaviour in terms of interaction with others in an urban bourgeois setting. Juanita Ruys sees any parental/child device as ‘parental ventriloquism’ and indicative of the privileged relationship between parents and children, and in this case, between mothers and daughters, deliberately played upon by authors.67 The desire to incorporate homely truths and personal experiences ‘indicates the author’s awareness of the importance of experience in true parental didactic texts.’68 Dronzek has also argued that this experiential model, which saw parents teaching by their own example, was a construction used only in female conduct literature, with girls seen as incapable of understanding abstract or intellectual notions unlike their male counterparts.69

A third text relevant for girls and young women was the mid-fifteenth century middle Scots poem, The Thewis off Gud Women, extant from two late-fifteenth century manuscripts.70 This poem was written in the more removed third person and broke away from the parental advice format. Unlike the two previous poems which correlated behaviour and socialisation to non-aristocratic or urban bourgeois audiences, The Thewis off Gud Women had a broader appeal, with

66 Porkington 10, fols 135v-138v.
68 Ruys, ‘Peter Abelard’s Carmen ad Astralabium’, in Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. by Classen, p. 212.
69 Dronzek, ‘Gendered Theories of Education’, in Medieval Conduct, ed. by Ashley and Clark, p. 151. Peter Idley’s poem to his son was very much in the vein of experiential writing, as was John Russell’s poem, although it was true, Russell did not appropriate a parental voice. However, he did highlight his own experience when he ‘talked’ to the young man.
70 Cambridge, University Library, MSS Kl.1.5, fols 49v-53 (Text C) and Cambridge, St John’s College, MSS G.23, fols 164v-167v (Text J). See Appendix Two for details.
advice and comments that were not specifically relevant to an urban or middling social milieu. This freed the text from specific social and class contexts, allowing a reader to associate lessons as they choose, picking and selecting from its programme at will.

As mentioned, a distinctive feature in two of the three poems was the sustained use of mother and daughter characters, although this was most likely to be the deliberate fictional construction of a male clerical author. Mustanoja has hypothesised that the emphasis on spiritual matters resembled medieval sermon literature.\(^71\) A religious context was also highlighted in Text E, which may have been owned by a friar.\(^72\) Riddy has suggested that friars may have acted as 'informal agents in the placing of young people as servants in urban households [or] took a special interest in adolescent incomers, who may have seemed to be at risk of falling through the welfare gap'.\(^73\) It is likely that these narratives were not expected to be accessed by mothers and daughters living in natal family households as promoted by the texts themselves, but were intended to bridge a gap in the socialisation of young females when this biological relationship was interrupted. Interestingly, the mother/daughter narrative which was used, masks this. Authors reinforced the maternal role through the 'mother's' personal phrasing, her tender references to her daughter and the continual play upon the mother's authority and direct voice.

Goldberg has demonstrated that urban areas in the later-fourteenth century and early-fifteenth century had high proportions of young working women attracted to urban environments for work opportunities.\(^74\) Mobility amongst young people was significant.\(^75\) Poll tax records for 1377, 1379 and 1381 demonstrated the high proportion of servants in towns, with figures running

\(^71\) He suggested that stanza five, concerning marriage before God, would indicate the author was a male cleric. *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, ed. by Mustanoja, p. 89, p. 126. See also Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best', pp. 70-74, and Goldberg, *Women in England*, pp. 5-8, for analyses of the poem.

\(^72\) Proposed by J. P. Strachey in the 1924 edition of the text for the Anglo-Norman Society. The manuscript contained religious and devotional material as well as didactic treatises. Taken from *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, ed. by Mustanoja, p. 93.

\(^73\) Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best', p. 73. She also looks at Friar William Herebert's manuscript which contained an Anglo-Norman poem of advice from a mother to her daughter on choosing a husband. It should be noted that Text L also contained lyrical and religious material as well as several courtesy poems including *Stans puere ad mensam*, the *ABC of Aristotle* and *How the Wise Man Taught his Son*. Text A, Ashmole 61, also contained multiple items.

\(^74\) Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp. 280-304. However, these ratios were not static.

\(^75\) P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Migration, Youth and Gender in Later Medieval England', in *Youth in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Goldberg and Riddy, pp. 85-99.
between 20% and 30% of the population. One third of households had at least one live-in servant. The evidence also indicated the significantly smaller percentage of urban households where dependent children were found, thus emphasising the foster environment Riddy suggests. Female servants were typically between the ages of twelve and mid-twenty and would have embraced the subject matter of these poems on urban lifestyles and activities, perhaps finding meaning in the themes of worldly success. Despite the overt mother-daughter emphasis in two of the poems, the lessons nevertheless reflected these environmental factors and youthful mobility, foregrounding an interest in bourgeois work ethics and adolescent monitoring as a relevant concern of urban communities.

However, texts were not necessarily redundant when mothers and daughters lived within the same household, and the evidence cannot suggest dependent children were never to be found in these environments. For certain periods throughout the year children may have returned to their natal home, perhaps when contracts had expired and before the commencement of new service. It was possible that these poems did circulate either orally or in manuscripts within households where mothers and daughters lived side by side for part, or all of the year. It was also probable that additional female servants also lived in these households, and we must consider the likelihood of dual and varied audiences. The poems can be read in terms of the relationships they depict, as well as the relationships that were associated with urban environments.

In these poems religious observance fashioned good character, which secured future prosperity, and which had a direct impact on marriage opportunities:

Douter yif thou wilt ben a wif and wisliche to wirche
Loke that thou louie ful wel god and holly chirche
Go te/chirche whan thou might ne let for no rein
Al the day thou farst the bet that thou hast god ysein

76 Goldberg, 'Urban Identity', pp. 212-214. Of the later-fourteenth and early fifteenth century Goldberg writes: 'comparatively few girls remained within their natal homes by the time they reached their teens and that this was especially true of urban society.' Goldberg, Women in England, p. 5.
77 Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best', p. 69. Female servants were rarely younger than twelve years and rarely above their mid-twenties. Before twelve, girls would have lived with their families. Marriage (often in the early to mid-twenties) is the moment when service ends. For information on female servants see, Maryanne Kowaleski, Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 168-169 and Goldberg, Women in England, various documents.
78 The Good Wife Taught her Daughter. Text E, fols 48'- 49'. A similar opening stanza appeared in all manuscripts. Courtesy poems often did not encourage boys to attend church,
For both female servants and ‘daughters’ in their mid-twenties, marriage prospects were a timely issue. Sexual dalliances were not uncommonly noticed between servants. The social freedom that was part of living in urban areas provided young people with opportunities to find marriage partners.79 Yet this was dangerous for women, easily leading to accusations of impropriety, possible pregnancies and presentments before church courts for immoral conduct. The ‘mother’s’ accusatory tone in the poems echoed the voice of the wider community. Impropriety on the part of both daughters and servants reflected poorly on the moral status of the household, confirming the ‘mother’s’ interest in halting potentially harmful behaviour before it could lead to moral downfall. The additional representation of community watchfulness and surveillance will be examined shortly.

The endorsement of positive behaviour would lack strength if it were not contrasted with negative behaviour. In The Good Wife Taught her Daughter the daughter was told to take care in her dealings with possible suitors and to consider necessary social proprieties at this potentially dangerous time:

Sitt noght bi him no stond thar sun[n]e mai be wroght

a sclang[re] th[at] is reised is euil to stille80

In Text A the connection with sin again imposed a strong degree of control: ‘Syt not by hyf[m] ne stand th[ou] nought/in sych place th[er] synne mey be wroght’.81 These instructions combined elements of ‘courtesy’ as a series of symbolic gestures, for instance where to sit and stand in relation to others, but which also contained more complex notions of propriety and moral misbehaviour. A similarly complex type of ‘courtesy’ and socialisation appeared in The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgramage, with the girl warned: ‘Sytt not witt no man aloune for oft in trust ys tressoun’.82 The Thewis off Gud Woment also warned against women meeting men in town: ‘Nocht oys na tratlynge in the

except in the boke of curtasye where similar instructions appeared, although they were not linked to appropriate masculine behaviours. Here, the girl’s attendance at church was linked to her female and wifely duties.

80 Text E, fol. 49'. Similarly in Text L, p. 104. In Text E the last line was written in red ink, as were all of the proverbs between the stanzas. As a convention I will italicise all proverbs.
81 Text A, fol. 77.
82 Porkington 10, fol. 137'.
toune/Na w[i]l[h] na yonge me[n] rouk na roune. 

This was extended into a discussion on women going outside alone:

Ga nocht alane in hir erand
Tak child ore mайдinge in h[ir] hand
It is no point of honestee
A gud woma[n] allan[e] to bee
In cumpany of mony ane
And mekill les with ane alane
It is no point of gud custum
Fore na man wyll the gud presum

The daughter/reader was moved to accept that marriage prospects and reputation were less the result of personal character and attractiveness than the result of good conduct and behaviour; in effect, how they had been socialised and how well they had understood the rules governing conduct. However, good conduct and character were meaningless if they were not seen and observed by others. The daughter had to take a companion with her whenever she left the ‘safety’ of the house. As the author wrote, no good would be thought of someone if behaviour was seen to be improper. Just how applicable this would have been to female servants is unclear, as no household mistress would have been willing to lose the labour of an additional household member to accompany a live-in servant on her daily errands. The Thewis poem was likely to have been less appropriate to lower status girls and servants, and was probably suggesting a higher status readership, although one below the aristocracy.

However, warnings about moral conduct and behaviour applied equally in all three poems, as well as applied to elite and aristocratic girls, which is tested in the following chapter when I examine Caxton’s edition of The Book of the Knight of the Tower. All three of these poems acknowledged that these girls could not be confined to the ‘safe’ household as readily as the daughters in the Knight’s tale could be, as a result of their responsibilities and duties taking them out of the house. Even the girl in The Thewis needed to leave the household on errands. Since these girls could not be sequestered to ensure their reputations would be safe, the burden fell to them to behave well and to learn from experience. An awareness of real life situations for these girls was unavoidable.

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83 Text C, fol. 49’. Also in Text J, fol. 164’. I have also followed Mustanoja’s convention and expanded ‘Not’ to ‘Nocht’.

84 Text C, fol. 50’. Also in Text J, fol. 166’, where: ‘no point of gud custum’ was written as: ‘Trast weill it is aneuill custum’, and: ‘Fore no man wyll the gud presum’, was written as: ‘For na folk will [h]e gud presum’.
and the poems explored behaviour from this perspective. Alternatively, Phillips argues these passages were a sign that lower class girls were seen to be incapable of self-control and needed to be removed from dangerous situations and places. She argues that the elite daughters of the Book of the Knight of the Tower were encouraged to deflect potential harm, told through analytical passages describing virgin martyrs and associated with their own elite heritage.\footnote{Phillips, Medieval Maidens, pp. 94-96. Juanita Feros Ruys is currently working on ‘experience’ in didactic literature as part of an extensive project on life-long learning in the medieval and early modern periods. Ursula Potter is also working on the issue of ‘personal experience’ in understanding female upbringing and the emphasis placed on removing girls from ‘danger’ rather than providing ‘experience’ to socialise them.}

We should perhaps consider that the practical nature of the Good Wife poems and their relative brevity in comparison to de La Tour Landry’s book, as well as their avoidance of highly theoretical concepts or ideas, would account for this realistic emphasis on avoiding dangerous spaces, or taking chaperones with you, in place of more learned discussions encouraging theoretical self-control.\footnote{The Golden Legend was a book accessible to well-off merchant households.}

The accusatory inflection of the poems was further elaborated, again in relation to observable conduct and one specific activity: unchaperoned interaction. This suggested female ‘courtesy’ could contain distinct moral elements. How was the moral emphasis expressed in the various manuscripts of The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter? The proverbial phrase on reputation and good conduct serves as an example. In texts H and E moral reputation was identified as: ‘Gode name is golde worthe/My leue childe’.\footnote{Text H, fol. 218}. In Text T we have: ‘A good name many folde Ys more worthe then golde’.\footnote{Text T, fol. 212}. Text L used a slightly different expression but retained the emphasis on reputation: ‘Thi good name is to thi freendis/Greet ioie and gladnes’.\footnote{Text L, p. 109.}

The printed Text N read: ‘For wise men and old/Sayne good name is worth gold’.\footnote{Text N. See Appendix Two which explains why no page numbers are listed for this text.} Text L, and to a lesser extent Text N also contained extended proverbial passages following stanza eight on a related theme. In Text L, the importance of reputation and maintaining a good name was spelt out: ‘For he th[at] cacchith to hi[m] an yuel name/It is to hi[m] a
David Turner comments that in early modern England, women had to both behave well and be seen as behaving well. There was a similar duality in these early narratives. Laura Gowing has remarked that in sixteenth and seventeenth century urban environments there was a distinct concern with women appearing in the streets, identified with sexual impropriety. In these narratives the female reader or listener was made to accept that it was her behaviour which needed to be controlled, and not a man’s manners or conduct. In Text H a man’s ‘foule’ behaviour was to be met by a mild and polite response. The quality of meekness was privileged in this statement, although here this was done in a particularly gendered way. An inversion in Text T extended the warning to a man’s sweet response which was likewise to be treated quickly but politely: ‘Thowgh he speke fayre to thee, swyftly thou hym grete’. Indeed a man’s sweet conversation was no doubt the more dangerous of the two.

The girl in *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* was clearly told to behave with meekness towards her husband, a direct command absent only in Text T which replaced meekly with ‘fayre’. The representation between outer demeanour and inner meekness was likewise established in *Stans puer ad mensam* and in *the boke of curtasye*, and we know males were instructed to exhibit a similarly meek quality in their behaviour. This seems not to have been gendered in fourteenth and fifteenth century literature but was used as a code for fashioning appropriate behaviours and manners, albeit in ways and environments which were themselves gendered. In this literature the quality of meekness remained the same; only in the specifics of how it was demonstrated and to whom, do we find differences. This was shown with girls expected to exhibit meekness to

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91 Text I, p. 105. The closest to this was Text N: ‘For gif thou haue euill name/ It will turne the to grame’. The use of the gendered noun ‘he’ in Text L is at odds with the supposed female characters and interests, and is probably a scribal error.
92 From Text E, fol. 49’ and similarly expressed in Texts H and T. As mentioned, Text A did not contain the proverbs between stanzas.
95 ‘thi he speke foule to the, faire thou him grete’. Text H, fol. 218’.
96 Text T, fol. 212’.
97 Text T, fol. 211’, ‘Answere hym fayre and nat as an attryling’.
everyone, and boys to their social superiors. An interpolation in Text A directed the female reader to the stark reality of conduct which demanded meekness:

If th[at] it forteyn th[us] w[i]t[h] the
That he be wroth & angery be
Loke th[ou] mekly anser hy[m]
And meue hy[m] noth[er] lyth ne lymme
And th[at] schall sclake hy[m] of hys mode
Than schall th[ou] be hys derlyng gode
Fayre word[es] wretl do slake
Fayre word[es] wretl schall neu[er] make
Ne fayre word[es] brake neu[er] bone
Ne neu[er] schall in no won^98

Comparisons between all three of these poems can be made concerning reputation, conduct and character. In Pylgremage, the concern with observable behaviour and propriety had a surprising forthrightness:

Dogttor seyd the good wyfe hyde thy legys whyte
And schew not forth thy stret hossyn to make men have deylt
Thow hit plese hem for a tym hit schall be thy despytt
And men wyll sey of thi body thou carst but lytt^99

The warning was explicit and direct in its discussion of misbehaviour leading to loss of reputation through acts of showing too much leg, and later, swearing and drunkenness. There was a sense of honesty not found in the more restrained The Good Wife Taught her Daughter, although Text A of this poem was also forthright and blunt in many instances. Text A was of course Rate’s manuscript (Ashmole 61). As Shaner suggested with Advocates 19.3.1, an editorial voice emphasising violence appealed to families and younger audiences. Of all the manuscripts containing the Good Wife poem, this was the most altered in these ways.

Texts C and J of The Thewis of Gud Women similarly instructed via a warning tone, although overt references to men were absent and were replaced with general cautionary tales: ‘Fle ill folk and susspekit place’,^100 and: ‘Fle fra defamyt cumpayny/Lyk drawys to lyk ay comonly.’^101 Again, these girls developed experience in deflecting potentially dangerous situations, with the burden of responsibility falling to them.

^98 Text A, fol. 7'.
^99 Porkington 10, fol. 136'.
^100 Text C, fol.49'. Also in Text J, fol. 164'.
^101 Text C, fol. 50'. Also in Text J, fol. 165'.

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The knowledge of urban temptations subversively bred interest in these activities. The mother embodied the voice of the whole community, but in her strictures a young reader or listener would have simultaneously absorbed information on how they could misbehave if they chose to, although the texts also kept punishment and correction in view. Nevertheless, misbehaviour was kept alive by the sustained use of negative examples. Reader responses may have been sophisticated and complex in absorbing, understanding and thinking over these lessons. In these poems, the female characters had been able to walk in the streets and were still likely to be found speaking to men, even though this was heavily proscribed. The girl was warned against attending wrestling matches, shooting at cock (a popular English pastime), or imbibing too much ale in public.\textsuperscript{102} She was also warned to stay away from market places when selling her goods: ‘Ne go th[ou] not to no m[er]ket/To sell thi thrift be w[er] of ite’.\textsuperscript{103} Texts E, H, L, and T used the terms ‘burel’ or ‘borell’ referring to cheap brown woollen cloth, and which again indicated a legitimate merchant or urban market context.\textsuperscript{104} Urban households played a part in trade and production, with the poem suggesting these networks of trade and related activity. References to market places and selling goods both condemned these practices, while simultaneously suggesting real life economic situations.

In texts C and J of \textit{The Thewis off Gud Women}, women were warned ‘Fra drunkyne folk and tawarne flee’\textsuperscript{105} echoing the hostile tone of \textit{The Good Wife Taught her Daughter} and \textit{The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgreemage} against taverns and the over-drinking of ale. Keith Wrightson and David Levine have discussed the reputation of taverns and alehouses in the early modern period.\textsuperscript{106} Alehouses were associated with the poor, with disorderly conduct, and with sexual immorality. A tightening of control on these spaces was a focused part of the

\textsuperscript{102} This was where male apprentices congregated. Goldberg, ‘Masters and Men in Later Medieval England’, in \textit{Masculinity in Medieval Europe}, ed. by Hadley, pp. 64-66.
\textsuperscript{103} Text A, fol. 7. In Text N the author has perhaps misunderstood the meaning of this and changed ‘burel’ to: ‘Ne go not to market thy barrel to fill’.
\textsuperscript{104} Riddy suggests this was a warning concerning trading without license or the danger of being seen as a ‘huckster’ (women who traded goods in streets). Riddy, ‘Mother Knows Best’, pp. 75-76. Women were often involved with textile and clothing occupations, with Kowaleski noting the presence of women in the Exeter cloth trade. Kowaleski, \textit{Local Markets and Regional Trade}, p. 153. See also, Goldberg, \textit{Women, Work and Life Cycle}, pp. 118-127. To understand the role of women in urban areas, and their responsiveness and flexibility to recession and changes in trade, see Helen M. Jewell, \textit{Women in Medieval England} (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 84-114.
\textsuperscript{105} Text C, fol. 51. Also in Text J, fol.166’.
push to promote moral order. In Texts E, T, H, L, and N of *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* we have more legitimate references to social activities, which may explore conduct in private houses or inns for travellers. Privacy may offer a legitimacy to this experience:

And if thou be on eni stede that god drinke is alofte
Wheth[er] that thou serue or that you sitte softe
Mesureli tak th[er]of that the falle no blame
For if thou be ofte drunke it fallet the to schame.¹⁰⁷

A moral emphasis was apparent in this, associating shame with female misconduct. Shame was suggestive of a psychological imperative controlling behaviour, and certainly one with a moral dimension at its core.¹⁰⁸ This socialisation was complex and specified multiple internal processes not framed in the literature describing elite courtesy for boys in higher status households. These sources suggest that women’s moral behaviour was more closely looked at, and that they were condemned for actions and conduct that were not mentioned in courtesy poems for boys.

Courtesy values per se, that is, identifiable behaviours which were described via directions on controlling the body, were still found in these narratives. In Text E the first indication of courtesy appeared in stanza three, with courtesy in Church identified: ‘Make thou no iangling with fremde no with sibbe/Lau thou noght to scorn neith[er] olde no yunge/Be of god beringge and of god tunge’.¹⁰⁹

Facial expressions were also discussed as a courtesy trope, with exterior physical actions indicating proper conduct: ‘Ne laugh thou noght to loude ne

¹⁰⁷ Text E, fols 49v-50r. Also in Text L, pp. 105-106. The most significant alteration occurs in Text A where no location was given indicating public spaces. Instead the line was simply: ‘Wher eu[er] th[ou] comm*e* at ale ofr wyne/ Take not to myche & leue be tym*e*, fol. 7v.

¹⁰⁸ Elias sees the emphasis on shame as part of the process of ‘civilization’, which developed gradually over centuries. His understanding of shame relates strongly to notions of delicacy, repugnance and embarrassment and less to moral shame and discredit. See Elias, *The Civilising Process*, p. x, pp. 114-119.

¹⁰⁹ Text E, fol. 49v. This was a direction retained in all later texts, although Text T omitted the line on not laughing with friends and 'sibbes' (close relations, blood kin) in Church. There is a close parallel to this in Caxton’s *Book of Curtesye*, addressed to boys, in the lines: ‘The chirche of prayr/is hous and place/Beware therefore/of clappe or langelynge/For in the chirche/it is a ful grete trespas’. Caxton, *Book of Curtesye*, 2r.
gene thou nought to wide/Lage the might & faire mouth make/ mi leue child'.

In Text A, the physical nature of the act was clearly expressed: 'Change not th[i]
countena[n]s w[i]lth[er] grete laught[er]'.

In Text L, dating three quarters of a
century after Text E, this now included the terms 'soft' and 'mild': 'But laughe
th[ou] softe & myelde/And be not of cheer to wiede/Mi leue child'.

More explicit gendered language was found in the printed edition: 'Maydens should
laugh softlye/That men here not they bee/My leue dere child'.

How else did visual cues define identity and socialisation for girls and young
women? In texts for young men, the visual component of behaviour was
expressed through courtesy gestures, often taking place at the table. In these
three poems, gestures were also a part of female socialisation although in
different ways. An additional rule saw clothing take on added significance, in
line with the patristic writers who associated female morality with clothing and
cosmetics.

In The Thewis of Gud Women socialisation was discussed through the
symbolism of apparel. Here readers or listeners were made aware that
clothing acted as a visible indicator of character and disposition:

Nocht outrageous in hire cleathinge
Bot plane man[er] and gudly thing
Nocht our-costlyk na sumptewous
To mak vthir at hire inwyous
Na couet nocht clething mar dei
Na be resone suld hir effeir
And thoicht scho be cled honestly

Clothing was a symbolic demarcator of character and identity, written into this
literature as it was written into sumptuary legislation. The author/scribe of Text
J inserted an additional fourteen lines not present in Text C on dress and its
consequences:

And hear honour bett[ir] thing
And lawar stat lakar clething
For pryaid gais no thing be t[he] clais

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110 Text E, fol. 49v. Similarly expressed in Text H.
111 Text A, fol. 7.
112 Text L, p. 105.
113 Text N.
114 Juvenal wrote about this as did the Church Father, Tertullian. See Women Defamed and
Women Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts, ed. by Alcuin Blamires, with Karen Pratt
see p. 7, p. 141, p. 274.
115 Text C, fol. 49v. Also in Text J, fol.164, although 'outrageous' was given as 'delicat', and
'honestly' as 'preciously'.
Bot be [h]e hert [h]at woma[=n] has
For sum will be sa stoutly cled
Or [h]ai will crab [h]ar men in bed
T[h]at half [h]e riches [h]at he has
Sall scant be worth his viiffs clas
T[h]an quhen [h]ai cled ar our statly
Men will presoyme na gud treuly
Bot [h]at scho dois it for paramour
And [h]us gat said sal hir honour
T[h]arfor [h]e best thing is I wat
Is to be cled eft[ir] [h]air estat\textsuperscript{116}

The girl of this poem was one who accepted her social background, and
accepted her position as a modest woman. Like courteous behaviour, clothing
was a visible and observable feature of identity coming under the eye of
pedagogues, parents and gossiping third-parties. Dress identified inherited class
and indicated obedience to hierarchy as well as more generally, a love of
worldly goods and material possessions. John Scattergood comments ‘clothing
is meaningful as well as practical: it is a gesture, a statement as to how one sees
oneself in relation to the rest of the world.’\textsuperscript{117} Dangerously ambiguous clothing
was explored in Texts E, H, T and A of How the Good Wife Taught her
Daughter, identified as ‘counterfeiting’ the position of a lady: ‘Loke th[ou] were
no rych robys/Ne count[er]fyte th[ou] no ladys’.\textsuperscript{118} ‘Lady’ could refer to the
mistress of a house, suggesting this may have been intended for female servants
within a household.

Texts E, H, L, and T had variations on this theme: ‘Be nout to modi no to
enious/For nout that mai bitiden in other man[n]is hous/Enious herte him silf
fret/Mi leue c[hild]’.\textsuperscript{119} Also: ‘if thin neibores wif hauet riche atir/her fore
make you no strif ne bren thou nought so fir/Bote thonke god of the good that he
the hatgh iguen’.\textsuperscript{120} Texts H, N, and L also discussed this from the alternative
perspective of the rich wife: ‘And if thou be a rych wiffe be thou nought to
harde/Welcome fayre thin neyboures that comen to the toward/Ande and

\textsuperscript{116} Text J, fol. 164’.
\textsuperscript{117} John Scattergood, ‘Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages’, in England in the
Fifteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. by Daniel Williams
\textsuperscript{118} Text A, fol. 8’. In Texts E, fol. 50’; H, fol. 218’; and T, fol. 212’, this was given with variant
spelling as: ‘With riche robys and gerlondes and swich riche thing/Ne cuntrefete no leuedi as thii
lord were a king’.
\textsuperscript{119} Text E, fol. 50’. This stanza did not appear in Text L. In Text N, ‘modi’ became ‘proud’.
\textsuperscript{120} Text E, fol. 50’.
drynke with fair semblante the mor schall be thi mede'. Text A had the most textual variation: ‘By syde th[e] if thy neighbor[es] thrive/Th[e] fo[re] thou make no strye/Bot thanke god of all thi gode/Th[at] he send th[e] to thy fode’. The instructions on clothing became part of a larger argument on neighbourly relations and community harmony, with the daughter learning of the importance of social relationships. Texts C and J of The Thewis of Gud Women echoed this counsel concerning appropriate female company: ‘Kep feris of wom[en] at are wys/And eu[ir] con[fer]m[e] hir to [th]e best/Of wom[en] that ar worthyest’. These poems established that women, more than men, formed crucial connections in the neighbourhood, with the maintenance of these structures central to female socialisation. Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford examined the shared cultural experiences that occurred between women across vertical and horizontal lines, demonstrating that common female experiences had the potential to override differences in class. Shared experiences included childbirth, childrearing and the importance of household duties. ‘Smaller’ shared experiences included verbal networks and material possessions which were particular to women. Tracy Adams has also commented that the contemporary Livre des Trois Vertus by Christine de Pizan (1405) addressed women from a range of social stations, including elite women (the book was for the young Princess Margaret of Burgundy married to the dauphin, Louis de Guyenne) as well as poor women and even to prostitutes. Adams sees this as Christine’s attempt to ‘express a feeling of solidarity, demonstrating that they were all subject to similar constraints as women, even though their situations were very different. Gowing has noted that in early modern London women themselves actively monitored and enforced good conduct and good sexual reputation. These

121 Text H, fol. 219'.
122 Text A, fol. 8'.
123 Text C, fol. 50'. Also in Text J, fol. 166'.
126 Laura Gowing, Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 59-110. See also, Gowing, ‘The freedom of the streets’, in Londunopolis, ed. by Griffiths and Jenner, pp. 130-153. The evidence from these courtesy poems is supported by contemporary documents including poll tax records (late-fourteenth century), borough ordinances, wills and guild ordinances which testifies to the involvement of

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poems likewise suggested that women determined acceptable behaviour and created exclusive female networks that monitored and scrutinised youthful conduct and activities, although this is complicated by the male biases of the author/s and scribes. We can however, see how these poems constructed a social environment which revolved around family units and female interactions within the close neighbourhood, rather than across wider social institutions. Unlike courtesy poems for boys and young men which focused on large elite households, these poems focused on complex female society in towns.\textsuperscript{127}

All manuscripts of \textit{The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter} showed the girl participating in household economic activities: 'And if thin lorde be fro home lete hem noght goen ydell/Loke that thou wete wele ho do mekyll or lytell/He that hath wele done gelde hym wele his whyle'.\textsuperscript{128} This corresponds to what we know of the role urban bourgeois and merchant wives played in the day to day running of their households and their ability to assume control in the absence of husbands and other male figures.\textsuperscript{129} In Texts T, L, N and A the girl/wife was discussed hiring female servants:

\begin{quote}

And yeue thy meyny her hyre at her terme-day
Whether they abyde styll or wende away
Yeue thou hem of thyne owne and so wysely thee welde
\end{quote}

urban women in economic spheres. For evidence of these records see Goldberg, \textit{Women in England}, various documents.

\textsuperscript{127} Hanawalt argues that urbanisation made it harder to separate men's and women's spheres, although women nevertheless 'moved within a narrower confines of the urban environment than did men.' Hanawalt, \textit{'Of Good and Ill Repute'}, p. 81. Goldberg argues we should be searching for a nuanced understanding of the gender roles and economic contributions of women in urban households before the mid-fifteenth century. P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Household and the Organisation of Labour in Late Medieval Cities: Some English Evidence', in \textit{The Household in Late Medieval Cities: Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared}, ed. by Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens (Leuven: Garant, 2001), pp. 59-70. See also P.J.P. Goldberg, 'Female Labour, Service and Marriage in the Late Medieval Urban North', \textit{Northern History}, 22 (1986), 18-38. For an interesting article that argues social class and practicality shaped urban household design see Jones, 'Women's Influence on the Design of Urban Homes', in \textit{Gendering the Master Narrative}, ed. by Erler and Kowaleski, pp. 190-211. There is a valuable discussion of the social use of space in York houses in Grenville 'Houses and Households in Late Medieval England', in \textit{Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain}, ed. by Wogan-Browne and others, pp. 309-328.\textsuperscript{128} Text H, fol. 219'. Variously expressed within the different texts, but retaining the general emphasis.

\textsuperscript{129} Widows have been recorded running their husband’s businesses, particularly immediately after their death. Their involvement may reflect a ‘finishing off’ of current projects rather than a genuine involvement in ongoing work. See, P.J.P. Goldberg, ‘Women’s Work, Women’s Role, in the Late-Medieval North’, in \textit{Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England}, ed. by Michael Hicks (\textit{For the App:} Alan Sutton, 1990), pp. 34-50 (pp. 45-46). It is also clear that some wives shared their husband’s occupations, especially amongst artisan classes. See documentary sources for women and working practices in Goldberg, \textit{Women in England}, various documents.
That thy frendys haue joy of thee both yong and elde\textsuperscript{130}

Text A was unique in providing additional stanzas on housewifely duties and activities:

\begin{quote}
Amend thy hous or th[ou] haue nede
For bett[er] aft[er] th[ou] schall spede
And if th[at] thy need be grete
And in the country co[r]ne be stryte
Make an hous wife o[n] thy selue
Thy bred th[ou] bake for hous wyfys helthe
Amonge th[i] seruant[es] if th[ou] stondyn
Thy werke it schall be soner done
To helpe them sone th[ou] sterte
For many hand[es] make lyght werke\textsuperscript{131}
\end{quote}

The social context evoked here, with its emphasis on domestic and economic authority may have been relevant only to some readers. That the ‘daughter’ controlled her own household, including the hiring of live-in female servants was less reflective of the interests of young servants themselves. We should not discount an older readership for these narratives. Young wives and household mistresses may have felt in need of a learning manual to help them govern their household, with the texts replacing or perhaps augmenting, or legitimising, experience. Or perhaps it was husbands who felt the need for their wives to have these manuals.

Courtesy poems were strongly influenced by an awareness of readerships and what socialisation needed to accomplish, particularly reflecting future occupations and status. In the clusters of male courtesy literature, this was relevant to the question of social mobility and the use behavioural guides had in relation to the emulation of elite lifestyles and household service. In these three poems for girls, social mobility took place via marriage and access to the wealth of husbands, negatively cited via directives on extravagant clothing. Male courtesy poems were geared towards a social education based upon the instruction of suitable public behaviour (demonstrated though courteous manners) that would help young men negotiate social and hierarchical connections and participate in the social world of the elite household. This in turn directed future preferment and success. Women, at least according to these

\textsuperscript{130} Text T, fol. 213\textsuperscript{r}. Text L, p. 109. In Texts E and H, she had servants and directed them, but her role was not given so precisely. ‘Terme-day’ referred to hiring servants at particular times of the year.

\textsuperscript{131} Text A, fol. 8\textsuperscript{r}. 

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male religious writers, were best served by precepts on marriage and the safeguarding of reputation. The social connections women formed were seen to be within family units and with neighbouring family units. The voice of the mother suggested both personal authority in these spheres and the authority of the community in emphasising how to behave before and after marriage, and how to negotiate relationships at various stages of life.\textsuperscript{132} Courtesy and socialisation for girls was expressed not just through polite gestures and mannerly acts, important as they were, but through a careful and considered interaction with other people, both male and female, and an ability to negotiate social networks smoothly. Female socialisation and 'courtesy' was complex and layered, with moral subtexts more readily articulated and given patent form.

A Gentleman’s Household

This chapter has been interested in how elite narratives were modified for lower social classes. Peter Idley's poem was from an independent tradition and offers an interesting contrast to the shifts in courtesy literature. Idley's poem, known as his Instructions to his Son, is significantly different in its tone and interests. Enough similarities remain in terms of its emphasis on youthful socialisation to compare his text with others.

Peter Idley's Instructions circulated in relatively wide fashion, with eight extant manuscripts known to exist today. Written between 1445-1450, Idley originally intended his work to be read in two books, Liber Primus and Liber Secundus. Each of the eight manuscripts differed in content and length and in all probability were based on a now lost 'master' copy from which various versions were derived.\textsuperscript{133} Of these eight manuscripts only Texts D, E, P and Additional 57335 included both Liber Primus and Liber Secundus, and then only in varying

\textsuperscript{132} Dronzek cites a gendered understanding of space in her study of conduct books. Likewise, she considers representation of honour (or reputation) to have been gendered differently. Honour for girls was linked to sexual reputation, while for boys it was linked to social status and the incorrect performance of courtesy. Dronzek, ‘Gendered Theories of Education’, in Medieval Conductor, ed. by Ashley and Clark, pp. 139-140, pp. 147-152. This is similar to the patterns this evidence has shown.

\textsuperscript{133} Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son, ed. by Charlotte d'Evelyn (Boston: Modern Language Association of America; 1935; repr. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1975), pp. 60-75. d'Evelyn has traced the relationships between seven of the manuscripts.
degrees of completeness. Of the remaining four manuscripts, two contained only the first book (B1 and H) and two only the second book (A and B2).\textsuperscript{134}

\textit{Liber Primus} and \textit{Liber Secundus} discussed different topics and themes. \textit{Liber Primus} weighed behaviour through a discussion of secular concerns, while \textit{Liber Secundus} turned to spiritual instruction, religious sins and transgressions. It was a division overtly isolating religious instruction from secular instruction, in essence directing readers to independent texts. This division was enforced physically in Texts B1 and H which contained only \textit{Liber Primus}, and Texts A and B2 which contained only \textit{Liber Secundus}. In this way some readers would have approached incomplete texts as complete texts, unaware or indifferent to the existence of a second book. Although physically separated in this way, each of the narratives were not entirely discrete and secular messages in \textit{Liber Primus} were reinforced via simple religious precepts.

Peter Idley’s identity remains unknown, but a sixteenth century gloss in Text H of the words ‘Peter Idle Esquire of Kent’, by John Stow, on fol. 21, and ‘Peter Idle Esquire’ on fol. 51, provides some clues to his possible background. By the later-fifteenth century, movement in social ranks can more easily be discerned from legal and court records, with Dyer suggesting the gentry or lesser nobility were increasingly composed of knights, esquires and gentleman. By the sixteenth century Peter Idley was being cast into this social class, realistically positioning him below that of lords or the peerage but above that of the yeomanry.\textsuperscript{135} d’Evelyn’s painstaking search of documentary records uncovered references to an ‘Idley’ in Oxfordshire, who gained the position of bailiff for the Honour of Wallingford and of St. Valery and Chiltern in around 1439. This would have provided Idley with an income of £10 per annum, rising to £27 in the years 1457-1459, at which time he was recorded as being Controller of the King’s Works. d’Evelyn’s research, based on the unlikelihood of two figures of the same name and with similar family structures and rank existing concurrently, led her to hypothesise that both the Kent Idley identified in the

\textsuperscript{134} See Appendix Two for full manuscript citations. Text E is the most complete of the texts, and will be primarily analysed in this chapter, a convention established by d’Evelyn. Both books were also found in British Library Additional MSS 57335, a manuscript d’Evelyn appears to have been unfamiliar with, beginning at ‘Spies (Species) prudencie’ (On guarding the tongue) and lacking the introductory stanzas.

\textsuperscript{135} John Stowe, who glossed Text H was born 1524/5 and died 1605. He was a noted manuscript collector who was surprisingly exact and meticulous in his research on English historical events. See Barrett L. Beer, ‘Stow, John (1524/5–1605)’, \textit{D.N.B.}\n<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26611> [accessed 10 Aug 2007] See also, Dyer, \textit{Standards of Living}, p. 15, p. 20.
manuscript, and the Oxfordshire Idley were the same man. The income levels achieved by Idley of Oxfordshire support the supposition that he was part of the lesser gentry. His official position as gentleman falconer and under-keeper of the royal mews and falcons between 1453 and to at least 1456, as well as his later appointment as Controller of the King’s Works, suggests this Peter Idley would have been familiar with the required social behaviour of a (minor) official of the royal court or perhaps even of the elite courtesy poems which were circulating there.

Yet this was not an elite courtesy text. That Idley was not writing his poem for children of the nobility was clear both from the social class his son Thomas would have inherited (the poem was addressed to him), and from his recommendation that Thomas make a study of law: ‘I conceyve thy witte bothe goode and able/to the lawe therefore, now haue I ment/to set the, if th[ou] wilt be stable’. An unashamedly gentry/professional context explains why the Instructions shied away from descriptions of elite courteous behaviour and elite household practices commonly found in courtesy poems proper. Dyer argues that during the mid-fifteenth century the gentry class was socially ambiguous in that while financially secure, they lacked the distinction conferred by aristocratic land holdings, existing ‘on fees and payments for administrative or legal services’.

Idley’s poem was not wholly his own creation and his use of other sources is notable, particularly his treatment of two popular Latin treatises by Albertanus of Brescia, Liber Consolationis et Consilii and Liber de Amore et Dilectione Dei et Proximii forming the basis of Liber Primus. While drawn from the earlier Latin treatises, Idley glossed them with his own colloquial English perspective, as d’Evelyn says ‘the formal tone, the dignified statement and the impersonal manner…are transformed by Idley into something much more homely and

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136 Several documents relating to Oxfordshire are dated 1459, 1461, and 1462, and list a ‘Peter Idle esquire’. Peter Idley of Oxfordshire was married twice and the evidence suggests he had between six to ten children of whom Thomas, for whom this poem was written, was probably the eldest. Peter Idley’s Instructions, ed. by d’Evelyn, p. 4, pp. 20-24.  
137 Text E, fol. 3r. Also in Text H, fol. 23r; B1, fol. 12r; Add. 57335, fol. 2r and Text P, fol. 20v. d’Evelyn believes Idley’s interest in the law and his career advice to his son distinguishes the poem from its counterparts. Peter Idley’s Instructions, ed. by d’Evelyn, p. 44.  
139 Robert Mannyng’s Handlyng Synne and Lydgate’s The Fall of Princes (completed between 1438-1439) were sources for Liber Secundus. d’Evelyn looks at the arrangement of Idley’s poem in relation to these sources. Peter Idley’s Instructions, ed. by d’Evelyn, p. 36-57
As mentioned, Idley did not draw upon courtesy poems from the elite archive to discuss socialisation, largely disregarding their narratives on table manners, aristocratic culture and hospitality which were rarely noted in his poem. While it is true Idley did not become associated with the King’s Court until the early 1450s, the absence of courteous advice and courtly environments within the text is still notable. Instead of highlighting courtesy narratives of this type and discussing socialisation primarily through courteous ideology, Liber Primus offered Thomas and any subsequent readers counsel on miscellaneous topics roughly characterised as relating to the secular world and the pitfalls and traps waiting for young men. The advice Idley chose to write about ranged from discretion, restraint in dress and expense, the worth of friends and rewarding advisers. It was the type of advice a fifteenth century father of the gentry class may have thought suitable for the education of his son in social matters, behaviour and career. Idley’s social status anchored his poem to a separate social environment with the result that he looked at courtesy and morality, in effect the socialisation of this son, in different ways from those poems of the great household.

We can draw some conclusions from this. In addition to lesser gentry and bourgeois readers appropriating courtesy texts, it was also, and perhaps conversely, these same groups who demonstrated an interest in literature and socialisation which described morality and virtue. It could be argued that it was the lesser gentry as well as the bourgeois and merchants who were more aware of moral behaviours and ethical work practices than elite groups, with this reflected in the literary texts and socialising themes associated with different classes. As suggested, this was complicated by the often ambiguous distinctions between gentry and nobles, as well as the blurring of social lines between rankings. Younger sons from the gentry class had to accept that mercantile work and professions in the law could secure them the advancement and security they could not achieve through inheritance or family preferment.

While courtesy was a natural accoutrement of elite circles, bourgeois, professional and gentry groups still entered into a relationship with courteous conduct and good behaviour. Courtesy per se was isolated to five stanzas. Idley introduced courtesy through a discussion of observable manners specifically relating to the matter of clothing. Idley began with the most basic precept; that

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140 Peter Idley’s Instructions to his Son, ed. by d’Evelyn, p. 42.
of keeping clothing clean. Text H expanded this to: ‘Kepe hem as honeste & as clenly as ye cane’.\textsuperscript{141} The phrase ‘manners makes the man’ was inverted by Idley to: ‘ffor clothynge ofte maketh man’.\textsuperscript{142} Idley qualified his statements by warning his son not to be too over-nice in his clothing: ‘But goo not to ouer nyce [and] gay’.\textsuperscript{143} Again, it was clothing which was used in literature to suggest social roles, tellingly associated with manuscripts and texts in the bourgeois cluster. Clothing both identified the individual by their station in life (and which was stated within sumptuary legislation), and by carrying encoded information concerning a person’s identity and character, such as a love of finery, aping continental fashions and, disastrously, over-courtesy and falsity.\textsuperscript{144} Such was Idley’s concern with extravagant dress that he termed it a ‘vice’, referencing it and other inappropriate actions such as visiting taverns, ribaldry and swearing, with the same ire. He returned to this when he added: ‘Be not straunge of hatte hoode ne hure’.\textsuperscript{145} Once again we have a reference to a meek countenance, which Idley describes as part of being ‘deborneire’.\textsuperscript{146} Idley shows a theoretical interest in behaviour and socialisation based on his knowledge that it provided an ‘outer figure’ for others to use in their judgement of you. As he said: ‘Therfore do this as I the teche/And gladde of thy companye will be ech a man/And sey of the worship[ple] al th[at] they can’.\textsuperscript{147}

Thomas learnt that his father wished him to think of God first when making decisions: ‘Praying to god euer to be thi govern[er] & guyde’.\textsuperscript{148} ‘God’ was used to support the argument; religious belief was not in itself the primary concern. The exploitation of religious sentiment in the service of secular goals was similarly cited in \textit{De casibus quibus licite pugnare possimus} (for the faith), a later passage drawing more overtly upon religious sentiments:

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{141} Text H, fol. 23r.
\item \textsuperscript{142} Text E, f. 3r. Also in Add. 57335, fol. 1r and Text P, fol. 19r. In Text H, fol. 23v: ‘For maners and clothynge doutelesse maketh man[n]’. In B1, fol. 12r this order was reversed: ‘For clothing & good man[er]s maketh man’. Horrox offers a different reading of the proverb ‘manners maketh man’, aligning it to virtue and not birth. Horrox, ‘Service’, in \textit{Fifteenth Century Attitudes}, ed. by Horrox, p. 62.
\item \textsuperscript{143} Text E, fol. 3r. Also in Add. 57335, fol. 1r and B1, fol. 12v. In Text H, fol. 23r: ‘But goo nott yeze as eueri nyce gaye’. In Text P, fol. 19r: ‘But medylnot off eueri nyse gaye’.
\item \textsuperscript{144} Clothing was a prime example of public show outside the household. See also the discussion on clothing from the \textit{Good Wife} poems. This is also analysed in Chapter Four in reference to books associated with merchant and bourgeois readers.
\item \textsuperscript{145} Text E, fol. 3r. Also in Add. 57335, fol. 2r and B1, fol. 12r. In Text H, fol. 23r: ‘not straunge of thi hode ne of thi hure’, in Text P, fol. 20r: ‘Be not stronoge of hatred ne off yre’.
\item \textsuperscript{146} Text E, fol. 3r. Also in Add. 57335, fol. 2r; B1, fol. 12r and Text P, fol. 20r. In Text H, fol. 23r this is: ‘Meke in countena[n]ce bo[nor]s’ and demure’.
\item \textsuperscript{147} Text E, fol. 3r. Also in Add. 57335, fol. 2r; B1, fol. 12r and Text P, fol. 20r. Similarly in Text H, fol. 23r.
\item \textsuperscript{148} Add. 57335, f. 4r. Other manuscripts have a slightly different phrase.
\end{itemize}

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Vndir feith is hydde all vertues be right
Thow can not haue amore sure shielde
Be neuer ferde vndre his ban[er] for to fight
But manly looke thow take the fielde
Put in hym thy trust th[at] al doith wialde
And be not ferde in no man[er] kynde:
Thenke th[at] he is eu[er] strong[er] than the feende

Yet the secular emphasis was apparent in the subsequent discussion on the material world. Part of Idley’s text pointed to the problems of lewdness, merriness and jollity. While these ‘transgressions’ could have been used to represent religious ideologies, here they were used to paint a picture of worldly problems:

Also flee the counciell of a foole,
ffor othyr thynge than folie doith he not love.
He was neuer fostred in wysdom scule;
To all lewdnesse he woll man move.
By his dedis thow may hym preve,
ffor whan his werkis turne to lewdnesse and folie,
then is he most merie and lolie

The stress laid on the material world points to the perceived materialism of the late medieval Church. Idley was even more aware of material lifestyles when he failed to condemn possessions: ‘Richesse in hymself y wote is no synne’. He completed the sentiment by saying: ‘So w[i]t[h]out goodis temp[or]all may not longe endure.’ Idley was not writing about a pious community, instead he was striving to explain to his son and other youths, the world as it existed and the best way of living in it. This was even more explicit in the next stanza:

W[i]t[h]out goodis temp[or]all th[i]s may not be hadde;
Also honour, worship, and frendship is past.
ffor as a ship[e] in the see w[i]t[h]out rother or mast
Ys ou[er]throw and turned w[i]t[h] waves and flodes,
So is a man for lak of temp[or]all goodis

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150 Text E, fol. 9r. Also in Add. 57335, fol. 7r and B1, fol. 17r. In Text H, fol. 30r. Text P, fol. 25r.
151 See R.N. Swanson, Church and Society in Late Medieval England (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).
152 Both quotations Text E, fol. 13r. Also in Add. 57335, fol. 11r and B1, fol. 20r. In Text H, fol. 35r. Text P, fol. 30r.
153 Text E, fol. 13r. In Texts P, fol. 30r; B1, fol. 20r and Add. 57335, fol. 11r. In Text H, fol. 35r.
These lessons were connected to the expectations of the material world and the rules and guidelines which enabled youths to inhabit it wholly and in Idley’s way of thinking, safely. By omitting and glossing over overt religious principles in Liber Primus, Idley was presenting a text which was rich in practical, realistic and above all pragmatic examples and models of behaviour suitable for a young man.

Liber Primus was shaped by this recurring concern with secular conduct and established medieval hierarchy in a way which reminded Thomas of the natural order of the world: ‘ffirst god and thy kyng th[ou] loue and drede/Aboue all thyng th[ou] this p[re]serue’.¹⁵⁴ Second to this was the more personal but no less vital obligation towards parents: ‘Allso thy fadre and modre thow honoure/As th[ou] wolde thy sone shold to the’.¹⁵⁵ Establishing the social order at the start of a text was a fairly standard literary device and echoed the function of the tag ‘Cristis Crosse me spede’.¹⁵⁶ This accomplished the dual task of locating Thomas and other youthful readers in a world they were already familiar with and simultaneously reinforced a sense of hierarchical commitment. Interestingly, this sense of duty towards specific figures (parents, God, monarch) and duty in maintaining an inherited station in life is one which has all but disappeared from the overt conditioning children and young people receive today.

Idley alerts us to his concern with political factions, which was part of his discussion about English nationality and sovereignty. In this way, Thomas was taken out of the domestic and somewhat generic and timeless household environment, and made aware of broader political debates. His socialisation was calculated and gauged both by his personal involvement with friends, his father and his close community and by his voice and agency in English politics. Idley endorsed absolute obedience and loyalty to England and the throne: ‘To stande w[i]t[h] thy kynghe in the Reawmes defence/And neu[er] to flee in no

¹⁵⁴ Text E, fol. 1’. Similarly in B1, fol. 10". The prologue and lines 1-49 are missing in Text P. Add 57335 is also incomplete. Text H lacked the reference to God and simply had: ‘[F]urste that thi kynghe thou loue & drede’. Text H, fol. 21’.
¹⁵⁵ Text E, fol. 1’. Similarly in Text H, fol. 21’ and B1, fol. 10". Add 57335 and Text P are incomplete and lack the opening stanzas.
¹⁵⁶ Text E, fol. 1’. A similar expression was used in complete manuscripts.
man[er] kynde/But utterly abide to the last ende. Idley also suggested a more direct involvement in politics and political actions:

Trust not to moche to thyn owne reason
Disprse not thy feith ne the power of thy kyng
Thow myght happe to stumble and falle into treason
Therfore medle not w[i]t[h] suche man[er] thyng

The structuring of the line: ‘Thow myght happe to stumble and falle into treason’ speaks of a man’s concern with his son’s welfare, and given the seriousness of a charge of treason, was one which would have resonated with his audience. What is particularly appealing was the informal language Idley employed (‘happe to stumble and falle’) as if he was suggesting the ease with which trouble befell youths. An understanding of youthful misbehaviour and strife was typical in courtesy works, although in most courtesy poems this was based on the symbolism of gestures and actions. In elite narratives, presuming to sit in too high a place, showing uncouth or churlish behaviour which overtly placed you outside the privileged group, and drawing unnecessary attention to yourself, were part of socialisation and identity. Here more complex behaviours were identified to control and restrain young people’s actions and their conduct in a political and social sense.

We must consider if Idley was locating his prescriptions in contemporary political and social contexts. The Hundred Years’ War, the Wars of the Roses and subsequent national instability were pertinent to Idley’s time. Given the loss of French territories from the 1440s and the complete loss of all holdings (barring Calais) by 1453, Idley’s references to a political context were particularly timely. The ongoing turmoil between the Lancastrians and Yorkists, as well as Richard, Duke of York’s political manoeuvrings, provided a further political and social background to his writing. A connection between Idley’s position as a member of the gentry and his re-working of militaristic notions also impinges upon the tradition of chivalry. Chivalric ideology was of

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157 Text E, fol. 16*. Similarly in Add. 57335, fol. 14*; B1, fol. 22*; Text P, fol. 33* and Text H, fol. 39*. For the relationship between this passage and Idley’s sources, see Peter Idley’s Instructions, ed. by d’Evelyn, p. 51.

158 Text E, fol. 15*. Similarly in Add. 57335, fol. 14*; B1, fol. 22*; Text P, fol. 32* and in Text H, fols 37*-38*.

159 See Chapter Four for an analysis of contemporary political culture and how concerns with public order, political uncertainties and disruption to the royal succession generated interest in moral reform. A heightened desire for moral regulation is also linked, I would argue, with urban bourgeois and merchant classes.
interest to gentry classes in the mid-fifteenth century, moving chivalry beyond its traditional elite and knightly context. Michael Stroud highlights an interest in chivalry amongst non-aristocratic classes in the mid-fifteenth century, at a time when knighthood came to symbolise less of a chivalric heritage and when neither the king nor the nobility encouraged livery practices. Significantly, merchant and bourgeois classes have been seen as embracing the language and ethical practices of chivalry. This echoes the stress on ethical conduct and moral behaviour found in courtesy poems associated with merchant and bourgeois readers. Stroud suggests the transfer of chivalric beliefs to other social groups was possible because of the inherent emphasis on conduct rather than lineage which was part of the chivalric code. I develop these issues further in the following chapter when I examine Caxton’s publications.

This chapter has analysed fifteenth century courtesy material and socialisation. It has been possible to account for a stronger theme of morality in poems and in what lessons suggested in terms of socialisation. I suggest that the developing interest in moral behaviour grew out of the merchant and bourgeois context, and possibly reflected the interests of smaller natal households. However, in the three poems for girls, the emphasis on true virtue was part of a gendered understanding of behaviour. It was likely that the socialisation and upbringing of girls always appropriated a virtuous framework more so than the socialisation of boys, even in the same period. We can also consider family audiences who were served by the intertextual nature of household manuscripts, such as

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160 See Keen’s work particularly, Origins of the English Gentleman.
161 ‘While this revival was widespread, it did not influence the conduct of the barony; livery and maintenance remained a problem during most of Henry VII’s reign. This apparent contradiction between ideals and practice arose because chivalry was not revived by its traditional practitioners in the nobility, but by the middle class.’ Michael Stroud, ‘Chivalric Terminology in Late Medieval Literature’, Journal of the History of Ideas, 37.2 (1976), 323-334 (p. 324). By 1450, only twelve knights can be detected in the Warwickshire records: ‘the decline being due to the continuing identification of knighthood and military service at a time when enthusiasm for the war was diminishing’. Carpenter, Locality and Polity, p. 82. By the later-fifteenth century the diminishing numbers of knights was partially overturned by changing definitions. Knighthood was no longer solely equated with military service but with politics and local leadership. Carpenter, Locality and Polity, pp. 85-87.
Ashmole 61, Advocates 19.3.1, Balliol 354, and also Harl. 541, Stowe 982, Lansdowne 699 and Lambeth 853.  

In this literature for merchant and bourgeois readers, and in the literature for girls, a different emphasis increasingly articulated outward manners with the motif of inner ethics and goodness. Socialisation based on class rules and courtesy, gradually reflected ‘truths’ about inner value and merit. Courtesy literature obviously still retained its conventional stance towards courteous behaviour which remained important in society. Yet some of these texts increasingly illustrated the presence of inner qualities as important factors in socialisation. No form of literature will be static over time, and an analysis of changing patterns developing out of established tropes can be revealing in terms of what behaviour and virtue came to mean to society and came to mean in literature.  

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163 'Virtue' was not an unknown dynamic with audiences or writers. Contemporary literary texts explored 'virtue' and fashioned complex arguments and meanings relating to virtue in life, including homiletic romances. In a study of moral love songs, Susanna Greer Fein noted that the genre of penitential lyrics, including The Sinner's Lament examined virtue and sin, allied to religious ideology. Moral Love Songs and Laments, ed. by Susanna Greer Fein, (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1998). Interestingly The Sinner's Lament was found in Advocates 19.3.1 and also Ashmole 61, two manuscripts that contained courtesy material and were for family audiences. 

164 Because I intend to examine the presence of morality and virtue in this literature, it is no longer possible to simply call it 'courtesy literature'. To avoid confusion, I intend to refer to late-fifteenth century material as courtesy/instructional texts, which avoids being too prescriptive.
Chapter Four
English Incunabula: Virtues and Vices

'Full convenient yf well vnderstood.'

Courtesy literature defined children's identity and status by suggesting the importance of adhering to social codes and mastering elite gestures. In Chapter Two I analysed how youthful socialisation was explained in terms of these manners: the way in which children and young people acted towards parents, God, social superiors and their contemporaries across an array of social settings and environments, at the outset identified with the interests of elite households. At the same time, fifteenth century manuscripts indicate that non-noble readers were not passive recipients of these ideas on behaviour, codes of conduct and courtesy. Elite socialisation was re-worked to better suit gentry, merchant and bourgeois working practices, evidenced in textual variations, interpolations and discretely cordonned off 'gentry' and 'bourgeois' manuals. The influence of these social groups on late-fifteenth century literature is important in determining how socialisation was articulated over time.

In this chapter I argue that late-fifteenth century printed books demonstrate new impulses in morality and virtue as part of the rhetoric of upbringing, building on these developments. Six incunabula printed by Caxton between 1476 and 1487 reflected virtuous and moral attributes. These texts are representative of Caxton's printing oeuvre and of the courtesy/instructional material made available in England in quarto and folio form. Some books reflected the older courtesy tradition, such as the 1476 edition of Stans puer ad mensam. Other books crafted more complex arguments for good behaviour. Parvus Cato, the Book of Curtesye, Caton and the Book of Good Manners intermingled morality with courtesy, and positioned virtuous behaviour with the ongoing discussion of childhood and socialisation. The Book of the Knight of the Tower reflected this interest in relation to a reading audience of girls and young women.

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1 'And as in my Jugement it is the beste book for to be taught to yonge children in scole/& also to peple of euerly age it is ful conuenient yf it be wel vnderstanden.' Paraphrased from William Caxton, Here begynneth the prologue or prohemye of the book calld Caton whiche booke hath ben translated in to Englysshe by Myster Benet Burgh, late Archedekeyn of Colchestre and hye chanon of saint stephens at westemstre...and by cause of late cam to my hand a book of the said Caton in Frensshe, whiche reherceth many a fary lernynge and notable esamples, I haue translated it oute of frenshe in to Englysshe, as al along here after shalle appiere, whiche I presente vnto the cyte of London (Westminster, 1484), ii. 
In this chapter I offer a comparison between courtesy themes as they appeared in extant manuscripts, and those in books printed by Caxton. Caxton certainly extended courtesy and instructional literature for the new dynamic of printing, and made this genre part of the reading and literary networks for that time, although with critical differences. I will analyse the extent to which material from the existing vernacular archive was chosen for print and distributed in dual manuscript and print form in the 1470s and 1480s in England, following on from Meale’s work on Caxton’s romances. This survey will explore the type of courtesy/instructional literature privileged by the English presses. We may see one type of literature prioritised in print, either one following on from the courtesy material which was readily available, or one which responded more to the moral and didactic texts also on hand. I am interested in changing emphases on morality as distinct from courtesy, across the manuscript and print corpus. I will consider if popular courtesy themes, which made use of references to hospitality, serving in elite households, obedience and a strong focus on superficial courteous behaviour, can be found in the books from the first two decades of printing in England. At the heart of this chapter is the question of whether the evidence shows that a different understanding of socialisation was prioritised in print at this time, and to what these shifts and developments were responding.

Texts and Contemporary Political Events: Virtue and Morality in the Late-Fifteenth Century

The audiences accessing this literature engaged with social and political debates in their day to day lives, either as merchants with connections to the Continent, local gentry and lesser nobles with powerful roles as Justices of the Peace, or the yeoman, craftsmen and prosperous tradesman who were involved with juror presentments in local communities. Of the concerns held by these groups, a climate of moral anxiety is the most pertinent in this thesis. Through detailed


4 This is set in a context of gender conservatism that also became stronger in the late-fifteenth century. Phillips cites literary examples as evidence of this. It is also linked to conservative merchant audiences. Phillips, Medieval Maidens, p. 90. Goldberg finds a tightening moral
work on court records Marjorie McIntosh has established the presence of moral concerns in England before the early-seventeenth century puritan movement. In public court records taken from the first decades after the 1348-9 plague, moral regulation was noticeable. The role of the non-elite community in regulating behaviour through court processes suggests a pervasive atmosphere of moral anxiety. Probing morality and moral identity via court presentments was thus part of an active approach in instilling moral reform and in controlling perceived disorder at an individual community level.

While McIntosh is at pains to examine community notions of morality before the 1460s-1470s, it was in this critical late-fifteenth century period that localised community efforts had a more compelling relationship with English national crises in politics. The mid-to late-fifteenth century was a time of acknowledged social and political disruption in England, associated both with the loss of French territories from the 1440s, and more internally on English soil, with the Wars of the Roses. While this escalating military and political intrigue was undoubtedly felt most strongly within inner royal and aristocratic circles, other social groups including the gentry, merchants and bourgeois responded to the same anxieties and disorder. The contemporary printed texts from the late-fifteenth century, which were accessible across social classes, found relevance in this ongoing process. I argue that the pragmatic, personal and local interest in moral behaviour was matched by the theoretical and intellectual interest in ethical conduct taken from the literary record. Caxton’s books were a literary mirror held up to this, as were other contemporary material. This can be seen in the English translation of De Consulatu Stiliconis, as well as the chronicle of English kings in Harley 116, and William Worcester’s The Boke of Noblesse. These three texts are suggestive of some interesting political/literary parallels drawn in the mid-to late-fifteenth century.

outlook in the late-fifteenth century, in conjunction with declining economic prospects.
5 Marjorie McIntosh, Controlling Misbehaviour in England, 1370-1600 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See pp. 9-10 for detailed listing of the offenses identified. McIntosh argues that before the mid-to late-fifteenth century, moral regulation occurred in peaks and troughs often unrelated to wider national events, pp. 129-134. Peter Lake has written that McIntosh manages to ‘uncouple the phenomenon from many of the national, global events and ideological currents to which it has been hitherto attached’, instead concentrating on regional and local factors at work in communities. Peter Lake, ‘Periodization, Politics and “The Social”’, Journal of British Studies, 37.3 (1998), 279-290 (p. 283).
6 McIntosh finds that from the 1470s onwards, the language of official national debates concerning order and law resembled the language and phrasing of these lesser local courts. An example of language and ideologies filtering upwards. McIntosh, Controlling Misbehaviour, pp. 132-133.
In the 1450s the English translation of Claudian’s political/moral poem *De Consulatu Stiliconis* was presented to Richard, third Duke of York. John Watts has suggested that the political discourse originally described by Claudian in c. 400AD was consciously identified with York’s political struggles and his conflict with Henry VI’s government. In particular we can note that the poem relegated hereditary rule in favour of rulers working for the common good of ‘the people’.\(^7\) As Watts suggests, conflating the themes of virtue and political agency would have established an alternative route to power, strikingly relevant to Richard and to his son, later Richard III.

Harley 116, dated c. 1460 has a similar theme. The manuscript contained the mid-fifteenth century text *The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV*, an inventory of English rulers. Raluca Radulescu has suggested the chronicle ‘is illustrative of contemporary fifteenth-century anxieties over rightful kingship and governance of England’.\(^8\) Another relevant source from this time was *The Boke of Noblesse* (c.1453 and revised and circulated in 1475) written by William Worcester, a member of Sir John Fastolf’s staff. Worcester rationalised England’s loss of Normandy not only in terms of military tactics but as a product of national moral conduct: ‘And we ought so to kepe us frome the offending and grevynge of oure soverayn Maker...that thoroughge oure synfulle and wrecched lyvyng ayenst his lawes he be not lengir contrarie to us, sufferinge us this grevouslie for oure offensie to be overthrow, rebukid, and punished as we bee’.\(^9\) In this, national virtue was correlated with England’s international status. Virtue was necessary not only for the security of the nation but for its long-term international interests. Gerald Harriss acknowledges that *The Boke of Noblesse* sought to repair ‘the moral failings by which they [the English] had forfeited divine favour’.\(^10\) Worcester sought to comment on current political/social

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\(^7\) John Watts, *De Consulatu Stiliconis: texts and politics in the reign of Henry VI*, *Journal of Medieval History*, 16.3 (1990), 251-266 (pp. 258-259). Stilico’s right to rule was also based on his virtuous character and dynastic connections, in a context of political/social emergency.

\(^8\) And also that ‘...its owners’ interests lay with the issues of royal inheritance, descent, and the governance of the realm, which were widespread concerns among an increasing audience, including country and urban gentry.’ Raluca Radulescu, ‘Yorkist Propaganda and *The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV*, *Studies in Philology*, 100.4 (2003), 401-424 (p. 402). See also an extended discussion of gentry families and their books in, Radulescu, *The Gentry Context*, pp. 39-81. Interestingly, both *De Consulatu Stiliconis* and *The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* had a Yorkist bias.


conditions according to the contexts he was most familiar with within knightly circles by re-igniting interest in chivalry and by acknowledging a supposed failure in moral discipline.

It is apparent that during the late fifteenth century, concerns with government, national identity and acceptable (and legitimate) political order found expression in material that was read by an interested gentry and possibly an urban bourgeois and merchant audience. An awareness of social and political turmoil begets interest in how to defuse and strategically cope with such problems.\textsuperscript{11} The \textit{Chronicle} can be understood as one attempt to order and direct future stability and which significantly was undertaken through referencing and revering past figures. This was a trope Caxton used to considerable effect as I explore shortly. We know that power need not travel downward from the elites to the masses and that networks of social and political agency were necessarily more complex.\textsuperscript{12} Social and political agendas could be raised and driven by the gentry, local governments and peasants. D. McCulloch and E.D. Jones have shown that political awareness eventually leads to criticism.\textsuperscript{13} The rise of critical commentary after the 1450s was itself related to the \textit{dissemination} of ‘verbal doggerel and bills’ which spoke of popular suspicion towards government and law.\textsuperscript{14}

These responses demonstrate the mental strategies put in place by individuals to comprehend and understand social change and often, English nationhood. We can also use literature as a gauge of wider social discourses. Kuskin argues that early print culture can itself only be grasped if we understand its engagement with the times, and the connections between ‘vernacular literary authority, capitalism, and the identity of the English nation’.\textsuperscript{15} In this case there was also a

\textsuperscript{11} Radulescu comments that genealogies were important tools used by royal families during phases of political instability, ‘Yorkist Propanganda’, p. 407. Joel T. Rosenthal also writes that families ‘were becoming self-conscious about their past. The \textit{Percy Cartulary}...is a product of an age that was becoming interested in comparing past performances with present [sic] value. The more imaginative history of the Beauchamps of Warwick tied the new antiquarian and scholarly interest in the English past to contemporary status: such a literary product belonged to a century which also saw quarrels over precedent and dignity with the House of Lords.’ Joel T. Rosenthal, \textit{Nobles and the Noble Life}, 1295-1500 (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1976), pp. 91-92.

\textsuperscript{12} Ford acknowledges the studies of Carlo Ginzburg, Gerald Harriss and R.B Goheen who look at the cultural and political agency of non-elites. Ford, ‘A View from a Village’, pp. 1-19.


\textsuperscript{14} Harriss, \textit{Shaping the Nation}, p. 649.

\textsuperscript{15} Kuskin, ‘“Onely Imagined”’, in \textit{Caxton’s Trace}, ed. by Kuskin, p. 201.
particular debate with moral reform.\textsuperscript{16} How did these threats become translated not only into adult works, but also into literature for children and young people, or into literature concerned with children and young people? We know that eighteenth century French revolutionary literature targeted children in the attempt to create a politically active and morally orthodox society: 'threats to the continued existence of the new republic mobilized ardent concern for (re)educating the French citizenry. A flurry of publications for children...supported the political effort to create a new kind of citizen.'\textsuperscript{17} These children were the future model citizens of the republic, acknowledged as valuable participants in the imagined community.

Even so, it is easier to perceive adult literature as enjoying a more established relationship with political agency. In an attempt to locate children's courtesy/instructional literature in this broader framework, it is useful firstly to identify complementary adult literature printed by Caxton which demonstrated a distinct social agenda and political justification. As the features of this literature are established it is possible to then compare this to books in the childhood cluster. We can also question if adult texts represented merchant and bourgeois, as well as gentry, interests. What texts would show this? Fortunately we know of two books by Caxton which responded to late-fifteenth century social events and which can be associated with a gentry and merchant audience, firstly \textit{Le Morte Darthur}, and also the \textit{Order of Chivalry}. Let us turn to \textit{Le Morte Darthur}.\textsuperscript{18}

The protracted history of the Arthurian source material presents challenges in equating any one version to contemporary and specifically English events, without substantial qualification. It is however, reasonable to suggest that \textit{Le Morte Darthur} could echo contemporary social concerns, even if neither Malory (as evidenced in the Winchester manuscript) nor Caxton directly alluded to a specific English context in a systematised way. A qualified approach is


\textsuperscript{17} Higonnet, 'Civility Books', p. 124.

\textsuperscript{18} Lotte Hellinda has carried out some fascinating work on the Winchester manuscript, not discovered until 1934. Printer's ink stains shows the manuscript was in Caxton's workshop. Hellinda, \textit{Caxton in Focus}, pp. 89-94. The Winchester manuscript is the only known version of the tale outside of Caxton's edition (and the subsequent versions which derived from it of course). The Winchester manuscript is unlikely to be Malory's autograph text, and was the work of two scribes. See, Carol M. Meale, "The Hoole Book": Editing and the Creation of Meaning in Malory's 'Text', in \textit{A Companion to Malory}, ed. by Archibald and Edwards, pp. 3-17 (p. 4).
suggested by Elizabeth Archibald and A.S.G. Edwards in their volume of Arthurian studies: ‘The contemporary interest in an Arthurian past reflected in Malory’s undertaking can be plausibly related to the cultural, political and social situations in which he lived and wrote.’

This observation is taken and applied to the following argument.

Can we therefore suggest that the account of past glories and chivalric heritage in Caxton’s *Le Morte Darthur* would have resonated with late-fifteenth century audiences aware of the Lancastrian/Yorkist divide in England and of the devastating loss of French territories? English readers would have recalled Henry VI’s renunciation of the French throne and the loss of Normandy and territories in Aquitaine by 1453. Michael Stroud has seen Malory’s sensitivity towards chivalry in *Morte* as paradoxically in competition with contemporary destabilising events: ‘This violent episode [between Nicholas Radford and retainers of the Duke of Devonshire] characterizes chivalry in England during the Wars of the Roses... England’s most fervent apostle of chivalry, Sir Thomas Malory, was a contemporary of these battles, and may have been a participant in similar encounters.’

Caxton’s edition of *Le Morte Darthur* developed a particularly strong moral outlook, contrasting with the Winchester manuscript which contained conflicting information about the moral nature of the Arthurian world. Stroud sees Malory as moved to write of poor personal choices rather than broader moral failings.

In Caxton’s edition we can identify both a stronger moral judgment, as well as a stronger contemporary political commentary. P.J.C. Field identifies direct revision in Caxton’s text, suggestive of imagery for Richard III and Henry Tudor. In the Winchester manuscript, Arthur dreamt of a battle between a dragon and a bear, ultimately ending in the victory of the dragon over the tyrant (bear). Caxton amended the figure of the bear to that of a boar. The boar was

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19 Elizabeth Archibald and A.S.G. Edwards, ‘Introduction’, in *A Companion to Malory*, ed. by Archibald and Edwards, p. xiv. In the same volume Carol Meale writes: ‘by looking at the text’s presentation from the point of view of its potential audience(s), it also becomes possible to offer a partial reconstruction of the cultural framework in which the work was embedded, and of expectations and reading practices which it embodies.’ Meale, ‘‘The Hoole Book’’, in *A Companion to Malory*, ed. by Archibald and Edwards, p. 6.


the emblem of Richard III, just as the dragon was that of Henry Tudor. Field
notes that such symbolic imagery had appealed to Caxton, with a similar
political play upon words and images in *Blanchardin and Eglantine* (1488).23
Weinberg finds that Caxton would have made his alterations to *Le Morte Darthur*
from mid-July 1484 onwards, at a time of continual threats to
Richard III by Henry Tudor.24

For Caxton, a moral perspective was identified for readers in the preface.
Caxton directly and bluntly invited his audience to compare current kingship
with a nostalgic past: ‘Fyrst and chyef of the thre best crysten and worthy/kyng
Arthur/whyche oght moost to be remembred emonge vs englyshe-men tofore
al other crysten kynge’.25 Caxton positioned this against past moral superiority,
relating chivalry to the nobility and suggesting moral behaviour was essential:

to the entente that noble men may see and lerne the
noble actes of chiuialry/the Jentyl and vertuous
dedes that somme knyghtes used in tho dayes/by
whych they came to honour26

Caxton subsequently referenced broader social estates in place of his references
to the nobility, ‘promising’ chivalry, virtue and honour (and hence this book)
were relevant codes to all people and to modern standards in England:

humbly besechyng al no-ble lorde and ladyes and
al other estates of what estate or degre they been of/
that shal see and rede in this sayd book and werke/that
they take the good and honest actes in their remembraunce/
and to folowe the same27

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23 ‘The change must have been deliberate, and it created a bold political allusion’. It is unlikely
this was a printer’s error as in each of the six cases, ‘bear’ was changed to ‘boar’. P.J.C. Field,
by Bonnie Wheeler, Robert L. Kindrick and Michael N. Salda (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000),
pp. 127-168 (p. 133). Egliantyne meant the white rose and was a compliment to Elizabeth of
York, wife of Henry VII. As with manuscripts, we should seek to categorise these changes as
deliberate scribal or editorial decisions.

24 S. Carole Weinberg, ‘Caxton, Anthony Woodville, and the Prologue to the *Morte Darthur*’,
*Studies in Philology*, 102.1 (2005), 45-65 (pp. 60-61). Citing Christine Carpenter, *The Wars of
the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge: Cambridge

25 William Caxton, [*Le morte darthur*] title taken from colophon: *Thus endeth thys noble and
joyous book entytled Le morte darthur ... which book was reduced in to Englyshhe by Syr
Thomas Malory ... and by me deuyded in to xxi bookes ... Caxton me fieri fecit* (Westminster,
1485), ii'.

26 Caxton, *Le morte darthur*, iii'.

27 Caxton, *Le morte darthur*, iii'.
The moral context identified in the preface should be seen as part of an informed understanding of current political events and of the ongoing conflict between Richard III and Buckingham and Tudor. The moral and political complexities of the time would have been of practical concern to Caxton, especially when considering the consequences he would have faced for too direct a condemnation of Richard III. Caxton may have felt the need to perform mental gymnastics in legitimising the story while maintaining historical ambiguity. A subtext of undeserving kingly rule and shameful noble conduct would have held meaning for Caxton, and been interpreted by an audience as a metaphor for current rule, if the audience chose to do so.

In the previous year, another of Caxton’s books, the *Order of Chivalry*, can be seen as responding to political events. It is tempting to read the epilogue in light of this and certainly it is hard to infer anything other than that a direct declaration was calculatingly made between Richard III’s England and the England of the past:

> thecersyttees of chyalry/not vsed/honourede/ne excercysed
> as hit hath ben in auneyet tyme/at whiche tyme the noble actes of the knyghtes of englond that vsed chyalry were renomed thurgh the vnyuersal world

Caxton listed kings praised for their conduct, virtue and chivalry, beginning with Richard I and continuing with Edward I and III, and Henry V. Against this list, Richard III was conspicuously absent. The sense of a dialogue with the audience, and perhaps by extension Richard III, was developed when Caxton asked: ‘I wold demaunde a question yf I shold not displease/how many knyghtes ben ther now in englond/that haue thuse and thexcercyre of a knyghte’. Caxton’s words might be deferential, although only to an extent (‘yf I shold not displease’); however, there was a distinct invective in his argument. Caxton then invoked Richard III directly through an adroit act of flattery: ‘And thus thy lytyl book I presente to my redoubted naturel and most dradde souerayne lord kyng Rychard kyng of englond and of Fraunce/to thende/that he commaunde

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29 Caxton’s prologues and epilogues are collected in *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, ed. by Crotch. For the *Order of Chivalry* see pp. 82-84.
31 It would be incorrect to speculate on this too much. Caxton was after all a businessman, and he would not have been willing to destroy himself or his business by too pointed an attack on the current king. That Caxton felt able to publish in this vein suggests that anxieties and alarm were not at such a fever pitch that this would have ignited unrest.
this book to be had and redde vnto other yong lorde knyghtes and gentylmen within thys royame’. 32

As we know from Caxton’s marketing techniques, aristocratic reading networks as well as gentry, merchant, and bourgeoise audiences were reached by this literature. Radulescu has explored gentry readership for Le Morte Darthur as part of a wider gentry interest in literature speaking about current political and social culture. 33 Stroud also believes Caxton added a ‘bourgeoise formula’ to Le Morte Darthur, equating virtue with success in an attempt to appeal to commercial interests and the culture of self-advancement and acquisition within merchant/bourgeoise classes. 34 Orienting printed books towards political and social subtexts provided alert readers with opportunities to engage with wider national debates. In other examples, Caxton alluded to political events and people, often naming public figures including Anthony Woodville, George, Duke of Clarence and of course Richard III, as above. 35 In much of Caxton’s literature, the emphases on politics, virtue, moral behaviour and chivalric conduct were debated specifically within prologues. Caxton’s comments would have been particularly pointed and meaningful if we accept they were read by a knowing and astute audience.

A final piece of evidence may help to consolidate Caxton’s agency in publishing politically sensitive works at a time when printing culture is increasingly seen as engaging with national identity. 36 A.E.B. Coldiron notes that the poetry of Alan Chartier (d. 1430) was translated by Caxton and published as the The Curial (1483 and 1484) in politically sensitive times. 37 Chartier’s work had direct

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32 The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton, ed. by Crotch, p. 84. Penninger reads the Order of Chivalry’s prologue as an attack on Richard III and as a lament on the current state of English rule. Penninger, William Caxton, p. 34. However it was Richard who had opposed his brother’s diplomatic overtures to France in 1475, preferring a military response. Charles Ross, Richard III (London: Methuen, 1981; repr. 1988), p. 34.

33 Radulesc, The Gentry Context, pp. 83-112. The gentry classes also appropriated other non-Arthurian romances and chivalric texts.


35 As suggested in Chapter One, Caxton may have ‘counterfeited’ some of these connections. However, even if this was the case, Caxton was still creating an environment in which this played a strategic role in marketing. Caxton’s credibility when it comes to his connections with Anthony Woodville were more probable. See, Weinberg, ‘Caxton, Anthony Woodville’, pp. 49-52.

36 Kuskin looks not so much towards Caxton, but late-fifteenth and early sixteenth century printing in general as ‘representative of a much larger relationship between the material production of goods and the symbolic production of national identity.’ Kuskin, ‘“Onely Imagined”’, in Caxton’s Trace, ed. by Kuskin, pp. 199-200.

correlations with the Hundred Years' War. As Coldiron notes, it would be unwise to suggest too systematic a parallel between French culture and English culture. Yet Chartier's moral critiques of court life would have found some relevance to English audiences in the mid-1480s who were experiencing their own disruption to the English royal succession with the death of Edward IV, the disappearance and possible murder of the two princes, and Richard III's contentious rise to the throne. By looking at wider social context, evident within prefaces, we are able to consider texts as embedded in a contemporary English national, political and literary framework.

Courtesy/instructional literature may itself seem to be peripheral to this, yet this was also a medium accessed by and relevant for a growing body of classes. 38 For gentry, merchant and bourgeois readers we should remember that courtesy and instructional literature aimed at children and families had a long and distinguished history and relevance. While it is increasingly recognised that adult texts reflected a supposed national decay, the circulation of correlated ideas in this children's genre has not been explored. The following analysis integrates this literature into existing studies on political debates, looking at how the paradigms of 'childhood' were affected by social changes during the late-fifteenth century and what can be seen of this in the literature.

*Stans puer ad mensam*: A Courtesy Poem

The content of this poem has already been analysed in the previous chapters, and Caxton's edition offers no substantially different reading to that examined in Chapter Two. Caxton assimilated the fixed courtesy topos into his book, extending the life of 'courtesy' into the new printed tradition. Continuities are neither surprising nor unexpected. Early printers made good use of existing texts for the presses, speeding up the process of preparing an item for publication and offering printers a safe and established avenue for the sale of

English Renaissance*, Yale Journal of Criticism, 16.2 (2003), 315-344. Chartier's work was also translated and published again in England in 1549, by Francis Seager, an author we shall meet in Chapter Six, who also wrote texts aimed at children. Coldiron, 'Translation's Challenge', p. 326.

38 Carolyn Collette describes something similar occurring in French courtly vernacular literature after Charles V's death, and the 'deteriorating political situation' of the time, with a shift away from the 'self' towards social relationships, or a moral state. Carolyn P. Collette, 'Chaucer and the French Tradition Revisited: Philippe de Mézières and the Good Wife', in Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain, ed. by Wogan-Browne and others, pp. 151-168 (pp. 154-155).
their books. Bourgeois, merchant, gentry and elite readers were familiar with courtesy literature as suitable reading material for young people. The popularity of the Stans puer poem in manuscripts would only have added to Caxton’s belief in its marketability as a printed book. The purpose of the following analysis is less to re-examine the Stans puer poem proper, than to examine the printing and editorial techniques employed by Caxton in the 1476 edition, as a case study for how printed courtesy/instructional material was presented at the time. Similarities between printing techniques and manuscript techniques can be noted in this way.

Caxton’s edition combined the traditional poem with additional material, most probably to use available free space. This included an abbreviated verse of simple precepts beginning ‘Aryse erly’, the Salue Regina in English, a four line verse beginning ‘Wytt hath wonder’, and finally six proverbial phrases of two lines each. Caxton’s editorial decisions speak to the use of manuscript strategies in a new form. Technological advances made it possible for publishers to print and sell multiple texts as a single and discrete edition, possibly aimed at the family audiences increasingly reached by manuscripts and household miscellanies in the fifteenth century.39

Similarities between printed books and manuscripts suggest print did not radically transform the reading landscape. Printing a longer courtesy poem with miscellaneous smaller verses reproduced anthologised manuscripts and would have been a familiar extension of material culture to readers. In a pragmatic sense, Caxton’s ventures would have been aided by the relative ease in publishing a short volume comprising multiple items. Simultaneously the reader also accessed a book with a thematic unity to it, responding to supposed reader interests. The practical exploitation of available texts helped create a more substantial yet easy to produce book. This was consolidated in two sixteenth century editions by Wynken de Worde and Johan Redman.

Both de Worde and Redman recycled Caxton’s 1476 format, beginning their editions with the Stans puer poem, followed by the additional passages.40 Each

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39 Balliol 354 inverted this and demonstrated how an individual could take a printed text and rework it back into a manuscript. Chapter Three contained further details on this.
40 William Caxton, Stans puer ad mensam (Westminster, 1476). Stans puer ad me[n]sa[m] (Wynken de Worde, London, 1510). Also, Stans puer ad mensa[m]. Otherwyse called the boke of Nourture, newly imprinted and very necessary vnto all youte (Johan Redman, London, 1534). Both de Worde and Redman printed copies in other years, as did other printers. However, I am
made two more significant additions. The first of these were the inclusions of woodcuts. In de Worde’s 1510 edition the woodcut depicted one male and one female figure on either side of a group of six children, two of whom appear female due to their headgear. Redman’s 1540 edition similarly included a woodcut depicting two adult figures (male and female) with two children. The visual reference mimicked the content of the text and provided imagery which stimulated both the reader’s imagination and reinforced conceptual messages of youth and (in)experience within the narrative. Art historians typically decipher visual images by analysing the relative size of figures to distinguish between adult and child portraits. Art historians concede this is confused in medieval and early modern artwork by the use of smaller figures to denote class differences as well as age differences.\(^\text{41}\) Given the context of these woodcuts in relation to the poem, both explanations are apt and would have heightened the reader’s reading experience.

Both de Worde and Redman also included a separate, yet parallel courtesy/instructional poem as part of the overall book. This was Caxton’s Book of Curtesye, now re-titled ‘Lytell Johan’. Interestingly, the Book of Curtesye recast courtesy values as part of a critique of false courtesy and overly extravagant elite practices. The addition of this contradictory narrative on ‘courtesy’ reinvented how the complete edition may have been read, offsetting the more traditional themes of Stans puer ad mensam. However, the similarities between the two poems may have been enough to account for these publishing decisions. The printing of these texts as one substantial edition was a physical extension of how symbiotic instructional material was gathered and presented en masse to readers in manuscripts. Here, the idea that late-fifteenth century literary culture was fashioned around the publication of texts bound by common themes, has actual physical weight.\(^\text{42}\)

By 1510 and 1540, parents or any other adults buying Stans puer ad mensam were in effect purchasing a bible of courtesy/instructional advice for children. This may explain the presence of visual aids in each edition which emphasised a family unit and not an elite, fostered environment. As with earlier manuscript


\^\text{42}\) I set a context for this in Chapter One of this thesis.
anthologies, editions such as these shaped reading habits and responses, and
were in turn shaped by presumed reader interests. The physical compilation of
texts in print removed the aspect of active participation on the part of the reader
that was possible with manuscript production, reinforcing the control and
influence of printers in creating unified texts which could not be separated.
Readers could of course choose to bind this with other material and reclaim a
measure of independent participation in the way texts were controlled, but they
could not undo the work of the printers.\textsuperscript{43} Technological advances in printing
shaped the way the reading community approached literary material, with
established narratives reworked for a new buying and reading public, although
this could be carried out according to traditional and conventional lines as was
the case here.\textsuperscript{44}

Virtues and Vices in Some Early Texts

Parvus Cato used traditional and conventional principles to describe upbringing.
Children or perhaps their parents reading the book were told to rise early and
‘ioure no slogardye‘\textsuperscript{45}, to revere parents and ‘drede’ their masters, to observe
moderation in eating and drinking, and be demure in speech. These were all
precepts that past generations would have learnt in their own youth, based on the
supposition that they were from the class groups where these lessons had
meaning. The conventions were established in the Latin Distichs of Cato, from
which Benedict Burgh’s English translation had been made only decades prior
to the first 1476/7 edition. Brunner suggests that Caxton may have come into
contact with Burgh at Westminster, stumbling across his translation there.\textsuperscript{46}

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\textsuperscript{43} The study of Sammelbände looks at reader responses. Gillespie investigates how readers
approached print and their tactics in re-creating and disrupting print culture in, Gillespie, ‘
“Following the trace of master Caxton”’, in Caxton’s Trace, ed. by Kuskin, pp. 167-195. See
also Edwards and Meale, ‘The Marketing of Printed Books’, p. 96, where print is argued to
reduce ‘individualism’.

\textsuperscript{44} Recently we have been asked to look beyond the idea of the printed book as either ‘new’ or an
extension of manuscripts, in Caxton’s Trace ed. by Kuskin.

\textsuperscript{45} Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, ‘a1v’. Only the third edition was paginated, making
it difficult to give accurate references to earlier editions. All quotations and page numbers
therefore refer to the third edition. However, all quotations can be found in both earlier editions.

\textsuperscript{46} For an interesting article on earlier versions of the Distichs of Cato, including a discussion of
Burgh and Caxton’s edition (including Caton) see Ingrid Arvade Brunner, ‘On Some of the
Vernacular Translations of Cato’s Distichs’, in Helen Adolf Festschrift, ed. by Sheema Z.
pp. 99-123. We should acknowledge Caxton’s astute business acumen in tapping into existing
literary ideas and his ability to advance his own commercial business interests by utilising pre-
existing material for his presses. Burgh worked on the translation of Parvus Cato during the
mid-fifteenth century, reworking the Latin Distichs of Cato. Orme comments on the Distichs of
Burgh paraphrased the original Latin text to better suit his chosen verse form (rime royal stanzas), while retaining the emphasis on youthful upbringing in the distich style. A variation within the Burgh/Caxton edition suggesting a change in projected audience was the removal of fili carissime (beloved son) to the general ‘leue child’.\textsuperscript{47}

Moral lessons had always been integrated into the Distichs of Cato more so than in narratives in the true courtesy vein. Parvus Cato emphasised a particular type of upbringing which combined simple courtesy instructions (‘Play with the toppe the dises loke thou escewe’)\textsuperscript{48} with an emphasis on ethical behaviour. Readers with access to manuscripts with the Latin verse or to Burgh’s translation, could have drawn upon these ideas before Caxton’s edition appeared. However, Caxton’s edition expanded audiences considerably. The popularity of the book, running to three editions in 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2 would indicate that there was a relevance and an interest in this type of moral socialisation with late-fifteenth century readers who were outlaying part of their recreational capital on book purchases.

A distinct social and family environment was identified in the first three pages prior to the main body of text.\textsuperscript{49} A lament was given on the current state of affairs and the lack of ‘vertuous gouernance’ in the lives of ‘fele folkes’.\textsuperscript{50} The reflection on earthly concerns anchored the book to social contexts, with this ‘sold’ as relevant to readers through the traditional envoi format: ‘Beholde my mayster this litil tretise/Whiche is ful of wyt and sapynce’.\textsuperscript{51} Kuskin has argued that bourgeois audiences found it difficult to imagine their community with any coherency, with Caxton’s literature a means for this audience to understand and shape itself.\textsuperscript{52} Kuskin’s thesis of collective consequences shows

\textit{Cato} being a popular grammar school text. Orme, Medieval Children, p. 279. It was a text associated with Latin literacy.

\textsuperscript{47} The passages in Magnus Cato were translated by Burgh in order, with only a small number of verses added at the end of each of the books, with these directed to Burgh’s young student. Brunner, ‘On Some of the Vernacular Translations’, pp. 105-109.

\textsuperscript{48} Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, ‘a ii’.

\textsuperscript{49} This is ‘Hic Incipit parus Catho’, followed by ‘Hic Incipit magnus Catho’. Fathers and mothers are identified.

\textsuperscript{50} Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, ‘aii’.

\textsuperscript{51} Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, ‘aii’.

\textsuperscript{52} Articulating ‘canon, authority, and audience as cogent and interrelated concerns, and thereby [producing] a comprehensive intellectual framework for the physical products rolling off his presses.’ Kuskin, ‘Caxton’s Worthies Series’, p. 511. There was a pragmatic reason for this lack of coherency. Caroline Barron writes that the merchant class were ‘eclectic’, particularly in a London context, with most of the city’s inhabitants originally from elsewhere. Barron, ‘The Expansion of Education’, in The Cloister and the World, ed. by Blair and Golding, pp. 241-242.
how texts could unify an ambiguous and disparate audience. In Parvus Cato the initial wording and phrasing suggested cohesion; a way of uniting all of the ‘fele folkes’ to share in a purpose and reflect on the messages in the book. In the opening pages this theme was further picked up and emphasised in relation to the soul. In turn this was linked to virtue: ‘How thy soyle inward shal acqueynted be/With thewes good and vertues in al wyse’. 53 The imagery of the soul explicitly introduced a concern with conduct according to virtuous actions.

In reading Parvus Cato the reader or listener noted that ‘virtue’ appeared in relation to inner qualities, and also as a synonym for public conduct and manners; standards of behaviour which ‘courtesy’ and its related terminology had previously explored. Take for instance ‘the first of vertues alle/Ys to be stynle and kepe thy tonge in mewe’. 54 There was an ambiguous connection between virtue and courtesy in this. Other lessons by no means disregarded the importance of observable and mannerly behaviour in socialising young people properly. In this way, the word ‘courtesy’ continued to find a place: ‘Be thou curteys and demeure of thy langage’, and: ‘To vilayns swalowe of couetyse’. 55

However, virtue was decidedly more compatible with religious principles than simple ‘courtesy’ was. This religious focus was apparent from the beginning when it was assimilated into discussions concerning the health and purity of the soul:

> Wherwyth he may his sowele fostre and fede
> With vertue and it from vyces vnbynde
> Come nere my chyld therfore and haue in mynde
> Suche doctryne in thyt herte to bere awy and lere 56

The relationship between virtue, vice and religion was part of a value system which transformed conduct from simple courtesy towards complex ‘good behaviour’. How did ‘virtue’ increasingly surpass ‘courtesy’ and ‘courteous behaviour’ within this literature? Often the accepted norms of behaviour underpinning conduct were not changing in themselves, although another of Caxton’s books, the Book of Curtesye, did hint at a contemporary understanding of changing manners. However, in many ways children and young people in the

53 Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, aii'. ‘Thewes’ could mean a good quality or habit, custom or manner of behaving. O.E.D.
54 Caxton, Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, aiii'.
55 Caxton, Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, ciii" and p. ciili" respectively.
56 Caxton, Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, bvi".
late-fifteenth century still accessed an ideology familiar from previous centuries. As Elias noted, it was not always the case that overt manners were changing.\textsuperscript{57} Rather, the displacement that ‘courtesy’ underwent in literature was part of a change in the conceptual way of seeing and of understanding good behaviour, or in an expansion of the \textit{significance} that good manners had in real terms to people. There are parallels with this and other ‘conservative’ forms of printing. West argues that ‘far from spearheading the latest in thought, early printing was often quite conservative in content – it produced an explosion of old news’.\textsuperscript{58} However, I would suggest the relationship between older wisdom and printing culture was more complex than this. Instead of seeing the reissue of old material in print as offering nothing new, we should perhaps be saying that print culture spearheaded something new \textit{by} being (extremely) conservative.

The discussion in \textit{Parvus Cato} on social position and identity was likewise both conservative and ‘modern’. It symbolically, although still only partially, rewrote the elite courtesy position concerning class and behaviour. The narrative was both part of a conservative formula describing social hierarchy but also encompassed a broader understanding about social estates than we find commonly identified in courtesy poems. The class conscious ‘churl’ had previously made children and young people aware of their conduct in terms of social estates and position.\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Parvus Cato} similarly promoted the division of classes when defining identity. Yet virtue was assimilated into this in a way which presented the malleable reader with a model for behaviour that was not predicated upon social position alone, and which criticised the nature of elitist preoccupations:

\begin{quote}
Grace is yeuen to man in many sondry wyse
Some haue wysedam & some haue eloquence
The poure folkes also some tyme be ful wyse
A seruaunt sumtyme may be eke of grete sapynce
Though al he be had in litel reuerence
Rewarde his wyt yf it be worth the whyle
For vertu is hyd vnder many an habit vyle\textsuperscript{60}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{57} Elias, \textit{The Civilising Process}, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{59} See Chapters Two and Three.
The reader or listener was forced to confront several difficult and conflicting ideas. There was a dichotomy in this passage which initially spoke about the class conscious labelling of people, but which then suggested an awareness of the universal capacity for integrity. Ultimately, identifying virtue did not prevail over the separation of people into their predesignated and natural estates. Rather, readers were encouraged to recognise that even ‘the poure folks’ were sometimes given wisdom and that virtue (note it was not saying good manners) might be hidden within the most (socially) unlikely candidates. In a similar warning, readers were made aware of the danger in valuing self-importance and pedigree over conscience: ‘And in effect yf thyn astate be hye/Thaugh fauel with his crafte wyl blynde thyn eye/In al thy lyf thou neuer gyf credeuce/More to thy self than to thy conscience’.61 The tension between a hypothetical social inclusiveness and the maintenance of pragmatic hierarchies was not resolved within the text, just as it was not resolved in society. In the anxiety over marriage two stanzas later, the reader or listener accepted that there were concerns with social mobility: ‘Wedde not a wyf for hyr enheritaunce’.62 Given marriage was one of the primary channels for social mobility, this direction should be read as part of a wider discourse on social movement, equipping the reader to understand some of the complex strategies that were in place to deal with and realise social change.

Reiterating hierarchy safeguarded the negative image of poor people, yet there was also a conflicting idea that they possessed virtue, wisdom and wit. Granted they likely would not know how to behave at a table or how to serve meat or drink; indeed they were still seen as having ‘many an habit vile’. However, identity and status meant more than the knowledge of formal manners conferred by inherited social position, or by learning of these things through literature or experience. Virtue and grace were available to everyone, and late-fifteenth century children and young people were educated in how to take note of virtuous qualities, having to learn that these inherent traits were more and more significant as markers of behaviour. It should be noted that this was not

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61 Caxton, Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2; av'. ‘Fauel’ (favel) could mean the personification of cunning or duplicity. O.E.D.
62 Caxton, Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2; cii'. The related Caton text of 1484, similarly echoed this stricture on marriage: ‘Thou oughtest not to take a wyf ne to couyte hir for/hyr dowayr/for hir rychesse ne for hir noblesse/but/thou oughtest to chese and take hyr for hyr vertues &/good condyceons/and for cause of hir good worshipful &/honeste lygnage or kynrede’. Caton, r. giii'. In Caton men were told to consider the character of their potential wife’s mother, since daughters were well known to follow the character and manners of their mothers.
necessarily a new development. Some earlier courtesy poems explicitly commented that the lowly born could acquire courtesy. As well as this, the concept of universal virtue was discussed in other types of medieval texts and was not necessarily a discussion, or an indication of change unique to these courtesy/instructional works and their audiences. However, the imagery in Parvus Cato encroached upon narratives of identity, gestures and hierarchy so firmly established within courtesy material and provided an additional perspective on these issues to very much the same audience. That Caxton’s books were read within bourgeois and mercantile reading communities would have given further collective meaning and significance to this passage. Parvus Cato and other courtesy/instructional books printed by Caxton can be read as modules in a 'series' of works which helped a bourgeois audience to understand and define their place in society.

These higher values of morality and virtue were not restricted to printed narratives of the late-fifteenth century. Some earlier poems supported something of a moral and virtuous position in upbringing, particularly reflected in the three poems for girls in the Good Wife tradition. However, in the printed Book of Curtesye, another of Caxton’s early books, the central motif in ‘Little John’s’ upbringing was the association between his behaviour and the parallel constructions of virtue and vice. For Little John, the emphasis on good manners and observable courteous behaviour formed part of a complex moral discussion. A characteristic of this book was its vocabulary redolent with virtuous philosophies, cited through the systematic inclusion of the words ‘virtue’, ‘vice’ and ‘sin’.

Frustratingly this book, like a number of Caxton’s very early publications, lacks extensive paratexts that signal audiences, patronage and intent. However both title and content made direct allusions to the courtesy genre. If we consider for a moment how this book would have appeared to English readers largely unacquainted with English printed literature (although exposure to European printed books was taking place) we can see how Caxton played upon familiar concepts of genre with the title. By retaining familiar language in titles, Caxton

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63 In particular, Stans puer in Ashmole 61.
64 Caxton himself imported and sold books from the continent at his shop in Westminster. It is likely that there was a steady stream of Continental books available in England, particularly in London, due to strong merchant links with mainland Europe. See Elizabeth Armstrong, 'English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465-1526', English Historical Review, 94, 371 (1979), 268-290. Also Gillespie, Print Culture and the Medieval Author, pp. 68-71.
pre-empted demand in his market. Even before the poem proper, the potential (buying) audience would have understood the reference to ‘courtesy’ and its heritage in literature aimed at children. Scribes themselves used ‘the book of curtesye’ as a generic descriptive title and the repetition of ‘courtesy’ within many texts would have been familiar and reassuring to potential purchasers.

The service performed by the title may have been even more deliberate when a closer look at the text shows courtesy was not referenced until stanza six and that the lexis readers first encountered was one of virtue and vice:

Vyce or vertue to folowe and enpresse
In mynde/and therfore/to styre & remewe
You from vice/and to vertu addresse
That one to folowe/and that other teschewe

At stanza 53, the reader or listener also came across another reminder of the courtesy tradition, with Lydgate cited as the author’s ‘master’. The Book of Curtesye’s own (anonymous) author might have lacked the prestige of Lydgate, but linking Lydgate’s name with his own text created an association between the two. Lydgate’s connection with the Stans puer poem increased the chances of a reader creating a link between both books. Yet before reading or hearing this, the reader or listener had already negotiated two traditional courtesy frameworks. The first concerned the title which created a certain expectation. The second came from the first line of the poem which introduced a youthful character called ‘lytyl Iohn’. Immediately at this point, an age specific term was employed, identified with the evocative phrase ‘tendre enfancye’. ‘Infancy’ often referred to babies or children below the age of seven years, and gained overtones relating to children of noble or gentle birth. The case for youthfulness was further emphasised:

I have deuyseyd you/this lytyl newe
Instrucc[i]on/acordyng vnto your age

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65 See Appendix One.
66 All quotations are taken from Caxton, Book of Curtesye, 1'. See Appendix Three for details.
67 In Caxton’s edition of Stans puer ad mensam, John Lydgate’s name was not used to denote authorship as we could expect to see it, but his name does appear within the poem. In looking at the Book of Curtesye, we must remember that a second stanza citing Lydgate was found only in the Oriel manuscript and not Caxton’s edition. The use of an author’s name to denote genre, status or even authorship is not straightforward. See Gillespie’s work on this in Print Culture and the Medieval Author.
68 Caxton, Book of Curtesye, 1'. For a discussion on the phrase ‘tender infancy’ see Chapter One.
Playne in sentence/but playner in la[n]gage

This supposedly recognised that children required suitable texts which needed to be relevant to them and to their upbringing. For Caxton this was a useful marketing strategy as it enabled him to extend his market to all ages, not restrictive to adult readers and interests. Further evidence regarding intended audience came with Little John told that upon rising he was to cross himself, recite his pater noster, Ave maria and the holy creed. These religious instructions formed some of the basic spiritual lessons of childhood, usually taking place in the first few years of life in the natal home. The instruction to help the priest when he said mass also confirmed a male audience and situated the text within an established Christian framework. This bestowed the young person with standard religious attributes recognised as suitable and appropriate by the world at large. It operated at the same basic and conventional level of courtesy poems which did not encourage self-directed study of religious texts or ideology.

This opening informed the reader of two crucial courtesy frameworks. First it had registered an interest in courtesy (in the title) and then directly acknowledged the relevance of the courtesy genre to young male children – classic courtesy promises. Yet from this point different themes became apparent. A daily approach to virtue and morality was emphasised, transposing the courtesy ethos to something new. Virtuous behaviour was described immediately. The first three stanzas mentioned ‘virtue’ four times, three of which appeared in conjunction with ‘vice’. ‘Vice’ reversed virtue and was a corruption of morals leading to degrading behaviour and dishonesty, or less extremely, as a fault in the way of doing something. Little John was never told to be courteous, probably because it was understood that courtesy was expected. Yet, there was a great deal of attention paid to following virtue and loving honesty: ‘Lemeth to be vertuous’. And also: ‘To folowe vertu/& fro folye declynyng/And waite wel that ye loue honeste’. This poem was not dominated by courtesy terms which were restricted in some degree to manners or

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69 Caxton, Book of Curtesye, 1. ‘Sentence’ was an obsolete form meaning the quoted sayings or maxims of eminent persons or more generally, a way of thinking or opinion. O.E.D.

70 The mid-fifteenth century manuscript, the boke of curtesye, used vice in the less extreme sense to describe incorrect behaviour at the table. However, given the correlation between vice and virtue in this book, the word seems more likely to be relating to morality. We know Caxton used ‘vice’ in Game and Playe of the Cheesse to mean immorality and wickedness. O.E.D.

71 Caxton, Book of Curtesye, 1’ and 12’ respectively.
descriptions of conventional behaviour. Little John’s conduct pointed towards ‘virtue’ with its connotations of moral accomplishments.

This behaviour still rested upon an association between inherited class and conduct, and in this case, conduct which was both necessarily courteous and moral. Failure to be ‘thewede’ (instructed) in both morals and manners would result in being considered ‘lewed’. 72 ‘Lewed’ was a pejorative term meaning untaught but also alluding to the lower orders and vulgarity, and carried a similar class overtone to ‘churl’. 73 ‘Churl’ equated a lack of good manners with a person’s social background. In this instance ‘lew’d’ suggested social estate could also be linked with virtue. Class-consciousness had not disappeared in the courtesy/instructional literature in this period, and it was brought to the forefront in codifying and differentiating between behaviours as it had always done, although the regard to moral perspectives was indicated more directly in this, as it was also done in Parvus Cato.

Class ideology informed both text and subtext in the Book of Curtesye and paralleled the principles of behaviour we first encountered in courtesy literature which looked at the social environment of large elite households. We know that the Book of Curtesye existed in some form before it was printed by Caxton. A variant text dated to the fifteenth century is found in Oriel 79 and was probably copied from an independent manuscript. Close comparison between the Oriel text and Caxton’s book reveals interesting differences, which will be noted shortly. Both however made some, although limited, use of the traditional courtesy topos of elite household service, which situated the book in the courtesy genre. Service to a lord was invoked, although unlike some courtesy poems where such themes immediately dominated a text, in this poem the references to an elite household did not appear until mid-way, and took up less than half of the total narrative, primarily between stanzas 17-44. 74

72 Lerneth to be vertuous/and wel thewed
Who will not lerne/nedly he must be lewed.

Caxton, Book of Curtesye, 1r.
73 ‘Lewed’: unlearned, unlettered, untaught (1225-1601); rude, artless (1425-1560); belonging to the lower orders; common, low, vulgar, ‘base’ (1380-1640); ignorant (implying a reproach) and foolish, unskilful, bungling; ill-bred, ill-mannered (1380-1710) and also, of persons, their actions, etc.: Bad, vile, evil, wicked, base; unprincipled, ill-conditioned; good-for-nothing, worthless, ‘naughty’ (1386-1709). O.E.D. Descriptions for churl can be found in Chapter Two of this thesis.
74 Of the 76 stanzas, 28 relate (or are positioned within) the section on table manners.
Awayte my chylde/whan ye sta[n]de atte table
Of maister or souerayn/whether it be
Applye you for to be seruyseable
That no defaute in you founden be.\footnote{Caxton, \textit{Book of Curtesye}, 3'.}

Little John was aware that his service, his behaviour and his application to labour were judged by his social superiors. It is possible Caxton had slyly inserted the subversive idea that this service was not only for the benefit of the master or sovereign. By paying attention to the ‘best of gentlem\textsuperscript{n}’ and by attending them in particular fashion, Little John would be in a position to advance himself: ‘who doth best/and hym ensiwe ye/And in especyal/vse ye attendaunce/Wherin ye shal your self best auaunce’.\footnote{Caxton, \textit{Book of Curtesye}, 3'. Courtesy poems sometimes hinted at this. I cited Horrox’s comments on service relating to this in Chapter One.} In the Oriel manuscript these lines were absent, with the passages on service given a more conventional meaning and obscuring the self-serving element present in Caxton’s book. In Oriel, the child’s motives were ambiguous: ‘And specially vseth attendaunce/Whiche is to souereyne thyng of gret plesaunce’.\footnote{Oxford, Balliol College Oriel MSS 79, 17\textsuperscript{th} stanza. Hill’s commonplace or household miscellany (Balliol 354) reproduced Caxton’s edition regarding self-advancement. In Oriel, the name Little John was not used, instead we find the more neutral ‘childe’.} The emphasis on personal gain and by implication social mobility, was more evident in the printed edition and was something that would have held meaning and literal implications for merchant and bourgeois readers.

It does not appear as if the Oriel text had been copied and amended \textit{ad hoc} from Caxton’s book and nor does Caxton seem to have used it as his copy-text, given the differences between the narratives. A more precise provenance has yet to be established for the Oriel manuscript or for Caxton’s copy-text which would establish more useful information on the history and transmission of variant editions. However, the Oriel manuscript does betray a London bias, with passages on London wards and their taxes, parish churches within and outside the walls, and ‘The privilege of [the abbey church of] Westmynstre’ appearing within the annexed paper booklet at the end of the manuscript proper. We can suggest a London and probably a merchant readership for this manuscript, similar to that of the printed edition.

Caxton’s book was obviously intended to allude to the same social environment and estate most often referred to in courtesy poems, a symbiotic relationship
invoked by de Worde and Redman in the later decades when the text was printed alongside the highly status driven narrative of *Stans puer ad mensam*. A direct reference to elite groups and their desires was part of the contract Little John flatteringly negotiated with his superiors: ‘It is a grete plesure/to the hyghe estate/To see his seruantis aboute hym present’. The *Book of Curtesye* exploited this elite status/imagery within the narrative. Jennifer Summit has argued that Caxton was consciously aware of the potentially conflicting impulses of elite and bourgeois readers: ‘In his attempt to define a market, Caxton performed a complicated negotiation; while drawing on the book’s associations with courtly leisure, he also had to prove its utility to a class of merchants and citizens’. The *Book of Curtesye* accomplished this.

Like other courtesy poems, space was given to the idea of moulding character to meet social demands and expected behaviours. Again ‘maners make man’ and manners and courtesy certainly fostered select behavioural ideals between stanzas 17-44. In these stanzas Little John learned his behaviour in the great household was dependent upon observing certain conduct norms, which may or may not have been familiar to him from any poems he had previously been exposed to, or that his father or male relatives may have been exposed to in their own youth. He learned that he should not spit upon the table, that he should not let greed provoke him into taking too much food, and more abstract concepts regarding his behaviour towards others, including acting companionably and greeting others pleasantly. These were conventional and well treasured notions about how the ideal child or young servant was formed. The development of a moral vocabulary sat alongside these established courtesy values and at this stage there seems to have been no overt tension between the concepts. Indeed, how Little John was to demonstrate and live virtuously was not explained except by terms appropriate to previous conventions; there were no distinctive descriptions of virtuous behaviour that could not be related to notions of

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78 Caxton, *Book of Curtesye*, 3'. It is always problematic to read too much into a single line, but I would suggest that this phrasing removed the ‘child character’ and therefore the audience, from being a part of this high estate themselves. The wording differentiated between the highly born lord and those who were being addressed. Readers or listeners were being told what the elite thought and wanted.


traditional good manners. Yet the repeated use of ‘virtue’, and to a lesser extent ‘nurture’, instead of ‘courtesy’ or the ambivalent use of the two terms within similar contexts, all pushed the text towards the idea that virtue underpinned behaviour.

These complexities made the Book of Curtesye different from anything in the past and these differences were particularly notable in the second half of the text. Later stanzas were devoted to a study of reading habits, eloquence and a knowledge of English literature, with Hoccleve, Lydgate and Chaucer singled out. Little John was obviously expected to be literate by this stage, and not only literate, but aware of the great English poets whose works were available in manuscripts. Lerer has commented that the authors identified in the Book of Curtesye were noted for their blend of virtue and entertainment, suggesting a deliberate assemblage of material thought to suit to children’s reading habits and needs. This also cited an already established literary genre which had long emphasised virtue and ethics in behaviour.

We should consider both how and why a courtesy text, surely a bastion of conventional behaviour and a medium resistant to change, developed a tactical interest in false behaviour and over-courtesy. A concern with over-courtesy indicates a new direction in this literature and in socialising young people. In Parvus Cato, the potential shortcomings and deficiency inherent in ‘courtesy’ were lamented in a criticism of what ironically had once been praised as adroit flattery: ‘Preue thou neuer a man by ouer paynted speche/For vnder fayr wordes is ofte annexid gyle’. There was similar condemnation for those who exploited such courtesy: ‘The whistelyng fouler makyth mery songe/And so the

81 For instance:

This curtoys clerk/writeth in this wise
Rebukyng the vice/of vyle detrac[i]on
Also:

Of suche a wight/as in vnmanerly nyce
And is ful likely disposid vnto vye

Caxton, Book of Curtesye, 4’ and 3’ respectively. Emphasis is mine. Treating manners and vice in the same way suggests there was an ambivalence in the way these concepts were dealt with at this time.

82 Although interestingly we do have that singular example of self-advancement and the promotion of self interest through obsequious behaviour.

83 Petrina writes: ‘By suggesting books in English, the writer of the Book of Curtesye is evidently intent on something different from the normal course of a child’s education...thus markedly contrasting the traditional attitude of courtesy books towards literature.’


84 Lerer, Chaucer and his Readers, p. 85.

85 Caxton, Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, ‘avii’.

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byrdes begyleth he amonge'. 86 In light of the reprinting of Parvus Cato three times over an eight-year period we can assume it was relevant to late-fifteenth century readers. We do know that courtesy became associated with negative connotations of this type, particularly over-punctiliousness and standing upon ceremony, in literature from the first-third of the sixteenth century. 87 By the mid-eighteenth century it had become associated with anxieties over how outward behaviour could legitimately equate to inner character. 88 The now infamous 1748 letter by the Earl of Chesterfield to his son promoted a conscious and self-serving exploitation of exterior behaviour, and is seen as emphasising self-interest and falsity in sponsoring external sociability, divorced from real morality. 89 The movement towards ‘etiquette’ (in fact a term coined by Chesterfield in 1750) stripped conduct of its moral identity and sponsored the systematisation of behaviour based on class-consciousness and ruled by a strict adherence to correct social signs. Carter’s analysis of this eighteenth century debate in fact suggests there was a cyclical return to earlier courteous behaviour, whereby observable conduct and courteous manners held value in themselves and assumed a privileged place in elite society and in socialisation. 90

Yet before this, the literature grappled with a similar although less complex concern with how to recognise overly courteous and suspiciously false behaviour. In The Book of Curtesye this was shown by Little John learning that his identity was dependant upon a separation of truly virtuous conduct from ‘Ruskyn’ gallants and foppish attire. The concern with identifying and setting apart extremes of courteous behaviour into ‘true’ and ‘false’ revised the dominant perceptions over what children and malleable young people were to learn and aspire to. To be able to identify truly honourable conduct from its

86 Caxton, Parvus Cato, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, avii.
87 See the O.E.D entry for ‘courtesy’.
88 An interesting literature discusses a separation of behaviour into codes of ‘politeness’, and later into ‘sensibility’ in the eighteenth century. At this time there was a deliberate attempt to unite outward behaviour with inner character, as I would argue, late-fifteenth century literature was also exploring. There was a concern over the innate weakness and potential abuse of outward gestures demonstrating true character and morality. John Locke’s 1693, Some Thoughts Concerning Education, promoted the notion of the gentleman who combined both polished outer behaviour with inner moral qualities. Philip Carter, ‘Polite ‘Persons’’: Character, Biography and the Gentleman, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 12 (2002), 333-354 (p. 338). An accessible edition of Locke’s work is, Some thoughts concerning education / by John Locke; edited with introduction, notes, and critical apparatus by John W. and Jean S. Tolton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
90 He suggests that the early-nineteenth century preoccupation with etiquette was driven by the social eminence of the aristocracy and their influence on society. Carter, ‘Polite ‘Persons’’, pp. 353-354.
counterpart was easier if it was linked to ‘virtue’ and ‘virtuous behaviour’. A person’s life therefore needed to be lived in virtue and not just with courtesy: ‘To ben a man ay vertuous of leuyng.’\(^91\) For this reason courtesy formed into two dialogues; one positive and the other negative.

These ideas were identified in a conversation concerning the general nature of manners and conduct, and the malleability and flexibility of social customs over time. Inherent malleability was a pre-cursor to more specific changes. The discussion of this took place in stanzas 63 and 64 which compared the onset of new rituals of ‘nurture’ and ‘courtesy’ with older acts:

\[\text{Thene lityl John/I councely you that ye} \\
\text{Take hede to the nurture/that men use} \\
\text{Newe founde/or auncyent whether it be} \\
\text{So shal no man/your curtoisye refuse} \\
\text{The guyse & custom/my child shal you excuse} \\
\text{Menys werkis/haue often enterchange} \\
\text{That nowe is nurture/so[m]tyme had be strange} \]

\[\text{Thingis whilom used/ben now leyd a syde} \\
\text{And newe feetis/dayly ben contreuid} \\
\text{Mennys actes/can in no plyte abyde} \\
\text{They be changeable and ofte meuid} \\
\text{Thingis somtyme allowed/is now repreuid} \\
\text{And after this/shal thinges up arysye} \\
\text{That men set now/but at lytyl pryse}^{92} \]

Little John learned that he should be aware of the changing manners and behaviours in his lifetime. This set the scene for the following six stanzas which examined foppish behaviour, ‘Ruskyn’ gallants and the danger Little John unknowingly faced by aping these men:

\[\text{This mene I my childe/th[at] ye shal haunte} \\
\text{The guyse of them/that do most manerly} \\
\text{But beware of vnthryft Ruskyn galante} \\
\text{COUNTERFETER OF VNCONNYNG CURTOISYE}^{93} \]

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\(^91\) Caxton, *Parvus Cato*, 1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2, bij’.

\(^92\) Caxton, *Book of Curtesye*, 11’.

‘Courteous’ behaviour was branded as a corrupt facade concealing misconduct, leading the wax-like child into aping similar undesirable mannerisms. The gallant’s dress was picked out as showing his over-exaggerated style: ‘Braced so strayt/that he may not plye’. Interestingly, this was linked to a fear over change in England and a ‘new’ effeminacy in men:

Not apysshe/on to mocken ne to mowe
To nyce araye/that is not commendable
Fetis newe fonuden by foolis vnp[r]uffitable
That make th[e] world so plainly tra[n]ssormate
That men semen almoste enfemynate

The figure of the ‘gallant’ had appeared in medieval literature since the fourteenth century, representing the youthful male embodiment of excess, improper behaviour, vanity and falsely high status. Theresa Coletti finds that the figure of the ‘gallant’ was linked to serious sin via the double-edged sword of moral dissolution and material excess. The combination of internal immorality and tangible appearance made the gallant a danger: ‘it is precisely because the gallant’s extravagant clothing signified the intersection of economic, social and ethical transgression that the figure proves such a symbolically rich tempter.’ In the Digby plays this led to the downfall of Mary Magdalene. In the Book of Curtesye it was used to highlight the danger of excess and false conduct to male youths.

Scattergood similarly identifies anxieties over dress as a recurrent concern in the fourteenth century, perhaps escalating after the 1340s when radical shifts in fashion took place in England and Western Europe. The Book of Curtesye picked up on these fears, playing into anxieties over social immorality and class issues and identifying the symbolic figure of the ‘gallant’ as a catch-cry for concerns. Fascinatingly, this appeared within a supposed courtesy text, traditionally a genre of literature that did not seek to identify such issues.

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94 Caxton, Book of Curtesye, 12.
95 Caxton, Book of Curtesye, 12. ‘Founden’ has been wrongly typeset as ‘fonuden’.
96 Theresa Coletti, “‘Curtesy Doth it Yow Lere’: The Sociology of Transgression in the Digby Mary Magdalene”, English Literary History, 71.1 (2004), 1-28 (p. 8).
97 He argues that writers ‘concentrate on what were topics of contemporary interest and dispute…and use clothes as a way of talking about morality, social class and politics.’ He references The Follies of Fashion, in Harley 2253, c. 1325 decrying elaborate fashions. Scattergood, ‘Fashion and Morality’, pp. 255-272 (p. 257, p. 264). See also a discussion on fashion in the Book of the Knight of the Tower later in this chapter, which considers fashion for women and the creation of gendered identity.

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The audiences reached by this printed book may have heeded this cry according to circumstances consistent with their social position. Dress was germane to the symbolic differences, and the potential lack of visible differences, between young men from elite backgrounds and those from merchant or bourgeois classes. Richard Helgerson has noted that the label ‘nobility’ was ‘primarily a term of difference’ with class divisions demarcating groups. Dress could potentially disrupt these differences, with the legal enforcement of these codes attempted in sumptuary legislation. The figure of the ‘gallant’ was dangerous precisely because it threatened these patterns. Young gentry men and sons of merchants, particularly from London, were criticised for the extravagant clothing they wore, with the boundaries between gentry and merchants blurred by the similarity of their appearances. Thrupp has argued that merchants and those of gentle birth did share similar interests and means, demonstrated through their shared affinity for secular education, domestic lifestyles and social trappings, such as family coats-of-arms. Many below the knightly ranks became armigerous in the fifteenth-century. She argued that social relationships between London merchants and gentry groups developed as a result of financial and commercial dealings. A further blurring of the two groups was possible through inter-marriages and friendships.

For those concerned with such permeable barriers, another option in constructing firm social relationships was to develop and raise moral behaviour to a higher level. In literary exemplars moral behaviour was an obvious way to represent character without delving into more corruptible forms of outer appearances. This was a morality which was available to everyone and which was not dependant on being associated with an elite lineage or by exploiting extravagant fashions. It suggests that on one level at least, the literate and morally conscious merchant and bourgeois classes were prompted to distinguish themselves in a positive fashion from elite society and associated behaviour. This literature articulated, defined and gave authority to this process. Morality became a way to claim status in a way that was significantly different and ethically more sound than other means, where status had to be asserted through adherence to superficial social signs or through wearing particular dress. Late-fifteenth century printed books increasingly pointed to this positive separation of

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99 Coletti, ""Curtesy Doth it Yow Lere"", p. 9.
100 Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*, pp. 247-269. This occurred at the same time that merchants were drawing away from the yeomanry, pp. 29-30.
gentry, merchant and bourgeois customs from elite customs, counting the motifs of dress, lifestyle and codes of courtesy as part of this.\textsuperscript{101} We can see the emphasis on bourgeois virtue taking shape across printed texts more readily than in manuscripts partly as a result of the easier access of these groups to new printing cultures.\textsuperscript{102}

The relationship between virtue and courtesy within these texts, and even the vacillation between the two concepts that developed through a partial moral vocabulary, suggests that advice on virtuous behaviours was emerging alongside established courteous ideologies. The question of whether the son of a London merchant or the son of a provincial gentry family, perhaps the real life equivalent of the character ‘Little John’, was aware that behaviour was taking on added significance is harder to establish. What was being instituted was a literary model of children as creatures of moral and immoral behaviour, with public acts of good manners judged in terms of moral nature. The result was that courtesy/instructional literature now spoke both to a child’s public actions and to their inner character and conduct.

\textbf{Virtue in the Book of the Knight of the Tower}

A significant proportion of the books Caxton printed played upon perceived female interests and reading habits. Caxton’s romances were read by women and religious books would also have been seen as suitable material to be read, or heard, by girls and women.\textsuperscript{103} One text which can be introduced more directly to this cluster of courtesy/instructional literature is the \textit{Book of the Knight of the Tower}, translated by Caxton from the text of the French \textit{Livre du Chevalier de la Tour} written c.1371/2 by Geoffroy de La Tour Landry. The \textit{Book of the Knight}

\textsuperscript{101} Carpenter has written that in a political sense ‘the gentry may well have come to believe in the mid-to-late 1450s that they were better off without the nobility.’ Carpenter, \textit{Locality and Polity}, p. 479. This may well have extended to a cultural sense of separation. Horrox has noted that London had a uniquely high proportion of urban gentry because of the presence of the royal administration and the Inns of Court. Horrox, ‘The Urban Gentry’, in \textit{Towns and Townspeople}, ed. by Thomson, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{102} This is not to suggest that this access cannot be identified in relation to manuscript production. What I am interested in is the continuation of bourgeois access to literature, and possibly, the more overt references to bourgeois and merchant groups made by Caxton.

\textsuperscript{103} Some titles include, \textit{Troilus and Criseyde} (1483), \textit{Paris and Vienne} (1485), \textit{Blanchardin and Eglantine} (1488), \textit{Deathbed Prayers} (1484), the \textit{Psalter} (1483) and \textit{Fifteen Oes} (1491). For a discussion of Caxton’s romances see Diane Bornstein, ‘William Caxton’s Chivalric Romances and the Burgundian Renaissance in England’, \textit{English Studies}, 57.1 (1976), 1-10.
of the Tower added to Caxton’s ‘program’ by introducing female socialisation into the debates on virtue and morality.

There have been a number of interesting studies done on this book, situating it within a range of different analytical models and particularly citing the creation of gendered behavioural patterns for women and young girls. Roberta Krueger’s work on French romances is relevant, as is the work of Diane Bornstein on chivalric manuals and courtesy literature. Less attention has been paid to Caxton’s prologue which anchored the original French text to an English context. The following analysis of Caxton’s edition considers the appearance of ‘virtue’ within the prologue and the narrative.

It is apparent from Caxton’s dedication that two readerships were simultaneously represented. Caxton first identified readers by class: ‘a noble lady which hath brought forth many noble & fayr daughters’. This deliberately identified the book as one relevant to noble interests. The terms ‘noble’, ‘lady’, and ‘gentle’ were a way of gaining access to and reinforcing these networks. However, a more complex gendered model was situated alongside this. Caxton alluded to a broader audience by simultaneously referring to a wider, but still female, readership: ‘as moche as this book is necessary to every gentilwoman of what estate she be’. Class boundaries were ostensibly broken down with the phrase ‘good ensa[m]ples for al manner

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105 Geoffroy de La Tour Landry, Here begynneth the booke which the kyght of the toure made and speketh of many fayre ensamples and thensyngementys and techynge of his daughters (Westminster, 1484), prologue. We know this ‘noble lady’ to be Elizabeth Woodville.

106 Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, prologue.
Rather than highlight an aristocratic reading community, this privileged female readership not dependent upon class. A similarly varied audience can also be hypothesised for the original French text. Krueger notes that paper manuscripts of the Livre du Chevalier de la Tour and also Christine de Pizan’s Livre des Trois Vertus suggested their circulation within bourgeois communities. The production of more elaborate vellum editions testified to their parallel circulation in elite circles. Caxton’s business acumen doubtless made him aware of the potential gains in reaching a large audience in England. He seems to be knowingly calling attention to this through the clever and subtle juxtaposition of classes in the prologue.

In addition to defining his intended audience in this way, Caxton also identified a potential reading strategy, noting that the English translation had been done by him so that ‘it may the better be vnderstonde of al suche as shal rede or here it’. This retained its aural tag, suggestive of the public readings we know occurred within female reading networks. Phillips has analysed the importance of ‘textual communities’ in female culture where women and young girls participated in reading circles arranged within household environments. She draws on evidence from the households of Lady Margaret Beaufort and Cecily, duchess of York to indicate the relevance of communal aural networks for elite women and female servants. These audiences were defined by gender, and like the prologue, included different status groups and partially crossed hierarchical positions.

\[107\] Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, prologue.
\[108\] Mark Addison Amos examines how aristocratic interests were destabilised, contested and appropriated by late-fifteenth century merchant readers in, ‘Violent Hierarchies: Disciplining Women and Merchant Capitalists in The Book of the Knight of the Tower’, in Caxton’s Trace, ed. by Kuskin, pp. 69-100.
\[110\] Kathleen Ashley notes how a fifteenth century Burgundian manuscript betrays evidence of its use by men and women, in effect a family from the bourgeois class. She cites her evidence against a larger supposition, currently gaining ground in studies, that ‘in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries both printed and manuscript books of conduct were largely owned by the merchant classes.’ Ashley, ‘The Miroir des Bonnes Femmes’, in Medieval Conduct, ed. by Ashley and Clarke, p. 88.
\[111\] Aural tags remained in printed editions, indicating both private reading and aural reception were concomitant across manuscript and print. For more on this, see Karen Cherewatauk, ‘Aural and Written Reception in Sir John Paston, Malory, and Caxton’, Essays in Medieval Studies, 21 (2004), 123-131. The authoritative study of orality and literacy is Joyce Coleman in Public Reading and the Reading Public. Rutter also comments that twenty-one books published by Caxton contain the ‘reader/hearer formulation’. Rutter, ‘Caxton and Literary Patronage’, p. 461.
\[112\] Phillips, Medieval Maidens, p. 71. See also Carol M. Meale, ‘...alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englisch, and frensch’: Laywomen and their books in late medieval England, in Women and Literature in Britain, ed. by Meale, pp. 128-158 (p. 133). Riddy also looks at female
The relationship between female conduct and identity in the text was ambiguous. Moral lessons created an image of the ideal aristocratic female who was temperate in her appetites (both carnal and dietary), peacable in character, true in her heart, silent, and pious. Literature became a way to create a sanctioned picture of female identity which was then distributed to parents, authority figures and girls and young women themselves beyond the initial aristocratic circle. Bornstein describes female idealisation in this way: ‘Women are presented entirely as symbols of abstract qualities or psychological states in allegories.’ In the Book of the Knight of the Tower ideal images of female charity achieved authority and power through representations of the saints: ‘And at the example of her dyd saynt Elyzabeth/saynte Lucye/saynt Cecylle and many other holy ldyes/whiche were so charitable that they gaf to the poure & Indygent the most parte of theyr reuenues/’ Obedience to husbands also informed behaviour: ‘euery good woman must humly suffre of her lord that whiche she maye not amende/For she that more suffreth of her lord without makynge thereof no resemblant receyueth thereof more worship x tymes/’ At the same time we know female readers of French romances could critically read and resist the gendered roles presented to them and it is certainly possible that the implied female readers or listeners of this book, particularly once we move out of elite readerships into mercantile and bourgeois communities, were both consumers and rejectors of these gendered models.

We know from the previous chapters concerning courtesy poems that the internal household space was privileged in terms of being a safe and controlled location; safe because it is controlled. Conventionally, de La Tour Landry limited the environments his aristocratic daughters were permitted to explore within the fictional confines of the narrative, prioritising the household. External spaces and social activities were strictly identified and curtailed. Unsurprisingly, there were stories about dances and banquets which exposed dangers to a woman’s character and to her proper behaviour. The emphasis on confinement was accomplished more easily for higher status girls who did

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113 Bornstein, The Lady in the Tower, p. 10.
114 Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, kiii”.
115 Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, hvii”.
117 For example ‘Of them that gladly go to festes and loustes’, and ‘How none ought to abyde alone in a place’, Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, ci”-ciii” and eviii”-fi”. For a different view on this see Phillips, Medieval Maidens, pp. 94-96.
not need to participate in economic activities, which was the case for the implied readers of the *Good Wife* poems with its mercantile emphasis. The *Book of the Knight of the Tower* reflected a more learned appreciation and understanding of female socialisation, discouraging inappropriate behaviours through sophisticated historical parallels and moral exemplars. The economic and social realities of life were obscured and therefore did not need to be part of these socialising lessons. How this translated to Caxton’s merchant and bourgeois readerships is of course more problematic.

How was the subject of female identity constructed? Obviously moral and immoral conduct were separated from each other, with moral behaviour advocated through an adherence to chastity and piety and through the observance of proper hierarchy. This was identified in terms of duty to male superiors, including the father and the future husband. Krueger has argued that the construction of female moral identity was confused by parallel depictions which prioritised the physical perfection and beauty of women. In this way, female readers or listeners of the *Book of the Knight of the Tower* negotiated two contrasting, but not mutually exclusive, identities and ideas about socialisation within the one text. This would have resonated for both aristocratic and lower-status girls. The outward and most overtly depicted model concerned the convention of chaste, obedient women. However, descriptions on how women ought to dress simultaneously used beauty, clothing and dress to suggest identity: ‘hou ye ought to apparyl ye & were youre good clothes on the sondayes & the good feester for thonoure and the loue of god which gyueth all’. Susan Udry identifies similar models in her reading of the original French *Livre* text, concluding that by clustering the principles of virtue and modesty with descriptions of beauty, dress, comportment and style, that the text created a contradictory and at times violent framework for women to

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119 Caxton, *Book of the Knight of the Tower*, . ciii’ – ciii’. Bornstein’s work on images of women in courtesy literature similarly addresses the contradictory idea of beauty and how it personified feminine ideals and character. Bornstein writes that in the *Romance of the Rose*, Hatred, Felony and Villainy were ugly, old women, while Joy and Courtesy were beautiful young ladies. The framework of beauty (but the need for sexual chastity), and appearance (with fundamental morality) generated paradoxical images for female readers, on the one hand warning women not to pay too much attention to how they looked but also creating a literary topos which equated ugliness with negative qualities and beauty with goodness. Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower*, p. 10. For extensive references to studies on fashion in society see Krueger, ‘“Nouvelles Choses”’, in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. by Ashley and Clark, pp. 80-85.
navigate. Amos suggests de La Tour Landry associated fashion (and its social/ethical problems) with the rising merchant classes.

In this way the book instructed via both positive and negative reinforcement of behaviour, perhaps linked to de La Tour Landry’s conservative and elitist concern with French bourgeois social trappings. However, women of all classes could absorb the lessons concerned with beauty and appearance leading to spiritual and moral danger. The book promoted the idea of natural beauty which was not to be corrupted by exterior modifications, cosmetics and clothing. By repeatedly using images of feminine beauty to create these moral precepts, the text subverted this message by persistently emphasising fashion, dress and beauty methods: ‘For I shalle make her kirtels and hoodes alle the furre outward/& so she shalle be better pourfylled than ye ne the other/And after this he said/Madame/thynke ye/that I ne wylle wel that she be arayd after the good ladyes of the Countre/yes veryly/but I wyll not that she chaunge the guyse of good wymmen./’ In this way, girls and women were presented with descriptions of sumptuous dress which, while condemned, were essentially given equal space in the text. Dress and physical appearance were set in the foreground as key topics, similar to the discussion on dress in the Book of Curtesye intended for young men. A different cultural representation was at work within the two books, perhaps reflecting gendered differences or perhaps simply a product of two different authors who viewed dress differently in different periods and cultures. Certainly the physicality of dress in the Book of the Knight of the Tower was visually imagined through the spectacular

121 Amos, ‘Violent Hierarchies’, in Caxton’s Trace, ed. by Kuskin, pp. 84-88.
122 Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, bviii.
descriptions of clothing. There was less emphasis on this in the Book of Curtesye. The specifics of fabrics, styles and named attire which took centre stage in the Book of the Knight of the Tower was obscured within that for boys. Yet the overall moral message remained consistent; clothing was potentially harmful and held too much power and influence over young (possibly mercantile and bourgeois) people. Youth and perhaps class, rather than gender, dominated the moral ideology of this.

The book wove an overall discourse on morality and appropriate behaviour. Modest and demure conduct, both before and during marriage, was associated with a particular combination of spirituality and pious devotion. In four cases virtue was used in precise ways to directly reference pious and devout values: ‘god and his Angels louen better humlyyte than any other virtue’, ‘And therfore no better vertue maye be in a woman/than the vertue of humlyyte’, ‘knowe ye that hit is a noble vertu not to be enuyous’, and: ‘The one pryson was loue the other was drede/and the thyrd shame/These thre vertues mastryed her’. These contexts do not correspond with other examples from the courtesy/instructional books by Caxton, where virtue could describe general conduct and behaviour, as well as moral actions. In this book girls were exposed to complex descriptions of virtue and were socialised according to these higher values, as part of their training for marriage.

The suggestion that ‘virtue’ was becoming increasingly common in English courtesy/instructional texts is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in Caxton’s own prologue. It is here in the prologue that the more familiar, as well as more frequent use of ‘virtue’ can be seen. Caxton mentioned virtue no less than eight times in a one and a half page introduction: ‘Alle vertuouse doctryne & techynge’; ‘& vertuouse maners to be gouerned by’; ‘al yong gentyl wymen specially may leme to biaue them self vertuously’; ‘noble & fayr dougters which ben vertuously nourised’; ‘more knouleche in vertue’; ‘In whiche werke I fynd many vertuous good enseynementis & lernynge’; ‘euerie gentilman or woman hauyng such children/desyring them to be vertuously brought forth to

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125 Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, kif.
126 Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, kif.
127 Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, mvii°.
128 Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, if°.
gete & haue this book'; and 'hou they ought to gourne them vertuously'. For Caxton, the language he was most familiar with was 'virtue' and he applied it to what he saw as the principle message and purpose of this book and perhaps by extension, all of his books. Caxton revealed how embedded a virtuous terminology was becoming to English audiences and authors of this type of literature, and not least, to its printers.

This book, and the three poems in the Good Wife tradition examined in the previous chapter, shows that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there had been a strong interest in writing about the moral behaviour of women regardless of contesting social positions or status. These narratives called attention to female virtues and closely monitored the behavioural standards for girls, defining conduct according to moral attributes. This was part of the endorsement of female conduct as a composite of both surface behaviour and inner moral control. The language of this literature enjoyed a stronger relationship with virtuous and moral paradigms; a particular set of themes which early male courtesy texts did not explore as rigorously. Authors, scribes and printers endowed these narratives with moral terminology and imagery even beyond the messages in the texts, speaking to female virtues as the true objective of upbringing. This was a message that was consistent across earlier and later texts.

**Complex ‘Good Behaviours’: ‘fayr lernynge and notable ensamples’ for Families**

The books examined in this chapter addressed children or young people directly, or alternatively, addressed adults with young people in their care. But these groups, even when they comprised children and adults, were far from being what we could call a family audience or this, a family literature. The family requires some kind of ideological understanding and emotional reaction. Even if the people in a 'family' are not necessarily related by blood, there must still be some kind of identification of emotional and functional ties. Servants show how household members did not necessarily have to be blood related but could still part of the family and part of the household. In Caxton’s literature we can see a

129 Caxton, *Book of the Knight of the Tower*, prologue.
130 The development of virtue was not novel, and was obviously a crucial Christian concept.
The courtesy book context however, was novel.
new category of family advice books emerging as part of the genre relevant to children. The following two books develop this understanding of children’s literature in relation to a family audience.

Much of the attention that is paid to Caton relates to Caxton’s dedication addressed to the city of London. Certainly a great deal can be inferred from Caxton’s observations of contemporary London society and merchant networks. 132 Caton was published at a time of political turmoil in which Caxton may have himself played a part, or at least been implicated in. We know Caxton felt it expedient to sue for pardon in 1483/84 after the events of the failed gentry rebellion, in an attempt to be absolved from future reprisal, as did other recognised servants of King Edward IV. 133 Caxton’s close and thanks to his own epilogues and prologues, well known relationships with the Woodvilles, 134 indicate the elite political and royal circles he emphasised. Regardless of recent interest in assigning merchant patronage to the books, it cannot be denied that Caxton did publicise seemingly personal connections with many of the leading and ill-fated magnates of the day. 135 In light of this, the dedication to ‘the city of London’ has been taken as a sign of disillusionment with aristocratic patronage or even as a pragmatic mark of self-survival to create distance with contentious noble sponsorship during a charged political time. 136 I see no reason why Caxton would not have felt it useful to combine multiple marketing strategies for his different publications. He was, after all, a businessman and a strategic manipulator of reading groups.

The prologue of Caton reinforced a message of concern with behaviour, and particularly the behaviour of London children: ‘that the children that ben borne within the sayd cyte encrace/and prouffyte not lyke theyr faders and olders’. 137

132 ‘whiche I presente vnto the Cyte of london’. Caxton, Caton, ii. The prologue is particularly significant given that Caton was translated from an older French manuscript. Amos discusses it in ‘Violent Hierarchies’, in Caxton’s Trace, ed. by Kuskin, p. 71.
134 Anthony Woodville, as well as his sister, Elizabeth Woodville to whom we know The Book of the Knight of the Tower was probably dedicated. Blake, William Caxton and English Literary Culture, pp. 30-32. Also, Weinberg, ‘Caxton, Anthony Woodville’, p. 49.
135 George, Duke of Clarence, was executed on the 18th February 1478. Anthony Woodville was executed on the 25th June 1483.
136 Blake, Caxton: England’s First Publisher, pp. 49-50. Blake argues there was safety in emphasising merchant connections. Alternatively, Rutter argues that royal/noble patronage was never very important to Caxton and that it was always incidental rather than calculated. Rutter, ‘Caxton and Literary Patronage’, pp. 440-470.
137 Caxton, Caton, ii".
This concern with the state of youth of the day led to the dual ‘body and soul’ framework: ‘they shal moche the better concere rewle them self ther by/For among all other bookes this is a synguler book/and may well be callyd the Regyment or gouernance of the body and sowle’.  

This moral and ethical discussion was overtly linked to a London environment and was a tactical device that gave the traditional text (taken from an established French version of the Distiches of Cato) a contemporary urban and specifically London relevance. Caton was promoted in light of contemporary fears, most probably originating from concerns over the excessive wealth children inherited from their fathers, seen by George D. Painter as an attack upon the new generation of merchants. Mending these ills required men (and children) to rule and govern themselves in this life temporal and spiritual, hence the dual references to the body and the soul which Caxton formulated so clearly. At the same time, Caxton’s condemnation was tempered in a flattering gloss of London youth: ‘but fayrer ne wyser ne bet bespoken children in theyre yongthe ben now-her than ther ben in london’. Like the astute salesman he was, Caxton associated these two states to demonstrate that his book was essential reading at a time of supposed social crisis, while at the same time being careful that his criticism did not overly offend the people he was relying on to purchase his book.

Caxton’s prose translation was significantly different from Burgh’s verse translation printed so successfully earlier. Brunner suggests that while Burgh’s version may be described as a paraphrase, Caxton played with this text, adding tales and homilies as he chose. An example of this is the deliberate reference to London urban households. Comparisons between Caxton’s edition and the French text from which this was translated cannot be made, as the French manuscript remains unknown. Lacking this, we can only examine elements which seem to reflect English concerns or which overtly reworked standard themes for the implied audience. The one section we do know to have been exclusively written for this edition, namely Caxton’s prologue, placed a tactical interest in contemporary London society on view.

Despite the initial references to children and youths, a significant portion of the text is probably better described as relating to older individuals, particularly

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138 Caxton, *Caton*, ii.
140 Caxton, *Caton*, ii. Painter believes Caxton felt he may have gone too far in his attacks and needed to sweeten his criticism of the city.
adult men with their own households. Prohibitions on gambling, drinking wine, and monitoring household servants reflected adult concerns and issues, although older youths still existed on the fringes of this audience. The reading theory of 'double address' and 'dual address' suggests how this material was accessed by, and accessible to, different age and status groups. In texts that seem to have addressed both children and adults, and more specifically in terms of this literature which addressed dependent children and parents, the delineation between double and dual address is useful. Double address refers to the targeting of adults over the top of children in the audience, and dual address to when the messages for adults and children coincide. Multiple reading networks are of use when considering a text such as Caton that included passages consistent with at least two audiences differentiated by age, although united by gender.

The 'body and soul' philosophy stressed so overtly in Caton was not novel, nor does it automatically relate to a growing interest in moral socialisation, nor to an audience's interest in printed literature that was based on morality and virtue. Religious observance had equally been expressed in courtesy literature in extant manuscripts that acknowledged that socialisation required dual social and religious training. Idley's poem, particularly in manuscripts containing both Liber Primus and Liber Secundus, was the most complete example of a social and religious text and likewise duplicated something of a 'body and soul' principle. Interestingly, Idley's poem was also the closest in terms of reflecting non-elite audiences from the outset, focusing on the interests of bourgeois and professional officials. Care needs to be taken in extending similarities, as Idley was not writing for a merchant audience. Nevertheless we can see that Idley was writing in a period close, if not contemporaneous, with Caxton's edition of Caton, and was very much a part of any mid-to late-fifteenth century debates over social mobility, manly duties and English character.

The integration of virtuous principles into the social/religious narrative of Caton came early in the prologue and related to a highly imaginative Christian heritage:

There was a noble clerge named pogius of Florence/And was

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141 See Clifton, 'The Seven Sages of Rome', in Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. by Classen, p. 196. Clifton's essay follows the work of Barbara Wall.
142 The boke of curtasye (especially the second book), Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son and The Lytylle Childrene's Book in particular.
secretary to pope Eugenye/ & also to pope Nycholas whiche 
had in the cyte of Florence a noble & well stuffed lybra-rye/ 
whiche alle noble straungyers comyng to Florence desy-red 
to see/ And therin they fonde many noble and rare booke/s And 
whanne they axyd of hym whiche was the best bo-ke of them 
alle/ and that he reputed for best/ He sayd/ that he helde Cathon 
glosed for the best book of his lyberary/ Thenne syth that he 
was so noble a Clerke helde this book for the best/ double/s hit 
must folowe that this is a noble booke/ and a vertuous/ and suche 
one that a man may eschewe alle vycses/ and ensiewe vertue 143

Unlike some courtesy/instructional texts aimed at children and young people, 
the relationship between virtue, conduct and religious adherence was extended 
and treated as a fully developed tool in socialisation. The double emphasis on 
morality and religious values was asserted as a function of life, with ‘virtue’ 
now attached to the themes of sin and transgression. The result was a double 
representation of religious-social conduct: ‘Wherfore thou must be first with out 
syne/ and vertuous/ than for to wyl make the other to be vertuous and without 
synnes/’. 144 Other passages emphasised the relationship between behaviour and 
religious meaning: ‘By cause that they that lyue vertuous/ Vse reson/ Justice/ & 
equyte/ & haue praysyng of god and of alle the world/’. 145 ‘Sin’ and ‘vice’ were 
explicit cautionary terms which were consistent with these statements.

This was a scaffold that set up the subsequent discussions on behaviour and 
conduct directly affecting how the ‘courtesy’ topos was reformulated. In many 
courtesy poems, hierarchical obligations were expressed in practical terms 
through seating arrangements and expressions of honour and respect to the 
nobility. These earlier poems also included instructions regarding the duty of 
children to God and parents, instructions that can likewise be read in Caton. 
Similar ideas regarding hierarchy and politeness were also cited in Caton, but 
were not associated with a detailed aristocratic structure. This may be consistent 
with a merchant and bourgeois perspective. In Caton, children were advised to 
show respect to anyone who was ‘auncient’ or honourable or more broadly, to 
any who held any dignity or office. 146 In a like vein, the lessons on table 
manners were generic and lacked the specific application to elite households 
common in courtesy poems. In Caton, children were warned to be temperate in

143 Caxton, Caton, ii*. This was as unconventional as The Lyttyle Childrences Book which 
suggested courtesy was a gift from Heaven and linked to Christ’s birth.
144 Caxton, Caton, cvi*. And in a later passage is represented as: ‘and falleth in to many vycses 
and synnes’. cvi*.
145 Caxton, Caton, aiii*. 
146 Caxton, Caton, aiii*-aiii*.
eating and drinking and to pay attention to their speech lest they be taken for a gossip. Specifically, Caton called attention to how to behave in a tavern where loud voices and the likelihood of everyone speaking at once were censured. The reference to a tavern catered to a merchant and bourgeois audience, and probably also suggested an urban environment, considering the proliferation of taverns in urban areas. Concerns with alehouses in the late-fifteenth century were becoming more frequent in extant presentations. This was probably associated with a rise in unemployment and vagrancy. Goldberg has shown that servants frequenting alehouses was of particular concern in the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as it threatened the good order of the household and therefore the community. 147 This family-household emphasis contributes to the book’s household utility. Courtesy poems set within the elite environment alternatively elided such locations and household dynamics, and rarely even spoke of areas outside the great household. Of course the Good Wife poems, with their mercantile basis, also spoke of taverns and urban centers and again suggested a smaller household context and dynamic between servants and other household members.

It was equally common for courtesy poems to be concerned with the principle of moderation, rationalised through detailed strictures on gluttonous eating and drinking, although always more specifically on the manner of eating. 148 Caton conversely desired the reader or listener to understand the principles which lay behind moderation and suppressing greed, quoting Aristotelian theories as an authority on this. Temperance in drinking wine was acknowledged as the path towards a moderate life, however, the reverse of this, namely drunkenness, was not linked to a display of bad manners, rudeness or poor comportment. Rather theoretical, medical, pious and practical justifications explained why excessive wine drinking was not profitable for men. The ‘evils’ that came from the ‘over much drinking of wine’ included troubles with memory and ‘wit’, carnal appetites, shakes of the body, liver problems and more conceptually that ‘hit maketh feble alle the virtues bothe of the bo-dy and of the soole’.

147 Goldberg, Medieval England, p. 257.
148 Early medieval guides for the religious houses criticised gluttony as a sin and extolled moderation. Nicholls has drawn connections between monastic customaries and secular courtesy texts of the later medieval period. Nicholls, The Matter of Courtesy, pp. 22-44.
149 Caxton, Caton, ‘evil’. Wine was one of the more expensive forms of drink available during this period and held a status above ale, particularly during the 1450s-1490s when imports of wine dropped to less than 5000 tuns compared to a peak of over 20,000 tuns in the thirteenth century. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries wine had mostly been consumed by the higher nobility and upper clergy who were able to import it in bulk from the Continent, particularly from Gascony. Woolgar suggests that wine was more likely to be a luxury purchase
was this connected to rudeness, manners or sociability. Rather we see a concern with virtue as well as a more fundamental concern with physical impairments.\textsuperscript{150} A later lesson calls for moderation in speech, similarly linked to vice and sin: ‘for ouer many wor-des may not be wywithout vyces and synnes’.\textsuperscript{151} While \textit{Caton} touched upon some of the foundational principles of courtesy poems, including honour, respect, duty and a sense of hierarchy, it did not begin to consider respectable manners, hygiene or protocol in ways accentuated in the courtesy texts. The noticeable parallels between the two on one level makes the specific differences all the more apparent.

Double address was established through passages speaking about fatherly conduct, based on the father’s role in raising male children. Taking responsibility for actions was generally shown in courtesy literature in terms of the child to their parents, elders or superiors. This was part of that broader issue concerning the individual responsibility of each young person in governing and monitoring public conduct. In some instances in this literature, self-responsibility was also directed at moral conduct. Instead \textit{Caton} courted the responsibility of fathers and considered parental roles rather than children’s roles as the dominant factor in parent/child relationships. There are comparable references to the father in the late-sixteenth century manuscript Harley 787 in the poem \textit{How to Rule one’s Self and one’s House}. Half of this poem falls under the heading \textit{Domus} and depicted a father’s responsibility towards his children and his household. Other lessons were titled \textit{Temperance}. The poem echoed the make-up of the small household and reinforced the family hierarchy in which the father, mother and their children participated in a daily domestic routine. In this short poem, fathers rather than children were the recipients of

\begin{footnote}{\textsuperscript{150} An interesting interdisciplinary study has been done on youth and alcohol in medieval and modern England. Jessica Warner has noted that in the medieval period, moderation rather than abstinence was desirable for young people (defined as between the ages of twelve and twenty-four) linked to notions of gluttony. Contemporary concerns were related to locations (alehouse, taverns) and not the actual drinking of alcohol. She sees the 1540s as a time of more restricted prohibitions on youths drinking, specifically targeting the quantity and type of alcohol young people were allowed. In this way she sees medieval sources as less concerned with distinguishing different standards for young people and adults. Jessica Warner, ‘Historical perspectives on the shifting boundaries around youth and alcohol: the example of pre-industrial England, 1350-1750’, \textit{Addiction}, 93.5 (1998), 641-657. \textsuperscript{151} Caxton, \textit{Caton}, cvii.}\end{footnote}
the main address on character and the household. The sense of the family as a unit was described more clearly in this poem than in older courtesy narratives. The conscious appeal to ‘the family’ rather than individuals touches on the role of the moral household in Tudor England.\textsuperscript{152} In this literature, children became part of the overall audience within the family, but the sense that they were directly addressed was largely lost:

\begin{center}
\begin{verbatim}
Bring up thy children in uertuous callinge
Teach them to knowe & feare God
Keep them in due obedyence
Nourish them not in delicacye\textsuperscript{153}
\end{verbatim}
\end{center}

This was entirely different from the voice of earlier courtesy poems where children were addressed as the main protagonists of lessons and importantly, were given a high degree of responsibility over their own actions. In this poem, the behaviour of children lay in the hands of parents who held responsibility over upbringing.

In \textit{Caton}, lessons from antiquity validated the role of fathers in teaching their children. The passage suggested an allegory was being made to religious ‘fathers’ who held a spiritual authority over young people:

\begin{center}
\begin{verbatim}
Thou oughteest to teche to thy chylldren goode doctryne and
good condycions/for the phylosopher sayth in the viii book of
ethyques/that the fader is cause of al that/ the chylldren done/
Wherfore they ought to be also cause of/ theyr condycions of
docytryne/For vertu ben bounden of right/ not onely the carnal
faders/but also the spyrituel\textsuperscript{154}
\end{verbatim}
\end{center}

The household responsibilities of these adult men was predicated upon the concomitant notion of parental/adult self-control. Adult gamblers were warned to avoid dice and playing, especially if they were married and had children. There was the suggestion that this often caused them to put their ‘wyues and daughters to grete dyshonoure and shame’.\textsuperscript{155} In this book, the emphasis on

\textsuperscript{153} British Library, Harley MSS 787, fol. 9'. A transcript can be found in \textit{Queene Elizabethes Achaedemy}, ed. by Furnivall, p. 71. The manuscript has the title ‘Severall papers found in Mr. Dells Study, Secretary to Bishop Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.’ Furnivall has studied the entire manuscript and can find nothing that dates from later than 1601.
\textsuperscript{154} Caxton, \textit{Caton}, \textit{avii}’. The lesson of Zeno and his gambling habits was given. Before being hanged for his sins, Zeno blamed his father for not teaching him well in his youth, Caxton, \textit{Caton}, \textit{avii}’.
\textsuperscript{155} Caxton, \textit{Caton}, \textit{biil}'.

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youthful autonomy was subsumed into this discussion of parental authority and in particular, the role of the father as head of his household. This is suggestive of the lengthening of the time of childhood in the sixteenth century, where the period between dependence (as felt by children) and independence (a common marker of adulthood) increased, providing parents and authority figures with a longer timeframe to instruct and govern youths.\textsuperscript{156} Caxton’s \textit{Caton} shows a late-fifteenth century picture of the idealised father, extending this into a discussion of household servants. In court records we also find household servants and apprentices discussed in terms of the male head of the house and his religious, social and legal duties and responsibilities.\textsuperscript{157}

In \textit{Caton} this position was supported through a similar conceptual understanding of domestic labour and household structures, associated with religious duty: ‘Thou oughtest to have the care and the gouvernement of thy famylye or seruauntes/for thou arte callede fader of thy seruaunte/bycause that amonge alle thy/seruauntes thou arte lyke a fader and gouvernour/& of thyse thou shalt rendre and yelde a counte before god’.\textsuperscript{158} Caxton inserted a specific London reference into this, turning what was a standard didactic tract into a highly relevant book for his urban and probably London readership: ‘and euer y man that hath any gounernesme or rewle upon his householde in lounden’.

In a similar way, the \textit{Book of Good Manners} can be read for its relevance to English urban environments. An English context was introduced in the prologue through a reference to a London man, William Pratt, a mercer and ‘friend’ of Caxton. Caxton’s prologue advertised the familiar refrain of ‘maners make man’, linked to the rude conditions of ‘comyn people whiche without

\textsuperscript{156} Although the period between completing an apprenticeship and establishing a new household was relatively short (around three years). Rappaport, \textit{Worlds Within Worlds}, pp. 322-329. Also, Griffiths, \textit{Youth and Authority}, pp. 294-295.


\textsuperscript{158} Caxton, \textit{Caton}, aviue.

\textsuperscript{159} Caxton, \textit{Caton}, aviue. This also indicates Caxton’s awareness of a very specific, localised market for his books. London had the only major urban population and constituted a bigger market than anywhere else in England. London may also have had a symbolic and celebrated status within provincial reading networks.
enformacion & lernyng ben rude and not manerd lyke vnto beestis'. 160 This ostensibly moved the book towards a non-noble position, dropping the sometimes standard themes of noble patronage at the outset. Not only were there references to the 'common people' but Caxton also explained how he acquired the text, playing upon merchant networks, and perhaps even commercial business arrangements. He went to the trouble of explaining that the French text had been given to him by 'An honest man/ & a specyal fren[d]e of myn a Mercer of london named wyllia[m] praat'. 161 William Pratt was a member of the Mercers' Company of London in 1452, at the same time as Caxton, and the book may be an example of joint ventures between two people. 162

Although it was never directly stated by Caxton, we know this anonymous French text to be Legrand's early fifteenth century work, *Livre de bonnes moeurs*. There are always difficulties in relating French culture to English culture, and this is an issue here. French court guides cannot be directly transplanted onto the English court, and what was of concern to Legrand and his audiences may not have resonated in England. However, there was a certain allure in using French, as well as Burgundian court standards as a benchmark of behaviour in England. Some conclusions can also be drawn with consideration to Caxton's own prologue, as well as the relevance of this book to other genres of literature circulating in England, including princely mirrors.

While the book was ostensibly addressed to 'common people' and associated with a merchant reading and transmission network, the text itself placed princely behaviour into the foreground. The text discussed the three estates of the Church, the nobility and the common people. Yet in the prologue, Caxton suppressed the elite association. The reader was introduced to the book via more inclusive conditions, learning that manners had a broad application to all

160 As with Caxton, the prologue was particularly significant as the *Book of Good Manners* was translated out of the earlier French manuscript widely attributed to Jacques Legrand. Caxton, *Book of Good Manners*, aii'.


people. This was specifically stated in terms of virtuous behaviour: ‘it is requisite and necessary that every man vse good & vertuous maners. And to thende that every man shold haue knowledche of good maners’. Caxton achieved the relationship suggested by Eisenstein and reiterated by Voss concerning the roles texts played in disseminating knowledge to others; the transmission of ‘expertise’ to the community. Interestingly when de Worde re-published this book in 1498 and 1526 he included Caxton’s prologue verbatim, re-emphasising these issues to his own audiences.

The text of the Book of Good Manners was deeply religious in tone and ideology and underlined the virtues of humility, patience, abstinence, chastity, virginity, pilgrimage and so on. Good (courteous) manners as such, came into play in only the vaguest of terms: ‘And therefore noo man ought to be a prelate. but yf he be wyse. vertuous/and of right good maners and lyf’. The behaviour of princes was measured according to complex ‘good manners’: ‘Thus thene ought a prynce to fore alle thyng gete to hym good ma-ners for to gyue good example to alle them that ben in hys gouernance’. For merchant and bourgeois readers there was the opportunity to extend these values to their own social and business networks, reconfiguring ethical behaviours of their rulers to bourgeois/mercantile communities.

In this way manners were acknowledged as a helpful aid in government. Bourgeois and merchant readers could reproduce these meanings by taking princely behaviour as a model for business behaviour. Something more than proper manners at a table were necessary with this, which moved the text beyond the prescription of arranged formalities. Yet some care needs to be taken. Manners were used in a particularly vague way in this book, making it difficult to ascribe any particular activity to these ‘good manners’. We do not know what Legrand/Caxton may have intended to allude to here, or what readers would have understood by this term. We can only approximate a reading of ‘manners’ by comparing it with other narratives which paralleled ‘good manners’ in different ways. The discussion on service also contrasted with courtesy poems. In courtesy poems, specific manners for servants had been the

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163 Caxton, Book of Good Manners, aii.
165 ‘Virtue’ was the word explicitly used for each of these concepts, except ‘virginity’ which was described as ‘honourable’.
166 Caxton, Book of Good Manners, dvi.
167 Caxton, Book of Good Manners, eiii.
focus of instruction. Servants, and particularly young servants, were supervised for their conduct at the table, in serving food and in interacting with others. Honour, obedience and duty may have been the subtext of courtesy lessons, but what was important was the observable element of conduct. The *Book of Good Manners* like *Catton* before it, focused on internal qualities that supported outward behaviour, in this case a discussion of the qualities that servants were expected to comply with to meet worldly and spiritual values. Six conditions were listed, including honour (for their master), faithfulness, truth, obedience, diligence and patience.\(^{168}\) Scriptural examples of servants obeying their masters reinforced this message and promoted this.

We can also consider the overall context of these discourses on manners and elite service in the text. It becomes clearer in later lessons that neither protocol nor observable actions were monitored and privileged. Princes were warned not to be avaricious, nor covetous, to maintain and keep justice and to be humble. Soberness and chasteness were also described in ideal terms as principles governing behaviour, at odds with aristocratic feasting and lifestyles in this period, and something we can say would have been relevant to both French and English court cultures.\(^{169}\) Unlike other courtesy literature which described elite standards of living in terms of extravagant gestures of public hospitality, feasting and courtly behaviour, *The Book of Good Manners* instead looked to that genre of guides for princes to describe virtuous qualities, simultaneously using this to look at the contractual obligations a monarch bore to his people. Given Richard III's defeat at Bosworth two years prior to this, and Henry VII's accession to the throne, this was an interesting strategy by Caxton.

A discourse on kingly rule and responsibilities was not of course unique to this period. Literary guides were an apparatus long used in the discussion of kingship, morality and governance. This literature included Gower's *Vox Clamantis* (1378-81) and *Confessio Amantis* (1390), and Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* (1411). Dissatisfaction with corruption and political manœuvrings found expression in ingenious ways. In terms of printed literature, there was the added potential for a wide dispersal of texts and their ideologies, to a range of (anonymous) social groups.

\(^{168}\) Caxton, *Book of Good Manners*, gii²-giii².

\(^{169}\) 'Then ought the prynce to be ashamed. the whiche demannde no thyng but wyn ande me-te. and holde longe dyners. and yet more longe soupers.' Caxton, *Book of Good Manners*, evii².
In the Book of Good Manners order and harmony were further surveyed according to multiple social relationships with the Church, the elite, and the common people, as first outlined by Legrand. The fourth book in particular focused on multiple social estates not limited to the church and the gentry, refocusing merchant and bourgeois readers to their own value sets and experiences. Here the text served to remind readers of the divisions of the world, ranging from passages on poverty, age, children, servants, and pilgrims, to merchants and fathers. This corresponded with the inclusive social framework first identified in the prologue and identified the thematic topic of the family to this literature. Chilton Powell finds that ‘Among the very earliest books printed in England, we find the first on the family. This is Caxton’s Boke of Good Manners’.170

Children and young people were integrated directly into this via discussions on parent and child relationships, and the mutual obligations that existed between the two. The qualities which were necessary for children and youths to display were predicated upon the traditional notion of imprinability and the youthful requirement for instruction: ‘And therefore saynt An-selme in his boke of symylititudes comparathe Infancye or chyl-dehode to ware whiche is softe’,171 a repetition of the likening of infancy to wax. There was an admonition that any adult who had the governance of children should not hesitate to chastise and reprove them. Misbehaviour in terms of disobedience towards parents was, and still is, a deeply felt anxiety for adults, informing many of the preoccupations and anxieties of this literature. Countering this were scriptural examples of children obeying their parents; David obeyed his father and Christ himself was a dutiful son. However, youthful responsibility was not completely suppressed and there was an awareness that adult governance could only accomplish so much, with children ultimately responsible for their actions and their salvation: ‘For syth they haue wytte and vnderstondyng they ben [...]be repreuyl & they shal be pugnysshid of god yf they doo ouyl yyll.’172 The stark reality of infant death was acknowledged and young people were warned not to think of their age as protecting them from death and judgement.173

170 Powell, English Domestic Relations, p. 102.
171 Caxton, Book of Good Manners, fvi.
172 Caxton, Book of Good Manners, fvi. Illegible in some places.
173 ‘And thus nature hath no certayn terme of luyng. Therfore no yong man ne woman ought not for hope of longe lyf to take ony hardy-[…] for to doo eyyl.’ Caxton, Book of Good Manners, fvi. Illegible in some places.
This partial revision of child responsibility was developed progressively in the literature through the increasing articulation of parental duties. Fathers and mothers were directed to think of their children because it was by their ‘good doctrine’ that they learned.\textsuperscript{174} Three years earlier Caxton’s translation of Cato (\textit{Caton}) had explored this, discussing the role of parents and especially the father as the dominant factor in parent/child relationships. The implied role of parents in their children’s lives was increasingly ‘hands on’. That is, the text visualised a scenario of parents who were in habitual contact with their children. Unlike elite courtesy poems which addressed children living away from the natal household, and which also included the poems from ‘mothers’ to ‘daughters’, the directions in the \textit{Book of Good Manners} and \textit{Caton} represented a domestic situation where parents were in a position to monitor the behaviour and moral identity of their children on a recurrent, if not daily basis. Goldberg has shown that adolescent children were more likely to be found in the natal home in prosperous households.\textsuperscript{175} It is certainly possible that changes in reading networks and particularly, increasing readership within prosperous urban households explains why we hear more of the responsibility of parents within these books, and why it was books such as these that were prepared for print. References to a household environment in both \textit{Caton} and the \textit{Book of Good Manners} are suggestive of the importance of ‘family’ books which could be read or heard by dual audiences made up of adults and children living within the same space. Elias saw this focus on family life as fashioning the interest in interior social responses, no longer exterior responses, and this is gradually developed in English literature.\textsuperscript{176}

In these two decades of printing in England, the choice of texts was both conservative and different, simultaneously suggesting a new direction to socialisation while harking back to older forms of literature. Good manners were certainly not displaced \textit{within} individual texts or \textit{across} the printed corpus. It was more the case that socialisation in moral matters was increasingly articulated in the literature to which children were exposed. In the previous chapters, these adaptations from the courtesy format took the form of competition from gentry and bourgeois consumers anxious to appropriate

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{174} Caxton, \textit{Book of Good Manners}, giii.
\item \textsuperscript{175} He writes: ‘Some groups were more likely than others to retain adolescent children within their households. In general, more prosperous households were more likely to contain children than poorer households.’ This was particularly true for widow and widower households. Goldberg, \textit{Medieval England}, p. 20.
\item \textsuperscript{176} Connected also to the bourgeois classes and not the nobility and elites. Elias, \textit{The Civilizing Process}, pp. 116-117.
\end{itemize}
elements of the elite household and elite courtesy into their own spheres, modifying beliefs and concepts on an *ad hoc*, instinctive basis. This literature shows a considered and conscious, *positive*, separation of ideologies.

Caxton’s books seem also to anticipate the family reading audiences that were to become commonplace in the sixteenth century. The voice of the family in the small natal household can clearly be identified in this material and in later sixteenth century literature. Powell’s comment on the nature of the *Book of Good Manners*, and by extension all of Caxton’s books, shows the beginnings of this: ‘The chapters on women, servants, parents, and children, although short, formulate the nature of the instruction found in all later books on family affairs.’¹⁷⁷ In the following chapter the role of the family, the father and the household are analysed in relation to the literature about children and upbringing. Sixteenth century books also more clearly reflect gentry, merchant and bourgeois readerships, perhaps even extending to artisan classes and more prosperous yeoman as books began to circulate more widely and in greater numbers. The responsiveness of this literature to developments in family relationships and the social and religious role of the small natal household are explored at this time.

¹⁷⁷ Powell, *English Domestic Relations*, p. 106.
Chapter Five
Virtuous Instruction in Sixteenth Century Books
for Children and Young People

‘Because every Commonwealth is composed of families, & the parts of a
Familie bee those, whereof it is immediatly compacted’¹

By the late-fifteenth century there was a growing ideal within literature that
boys and girls were subject to moral, virtuous and courteous guidance. Caxton’s
publications told of young people being ‘fed with virtue’, ‘removed from vice’,
and ‘taught in good doctrine’.² These books defined their responsibilities
towards socialising both sexes through the characteristics of both courteous
manners and virtuous manners. Before this the common theme of courtesy
literature for boys had endorsed the traditional ‘manners make man’ topos.
Quite distinct differences between the poems for boys and the poems for girls
showed that there had been a well-developed sense of moral female behaviour at
play before this. By the close of the fifteenth century the archetype accentuating
moral identity was emerging more strongly in material for boys. I have argued
that Caxton’s publications, often with their parallel accounts of virtue and sin,
substantially contributed to this and responded to social and political disruption
in England. What then of the literature produced in the century after Caxton at a
time of religious disruption in England and on the Continent? Bryson has
argued that manners reveal information about changing self-image and social
strategies.³ This idea will be tested in this chapter through the study of sixteenth
century books about childhood upbringing, domestic household policy and
religious values.

In this chapter I investigate texts which emphasised virtue in socialisation. I
begin by looking at the sixteenth century model of moral instruction for girls,
from three publications. In this way the high-status and intensely moral book,
The Instruction of a Christen Woman by Juan Luis Vives (1523, English
publication 1529) will be examined for its profound anxiety about the moral and
chaste identity of girls. Two English translations of Giovanni Michele Bruto’s

¹ William Vaughan, *The golden-grove, moralized in three booke: a worke very necessary for
all such, as would know how to gouerne themselues, their houses, or their countrey. Made by
W. Vaughan, Master of Artes, and student in the civill law* (London: Simon Stafford, 1600), the
Second Book, Chapter 1.
² Found in Parvus Cato, the *Book of Curtesye*, and *Caton* respectively.
³ Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 276.
La institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente, translated in 1579 by Thomas Salter and in 1598 by William Phiston, also described the moral upbringing of young women.

The other books examined in this chapter extend the moral pattern to boys, or 'children' in general. These books include Richard Whitford's The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, unto communio, or howselyng;\(^4\) Ed[ward] Grant's A president for parentes, teaching the vertuous training vp of children and holesome information of yongmen; Robert Shelford's, Lectures or readings vpon the 6. verse of the 22. chapter of the Prouerbs, concerning the vertuous education of youth; and William Vaughan's The golden-groue.

In these books moral and virtuous counsel was particularly cultivated through relationships that existed, or was seen as ideally existing, between children and family members, often with an emphasis on obedience to fathers. This was a new direction, which built on the emerging family-household genre of the late-fifteenth century. The parental voice had occasionally been used in earlier courtesy material with the father's lessons to his son in Idley's poem and in How the Wise Man Taught his Son. Both poems belonged to a separate tradition of courtesy literature that developed independently from the elite stylings of most poems. In the sixteenth century, the same bourgeois non-elite family context can be seen.

The parent-child relationship fostered a direct association between the books and possible reading locations, primarily identified with small households. Through references to parents we can credit the literature with the interests of natal families, with the narratives and stories operating within the setting of the household. The question of households is critical when considering developments in the culture of childhood over the sixteenth century and why certain social and cultural ideas were expanded within literature. Earlier courtesy poems had addressed children and young people, usually the specific group of young gentle servants, in ways that best suited the arrangements of elite households where children assumed functional, working positions. The development of a 'household advice' genre or a 'parental advice' genre was

\(^4\) Richard Whitford, The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, or of ordinaunce vnto co[m]munio, or howselyng. The werke for householders with the golden pistle and alphabee or a croswire called an A.B.C. all duely corrected and newly printed (London: Robert Redman, 1531).
dependent upon an environment where parents and children lived in closer proximity to each other. This genre also depended on these families being interested and willing to purchase books that 'spoke' to them and to their preoccupations and interests. Lessons were still discussed through the conventional ideology about hierarchy. A child living at home in what we relate to as the more familiar 'nuclear' family was a precursor to the associated dispersal of books for that household.\footnote{See Herlihy's definition of the family as 'a coresidential unit, with a kin group at its core'. Herlihy, 'The Making of the Medieval Family', p. 117. In Chapter One, I discussed these terms and their limitations and value in defining the family-household.} Fathers needed to be in direct contact with their children before it could be assumed that they would be the primary arbitrators of their children's behaviours. As Caxton had done, sixteenth-century publishers catered to a market that emphasised these characteristics.

As a result of this, the voice and responsibility of the householder was increasingly favoured over that of the child. This family dynamic was associated with Grant's 1571 English translation of Plutarch's \textit{De educatione puerorum},\footnote{It is no longer thought that Plutarch wrote the text, although in Tudor England this was commonly accepted.} published as \textit{A president for parentes}. The role of the parent in Shelford's, \textit{Lectures or readings} similarly credited parents with authority in upbringing. A short comparison between these works and Vaughan's \textit{The golden-groue} will be made in order to develop our understanding of the position in which family relationships were held, at least in the literature, by the close of the sixteenth century.

In Chapter Four I noted the reading theory of 'dual address' and 'double address' which identified dual potential reading networks and which is important when considering family reading groups. The literature in this chapter overtly presupposed these audiences, and this chapter's analysis builds upon the identification of multiple reading practices. It is a premise in the following discussion that 'family' narratives and 'parental advice literature' had audiences amongst both children and adults, as well as amongst employers and servants, and which again may have led to the aural circulation of books.
Household Instructions for Girls

In 1529 Richard Hyrde translated Juan Luis Vives’ 1523 Latin handbook, *De Institutione Foeminae Christianae*, published in England as *The Instruction of a Christen Woman*.\(^7\) The text touched upon the conventions of older pedagogical books and what has been described as the ‘developing genre of the domestic conduct book’.\(^8\) This genre flourished in later Protestant England and was particularly associated with non-elite family reading circles.

As we know from Caxton’s body of work, it was possible to address an aristocratic or royal patron while knowingly skewing the text to a wider audience. Vives and Hyrde encouraged elite audiences through references to royalty, with Vives overtly positioning his book within the genre of educational treatises aimed at noble children. The dedication to his fellow Spanish countrywoman Katherine of Aragon specifically referred to the education of the young Princess Mary and was a premeditated creation of an elite literary network.\(^9\) Hyrde retained Vives’ original opening preface which contained this dedication. He also reiterated this association in his own opening, while citing his own association with Sir Thomas More’s household. From 1541 onwards these references to Katherine were removed from editions, a pragmatic and politically astute move given changing political circumstances that overtook its previous value.\(^10\)

Dedications to august figures were common, and as before should not be taken as a literal indication of audience or even of textual content. We can suggest a wider audience was likely through contextual evidence on book prices. The cost and number of books printed for later editions attested to its affordability for

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\(^7\) Richard Hyrde, *A very frutefull and pleasant boke called the instructio[n] of a Christen woma[n]*, made first in Laten, and dedicated unto the queenes good grace, by the right famous cleric mayster Lewes Vives, and turned out of Laten into Englysshe by Rycharde Hyrd. which boke who so redeth diligently shal haue knowleage of many thynges, wherin he shal take great pleasure, and specially women shall take great co[n]modyte and frute towards the[n]creace of vertue [and] good maners (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1529).


\(^9\) Other works by Vives, *De Ratione Studii Puerilis* and *Satellitium Sivi Symbola* were also written for Princess Mary. For an interesting review of the later editions see, Vives, *The Instruction of a Christen Woman*, ed. by Beauchamp and others, ‘The History of the Tudor Text’, pp. lxxvii-xciii.

\(^10\) Henry VIII’s divorce from Katherine was settled in 1533. Mary I’s Spanish marriage (1554) was unpopular in England.
gentry and bourgeois readers. Editions were sold between twelve pence (1557) and one shilling, two pence (1577). There is no reason to suppose merchants and artisans would not also have been able or willing to purchase these books, particularly given that mid-sixteenth century print runs extended to substantial numbers, often between 1250-1500 copies. A lack of information on the earlier editions requires a more speculative reconstruction. It was certainly possible however that a broad class-based readership was viable at this time. Non-aristocratic interests were perceptible in Vives’ other publications and the Introduction to Wisdom (published in England in 1539) was likely aimed at a wider non-royal audience.

The Instruction was intended to present a fully realised picture of female upbringing, with conventional images given of women as fragile and vulnerable. Vives portrayed the conventional tri-fold structure of maiden/wife/widow. He began at the time of infancy and recommended mothers breastfeed their children in preference to putting them out to wet nurses. Putting infants out to a wet nurse was associated with the elite and with the affluent bourgeois in England, extending into the landed gentry and to some rich merchants, but unlikely to have been practiced outside of these social groups. These passages indicate the interests of an audience expected to be conversant with this.

The physical relationship between a mother and her child was seen as encouraging emotional attachments. It also ensured that the mother would be present to hear her child laugh and help to encourage early speech. Trevisa’s fourteenth century translation of Bartholomew’s De Proprietatibus Rerum, promoted mothers’ milk: ‘and so the childe is bettor and more kindeliche ifedde with his owne modir melk thanne with othir melke’. In 1571, Grant likewise advocated the maternal role: ‘In my opinion, it is moste conuenable and

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11 ‘The History of the Tudor Text’, in Vives, The Instruction of a Christen Woman, ed. by Beauchamp and others, p. xcii. See fn. 36 for re-prints being less expensive than first run printings. Some caution should be used when looking at figures at print runs.


necessarie, that mothers norishe their owne Children, with theyr owne teates and paps: for mothers with great beneuolence & diligence wil cherish them, because wyth a certain intier loue, & mere affection they tender them which they haue born & bred: and loue euen the nailes of their fingers.\textsuperscript{15} Both Grant and Vives drift into emotive language to discuss these attachments.\textsuperscript{16} A variant reading could suggest that natural emotional attachments were not as ingrained as authors implied, with these passages indicative of an attempt to fix and define gender roles.

Vives later conceded that the employment of wet-nurses was more than likely. The environmental dangers occasioned by wet-nursing contributed to the subtext of moral ire in the book and he highlighted this as a dangerous moment in upbringing, especially with wet-nurses threatening the character and development of infant girls. Indeed, from the moment of infancy, a girl’s character was shown as more vulnerable and susceptible to harm than a boy’s character. In choosing a wet nurse for a daughter, parents were reminded:

But the mayde, whom we wolde have specially good, requireth al intendaunce both of father and mother, lest any spotte of vice or unclenlynes shulde stycke on her: Let her take no suche thynges neither by her bodily senses and wyttes, nor by her norishyng and bryngnyng up. She shal fyrst here her nurce, fyrst se her: and what so ever she lerneth in rude and ignorant age, that wyl she ever labour to counterfete and folowe counnyngly.\textsuperscript{17}

It was a commonplace that milk was a potential contaminant, with milk acting as a bodily carrier for disposition, character and temperament.\textsuperscript{18} Medical and social writings upheld the idea that wet nurses could impart more of their

\textsuperscript{15} E[dward] Grant, \textit{A president for parentes, teaching the vertuous training vp of children and holesome information of yongmen. Written in greke by the prudent and wise phylosopher Choeroneus [sic] Plutarchus, translated and partly augmented by Ed. Grant: very profitable to be read of all those that desire to be parents of virtuous children. Anno. 1571. Seene and allowed according to the Queenes insuctions} (London: Henry Bynneman, 1571), Biii'.

\textsuperscript{16} Linda Pollock analysed emotional attachments connecting parents to children in the sixteenth century. Pollock, \textit{Forgotten Children}, pp. 33-67, pp. 96-142. This was a pioneering analysis of childhood which questioned the perceived lack of emotional involvement between parents and children. deMause and later adherents had argued that children were largely neglected and overlooked by adults and by society at large. Pollock’s study revised these perceptions. It is surprising that historians had overlooked Vives’ writings: ‘Or what a crueltie is hit, nat to love them that thou hast borne?’ Vives, \textit{Instruction}, Book 2, M2’.

\textsuperscript{17} Vives, \textit{Instruction}, Book 1, C2’.

\textsuperscript{18} Jean Goeurot’s \textit{The kegiment [sic] of life, with The booke of children} (1546) similarly expounded the value of a mother’s milk in nourishing her child. Jean Goeurot, \textit{The kegiment [sic] of life wherunto is added A treatysie of the pestilence, with The booke of children newly corrected and enlarged} by T. Phayer (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1546), Bi’-Biii’.
character to a child than any hereditary imperatives, baldly stated by Vives: ‘They that have ben nurced with sowes mylke have rolled in the mier.’

Crafting a virtuous environment from the very beginning of development was signalled firmly and evocatively. This effectively directed parents to consider a gendered model of upbringing from infancy onwards.

Shahar had suggested that contemporary writers referred to both sexes equally in the first stage (infantia) of life, with separate tracts and instructions developing only once the pueritia stage (seven to twelve for girls, and seven to fourteen for boys) had been reached. The distinction between the ages of twelve for girls and fourteen for boys relates to ecclesiastical ages of marriage, and is an indication of a gendered alertness in the cultural understandings of childhood. Phillips has also suggested that gendering began in earnest at puberty, with girls ‘learning’ how to become women at this time. Vives’ statements regarding character formation indicated a belief that gendered conceptions should be vigorously enforced from the moment of birth. Bartholomew had already suggested gender differences were evident during conception and fetus development. He wrote: ‘The litil childe is conceyued and ibred of seedes with contrarie qualitiees, and if it is a male his place is in the right side and if it is a female in the left side.’

Bartholomew also informed his readers that ‘the modir is lasse igreued if sche goo with a knaue childe than sche is if sche go with a maiden child’. This fits well with Vives’ own perceptions of gender attributes in infancy. Even without a medical background these commonplace ideas would have been familiar to him.

Vives introduced concrete ages to his narrative by referring to seven years as the traditional age when learning should begin, although he cautioned that no hard and fast rule was to determine this and suggested both fathers and mothers paid attention to the particular aptitudes of their child. This implied a degree of personal parental attention which placed young children within the, at least

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19 Vives, Instruction, Book 1, C1.
20 Shahar, Childhood in the Middle Ages, pp. 23-26, and pp. 29-30.
21 Phillips, Medieval Maidens, pp. 61-62. She does not of course suggest that there were no gendered notions in early childhood: ‘Adolescence was the time at which the differences between the sexes began to be delineated with greater sharpness...Although gender differentiation had some place in childhood roles and identities, the distinction of sexes was far less important than later in life.’ Phillips, Medieval Maidens, p. 9.
occasional view, of parents. However, it was more likely that this was a narrative device which suited Vives’ discussion of parental roles.

Naturally, chastity was privileged in this discussion. In Vives’ description of chastity we can note how he stresses its fragile nature. Education could have both a positive and a negative influence on chaste development, a dichotomy never fully resolved by Vives. There was the potential for a well-educated girl to stand firm against evil behaviour:

the study of lernyng is suche a thyng, that it occupieth ones mynde holly, and lyfteth hit up unto the knowlege of moste goodly matters: and plucketh hit from the remembaunce of suche thynges as be foule. And if any suche thought come in to teyr mynde, eyther the mynde, well fortified with the preceptes of good lyvynge, avoydeth them away, orelis hit gyveth none hede unto those thynges, that be vyle and foule

Education and learning had the potential to act as a positive barrier to vices; however, it could also damage female character. Certainly the study of eloquence, some classical authors and all formal schooling taking place outside the home were viewed as evils to a girl’s chaste identity, and were equally seen as unnecessary skills for girls to master for later life. Girls supplemented this abbreviated curriculum by learning how to dress wool and to cook! Vives understood these roles to be important in female identity, using dual housekeeping and spiritual responsibilities to commence the chapters on education: ‘Whan she is of age able to lerne any thyng, let her beginne with that, whiche perteyneth unto the ornament of her soule, and the kepynge and ordrynge of an house’. Future learning was oriented towards these ends. This reinforced the association between girls and the household, probably in memory of Spanish practices which restricted middle and upper class girls to the home. Allison Coudert also identifies the desire to lock daughters safely away in the household as a defining ideology of female ‘education’ in sixteenth century literature. Here of course ‘education’ is taken as a metaphor for ‘socialisation’, rather than formal schooling. The desire to sequester girls was

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24 Vives, Instruction, Book 1, E1r. Vives’ recommended scripture and some Classical authors, including Augustine, Gregory, Plato and Cicero as suitable reading material for girls. Allison Coudert has shown that Protestant writers chose the same texts as suitable reading matter. Allison P. Coudert, ‘Educating Girls in Early Modern Europe and America’, in Childhood in the Middle Ages, ed. by Classen, pp. 389-413 (pp. 406-407).
25 Vives, Instruction, Book 1, C3'-D1' and D1'-D2', respectively.
26 Vives, Instruction, Book 1, C3'.
similarly expressed in the *Book of the Knight of the Tower*, but found less expression in the *Good Wife* tradition where economic realities established a female presence within the town and as participants in urban trade activities. However, even in these texts there was still a desire to curtail free movement. Representations of autonomy, authority and external monitoring were not clearly defined in any of these literary sources, with multiple readings needing consideration to comprehend the complex, and sometimes competing, notions expressed by different authors.

Education as a tool for promoting moral character was itself part of a wider model of contemporary educational practices which saw the curriculum aligned to moral and religious duties. Vives’ text illustrated how the educational/moral duality was particularly stressed for women, with chastity, purity and involvement in the domestic spheres dominating and defining female educational options. This necessarily excluded formal education as Vives had earlier suggested. Again, the careful exclusion of girls from learning was not unique to Catholic literature, with Protestant authors writing the same.

Beauchamp *et al.* acknowledge sixteenth century marriage treatises as borrowing from the older tradition of literature on marriage and family life to the extent of ‘transcending time and religious change’. The popularity of Vives’ book in Tudor England presupposed the ability of readers to approach books from their Catholic past, and staunchly Catholic countries, to appropriate themes which transcended overt religious and national forms.

Dangerous behaviours which fashioned an unchaste character included dancing, singing, ‘trifling pleasures’ and seeing wanton plays. Earlier courtesy poems for girls in the *Good Wife* tradition emphasised the public nature of actions as well as the damage brought to a reputation if a girl was seen taking part in an unsuitable activity. Likewise, Vives spoke of how the girl’s kin and community would react to her damaged reputation, creating a strong sense of guilt and shame for the girl to face:

> What mournyng, what teares, what wepynge of the father and mother and bringers up? Dost thou quite them with this pleasure

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28 In Chapter Seven I analyse the connections between the educational curriculum and manners and virtue in more detail.


for so moche care and labour? Is this the rewarde of thy bryngnyng up? What cursyng wyl ther be of her aquayntance? What talke of neighbours, frendes, and companyons, cursyne that ungratious yonge woman? What mockyng and bablynge of those maydens, that envyed her before?  

Vives then created a moral version of learning which was intended to offer a positive picture in contrast to this negative one. The reader or listener learnt that a woman who had diligently studied the acceptable classical examples of chaste behaviour and virtue was eventually so imbued with these qualities that she left behind even the desire to take part in immoral activities. She:

shall leave all suche lyght and tryflynge pleasures, wherin the lyght fantasies of maydes have delyte, as songes, daunces, and suche other wanton and pevysshe playes. A woman sayth Plutarche, gyven unto lernyng, wyll never delyte in daunsynges.

This was a sophisticated and complex, if ultimately unfeasible, argument. Unlike the Good Wife poems, and even parts of the Book of the Knight of the Tower, the female readers of Vives’ text were assumed to be intellectually capable of an academic understanding of self-control. At the same time, education and access to non-domestic spaces was still heavily curtailed and symbolically elided from the book. Both external constraint and self-regulation played their part in socialisation complementing and augmenting lessons as required.

The later passages in the Instruction explored the subsequent life-stages of wife and widow which falls outside the scope of this thesis. In leaving the Instruction at this point I run the risk of offending Vives himself who reminded his readers that the book had three equal sections ‘Lest a mayde shuld thynke that she nede to rede but onely the fy rst boke, or a wyfe the seconde, or a wypowe onely the thyrde. I wyll that every of them shall rede all. In whiche I have ben more short, than many wold I shuld have ben. Running to over three hundred pages, Vives need not have worried that his book was too condensed to offer an ample picture of the proper upbringing of girls from infancy, throughout their childhood, and into their later roles as reputable, chaste and respectable adult women.

31 Vives, Instruction, Book 1, G2.
32 Vives, Instruction, Book 1, E1. Surely this was a model impossible for elite women to follow, given the role of dancing at the court.
33 Vives, Instruction, Book 1, B1.
In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the scope and interests of readers aware of a moral literature for girls was served by the translation of Giovanni Michele Bruto’s 1555 Italian text, *La instituzione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente*. The earlier of the English translations was the 1579 *A mirrhor mete for all mothers, matrones, and maidens, intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie* by Thomas Salter. This was followed nearly two decades later in 1598 by, *The necessarie, fit, and convenient education of a yong gentlewoman* attributed to W.P (William Phiston).35

Salter’s was the shorter of the two English editions. It was written entirely in English in comparison to Phiston’s trilingual version that was printed in Italian and French, and with an English translation on the facing page.36 The full title emphasised the linguistic rationale behind Phiston’s work: ‘And now printed with the three Languages together in one Volume, for the better Instruction of such as are desirous to studie those Tongues’.37 This linguistic dimension differentiated the two editions and we can place Phiston’s version within the genre of linguistic texts, in this case targeting an audience of ‘yonge Gentlewoman’.38

Salter anglicised the original Italianate focus of Bruto’s work and offered amendments to his English readers which glossed Protestant beliefs. At one point he specified Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* as a virtuous text for the Maiden to read. This recommendation was immediately followed by a threatening reminder of the menace of Catholicism in England: ‘I trust that at this presente, in whiche tyme especiallie emong us here in Engelande, where the Gossipell is so freely and sincerely preached, I neede not to declare from the beginnyng to the

34 Thomas Salter, *A mirrhor mete for all mothers, matrons, and maidens, intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie, no lesse profitable and pleasant, then necessarie to bee read and practiced* (London: By J. Kingston for Edward White, 1579). See Appendix Four for details on the relationship between this and Phiston’s text.
35 W. P, *The necessarie, fit, and convenient education of a yong gentlewoman, written both in French and Italian, and translated into English by W.P. And now printed with the three languages togethe in one volume, for the better instruction of such as are desirous to studie these tongues* (London: Adam Islip1.598). See Appendix Four for details. William Fiston was sometimes identified as William Phiston.
36 Similar to the Antwerp edition which had a French translation on the facing page.
ende, where in the one is different from the other, I meane true religion, from falce superstition'. The 1570s was a time when the Spanish threat was at hand in England and when Elizabeth I had been excommunicated (1570).

There was a tactical advantage in mentioning Foxe's well-known religious text as suitable reading material for English people. It was a technique that created a literary network and one that posed a symbolic union between the two books for astute readers to appreciate. Janis Butler Holm has commented that notwithstanding this 'mildly Protestant veneer', Salter remained content to retain original Catholic traces, with the description of saints' lives left intact. In the following chapter I note how minor textual changes in Hugh Rhodes' book elided only the most overt Catholic references. The partial but not complete revision of works shows there to have been more literary continuity between Catholic and Protestant literature than is often recognised. Phiston's literal translation of Bruto's text in 1598, in a context of his own Calvinist leanings, suggests the same.

Anglicisation was further achieved by omitting original references to Lord Sylvester Cattaneo and his daughter Marietta, and inserting the popular mirror device to speak about moral conduct. This was not the traditional medieval duty of the translator, who was to remain faithful to an original text, even if the narrative lacked cultural relevance to the new location. Some of Salter's changes were relatively trivial: omitting the names of painters 'Albert Dure', 'Raphael Vrbin' and 'Michel Angeil' (used to parallel the advice on choosing a good instructor) hardly weakened the text's argument. Other amendments suggested a deeper responsiveness to English customs and practices. One central revision concerned the expansion of noble interests to include non-noble references. In the Bruto/Phiston text there were very specific references to the nobility, with direct naming of Lord Cattaneo and his daughter as well as visual images of their country garden and estate. The text was also peppered with

39 Salter, Mirrhor of Modestie, Ciii.
42 See Coldiron, 'Taking Advice from a Frenchwoman', in Caxton's Trace, ed. by Kuskin, p. 140.
43 Phiston, The necessary, fit, and convenient education, C4.
phrases invoking noble connections: ‘gentlewoman’, ‘daughter of noble birth’ and ‘notable families’. In the *Mrrhor*, ‘gentlewoman’ became the simpler and less elite ‘Maiden’.

Hubert has noted that Salter’s text was ‘grounded in common Tudor vocabulary’, catering to a ‘middle-class’ audience. Salter was deeply engaged with the text, using his position as translator to ensure the narrative was linked to a new English context.

The noble Marietta resided at her family estate where she was supervised by a chaperone: ‘all your care must be to find her out some Gentlewoman full of grauitie and wisedome, of good conscience and behaviour’. Salter expunged this as part of his excision of elite and Italianate practices, inserting a different relationship between the maiden and matron: ‘for Matrones to knowe how to traine up suche young Maidens as are committed to their charge and tuission’. Both books were concerned with social interactions even within the ‘safe’ household, and retained warnings concerning the danger which came from consorting with ‘kitchine Servauntes, or suche idle housewives, as commonly and of custome, doe thruste them selves into the familiaritie of those of good callyng’. In *The necessarie, fit, and conuenient education* the warning was similar but the emphasis was laid on those women who ‘haunt the houses of gentlewoman of accou[n]t’. A later discussion concerned the personal servants of the noble gentlewoman, warning of ‘too much familiaritie of her equals, but much more of her servants and maides’ again indicating a status driven concern which was absent in the *Mrrhor*. Merchant and bourgeois readers of the *Mrrhor* were presumably familiar with the likelihood of young women living under the care and watch of older, responsible women. The poems for girls in the *Good Wife* tradition have likewise been associated with young adolescent girls living with other families, although these texts were more directly associated with serving networks rather than with fostering or the guardianship of orphans.

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44 Possibly referring to any unmarried girls, or more specifically to a maidservant or attendant.

O.E.D.

45 *A Critical Edition of The Mrrhor of Modestie*, ed. by Hubert, p. 6 and p. 31 for comments on Salter’s probable (middle-class) audience.

46 Phiston, *The necessarie, fit, and conuenient education*, C4'. In addition to this it was advised that a second person should be found to provide religious instruction to the noble girl.

47 Salter, *Mrrhor of Modestie*, Av1'. Phiston also occasionally used these terms but with a different emphasis.

48 Salter, *Mrrhor of Modestie*, Biiii'.

49 Phiston, *The necessarie, fit, and conuenient education*, D8'.

50 Phiston, *The necessarie, fit, and conuenient education*, K4'.

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As in the original text, Salter showed how older females played an important part in rearing younger girls. The practice of sending children away from their natal families ostensibly stemmed from the concern of over-affectionate parents:

but alas, what shoulde I talke of Mothers, yea or of Fathers, Seyng that for the mooste parte, although they them selues be wise, and graue of Judgement, yet their vertue, and Prudence, is ouercome and blynded by affection, therefore I thinke it more meete and conuenuent, for Parents to set their Children forth to be taught, but under whom? under euery one that beares the name of a teacher.

We can compare this to the late-fifteenth century views of the Venetian traveller to England, who viewed this critically. Phiston’s translation was less emphatic on indulgent parents, probably as a consequence of Bruto targeting Lord Cattaneo as a patron and model father. Cattaneo was also very much an absent father, stated twice in the introduction: ‘because that you being farre from your daughter’, and ‘to impoyr your time otherwise in matters of great importance’. Consequently, Cattaneo was required to find her some responsible Gentlewoman to see to her care, setting up Bruto’s premise.

Placing young girls into the care of others supposedly ensured they were socialised properly, with these girls neither over-indulged by parents nor removed from external monitoring. In Salter’s translation the behaviour and character of the instructress was specifically portrayed in terms of idealised female characteristics, and charged with distinctly gendered language: ‘she ought what so euer she be, to be Graue, Prudent, Modest, and of good counsell, to thende that suche Maidens...maie leare her honeste and womanlie demeanoure’. This mapped out a strategy for socialisation which was tailored to female interests, stressed by the discussion of ‘traditional’ female vices which might taint the Maiden ‘if she beyng by Nature of beautifull forme, in deakyyng her self by a Christall Mirrhor’. Girls supposedly loved their appearances and wanted to learn ‘how to tricke and trim up them selues after the mooste newest and gallantest fashion’. Further gender specific definitions were given

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51 Salter, Mirrhor of Modestie, Avii. ‘Teacher’ in the broader sense of the word and not a schoolmistress, or private tutor.
52 For a readily accessible transcript see Goldberg, Women in England, pp. 87-88.
53 Phiston, The necessarie, fit, and convenient education, B4', and C4' respectively.
54 Salter, Mirrhor of Modestie, Avii. 55 Salter, Mirrhor of Modestie, Avii.
56 Salter, Mirrhor of Modestie, Cv. Salter wrote that women learnt these skills from other women, indicating the gendered social networks women participated in.
according to conventional ideas about female education, religion and social-domestic activities. Needlework and domestic duties were encouraged, as were piety and religious obedience. The perennial female virtue of chastity, as well as the related values of modesty, humility and silence were also to be fostered, and the reader or listener was conditioned to accept these principles, reiterating female socialisation in terms of moral lessons. In opposition to this were the behaviours and sins of pride, opulent dress, vanity, reading inappropriate books and ballads, and keeping the company of ‘gossopes’. There was a sense of worldliness in these vices. They largely concerned possessing worldly things and coveting material possessions. Only one passage declared the need for courteous behaviour. This occurred in the discussion on how to interact graciously with people, whether they were from the same estate or lower. However, even this description of courteous interaction developed into an opportunity for the girl to display virtue: ‘to thende that suche seyng her greate courtesie to be commendable, maie by example of her vertue, haue Pride in hate as a moste pernicious euell’.

Formal education was more stringently proscribed to correspond to traditional humanist notions about female learning and its potentially negative consequences. Bruto first wrote about this in the original text and this was retained by both Phiston and Salter:

and whereas some parentes bee of opinion that it is necessarie for Maidens, to bee skilfull in Philosophie Morall and Naturall, thinkyng it an honour unto theim to be thought well learned, I for my part am the contrarie because that by the same, they are made to understande the euelles immynente too humaine life, yea thereby is opened unto them, the inclynations and pronenesse, whiche naturalliaie euen from our cradles wee have unto vice

Statutes from grammar schools prohibited female attendance except in very rare and limited circumstances where young girls were allowed to gain a petty

57 Gossiping was a concern of the medieval Church as well. The misericord at Ely Cathedral, 1341-2, depicts Tutivilus (the medieval patron demon of scribes) and two gossiping women. More serious consequences for the humorous picture painted of gossiping girls sitting around a fireplace is the evidence McIntosh has compiled about the very real prosecution of gossiping and scolding women (and men) by local authorities. McIntosh, Controlling Misbehaviour, pp. 58-65.
58 Salter, Mirrhor of Modestie, DiI.
59 Salter, Mirrhor of Modestie, BVI. In Phiston’s translation, the discussion on suitable learning occurred between pages D4 and G6 and covered a full range of suitable and unsuitable texts and authors.
education, and one certainly limited to basic English. The opening dedication to the 1581 English translation of Der bösen Weiber Zuchtschül by Walter Lynne also commented on women who had been ‘marred by education’. While Salter made some textual modifications to suit non-noble English experiences and environments, these traditional Renaissance and humanist notions about female upbringing and control were retained. These restrictions were similar to those Vives issued in his own Catholic, humanist work of some decades previous.

A close reading of both books and particularly the revised Mirrhor, shows that environment should be central to understanding how the upbringing of young girls was ideally carried out. In these books the young maiden, as well as Marietta herself, were shown interacting with other women in a domestic, although not necessarily kin-related household. This was identified through positive and negative examples of behaviour. Emulating the mistress or matron was affirmed, while warnings over mixing with servants, gossips and idle housewives was a serious error of judgement. At the same time, these were all female figures. Men were largely absent from the picture presented of upbringing, perhaps originating from the absent figure of Lord Cattaneo in the original text. Female interaction was encouraged almost exclusively with the socialisation of girls occurring in a gendered environment. For Salter and to an extent Phiston, upbringing was controlled and organised by women, although we must recognise that this was a picture filtered through the pen of male observers. What is suggested however, was an ideal image of the extensive female networks which were seemingly available and open to women in England in the late-sixteenth century.

Household and Parental Advice

The family and the household were the central platforms used in these books to impart these lessons. Readers were increasingly familiar with literature

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60 The 1594 statutes for the Banbury Grammar School, Cheshire, famously mentioned young girls, provided they attended before they reached the age of nine and only learnt English. Cheshire and Chester Archives, P40/16/1.
61 Walter Lynne, A watch-vvord for vvifull vvomen, An excellent pithie dialogue betweene two sisters, of contrary disposition[n]: the one a vertuous matrone: fearing God: the other a vvifull husvifwe: of disordered behauioure. Wherein is rightie Christianly discoursed, what singular commodity commeth by vertuous educat[i]o[n], as otherwise what torment to a quiet man, a skowlding [and] vndiscrete woman is (London: Thomas Marshe, 1581), Ai."
describing the household and familiar with a type of socialisation that was specific and unique to this space. Vives, Salter and Phiston presented their books as relevant to the reading groups within this environment. In Whitford’s *The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, unto communio[n], or howselyng* the moral position of the household and its members was firmly addressed. In this book the household was a fully realised physical environment that anchored lessons to a set location. This domestic environment was conjured partly through the simple repetition of the word ‘household’, as well as through more complex descriptions of household activities. Readers were led to believe that proper socialisation could take place almost entirely through family activities and interactions. Family audiences would have been sensitive to their own households in the discussions on specific prayers that could said upon rising and before and during meals. This presented readers with activities that could be easily replicated in their own homes.

This household book was deeply religious and we can refer to Powell’s comment on Whitford combining ‘household and religious affairs in a type of book which soon became prevalent’. The rise in vernacular literacy allowed religious teaching to move away from the church to find a place within the lay household. Whitford’s family oriented book addressed moral values and elevated the question of socialisation to the level of religious principles. Morality and religious orthodoxy had been successfully explored (or exploited) in Caxton’s books. In the sixteenth century this semi-religious/social literature began to develop with increasing frequency. This was in addition to late-sixteenth and seventeenth century printed sermons which were popular publishing ventures. This literature was printed at a time of religious disruption on the Continent and in England, where familiar and established Catholic devotional practices and beliefs were slowly supplanted by Protestant ideologies. The need to teach suitable religious behaviour would have been of service to householders and parents confused by changing religious standards. Authors could use books to sway readers to their beliefs.

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62 Parts of this book were printed in *A werke for houshoulders*, various editions between 1530 and 1537. The inclusion of multiple texts makes the 1531 edition particularly interesting. See Appendix Four for details.


Whitford began his 1531 edition with sections lifted from previously published material. This specifically related to Catholic commentaries, and included sections on the beatitudes, the saints, the collects and occasional prayers for the day. In addition, the book also introduced theoretical religious passages on creation. This delineated the religious message of the book and reinforced the emphasis on the lay household as a religious environment, pointing to an understanding of religious values in the Catholic household. At this stage, the reader or listener would have believed that they were entering into a dialogue with a religious text, only to be brought up short with the introduction of a new and different focus. Split from the first portion of the book was the ‘Werke for housholders’ proper, visibly identified with a new title page, preface and pagination, which began again at Ai. The use of paratext created a sense of separation and signified a new direction to the book. Any jarring sense was softened by the graduated use of religious themes throughout the book, with readers or listeners served by textual similarities even as they crossed the book’s divides. Whitford directed this second text to the attention of ‘housholders’ or to any who were responsible for the governance of others. The term ‘housholder’ can be seen acting as another word for ‘father’ in this text, with this figure cast as responsible for his dependents. This was conceded on the assumption that he monitor his own character before turning to others in his care: ‘I praye you gyue good example in your owne selfe/and than teche all yours howe they shulde kepe duefly the holy daye/’ The placement of responsibility onto an adult rather than a child figure was further emphasised with the identification of children and servants as those requiring the most instruction and attention, in effect, needing to be watched the most closely in the household:

Howe be it we thynke it nat sufficie[n]t nor ynough for you to lyue well your selfe/but that all other christians also lyue the better for you and by your example/and specially those that you haue in charge & gouernance/that is to say: your chylder and seruauntes

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65 This ‘closure’ was further identified with the traditional use of the printer’s name on the final page: ‘Imprinted by Robert Redman. Cum priulegio’. Whitford, The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, lviii’.
66 Indeed the two crossrows, which will be examined shortly, were found in the first book.
67 Whitford, The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, D. The verse found in the late-sixteenth century, Harl. 787 was a more deliberate representation of this. It was clear to the reader that the father’s responsibility over his house was dependant on the governance of his own character. Harl. 787, fol. 9’.
68 Whitford, The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, B’.
Only the male householder had the right, prescribed by the wider community, to act as the governor of his dependents. Whitford emphasised an ideal household make-up, with the home comprised of the male head, his wife, children, (and possibly apprentices although they were not specifically cited) as well as servants. Whitford excised elements which could have destabilised this perfect household group. Blended families, single people, or those who rented rooms within a property were ignored. As with many authors, Whitford wrote of the family-household as he chose to see it, but not perhaps as it actually existed.

There was a familiarity with everyday domestic scenes in this book, surprising given Whitford’s clerical career as a Bridgettine monk at Syon Abbey, Middlesex, and the usual separation between monks and pastoral duties. At the same time this community was well known for its intellectual scholarship and extensive library, as well as for the literary careers of its members. The book also endorsed the lay religious teaching that was undertaken by clerics in England and especially the pastoral responsibilities they had to teach the fundamentals of faith in preparation for the communion. This was acknowledged in the title itself. Instruction, four times a year in the Lord’s Prayer, Pater Noster, and Ave, the creed, the ten commandments, the seven sins and five wits, and possibly the seven works of mercy, were first defined in the thirteenth century in Archbishop Pecham’s pastoral syllabus, and confirmed in the mid-fifteenth century and early sixteenth century. Philippa Tudor analyses religious programmes of study in both the Catholic and Protestant Church and the importance placed on children in understanding the basic elements of faith.

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70 Although he was at Cambridge between 1496 and 1504 and did not enter Syon Abbey until 1511. Between these times he may have been chaplain in Bishop Richard Fox’s household. See, J. T. Rhodes, ‘Whitford, Richard (d. 1543?)’, D.N.B, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29308> [accessed 31 July 2007]


72 This is described in H. Leith Spencer, English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 196-227.
as taught by priests. This ideology was confirmed in printed books such as
these.\textsuperscript{73} 

Obligation in these matters was not devolved only to clerics, and parents were
also required to teach religious values, as defined by thirteenth century religious
statutes: ‘Because parents are perilously negligent about this matter, they are
advised that they should instruct their children and their household in these
things, just as God will have inspired them.’\textsuperscript{74} Whitford knew that parents
should teach children how to say their prayers, cross themselves in the morning
and know by heart the Creed and Saints: ‘Than must you teche them to knowe
by ordre the preceptes or comaundementes of god/the names of the vii.
princypall synnes/and of theyr v. wyttes’.\textsuperscript{75} Edward VI’s injunctions (1547)
confirmed that parents were to teach their children and servants the Pater Noster,
the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, reinforcing the efforts of the
parish priests according to these same lessons.\textsuperscript{76}

We can note how Whitford inserted religious and moral lessons into these
secular scenarios, wrapping lessons into the daily world of the lay home. This
had the effect of calling attention to the importance of religious values within
the household, before this was to become a common trope for puritan writers by
the 1600s.\textsuperscript{77} Whitford emphasised mealtimes as a prime opportunity to
assemble parents, children and servants and impart religious doctrine to them.
The reader or listener certainly saw this in terms of religious directives, with the
visible identification of space reminding them of their own homes: ‘that in
every mele/dyner or souper/one persone shulde with lowde voyce say thus.’\textsuperscript{78}
Again the household routine was remarked upon when he wrote ‘This maner of
the Pater ne/Ave/and Crede/I wolde have used and red upon the boke at every
mele/or at the leest ones a day with a lowde voice (as I sayd) that all the
persones presente may here it.’\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{73} Philippa Tudor, ‘Religious Instruction for Children and Adolescents in the Early English
\textsuperscript{74} Richard Poore, Salisbury Statutes I, \textit{Councils and Synods II}, i, 61, in Spencer, \textit{English
Preaching in the Late Middle Ages}, pp. 210-211, p. 445, fn. 51.
\textsuperscript{75} Whitford, \textit{The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion}, Bvi’ - Bvii’.
\textsuperscript{76} Tudor Royal Proclamations, ed. by Paul I. Hughes and James F. Larkin, 3 vols (New Haven:
\textsuperscript{77} Humanist writers had provided some earlier precedents for this. Margo Todd, ‘Humanists,
\textsuperscript{78} Whitford, \textit{The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion}, Bii’.
\textsuperscript{79} Whitford, \textit{The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion}, Bvi’.
Whitford could be describing a relatively small household, comprising parents, children and a small number of family servants. This fits well with the ideal vision of the natal house. Affluence was implied to some extent, but there were no remarks to indicate that these lessons would only suit large, elite households. Instead, we can reasonably see a lower gentry, merchant or bourgeois household identified and therefore identify these groups in the reception of the book. We can see more of this non-elite network being instituted through a direct reference to merchant households: ‘He sawe hym selfe in a marchautes house in London/whiche was his speciell frende/and sente for hym to gyue counseyle...a yongman that was prentyse: or els seruante vnto the same marchaunte’. Merchant readers would have been able to relate to stories such as these and get a firmer sense of being addressed by topics and contexts relevant to them.

Cordelia Beattie has interpreted contemporary records from London’s Repertory Books for the Court of Aldermen (1537-43) as suggestive of the civic responsibilities of households. Whitford’s understanding of this ideal household similarly incorporated a sense of civic responsibility. The father’s accountability as a dutiful Christian man extended beyond the private arrangement of the home and was projected onto the wider although still localised community: ‘And me semeth it shulde also be a good pastyme & moche meritorious: for you that can rede/to gather your neyghbours aboute you on the holy day/specially the yong sorte and rede to them this poore lesson’. We know children were incorporated into this aural reading network because Whitford specifically mentioned them in this and in a later passage: ‘which I pray you teche your chylder/and euerie chylde that cometh in to your company you shalle I truste do moche good therby’. Whitford used the missionary element of gathering young people to hear religious instruction as a fundamental act of a good and responsible Christian man. Tudor suggests that Whitford was one of the first Catholic writers to understand the importance of print in counteracting Protestant devotional material.

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80 Whitford, *The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion*, Ciiii. This ‘story’ was recounted to Whitford by a friend of his, a bachelor of divinity, whom he met when they were at Queens’ College, Cambridge.
82 Whitford, *The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion*, B'. Whitford again advocated this as a suitable Sunday pastime: ‘A very good sure pastime upon the holy daye/is to rede/or to here this boke/or suche other good englysshe bokes/and gather therunto as many persones as you can’, Dii" - Diil'.
Whitford promoted religion as inextricably and symbolically linked to the responsibilities of the household. In this way, the domestic network of the father, children and servants was expanded to include the wider, yet still local community. The Christian man was not just the father and arbitrator of his own house, but one who played a role in the wider spiritual wellbeing of his neighbours and community. Whitford operated within the conventions of well-understood domestic authority but pushed it further by upholding the household as a model of community religious observance. In this way the household was confirmed as a location for broader religious movement and was refashioned to motivate a moral and religious ideology within the local community. This was in conjunction with, but outside of, the physical environment of the Church.

The household always had a ‘civic arm’, with householders in the fifteenth century responsible for dependents. In the early-sixteenth century a religious ideology was added to this, articulated through the dual programme of communal religious instruction and moral lessons.\(^\text{85}\) For Whitford, this advanced the interests of the Catholic Church. Communal literacy also had a relationship with literacy levels and the use of texts in an aural way. At a local level we know that one literate person could affect the whole community by guaranteeing accessibility to books and texts. Whitford placed communal literacy into his religious and moral program, simultaneously combining his religious message with the reading networks that were coming together between households and neighbourhoods. Those who could read could gather people to hear lessons found in good English (Catholic) books, especially when those lessons took the form of the Pater noster, the Ave Maria and the Creed; the essential building blocks of lay religion. Young people clearly formed part of this audience: ‘pray you teche your chylder/and euery chylde that cometh in to your company’.\(^\text{86}\) This confirmed how immersed young people were in local communities and in the fashioning of moral responsibility. Unlike some courtesy narratives which implied a reasonable degree of mental sophistication and which were often aimed at adolescent boys, these religious/moral lessons were seen as necessary for every age and gender: ‘Unto some craftes or occupacions a certayne age is required in chylder/but vertue and vyce may be lerned in euery age.’\(^\text{87}\)


\(^{86}\) Whitford, The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, Cvi'.

\(^{87}\) Whitford, The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, Bii'.

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firstly in infancy, was paramount and resonated throughout life stages. Vives himself suggested character could be formed from infancy long before the stages of speech and cognitive thought. Whitford focused the community into this process, while also making young people a legitimate part of religious networks, neither marginalized nor separated out from adult community contacts and responsibilities. These texts emphasised moral socialisation in terms of the interests not only of the family but of the whole country and the religious community. Courtesy texts did not use language which implied a similar national interest in young people or in upbringing.

In an age when partial literacy was characteristic, books in the English vernacular would have appealed to a broad range of lay people. Whitford’s preface to the Epistle of St. Bernard (the ‘Golden Epistle’) from the first book, was purportedly written in English ‘to the encrease of the deuotio[n] of them that can rede Englishe and understande not latyn tonge’.88 A sense of Whitford’s audience was established through this explicit endorsement, appealing to non-Latinate, lay readerships. This was an audience he assumed would be interested in furthering religious instruction within a private home environment. The use of the crosrowe or ABC was also noteworthy from the perspective of dual religious and social teachings, with an obvious link between the ABC device and children.89 Whitford’s example of ‘many prety and devoute lesons/set forth by saynt Bonaunture/after the order of the Alphabete’,90 taught lessons such as (D)iligence, (M)ercy, (P)leasure, and (S)obriety. Whitford’s statement at the end of the ABC: ‘Let every fethfull persone wryte this Alphabete A.B.C or crosrowe: in the boke of his hert as in the boke of lyfe. And every daye/by day: loke there upon and use the maners/and effecte conteyned in the same’91 had in one instance been taken literally by an owner of the book. The copy held at the Cambridge University Library shows the alphabet written after this, followed by ‘est amen’.92

88 Whitford, The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, Bii".
89 Orme has demonstrated that these educational texts fulfilled a religious and devotional imperative. Orme, Medieval Children, pp. 246-254.
90 Whitford, The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, Ivii".
91 Whitford, The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion, Kvii".
92 Cambridge University Library, Syn. 8. 53. 35, Kvii". It is not possible to tell if this was the work of a young child, adolescent or an adult. It was common for books to be used as paper for ‘practice’ lettering, often beginning with writing the alphabet.
A second crosrowe anchored the entire book more firmly to a non-elite audience and even suggested a youthful readership through an emphasis on learning to spell and read:

Thus haue we rerd the latyn in sentence/after the some metre/in maner and measure. If you lerne per/fectely this Crosrowe: you maye the better spell and do togyther/ and so more redly red. And finally (by labour) you may the rather fele/perceyyue and understande in the schole of Christ the duety of a Christyans/which I besech our lord we may do al. amen.\(^93\)

The attachment of religious precepts and pithy morals to the educational lesson would have been familiar to children attending formal grammar or informal elementary schools in this period, where educational lessons routinely incorporated religious sentiments. This would also have been relevant to urban merchant and bourgeois families who were most likely to be sending their children to schools. An awareness of younger audiences was touched upon in terms of the lesson’s brevity and its relatively simple construction. Its application to various ages, as well as those at different stages of learning, would of course sit well with a family audience, with children of various ages living within the household. We can see that in the first crosrowe the lesson for (H)umility ran to sixty words, while in the second the lesson was shortened to the more direct: ‘(H)umbly be with the meke: thy betters duely honour’, a total of nine words.\(^94\) It is interesting to note that the reiteration of social hierarchy remained a common feature in the literature and was one of the principles adapted to the new medium of moral instruction, retaining its place within the elite as well as the smaller family household.

For Whitford, the correct knowledge of religious beliefs ultimately prompted correct behaviour. This never developed into a discussion of behaviour as it was found within courtesy narratives. In early courtesy poems, courtesy and gestures were largely disassociated from deeper moral or religious philosophies, a product of people being discouraged from individualistic expressions of religious devotion. Whitford downgraded the significance of gestures and focused on the deeper religious meaning of conduct, although he too did not encourage personal religious experiences. Where Whitford illustrated specific ‘social’ behaviours, it was motivated by his religious understanding of the

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\(^93\) Whitford, *The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion*, Li"v".

\(^94\) Whitford, *The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion*, Kvii".
secular world. Lessons on swearing and lying were contained within a religious allegory. A boy who was sitting on his father's knee, swore. Upon hearing this, the devil materialised and bore the child away.\textsuperscript{95} In this sequence, the description and warning over swearing was spiritual rather than social. Whitford eliminated the social and public consequences of the action in a way that courtesy poems or even late-fifteenth century courtesy/instructional literature did not.

An ongoing list of social misbehaviour was separately identified in a short verse that did convincingly invoke the enduring importance of more 'simple' social behaviours:

\begin{quote}
If I lye/backebyte or stele.  
If I curse/scorne/mocke/or swere.  
If I chyde/fyght/stryue/or threte  
Than am I worthy to be bete.  
Good mother: or maiysters myne  
If any of these nyne:  
I trespass to your knowynge  
With a new rodde and a fyne  
Erlie naked/before I dyne:  
Amende me with a scourgynge\textsuperscript{96}
\end{quote}

The nine actions (in reality there were eleven) were anchored to specific deeds and were akin to the behavioural guidelines which contributed to courtesy narratives. Whitford used the traditional observation of youthful misbehaviours to make his point about upbringing. While there was something of a simple

\textsuperscript{95} Whitford, \textit{The conte[n]tes of this bok: A werke of preparacion}, \textit{Cv}'. This was reminiscent of John Foxe who also used 'factual' stories like this, sometimes involving children, to illustrate his (Protestant) religious beliefs. \textit{The Actes and Monuments of John Foxe: A New and Complete Edition}, ed. by G. Townsend and S. Cattley, 8 vols (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1837-41). More popularly known as \textit{The Book of Martyrs}. A preliminary count shows there were at least twenty stories concerning children, and more if references to siblings, daughters, sons and children in audiences, are taken into account. M. L. Bailey, 'A Delightful Instruction: The World of the Child Reader in the 15th to 18th Centuries' (unpublished master's thesis, Australian National University, 2003), p. 62.

\textsuperscript{96} Whitford, \textit{The conte[n]tes of this bok: A werke of preparacion}, \textit{Cvii}'. 'Fyne': to suffer, undergo (punishment, pain). \textit{O.E.D}. This was possibly the same poem which appeared in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson poet. MSS, 32, fol. 55\textsuperscript{f} (c.1470); Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Mus. MSS 57; and British Library, Harley MSS, 1706, fol. 209\textsuperscript{f} (c. 1475-1500), of ten quatrains of 'A lesson to be kept in mind by a virtuous child'. According to Carleton Brown and Russel Hope Robbins this poem began with the similar 'Iff y lye bacbyte or stele/Iff y curse scorne or swere', \textit{The Index of Middle English Verse} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 223. It has not been possible to examine these manuscripts to verify if this is the same poem, although it would be interesting to consider Whitford 'lifting' this passage from other, older sources. This would explain why it differs from his usual commentary on religious activities.
secular awareness in this, the position on courteous behaviour and social misbehaviour was less comprehensively asserted and was a dialogue which was not thoroughly explored. The formation of observable courtesy was destabilised and refashioned into a more complex discussion of religious, moral and virtuous precepts in the household. In many ways the upbringing of children had been moved more fully into the household-religious domain, with devotional teachings and practices increasingly emphasised in texts to explain and illustrate the correct upbringing of children. This multi-faceted representation of children in smaller households was increasingly vocalised and tied into contemporary preaching and pastoral practices that laid the foundation for lay religious instruction in the community.

Multiple socialising tools can also be identified in Grant’s *A president for parentes.* The book provided the adult reader with instructions and advice for bringing up infant and older male children. The title itself explained its position in prioritising parents rather than young readers. In the opening poem a direct dialogue with children ‘Therfore O chylke, vse thou good things, that thy pure mynde may haue’ was initially introduced, but quickly substituted with directions for parents ‘That parents dere may leerne therby,/and children, is my gayne’. Morality was identified as central to this, with terms ‘vertuous’ and ‘holesome’ successfully establishing a moral world.

As with Vives’ book, the initial discussion concerned best practices from infancy. This ranged from metaphorical allusions of little practical help that likened upbringing to tending herbs, to more practical observations regarding singing ‘baudye songs’ or ‘old wiuues fabled fansies’ to children in the cradle. Grant’s translation offered a more intimate picture of early life than Vives’ intellectual and learned commentary did, despite the supposed authority that

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97 This was a popular text in Tudor England and was translated and published several times, including an earlier translation made by Sir Thomas Elyot in c. 1530. Elyot’s book was intended primarily as an educational text and almost as a companion piece to Elyot’s own *The boke named the Gouernour,* 1531. For Elyot’s editions see, Thomas Elyot, *The education or bringinge up children, translated out of Plutarche by Thomas Eliot elder, one of ye kingis most honorable counsayle* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1530); *The boke named the Gouernour, deusied by Thomas Elyot knight* (London: Thomas Bertheleti, 1531). Grant’s 1571 edition serves as a useful indication of literature that discussed social and educational matters.


99 Grant, *A president for parentes,* Aiii*. Later there was a section introduced in the gloss as ‘Lessons for Parentes’, Iv*.

100 Grant, *A president for parentes,* Bv*.

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came with this book’s attribution to Plutarch. Playtime for very young children was encouraged, provided suitable playfellows could be found. Early childhood was a time of enjoyment and play, with parents encouraged to allow their children a degree of freedom. This carefree stage of childhood came before increased responsibility in later years: ‘children grow to some maturitie of yeres & be of a riper age’.\textsuperscript{101} The characteristic event of this later and more responsible age was attending school, traditionally occurring at the age of five to seven years. Activities and upbringing subsequently took on distinctly male qualities, promoting physical activities such as martial exercises as well as alluding to the male prerogative of studying philosophy. Schools were a pivotal environment for male children of a certain class, and structured both the time and gender interests of childhood, and the literature, into distinct cycles.

Just as infancy was divided from childhood at the age of five to seven years, so youth was separated and identified with its own characteristics, problems and distinctiveness. In this text, ‘yongmen’ was applied to men who had moved out of ‘childhood’ but who were not yet fully independent from the control and management of parents. This stage was introduced in the gloss with ‘Yong men ought more narowly be loked to than children’.\textsuperscript{102} The vices of gambling, filching goods from parents, dalliances with women and drunkenness were identified as specific problems for young men: ‘For this age is prone to pleasures, wanton and uncircumspect and needeth a bridle’.\textsuperscript{103} These were activities that were often forbidden to apprentices and were written into contracts. We can see that these young or adolescent men were not independent, with parental authority expected to exist, at least in the ideal world represented on the printed page. Grant was speaking to the adult witness of this behaviour rather than to the young persons themselves, although we can suppose that audiences were not so clearly defined in reality. Prolonging the responsibility of parents, or the responsibility of masters, corresponds to evidence that childhood was increasingly lengthened in the sixteenth century, with longer periods of socialisation in place delaying the transition of young people into full adulthood.\textsuperscript{104}

\textsuperscript{101} Grant, A president for parentes, Bvi.
\textsuperscript{102} Grant, A president for parentes, Hiiv.
\textsuperscript{103} Grant, A president for parentes, Hiiv.
\textsuperscript{104} Griffiths, Youth and Authority. Also The Experience of Authority, ed. by Griffiths, Fox and Hindle.
The list of vices youths fell into contributed to the overall moral parameters. A distinction was drawn between misbehaviour as representing either good manners, or virtue; two themes we more often find grouped together, albeit uncertainly in some literature. In *A president for parentes* good manners and virtue were split and separated from each other, as taught by Plato: ‘the way to good maners is neuer to late, yet notwithstanding, sith there is but one way to vertue, and that moste harde and straight’. This was a significant statement and one that called upon the authority of the classical world. Success as a virtuous person rested on the individual who was required to follow a strict path in life. Good manners could be learnt at any time. There was a celebration here, not of superficial conduct which was easily picked up, but of truly moral behaviour which was hard won and the more meaningful for it. This treatment of good manners and virtue isolated each from the other and there was no obvious way of conflating the two. However, in an earlier passage there were some clues on how this could be done. A previous argument suggested that all actions should be born out of virtue: ‘And vertue by hir selfe is laudable: out of which all honest willes, sentences, actions, and all ryght reason commeth and floweth.’ It has been suggested that this rationale lay behind guidelines in the courtesy poems. However, such an overt integration of the two principles did not occur in extant courtesy examples. A reader or listener might have understood courtesy as demonstrating a virtuous character, but the narratives did not take the time to develop this. By contrast, Grant’s book was not intended to explain the intricacies and formulae of good manners, which could be learnt ‘neuer to late’, but rather to train people for the harder but more valuable virtuous path in life.

The role of parents was identified in terms of moral upbringing in Robert Sheldford’s, *Lectvres or readings vpon the 6. verse of the 22. chapter of the Prouerbs, concerning the vertuous education of youth*, published in 1596, 1602 and 1606. The book was based on the Biblical verse from Proverbs ‘Teach a

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105 Grant, *A president for parentes*, Dvi. This was glossed on Dv, with the word ‘Plautus’. The reader could not avoid the presumed authority of the passage.

106 Grant, *A president for parentes*, Di. This was glossed in the margin with ‘Out of vertue flow all good actions’.

107 Robert Sheldford, *Lectvres or readings vpon the 6. verse of the 22. chapter of the Prouerbs, concerning the vertuous education of youth: a treatise very necessary for all parents in this corrupt and declining age of the world* (London: Printed by the Widdow Orwin, for Thomas Man, 1596). The following passages are taken from the 1602 edition, which is more easily accessible. I have been unable to view the 1596 edition which is currently held in a private collection. His biography is available in the *D.N.B.* Arnold Hunt, ‘Sheldford, Robert (c.1563–1638/9)’, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65825> [accessed 19 Dec 2007]
child in the trade of his way, and when he is old he shall not depart from it'. This verse did not appear on the title pages of either the 1602 or 1606 editions, but appeared in an italic script on page one and was directly cited in the text itself: ‘This verse, of which wee are here to speake at this present’.\textsuperscript{108} Shelford explained to his readers how they should read it, and provided an interesting demonstration of reading theory which encouraged individual religious thought. He taught readers to break the statement into two parts, the precept and then the reason. The sermonising intent of the book and its instructional tone reflects Shelford’s background as deacon in the Peterborough diocese from 1587 to 1599 and later as rector of Ringsfield parish in Suffolk until his death in 1638/9.\textsuperscript{109} The accessibility of the Bible to Protestants was also echoed in Shelford’s encouragement of self-directed religious reading.

Responsibility for upbringing was firmly placed upon adult shoulders, with children removed from active participation in this, at least in the overt narrative voice which was used. Shelford’s argument began logically with an identification of people who should teach the child. For this, parents were singled out, followed by the offices of schoolmasters, dames, patrons and also any guardians who were given responsibility over children:

But now because this duty of parents is comunicated to many, as to Rectors of Schooles, to masters of families, to dames, to patrons and guardians, and such like: let all they here understand whosoeuer they be, that haue the gouernment of children or any youth committed to their charge, that they are here bound by the voice of the Almighty, and that they must doe the dutie of parents unto them, as if they were their naturall children.\textsuperscript{110}

Churchmen were excluded because their duty lay in instructing parents rather than children themselves. This made internal sense in terms of Shelford’s clerical background and his direct address to adults rather than to children. However, this statement is at odds with contemporary ecclesiastical records.

\textsuperscript{108} Shelford, Lectures or readings, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{109} Shelford’s only other publication, in 1635, proved to be more contentious. He argued the Pope was not the antichrist and that Catholic and Protestant relations should be mended, sentiments which the earlier Lectures or readings avoided. Authors and publishers of books on childhood and upbringing may have steered clear of these more dangerous religious and political waters or felt that such material was not needed in this literature. In the following chapter I note that the books by Hugh Rhodes and Francis Seager were offered up to the public with only minor alterations to suit changing religious ideologies. Phiston’s translation of Brutus’s text similarly suggested flexibility between Catholic and Protestant literature in the late-sixteenth century.
\textsuperscript{110} Shelford, Lectures or readings, p. 8.
concerning the often extensive roles clerics played in youthful instruction. This took the form of teaching the catechism as well as teaching the alphabet and other simple lessons. In 1548, certificates for pensioners of Chaddesley Corbet in Worcestershire revealed that there was a ‘preste that did use to teache children’. In the Chantry Certificates of Blisworth, Northamptonshire also from that year, records showed ‘the sayd preest to be a schole m[r] to teache a free schole there’, identifying thirty scholars were present. The chantries were of course dissolved by this time, with many of the educational interests of the ordained clergy taken over by schoolmasters. However, there was a considerable overlapping between these two groups, with the canon of 1604 also stating that the local curate was to be given priority in taking the position of local schoolmaster. Three alphabets have also been painted onto the vestry wall at the parish church at North Cadbury, Somerset. Although they have not been dated, they are in black letter, Gothic script, so may date to before the seventeenth century. We may need to consider Shelford’s text as personally motivated by a desire to promote the parental role rather than truly representative of any divide between religious offices and children.

Shelford emphasised the parental role even when he made references to other adult figures such as schoolmasters, dames and guardians. His text tactically linked these roles to that of parents ‘as if they were their naturall children’. It is unclear if Shelford reacted negatively to the array of people who governed malleable youths (as if this were a ‘modern’ phenomena to criticise), feeling he needed to speak about their agency in youthful socialisation. This may have reminded them of their duties, perhaps because these guardians patently did not care for the young people in their care as if they were in fact, their own children. The value-laden language certainly inserted symbolic parental ties into these other relationships, emphasising the biological and ‘natural’ relationship.

Shelford did not completely isolate godliness from social lessons. Piety was incorporated into polite behaviours, equated with standing to greet elders, taking your hat off and behaving well towards others. These simple, but symbolically

111 National Archives, E301/61/17.
112 National Archives, E301/35/31.
114 Servants and apprentices were often at risk from their masters.
and socially important, behaviours were made substantially more complex than
they might otherwise have been, with Shelford making a distinction between
superficial courteous behaviour and court manners: ‘Wherein I minde not to
trouble you with courte fashions, and new fangles, and toyes of curious heads;
but onely to teach such nourture and seemely behauour, as Gods word
commendeth’.\(^{115}\) There is also a wonderful reference to French manners: ‘but if
it bee toyish, new-fangled, or french-like, it hath no warrant out of Gods
worde’.\(^{116}\) A separation of court behaviour, and by implication the conduct of
the nobility, was made from pious and more genuine good conduct. Perhaps we
can even see a perception that good conduct was more easily found outside of
the elite environment and was practiced by non-elites more easily than the elite
followers of ‘courte fashions’.

However, at the same time Shelford ambiguously promoted good manners as
important acts in themselves, even as he linked them to Christian values. His
commentary on love binding all behaviour served to remind the reader of how
complicated was the exchange between outward conduct and intent:

Without this all our curtesies & manners are but shadowes
of curtesies and pictures of manners, and there is no more life
in them then is in a dead carkasse: but if thy curtesie commeth
from a loving and willing minde, it moueth all men, and stirreth
up others to renderthe like dutie againe.\(^{117}\)

Were these the ‘shadowes of curtesies’ privileged in earlier courtesy verses and
even within some of the later courtesy/instructional sources? Shelford’s
understanding of this foreshadowed debates, raging in the eighteenth century,
about how gestures and manners could indicate genuine care and consideration
for others. This was in opposition to manners as superficial and self-serving
displays of formulaic behaviour.\(^{118}\) Shelford himself understood the variations
in the meaning of behaviour through his arguments on surface conduct, which
was identified with the ‘court’ (and with French culture), and more ‘natural’
courteous manners.

In some ways Shelford reused strategies from the courtesy narrative to identify
the importance of social behaviour for people, yet his own arguments offered a

\(^{115}\) Shelford, Lectures or readings, p. 43.
\(^{116}\) Shelford, Lectures or readings, pp. 57-58.
\(^{117}\) Shelford, Lectures or readings, p. 58.
new complexity to this and blended religion with behaviour in precise ways. He built his picture of the communication between social actions and religious values layer by layer. We can see this when he declared that while the practice of ‘uncovering the head’ was not mentioned in the Bible, it was such an important social ritual in England that God would surely have approved of it:

The sixt duetie, is to uncouver the head. And though wee finde no example for this in holy Scripture, as being not used in those former times: yet seeing the thing is ciuill and comely, & one of the speciall curtesies of our daies, we will confirme it also with the authoritie of Gods word Phil 4. What soeuer things are honest, what soeuer things are of good report, those things due. And againe, I Cor. 14. Let all things be done decently and according to order. But this kind of ciuilitie is both decent and according to order, as also honest and of good report & therefore warranted and commended by Gods word, and so worthie to bee followed.\textsuperscript{119}

This insight into religious and courteous behaviour makes Shelford an interesting figure and we can see him as offering what he sees as a ‘complete’ picture of upbringing. While he did not neglect courteous manners or perhaps what he would have called, ‘honourable’ manners, there was a definite subordination of these values to religious concerns. This text indicated that rules for conduct and behaviour were partially separated out of some instructional texts just as they were incorporated into others, often in interesting and new ways.

William Vaughan’s \textit{The golden-groue}, published in 1600 and revised in 1608, consolidated many of the themes concerning the role of the family, the upbringing of children, hospitality, and the function of the commonwealth which had evolved over the centuries in English literature. Vaughan began with a statement signalling the role the family played in society:

Because every Commonwealth is composed of families, & the parts of a Familie bee those, whereof it is immediately compacted: I will first declare, what a Familie is, and then lay down the diuision therof. A Familie is a co[m]munion and fellowship of life betweene the husband & the wife, the parents & childre[n], and betweene the master and the seruant.\textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{119} Shelford, \textit{Lectures or readings}, p. 57. It also showed respect for the social hierarchy.

\textsuperscript{120} Vaughan, \textit{The golden-groue}, Second Book, Chapter 1.
The reader was presented with an ideal portrait of the make-up of the family, which prized kin relationships and particularly marital relationships.\textsuperscript{121} It also identified the relationship between a servant and master which had certain economic and social implications. The obvious parallel to this was the dialogue on the community and the family in Whitford's book. Other family arrangements outside of this ideal portrait were unsurprisingly omitted. Of course, this family did not exist in isolation from the rest of the world and the opening comment situated it within the broader commonwealth. Indeed it made it a necessary part of the Commonwealth.

Once this was established for the reader, the scene was set to paint in more detailed pictures of individual family members, including the husband, the wife, children and servants. Vaughan singled out youth, rather than infancy or early childhood and acknowledged this stage as a time of foolishness, which could be corrected through education. Despite specifically using the term 'youth', which in literature tended to be used most frequently when describing older children or adolescents, Vaughan discussed this stage in relation to softness and malleability, images more often used in descriptions of earlier life stages: 'For youth is like vnto moyst and soft clay, and for that respect, is to bee egged on to glorie in well doing.'\textsuperscript{122} The terms 'youth' and 'childhood' did not necessarily correspond to specific chronological ages and authors could use assorted metaphors or allusions to express ideas relating to all stages of childhood. This should not be taken as an indication that childhood was not distinct or delineated for people, just that many of the qualities could be adjusted and made relevant for an author depending on purpose and intent.

Vaughan's book confirmed an increasing use of virtue and moral guidance in this literature. His background as part of the Welsh landed gentry, with connections to parliament and to the royal family through his brother, was visible in his recurrent identification with the word 'Gentlemen'.\textsuperscript{123} Vaughan

\textsuperscript{121} Ten chapters in the Second Book (The First Part) concerned matrimony; four chapters (The Second Part) concerned children, and three chapters (The Third Part) concerned servants.
\textsuperscript{122} Vaughan, \textit{The golden-groue}, Third Book, Chapter 32.
\textsuperscript{123} Vaughan was an interesting literary and political figure. His father was a member of parliament, and his brother was later made Earl of Carbery. Vaughan attended Oxford and later became a doctor of law. He was heavily involved in the promotion and establishment of Newfoundland in the early-seventeenth century. By the time \textit{The golden-groue} was published he was already well known as a poet and literary figure. See, Ceri Davies, 'Vaughan, Sir William (c.1575–1641)' \textit{<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28151>} [accessed 19 Dec 2007] Vaughan was himself sympathetic to the interests of yeoman and labourers. He wrote
made a clear division between ‘Gentlemen’ and the ‘Commanaltie’. Gentlemen included peers, knights, esquires, lawyers and those with university degrees. The ‘Commanaltie’ included citizens, artificers, merchants and yeomen. Tellingly the term ‘gentlemen’ was one he used synonymously with ‘youth’.

The gentlemanly class was required to demonstrate virtue as a core component of identity. This was supposedly absent: ‘why so fewe Gentlemen nowe adayes be vertuously disposed.’¹²⁴ This ideal of gentlemanly behaviour was identified with certain characteristics, including affability and courteous speech, the willingness to fight for just causes, mercy and generosity. This echoed older courtesy narratives where elite conduct was demonstrated through some of these behaviours. Elite courtesy themes also included allusions to chivalry, mercy and generosity, which were associated specifically with hospitality. Vaughan wrote: ‘I Find that there bee foure causes, why so few Gentlemen in this age, attaine to the knowledge of vertue.’¹²⁵ Vaughan decried the injurious world he lived in which saw a decay in these qualities, and which to his critical eye were the result of corruption, poor schoolmasters, lack of care on the part of parents who were more interested in mindless acquisition and material gain, and perhaps in related sense, the over-affection and indulgence of parents. Salter suggested similar problems in the Mirrhor of Modestie. Interestingly, Vaughan also linked a lack of interest in virtuous behaviour to extravagant elite lifestyles: ‘Their cogitations are too much bent to the pompes and follies of this transitorie world.’¹²⁶ Failure to demonstrate virtue earned the comment ‘These bee the properties of a Gentleman, which whosoever lacketh, deserueth but the title of a clowne, or of a countrie boore.’¹²⁷ This is directly identifiable with traditional courtesy themes, although interestingly Vaughan cited a new figure who represented churlishness in this, the ‘countrie boore’. Perhaps Vaughan was thinking of rural squires when he wrote of this, a figure not directly cited in earlier literature. The interest in being seen as part of the gentlemanly estate in the sixteenth century, and the increasing proportion of people who identified

with considerable insight into the difficulties faced by yeomen farmers after the conversion of tillage lands into grazing lands. Vaughan, The golden-groue, Second Book, Chapter 26.

¹²⁴ Vaughan, The golden-groue, Third Book, Chapter 33.
¹²⁵ Vaughan, The golden-groue, Third Book, Chapter 33.
¹²⁶ Vaughan, The golden-groue, Third Book, Chapter 33.
¹²⁷ Vaughan, The golden-groue, Third Book, Chapter 15. ‘Boor’: A husbandman, peasant, countryman (1430-1850); A peasant, a rustic, with lack of refinement implied; a country clown (1598-1874); Any rude, ill-bred fellow; a ‘clown’ (1598-1872). O.E.D.
themselves as ‘gentlemen’, could account for Vaughan’s concern with the status of some country figures.\textsuperscript{128}

Earlier, Shelford’s unease with ‘court’ manners correlated upper class manners, which were influenced by continental fashions (a trend for moralists to condemn in itself), with an absence of authentic virtuous morality. Vaughan similarly identified elite classes with a need for stronger virtuous conduct, perhaps suggesting that the nobility and gentry were perceived by moral reformers to be lagging behind in the prioritisation of virtue and ethics. Reformers such as Vaughan may have viewed truly virtuous behaviour and perhaps even chivalry (fighting for just causes, mercy and so forth) as failing to be instilled in young gentlemen and aristocratic youth. Many of the texts examined in this chapter indicate that moral issues were increasingly promoted and accessible to other classes.

Vaughan included a discussion on the ancient practice of hospitality, which had been a particular concern in courtesy poems and in chivalric literature for several centuries. Vaughan encouraged the practice of hospitality, ‘the chiepest point of humanity’,\textsuperscript{129} but decried its corruption by some rich men who focused only on its superficial elements of elaborate feasting and the preparation of exclusive foods. Ironically this was the very point of much of the earlier literature where such elaborate hospitality was heavily promoted. Kerr has argued that hospitality was valuable as a public gesture towards others, related to honour and public shame and which revealed generosity. This occurred through a complex system which could be reciprocated in a cycle of give and take.\textsuperscript{130} Vaughan overtly reflected on this: ‘which an houesholder ca[n] shew, not only vnto his frie[n]ds, but also vnto strawgers & way-faring men.’\textsuperscript{131} However, he wrote of hospitality in a significantly different way to courtesy narratives or even romances and chivalric tales, returning it to its original objectives in some respects. He argued that hospitality was not providing rich food, ‘slibber-saues, in spiced meates, or in diuersities’,\textsuperscript{132} and that ‘Good

\textsuperscript{128} The increase in ‘gentlemen’ was discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. The dissolution of the monasteries also created a wave of newly enriched men.
\textsuperscript{129} Vaughan, The golden-groue, Second Book, Chapter 24.
\textsuperscript{130} Kerr, ‘The Open Door’, pp. 322-335.
\textsuperscript{131} Vaughan, The golden-groue, Second Book, Chapter 24.
\textsuperscript{132} Vaughan, The golden-groue, Second Book, Chapter 24. ‘Slibber-saues’ was a specialist term used to describe ‘A compound or concoction of a messy, repulsive, or nauseous character, used esp. for medicinal purposes’. O.E.D. Vaughan was also interested in writing medical books, and in 1600 he published Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health, which was probably where he became familiar with this somewhat obscure term.
hospitality therefore consisteth not in gluttonous diuersities, but rather in one kind of meat, in clothing the naked, and in giuing almes vnto the poore'.\textsuperscript{133} This emphasis was very different from earlier courtesy poems, where even if charitable giving was acknowledged as the core function of hospitality, it was the public lavishness and pomp of the event as well as the proper order of behaviour which generated the most dialogue and interest.

Woolgar has argued that the end of the sixteenth century saw the end of the great household and by extension the end of hospitality on this scale, with the nobility finding different avenues to spend economic capital.\textsuperscript{134} Vaughan offers insight into this from the perspective of a contemporary observer, albeit one with an agenda in criticising the current state of ‘decay’. Vaughan confirmed that noble and rich men now spent their money on other pursuits, citing the preoccupation with buying costly clothes, living in London or abroad, as well as the disintegration of local neighbourhood ties.\textsuperscript{135} The ease of travel to London and the movement of many gentry away from their native areas towards larger cities, attracted by commerce and merchant opportunities, could explain this breakdown of community ties at a local level, leading to the termination of hospitable bonds.\textsuperscript{136} Another issue raised by Vaughan that showed his concern with modern values was the cost of building new stately homes that tied up money in expensive projects and which diverted economic resources away from charity and hospitality.\textsuperscript{137}

Vaughan’s concerns overtly referenced elite audiences and interests and privileged the finer thoughts and feelings of his own class. This returns us to the contexts first identified in courtesy literature. However, there was a distinctly different emphasis on manners and upbringing in this text. To an extent, many

\textsuperscript{133} Vaughan, \textit{The golden-groue}, Second Book, Chapter 24. Vaughan’s definition of hospitality encompassed the good works prescribed by Matthew 25: 34-36, which had always been a duty of the wealthy to the poor.

\textsuperscript{134} Woolgar, \textit{The Great Household}, p. 204.

\textsuperscript{135} Vaughan, \textit{The golden-groue}, Second Book, Chapter 26.

\textsuperscript{136} Although the wills of many affluent London merchants often record bequests made to charitable works in home towns, suggesting these ties were not completely broken.

\textsuperscript{137} Vaughan, \textit{The golden-groue}, Second Book, Chapter 26. In Elizabeth I’s reign, the construction of elaborate houses for the elite classes mostly stopped, with newly rich merchants and the gentry instead taking up the reins of construction. This was often achieved through the purchase of lands and goods newly on the market after the Reformation. These new houses displayed all of the trappings of wealth and prosperity, in overt displays designed to match elite houses of old. Vaughan may have been uncomfortable and uneasy with increasing merchant and bourgeois wealth. Mark Girouard, \textit{Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House}, rev. edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 4-5. See also John Summerson, \textit{Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830} (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1953).
of these differences are accounted for in terms of particular audiences; sons living at home as opposed to gentle servants; family environments as opposed to large non-kin households. However, Vaughan’s book also indicated a different theoretical framework for elite upbringing which acknowledged the importance of virtue in elite identity and character. Perhaps most striking was Vaughan’s belief that the lack of virtue in early modern elite society was of concern. This may simply have been a narrative conceit and a way of focusing on the poor state of the day’s youth (a perennial topos for conservative writers). However, what may be suggested is a more direct attack on the specifics of elite upbringing and a real acknowledgement of the deficiency and lack of attention to virtue within elite social groups.

We have with this cluster a new perspective on socialisation and upbringing, anticipating readerships within the smaller kin household and projecting the parental voice into this. Can we imagine parents eagerly reading these texts to learn how to bring up their children, and can we see these strategies as anything more than idealistic representations of learned authors? We can never be sure just how these texts were read, or even by whom, beyond a tentative reconstruction of audiences based on thematic interests, book prices and print runs. This evidence is however, strongly suggestive of multiple class-based reading networks. We can also note that the ideological concerns expressed by these authors had commercial value. Additionally, we can see that some elements visited in this literature, namely the awareness of the kin-family household and the responsibilities of male householders, was born out in other sources and matched preoccupations expressed by contemporaries elsewhere.

This cluster of literature demonstrates both remarkable change and continuity in how the upbringing of children had been understood and conceptualised by contemporary authors and translators, often written within a time of religious ferment. As before, the socialisation of girls took moral parameters into consideration and emphasised moral behaviour as vital in development. At the same time, these concerns were increasingly part of the literature aimed at boys. Young boys and men were instructed in how to develop a moral identity, with this question increasingly raised and emphasised for parents. These moral concerns reflected developments taking place in English society, particularly in household networks, religious education and family groups. The small domestic household was increasingly spoken of in literary sources as an environment germane to the good and proper upbringing of children, with the preoccupations
of parents privileged within narratives. This led to the previously dominant voice of children in earlier courtesy poems drowned out by the voice of parents. The need to locate and establish which environment these narratives were responding to is fundamental to viewing how socialisation could be established in different ways.

This literature maps an interest in moral concerns as increasingly essential for both boys and girls, and one which was not always viewed as symbiotic to elite interests or affairs. But what of manners and courtesy in upbringing in this century? If moral and ethical narratives were represented in the printed record, can a courtesy archive similarly be found which showed continuities with the fifteenth century? The following chapter qualifies the evidence and conclusions of this chapter by looking at the continuing presence of courtesy themes simultaneously available in published books alongside this moral body of work.
Chapter Six
Continuity and Change:
Sixteenth Century Courtesy for Children and Young People

'Lerne: or be lewde/folowe the proued mannnes advys'e

In this chapter I turn, or in some senses return, to the theme of courtesy in socialisation, with all of its preoccupation and love of outward show and conduct. This chapter points to sixteenth century material which was influenced by earlier courtesy narratives and by the theme of service in households. This builds on the analysis of Caxton’s books which fashioned interesting relationships between established courtesy values and morality.

Images of courtesy and service were brought into play in the books by Hugh Rhodes in The boke of nurture for men, servantes and children, Francis Seager’s/Segar’s The schoole of virtue, and partially in William Fiston’s/Phiston’s The schoole of good manners. Or, a new schoole of vertue. From these books we gain a sense of how courtesy and formulaic gestures were introduced to a new generation of children in the mid-sixteenth century. This literature attached courtesy to contemporary contexts and environments, transposing and modelling the customary courtesy themes to new situations and publishing ventures. We can place this sixteenth century material against a concept of courtesy and socialisation which was increasingly removed from the original context of the elite household and high-status service. The three books analysed in this chapter defined courtesy against a new set of parameters, at a time books reached a greater number and range of people, and at a time of religious change in England when conventional behaviour must have seemed a safe and reassuring way of guaranteeing new generations were brought up well.

As we saw in Chapter Two, the original courtesy topos focussed on the elite household, with amendments and interpolations in manuscripts and in Caxton’s books more closely attuned to other, non-noble audiences. As I have explored

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1 Hugh Rhodes, The boke of nurture for men, servantes and chyldren, with Stans puer ad mensam, newly corrected, very vyle and necessary ynto all youth (London: Thonas Petyt, 1545). Biili?.
in these chapters, the context in which texts circulated had a bearing on the particular form modifications and revisions took. Poems which incorporated bourgeois issues and cited work and mercantile occupations responded to concerns with ethical business practices and not to the elite issues of hospitality, table manners or serving food. Many of these interpolations, recensions and narrative choices reflected the economic conditions of the people owning the manuscripts or buying the printed books. We could see this with Hill’s manuscript and with the groups who purchased Caxton’s books in the 1470s and 1480s. In these different sources it was the class specific attention to locations and households that played an important part in the nature of the lessons and the type of socialisation described.

This question of environment and household status offers a point of contrast between types of literature. Some debate has occurred about the position of the nobility and the noble household over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the depth to which this group retained its status and pre-eminent position in defining social mores. In the previous chapters I have studied the growth in literature, increasingly able and anxious to address multiple social groups and household types, as matching this hypothesis of changing status. Although economic and political fluctuations may have destabilised elite social groups, noble households retained their status as privileged environments, continuing to employ gentle servants and fashion ideal models of behaviour. This no doubt remained desirable to others, even when elite households no longer operated on the scale they had once enjoyed, matching the time courtesy poems flourished in England.  

Sixteenth century printed books may have responded in some ways to these elite interests as earlier material once had. In particular we can question whether this literature identified youthful service, which was such a core concern within the courtesy theme. Alternatively, this cluster may have more directly resembled the variant narratives that addressed non-noble readers studied in Chapters Three and Four where courtesy was reworked, often betraying an awareness of pragmatic working practices, and more than likely, financial necessities. Caxton’s books were also particularly responsive to merchant occupations and networks.

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3 Harriss wrote that while the late medieval aristocracy had to share their political leadership with the ‘middling’ class of landowners, they nevertheless retained their place as economic leaders, and presumably as custodians of social niceties. Harriss, Shaping the Nation, p. 94.
Making Use of Courtesy and Manners

Courtesy literature had a number of characteristics which tended to appear in some form across narratives, and which could be modified to suit the criteria mentioned above. Courtesy texts separated superior behaviour from churlish behaviour, with the latter denigrated and allied with the undesirable ‘other’. This was a consistent theme even in non-elite clusters, where superior behaviour was associated not with the peerage or nobility, but rather with any who were accessing the text. In these clusters, the superior were the gentry, the merchants and even the urban bourgeois. Yet always, there was someone who existed outside and below this group. The ‘other’ existed as a cautionary example; a warning note to the reader of the precariousness of identity and the need to understand and follow current rulings. These ‘other’ were a convenient scapegoat who played their part in the process of separating desirable from undesirable conduct, according to any number of qualifying factors. The emphasis on obedience to hierarchy was a part of this, and often took the form of describing service in a household. Service was a malleable and flexible concept suited to reworking to apply both to the noble and non-noble frameworks, and which was reflective of the role of service in English society across social rankings. For literature in elite clusters, the emphasis was of course on elite service and how socialisation matched these needs. In non-elite clusters, service and socialisation were more ambiguously identified, with a subtle emphasis falling on professional and economic scenarios, and in the case of the Good Wife poems, reflecting female working practices.

The characteristic of household service featured heavily in the works of Seager and particularly Rhodes. These authors used service to identify middle status homes, generally excising elite household characteristics. Both books introduced a new variant to courtesy literature and to socialisation in the mid-sixteenth century, that grafted a domestic household perspective onto common courtesy themes. In a practical manner each text was divided into multiple sections accounting for different household or family situations. One of these environments was the family or natal home where service was not discussed and which was often represented in contemporary parental advice books. A second line was also drawn to describe service. In Rhodes’ book he portrayed a

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4 The opinions of the Venetian traveller in the late-fifteenth century would suggest that it was common for children to be sent to live and work in other households. For a transcript see Goldberg, Women in England, pp. 87-88.
household where a young person worked as a servant, and did not make any use of parental roles. In Seager’s book, the experience of service was contained within one passage. These cases will be examined in more detail shortly, but it proves to be a useful indication of new practices and understandings in literature that both reflected and altered existing narrative tropes and styles.

We can look in more detail at the first of these texts, Hugh Rhodes’ *The boke of nurture*. This was a book published extensively over the period 1545 to 1577, indicating some degree of popularity and commercial success. Little is known of Rhodes’ background or history beyond that he was a member of the King’s Chapel and was originally from Devon. A lack of biographical details means we cannot locate his work against a particular context or set of interests, beyond what is found in the text itself. *The boke of nurture* is itself the only work we know to have been written by Rhodes, so further comparisons to other material cannot be made.

What accounted for this book’s popularity and appeal over these four decades? Each edition began with the conventional justification ‘fewe thynges to be understade more necessary then to teache & gouerne chyldren in lernyng & good maner’. Similar sentiments were observed in earlier courtesy poems, as well as later moral tracts. Statements such as these performed a generic function in identifying the didactic nature of the narrative. It also signified the age/inexperience arrangement which was so useful in suggesting authority over youthful readers, as well as reinforcing the authority of parents. Rhodes initiated his conversation with readers or listeners through this conventional set-up which recalled other literary forms. Like earlier courtesy poems, lessons within Rhodes’ book laid claim to observable conduct and discernable behaviour as principal determiners of identity for male children and youths. This was consistent with Rhodes sourcing part of the book from the *Stans puer ad mensam* poem. The recognisable set-up in the opening passage served as a useful introductory framework.

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5 Editions appeared in 1545, twice in 1560, 1568, 1570, and 1577. See Appendix Four for details.


7 Rhodes, boke of nurture, 1545 ed., Aii. This passage was found in the 1560, 1568 and 1577 editions. It was presumably also used in the 1570 edition, but the extant copy of this edition is imperfect and begins on page aii. While it would seem the 1545 edition had been ‘newly corrected’, no earlier edition survives. ‘Newly corrected’ could refer to the updated version of *Stans puer ad mensam*. Rhodes did not directly copy the *Stans puer* poem. Rather he wrote out some of its themes in his own way.
In all editions, the introductory section (in the 1568 edition entitled ‘To all parents and gourmours of youth’) established familiar and simple terms for good manners and obedience. These were primary tools for good upbringing and socialisation. The introductory passage also made use of commonplaces, such as ‘vertuous instrucyons’, ‘vilany’, and ‘lerne pure and cleane doctrine in youthe’. This combination of phrases was not found in early courtesy poems but there are similarities with the late-fifteenth century printed material. Rhodes specifically referred to a child’s upbringing in terms of virtue, using this principle to ground the subsequent lessons and also reminiscent of the ideologies emphasised in Caxton’s books: ‘For youth is dysposed to take suche as they are accustomed in/good or euyll.’ We saw with late-fifteenth century material an interesting fluidity between courtesy and moral language, with the two concepts interspersed and then broken apart at different times within a text. Rhodes’ book similarly took on a dual position regarding courtesy and moral values, although there was an increased awareness and fluency in using moral terms. This was certainly true in comparison to very early courtesy texts, but also when compared to Caxton’s books. Even so, the stress laid on courtesy and practical forms of behaviour, emphasised in the reference to Stans puer ad mensam in the title, showed continuity with the older courtesy theme. Over the span of two pages (A43v) at thirty-four lines per page, there were at least seventeen practical rules for the child to follow. This included some abstract concepts (fleeing sin, dreading God, avoiding pride), but mostly emphasising practical activities; rising early by six o’clock, washing yourself, brushing down clothes, walking in the town or street, sitting where appointed at the table, and holding your cap in your hand when your master talked to you. The direct reference to Stans puer ad mensam lent a validity to these lessons.

A significant difference between Rhodes’ book and courtesy poems however, were the more extensive references to parents. The book is an example of double address where parents were prioritised as readers of the text over children, interestingly cited within the Stans puer framework itself. As the adult/parental reader or listener progressed through the introductory passage they were told of the importance of fostering a religious creed in the home, of dressing children and servants modestly (an interesting pairing) so that the sin of pride was not engendered in them, and monitoring where their children went and with whom they met. Rhodes extended these parental references to include

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8 Rhodes, boke of nurture, 1545 ed., Aiii. Also in subsequent editions.
9 Rhodes, boke of nurture, 1545 ed., Aiiif. Also in subsequent editions.
governors; a more generic authority term that could take into account the educational environment, as well as accounting for non-kin adults responsible for young people in their care, with governors also the masters of servants. Rhodes may have been attempting to credit multiple domestic scenarios in this book which saw young people living outside the natal home after early childhood. The participation of a range of adults in socialising dependent children, as well as multiple living arrangements, was actively introduced in this way. Yet the majority of references specifically designated parents in upbringing, and fathers and mothers heard that they were to make sure that their children played only ‘honest sportes & games’ and that they did not read ‘fayned fables, orayne fantases’.\(^\text{10}\) These were surely indications of some of the recreational activities available to children from relatively prosperous homes. There was also an expectation concerning formal educational opportunities: ‘yf ye put them to scolde awaye frome you, se ye put them to a dyscrete mayster’.\(^\text{11}\) This could account for the presence of ‘governors’ within the book’s lessons if the term is read in a strictly educational sense. Addressing recreational activities (sports, games and reading fables) was consistent with an audience above subsistence level, possibly responding to gentry, merchant, urban bourgeois and perhaps artisanal families. The reference to formal schooling would also situate the text within a relatively prosperous setting. Later references to gentry households support a social grouping of this sort, beneath the higher gentry and noble echelons but above peasant level.

It is possible to identify a number of household-family scenarios at play in the book. A parental household with dependent children can certainly be identified, but the book may also be responding to a household where young children were fostered or sent to live, work and learn elsewhere, as well as orphans and poor kin living with relatives.\(^\text{12}\) This discourse may contribute to the culture of fostering, with adults ‘needing’ to learn how to govern children placed into their care, as Salter’s translation likewise explored. The parental voice may have stood as an image for this, offering a veracity and authority to scenarios that were recognisable to readers or listeners. The careful use of parental images was also found in Shelford’s text, and further back was reminiscent of the

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\(^\text{10}\) Rhodes, *boke of nurture*, 1545 ed., both quotations *Aiiv*. Also in subsequent editions.

\(^\text{11}\) Rhodes, *boke of nurture*, 1545 ed., *Aiiv*. Also in subsequent editions. The mention of formal education, the type of activities the servants were expected to perform and the comment ‘To helpe a preest to say masse/it is greatly to be co[m]mended’, were all pertinent to boys and not to girls. *Aiiv*.

\(^\text{12}\) Perhaps replicating the scenarios identified by the Venetian.
mother’s role in the Good Wife poems. Rhodes’ book was both open to multiple situations while confirming an idealised parental-child dynamic. We can perhaps see that Rhodes sets up the premise of non-working children living in or coming home to a domestic household for all of his readers. The similarity of experiences across different households would indicate shared cultural affinities and experiences for young people.

In the introductory passage there were few references to servants of any kind, and what were presumably the biological children of the household were identified in the dialogue. We do read of household servants in the context of the children of the house, with the pairing of the two in terms of dress having already been cited. The presence of household servants was more directly acknowledged in a specific reference to their moral conduct as it impacted upon the (biological) children. This reference to servants took the form of reminding parents of the potential conflict and harm that came with introducing other people into the household: ‘And take good hede of any newe seruau[n]tes that ye take in to your house & howe ye put them in any auctorite amonge your chyldren: and what ye gyue them take hede howe they spende it’.\(^{13}\)

In later editions the portion of the book dealing the most closely with courtesy and good manners was given an additional heading ‘Here foloweth the booke of nurture of good maners for man and childe’ from which the title itself was taken. Interestingly in later editions ‘the book of nurture’ appeared mid-way through the book and was bracketed by sections on service not found in the first extant edition. However, for readers of this 1545 edition, ‘the book of nurture’ proper directly followed the introduction without any discernible partitioning. As in the introduction, ‘the book of nurture’ proper set in place the role of parents as primary readers or listeners of the text and as the voice of authority in subsequent lessons. This direct vocabulary towards parents disengaged the child from the book, although this relationship had been a genuine feature of the original Stans puer poem. Instead, Rhodes started ‘the book of nurture’ with references to parents and adults ‘All that hath yonge people/good maners let them to lerne...A good father maketh good chylldre[n]’\(^{14}\). Nor was this the only time parents were privileged as an authority in socialising their children. Mothers and fathers were identified both through these examples of direct address, as well as through instructions on how children were to greet parents.

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\(^{13}\) Rhodes, *boke of nurture*, 1545 ed., Aiii\(^{a}\). Also in subsequent editions.

\(^{14}\) Rhodes, *boke of nurture*, 1545 ed., Aiii\(^{b}\). Also in subsequent editions.
and avoid their ire. These were interesting inclusions considering the natal home was not cited in the *Stans puer* poem itself, and was probably an example of Rhodes acting on his own interests. Significantly, the references to parents were found only in the early part of the narrative and were elided from the bulk of 'the book of nurture' proper. This was probably a result of a more direct reworking of the *Stans puer* themes as Rhodes progressed through his original copy-text. Certainly the remainder of these passages returned to the familiar scenario of sitting and dining at a public table with the sovereign watching over you, and which was evocative of an elite environment.

Despite this, the 'book of nurture' proper had initially been concerned with children either within a natal family home or a foster family home, with the ambiguous and non-specified setting making any lessons appropriate to multiple environments. Within this ambiguous setting the male child or youth was reminded to observe some basic rules for cleanliness and personal hygiene:

> Or thou thy chambre passe/purge thy nose & make it cleane
> Of filthy thynges backe & bely/ye knowe what I meane
> Sponge & brusshe thy clothes clene/that [thou] shalte on were
> Cast up your bed/and take hede ye lefe none of your gere
> Make clene thy shoes/combe thy heed & manerly the brace
> Se thou forget not/to washe bothe thy handes and face

A similar emphasis on the observational nature of gestures and courtesy was found in passages on how to greet friends, parents and how to behave properly in Church. This of course recalls older tropes concerning the symbolism and meaning attached to forms of behaviour.

In a way reminiscent of this earlier genre, the word 'curyse' was used to clarify guidelines: 'Gase not to and fro/as one that were voyde of curyse'.

The compulsion to describe seating hierarchy was retained, as was the concern with using spoons and knives properly, not spitting on the table, or scratching yourself, keeping lips clean and not being greedy with meat and drink. These were familiar models of behaviour and borrowed from the earlier paradigms available in the courtesy tradition. It suggests that observable gestures and a formulaic adherence to certain manners were still regarded as important in the

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16 See Chapters Two and Three.

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upbringing of children. Printed books remained an avenue where these lessons could be re-formulated and disseminated. Readers could approach these books as practical manuals, partially set within a moral compass, but not setting out to create a model which overlooked the importance of courtesy and the form of manners.

Interestingly, serving roles were not specifically identified in the ‘book of nurture proper’. The rules concentrated on the position of the diner at the table, and one who was presumably being hosted by his ‘sovereign’. The single reference which might indicate service, ‘If ye be dyserd to serue or sytte/or eate meate at the table’, was more directly refuted in a subsequent direction: ‘When you hast dro[n]ke set it dow[e] or take it to his seruaunt’. It was clear that the youthful character was not principally there to serve the sovereign but rather to act as a member of the larger company. We may even be able to suggest that the child was not of sufficiently high status to warrant the position of gentle servant, but was one of many household guests.

The reader was initially introduced to these rules according to the relationships between the child and the adult, and between the child and the sovereign. Rhodes suppressed any potential note of labour intensive service which might have tempered this, resting the narrative in the first instance on natal relationships, and in the second on the relationships between a superior and an inferior. The result was a book that was partially reminiscent of Stans puer but which spoke initially of everyday domestic relationships and family interactions before turning to the more anonymous setting of a large household and public meals. From a publishing consideration, the unspecified environments and scenarios served to promote the book to any number of groups and audiences. It was relevant not to one group, but to many. It also suggests that variant readings were a norm, with no single readership sustained.

Additional passages from the book turned away from this family perspective and explored the function of service, directed in particular at non-elite households.

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18 Manuscripts were also circulating at the same time. This is particularly significant to household miscellanies retained in family environments. For Burgundian manuscripts kept within certain families see Ashley, 'The Miroir des Bonnes Femmes', in Medieval Conduct, ed. by Ashley and Clarke, pp. 91-95. Hill's manuscript was also part of this type of network.
19 Rhodes, boke of nurture, from the 'book of nurture proper', 1545 ed., Diii. Also in subsequent editions.
20 Rhodes, boke of nurture, from the 'book of nurture proper', 1545 ed., Bii. Also in subsequent editions.
and their staffs. The text of the 1560 edition and in all subsequent editions extended and divided the book into the following passages: the initial justification; ‘The maner of seruing a knight, squier, or gentleman’; ‘Howe to ordre your maisters chamber, at night to bedwarde’; ‘the booke of nurture of good maners for man and childe’; and ‘For the wayting seruant’.  

The young servants discussed were in all likelihood in the pueritia or adolescentia stage of life, given the complexity of instructions and the references to interacting with women. The reference to men in the sub-title noted above also points to an associated older audience. In a second qualifying comment we can see how lower-gentry households were openly referred to: ‘if your soueraigne be a knight or squier set downe your dishes couered and your cup also’.  

This suggests table accoutrements and protocol had specific class-based forms appropriate to some but not to all. This young servant was also instructed on how to set bread, trenchers and spoons if the gathering included gentlemen or yeoman. Serving any of these groups from the yeomanry, knighted classes or even gentlemanly classes was far removed from the large elaborate households identified and idealised as principal environments in elite clusters of literature. This passage also lacked the elaborate pretext of serving an Emperor, Pope or King which Russell’s poem capitalised on. It was uncommon in non-elite poems to find this range and diversity of middle class participants so explicitly cited and recognised.

Rhodes was conscious of other pragmatic working considerations which took into account class-based households and sizes. He was willing to acknowledge the potential range and diversity of households where young people might ultimately find work. This was unlike Russell’s poem which played to an elite association throughout, even given the potentially disruptive character of the unlearned youth. This familiar high-status household was displaced in Rhodes’

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21 From Hugh Rhodes’, The Boke of Nurture for men seruauntes, and children, with Stans puer ad mensam, newelye corrected, vrye style and necessarey unto all youth (London: Thomas Colwell, 1560). The 1545 edition was shorter and did not contain the passages: ‘The maner of seruing a knight, squiere, or gentileman’ and ‘Howe to ordre your maisters chamber, at night to bedwarde’. The order of passages in the earliest edition was also different as has been explained.

22 Interestingly Rhodes also played on older readers when he wrote ‘To myster or seruan[n]e/yonge & olde/ I wolde refoure both youth & age/yf any thyngye be amys’. Rhodes, boke of nurture, from the ‘book of nurture proper’, 1545 ed., Aiiii. Also in subsequent editions.


book, with Rhodes recommending that the young man be diligent in studying
the particular habits of the household he served in, noting that some contained
single offices, and some multiple ones: ‘And if thou be admytted in any office,
as buttrie or pantrie, in some places ther are both one’.25 He also advised young
servants on what to do if more than one or two courses were served at dinner,26
suggestive of a household where elaborate and extensive meals were not served
as a norm, but where such pretensions to gentility might be of interest and used
occasionally.

These passages acquired a specific serving theme in pointing out particular
duties for young staff, including serving at the table as already cited, as well as
preparing a bedchamber so that it had clean water and sufficient candles, and
helping the master into and out of his clothes. Rhodes reflected on this as a time
of learning, a message transparently reinforced with the semi-proverbial phrase
‘Seke in youth & thou shalt fynde/to be one not untaught’.27 The book placed
itself into a continuing tradition of courtesy literature by employing the phrase
‘Lerne: or be lewde/folowe the proude mannes advyse’,28 directly reminiscent of
Harl. 5086 where the courtesy poem The Babees Book was followed with an
ABC poem introduced as ‘Lerne or be Lewde’.29 The self-consciously
referential tone of the book, heightened by the explicit declaration of Stans puer
ad mensam being ‘newly corrected’ is suggestive of a knowing appropriation of
traditional courtesy narratives and a desire to suggest a continuity with older
texts. It is possible Rhodes transplanted the phrase from existing sources he was
personally familiar with.

What can we make of a text which so deliberately attempted to speak of two
different household environments and concerns, but also returns to an older
courtesy tradition in fixing how young people could be socialised? To an extent
the guidelines on service are out of place within a text that began by looking to
the everyday behaviour of children and youths, specifically identified in natal or
small homes. However, the text circumvented potential friction between the two

25 Rhodes, The Boke of Nurture, from ‘The maner of servyng a knight, squier, or gentleman’,
1560 ed., Aii’.
26 Rhodes, The Boke of Nurture, from ‘The maner of servyng a knight, squier, or gentleman’,
1560 ed., Aii’.
27 Rhodes, boke of nurture, from ‘For the waytynge Seruauent’ 1545 ed., Cl’. Also in
subsequent editions.
28 Rhodes, boke of nurture, from ‘For the waytynge Seruauent’ 1545 ed., Biiii’. Also in
subsequent editions.
29 Harl. 5086, fol. 90’. This ABC was also found in a fuller version in Lambeth 853, pp. 31-32.
contexts by portraying all courtesy, good manners and virtue in a comparable way. The ‘family’ convention contained the same type of information about manners and proper behaviour which appeared in passages for young servants, with both emphasising obedience, hygiene and duty. In this way the two household settings were not incompatible. These environments existed in a fluid state as a result of Rhodes emphasising similarities which effectively overrode functional employment differences. We can see that the manners described were equally applicable to both the children at home and those working as servants. In this way obedience to others, be they parents or masters was equally promoted, as was observing a social hierarchy and acting honourably. In many ways the master may have been seen as the ‘father’ of his servants, accounting for this juxtaposition across the passages. A secondary reading also suggests that it was age rather than status which was privileged. Young servants and children were expected to demonstrate similar although not identical qualities because of their age and life-inexperience, and the text played upon their imagined propensity to misbehave.

Rhodes’ instructions were based upon a common belief in proper and dutiful conduct that was applicable to all young people, and the need for adults, be they parents or masters, to instil and monitor this. Rhodes had certainly borrowed ideas and images from the canon of pre-existing courtesy poems. Yet these were subsequently rearranged to suit both a domestic setting and a non-elite serving household. In this way, manners had been incorporated into a family book which spoke about other environments, used to teach both children and youths at home, and children and youths working as servants, about the proper ways of behaving. The acknowledgement of a moral character at the beginning of the book also reflected an understanding of current literary and social trends. The relationship between courtesy and virtue extended the text’s relevance, and perhaps at the same time the relevance of courtesy, to sixteenth century readers.

Francis Seager’s/Segar’s *The schoole of virtue* also reminds us of the world where the courteous and well mannered child was paramount.  

30 F.S., *The schoole of virtuoue, and booke of good nourture for children, and youth to learne theyer dutie by*. Newly persued, corrected, and augmented by the first auctour. F.S with a brieve declaration of the dutie of eche degree. Anno. 1557 (London: Wylyam Searees, 1557). Presumably there was an earlier edition to this, but there is no record of it or evidence of any surviving copies. For the purposes of this thesis I am interested in the first three editions that appeared in the years 1557, 1582 and 1593. F.S. *The schoole of vertue and booke of good nurture, teaching children and youth their duties. Newlie persued, corrected, and augmented. Herevntio is added a brieve declaration of the dutie of ech degree: also certaine prayers and*
upon familiar courtesy lessons for his text as Rhodes had done, with the attentive reader observing the gloss on Cato in the description of silence as a virtue. Seager also repeated common lessons concerning behaviour at the table which indicated ‘good maners’ but which fell into a domestic rather than into a serving setting. As with Rhodes’ book, Seager’s work was in steady publication until 1687, representing significant continuity in the available sixteenth-century literature that was relevant to manners and conduct. John N. King has commented that Seager’s 1582 edition was popular with a ‘humble’ readership and ‘commonly sold at the stalls of ballad-singers.’ The identification of these publishing and selling networks suggests that books reflecting practical manners and behaviours, mixed with a little morality, were viable publishing ventures in England well into the seventeenth century.

Of the thirteen chapters in Seager’s book, and excluding the morning and evening prayers which began and ended the text, six chapters were entirely focused on courtesy values. These were Chapters One (Howe to Order thy selfe when thou ryset, and in apparelynge thy body), Chapter Two (Howe to behaue thy selfe in going by the streate and in the schoole), Chapter Three (Howe to behaue thi selfe in seruynge the table), Chapter Four (Howe to order thy selfe syttingynge at the table), and Chapters Seven (How to behaue thy selfe in talkynge with any man) and Eight (How to order thy selfe being sente of message).

Three chapters interlaced courtesy with moral lessons, including directions from Chapter Five (Howe to order thy selfe in the Churche), and Chapters Eleven (Againge the horrible vice of swerynge) and Twelve (Againste the vice of filthy talkynge). In these chapters courteous talk was combined with moral values. Four chapters corresponded more emphatically with moral issues, such as discussions on the vices of anger and envy. This occurred in Chapters Six (The fruities of gamynge, vertue and learmynge), Nine (Againste Anger, Enuie, and malice), Ten (The fruities of charitie, loue, and pacience), and Thirteen (Againste the vice of lyinge). The chapters which dealt with courtesy also played on particularly prominent and traditional courtesy tropes; Chapters Three

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While the continued publication of this book in the seventeenth century is interesting, an extended study of all editions is outside the current scope of this project.

and Four included table manners, while Chapter Eight added further references to service and running errands.

There was little in the way of overt Catholic doctrine in the earliest extant edition printed during the Marian reign. Later editions however, were responsive to a more distinctly realised Protestant climate, with interpolated passages from Robert Crowley working in a particular Protestant philosophy. This Protestant religious message, found in the second and third editions of 1582 and 1593 respectively, included new prayers and graces. We can note that both editions ended in prayers for Elizabeth I’s health, for the Realm and for her most honourable ‘Councell.’32 Given Seager’s and Crowley’s Protestant beliefs, the movement into overt Protestant support is not surprising. We can also note a similar Catholic to Protestant doctoring in Rhodes’ book, with directions concerning the priest and helping at mass removed from later editions, reflecting the change in official policy regarding the celebration of the Catholic mass. Redacting a text to include or elide a sentiment, or even a single word, allowed a book to work equally within religious contexts.33

This may reflect the idea that the philosophies relevant to upbringing were based on ‘generic’ principles and were not reliant upon identifiable doctrinal beliefs. The simple rewriting and amendment of selected themes allowed a text to be seen as an orthodox narrative conforming to required beliefs. Balliol 354 also showed signs of simple and naïve modifications, with Hill’s original Catholic references to the Pope scored out by later owners.34 We can question how significant Protestant and Catholic ideologies were to the culture of childhood, and particularly to upbringing at this time, as well as how committed authors were to Catholic or Protestant ideologies. Many may have felt it expedient to

32 Although the 1557 edition does begin with a prayer to use in the morning and describes how to behave in Church. In both cases the advice was generic and Seager avoided mentioning the Catholic mass. Both the 1582 and 1593 editions listed Robert Crowley as an additional compiler. His name was used in an acrostic poem along with Seager’s on the first page. Crowley was a Protestant poet and bookseller, with whom Seager had a strong working relationship. F.S. *The schoole of vertue*, 1582, final page. Also, F.S. *The schoole of vertue*, 1593, final page. We can also remember that Seager was involved with reworking Chartier’s text *The Curial* in 1549. This was a text that was particularly reflective of turbulent social and political changes and responsive to people’s concerns and anxieties. See Chapter Four where these ideas have been discussed.


34 An example of this is on fol. 95’ where ‘a pope hath no pere’ has been scored out. On fol. 140’, another hand has written ‘this talle of pope gregorie is a lye/& yet a monstrous […] of Sathan/to deceave him or devise of his owne’. This followed The Trentel of St Gregory.
conform to required expectations, adopting an adaptable ideology to cope with changing demands. Ethan Shagan shows that communities made decisions to accept or negotiate the course of the Reformation via ‘the mundane realities of political allegiance, financial investment and local conflict’. Given this, continuities in behaviour may well have been stronger than changes when it came to identifying notions of upbringing and socialisation. Manners and courtesy, and to an extent moral behaviour, could be seen as removed from contentious religious intrigue in a way that overt religious or political tracts were not, particularly when these other texts were aimed at adult, and therefore more politically active and exposed readers.

Seager’s poem began with a generic morning prayer which presupposed neither a Protestant nor Catholic audience. The morning prayer was followed by thirteen chapters arranged to suit domestic activities, including dressing in the morning, going to school, serving and sitting at the table, attending Church and being sent to deliver a message. This recalls Rhodes’ similarly varied environments and activities. Seager introduced other daily events and practices into this, some echoing older conventions. Some of his lessons also responded to less frequently identified environmental contexts, seen with the ambiguous chapter on how to talk with composure to any man. In addition, Seager included a range of specialised tracts on various ‘emotions’ and behaviours including ‘anger, envy and malice’, and ‘charity, love and patience’, given as counterpoints to the vices of swearing and ‘filthy talking’. Seager’s book played upon the conventional premise of childhood as a time of learning, relevant both to the academic portion of the book as well as to those sections on social manners and behaviour. Seager’s opening was a commonplace of didactic values. It was written in easy rhyming verse and took the form of the ‘morning prayer’ previously mentioned:

That as we in yeares
And body do growe
So in good vertues
we may lykewyse howe
To thy honour
and joy of our parentes
Learninge to lyue well
and kepe thy comaundmentes.

In flyinge from all
Vice synne and cryme
Applyinge our bookes
Not losynge our tyne

This opening was charged with an emphasis on conventional socialisation and normative development. As the reader or listener worked through this introduction they absorbed various themes which were to be found throughout the book. The prayer firstly identified the youthful paradigm at the heart of any didactic genre (‘as we in yeares/And body do growe’). The characteristic of virtue was also registered through the moral language and terminology (‘In flyinge from all/Vice synne and cryme’). Finally, the reference to parents focused the reader or listener towards the domestic setting of the home. The audience was further served by the reference to formal education. ‘Applying our books’ could refer to children learning from texts in an educational setting, echoed in the later chapter on going to school. These principles ‘sold’ the book, and from its popularity between 1557 to 1687 we can see that there was a seeming interest in this.

Seager cut into the standard household trope with this reference to the school, and the addition was also picked up in Chapter ii (‘Howe to behaue thy selfe in going by the streate and in the schoole’). The school was another formative environment for (male) children, which will be examined in Chapter Seven. This established the idea of the child/youth moving between the domestic home and an educational environment, corresponding with records from contemporary grammar and elementary schools which suggested daily school attendance was increasingly probable for male children of the gentry, merchant and even artisanal classes, with elementary schools extending school attendance to other social groups. Seager was himself from a yeoman family and so was familiar with sixteenth century educational possibilities for this class. The educational context, combined with the sales history and probable audience reception for the 1582 edition, suggests the wide markets at which he and his publisher, Henry Denham, aimed.

The two later editions emphasised the reader-text relationship by adding a short verse addressed to ‘Parents and Tutors’ (1582) and ‘Parents and Maisters’ (1593). The additions reinforced the allusion to formal education and reminded

37 F.S., The schoole of virtue, 1557 ed., Aii². And also in the 1582 ed., Aiii". and 1593 ed., A3². Both of these later editions had some minor differences.
both parents and tutors/masters that it was their responsibility to control and reform ‘soft and tender youth’, a perspective seen throughout literature relevant to young people.38 The parental role was further sustained through the declaration of ‘the dutie of eche degree’ in a later passage. Here an equation was drawn between parents and children. The strength of the two ‘institutions’ was poised between the responsibility of parents to instruct children in grace and virtue and for children to ‘lykewyse’ obey their parents in godliness and fear.39 Parents took on the role of chief instructor and mediator who held daily authority over their children.

Throughout the book Seager moved between positioning children in the family home and placing them in other contexts and activities that suppressed the domestic setting. Some passages invoked the environment of children living in the kin-household. The chapter ‘Howe to behauye thy selue seruyenge the table’ (Chapter iii) began by reminding children to wait until their parents were seated. Alternatively, ‘How to order thy selve being sente of message’ (Chapter viii) was more suited to a servant’s role in delivering a message for his master: ‘And to thy master/therof make relacion’. Or again: ‘In most humble wyse/loke done that it be/As shall become beste/a servantes degre.’40 By conflating the different environments and scenarios in this way, Seager fashioned a text relevant to multiple situations and audiences. It would also indicate that adolescent boys could be found in either space at different stages of their life. As with Rhodes, Seager equated the behaviour and manners of the two groups, allowing the descriptions and guidelines that were applicable to one environment to be transferable to another. We can assume some similarity between the position and role of the father and the master regarding this.

Two chapters in the book revised behaviour at the table, now divided between how to serve parents and how the child or young person should themselves act during mealtimes. It was common for children to serve food to their parents in much the same way as servants in households served others. The youthful reader or listener was reminded to show care in not spilling any food, in making sure that trenchers and napkins were readily available and in the correct and

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38 F.S., The schoole of vertue, 1582 ed., and F.S., The schoole of vertue, 1593, Aii* and A2* respectively. Both verses were identical with the exception of ‘tutors’ and ‘masters’ in the respective titles.
40 F.S., The schoole of vertue, 1557 ed., Ciii* and Ciii*, respectively. The sentiment was repeated in the 1582 and 1593 editions although with different wording.
proper order for the delivery and removal of food. The importance of mealtimes was also identified with directions on saying grace, with an obvious parallel between this and Whitford’s Catholic family-household book. Mealtimes contributed to the daily religious performance of the household, with the child accepting their role at this moment. As we could see in the previous chapter, continuities in household activities and simple religious practices crossed the Catholic and Protestant divide. In the following chapter I also explore Elizabeth I’s attempts to slowly introduce Protestant doctrine to England and to the Church, working on change through measured responses to fix people’s hearts and souls to Protestantism. Rhodes and Seager presented their discourses on youthful upbringing with an adept hand, preserving the authority and status that courtesy had, but regulated through an understanding of parental authority and the natal environment.

Like Rhodes, Seager was willing to go to some lengths to indicate the social and economic range of households that could find meaning in these lessons. References to wine were amended to include baser ale and beer, far more commonly available in England and significantly cheaper than wine, which remained a prestigious consumable: ‘Wyne to them fyll/Els ale or beare/But wyne is metest/If any there were’. Seager foreshadowed economic realities, a pragmatic observation given that wine could easily be exclusively cited to appeal to elite interests and status conscious consumers. Both books can be identified with the traditional theme of service, although significant reworking and amendments have taken place with regard to the status of the described household and the probable class of the young servants and children. This literature laid claim to the same non-noble audiences that were partially realised in the preceding century when variant manuscripts played upon gentry, merchant and urban bourgeois contexts, and which was also relevant to Caxton’s literature. In the mid-sixteenth century, the references in Rhodes’ book to squires, knights and gentlemen, and the references in Seager’s book to lower status items, proudly indicated a bourgeois, and not an aristocratic class.

41 See the responsibility parents had in instructing their children and their household discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis. Poore, Salisbury Statutes I, Councils and Synods II, i, 61, from Spencer, English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages, pp. 210-211, p. 445, fn. 51.

42 Patrick Collinson emphasises the gradual development of Protestantism during Elizabeth I’s reign. See in particular The Birthpangs of Protestant England, Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1988).

As with the earlier courtesy *topoi*, the directions regarding the behaviour of children and youths at mealtimes showed an anxiety about the practical moment of eating and particularly the observable and public nature of this communal activity. It remained important to break bread off with a knife and not tear it, not to gnaw at meat bones, and to wipe fingers clean on a napkin. Given the communal nature of dining and the arrangement of food in large platters from which people took individual portions, these lessons (particularly concerning greediness) made practical sense and betrayed an awareness with how one person’s conduct could impact upon others. These precepts were based upon the symbolism of gestures, and like earlier courtesy literature situated observable manners at the forefront of activity and socialisation. Caxton’s books showed us that these manners were increasingly associated with virtue by the late-fifteenth century, and Seager also drew a connection between the two values ‘That maners in a chylde/are more requisit/then playinge on instrumentes/and other vayne pleasure/for vertuous maners/Is a most precious treasure.’

Unlike the earlier courtesy paradigm, these ideologically complex treasures were identified as part of didactic lessons. These virtues were to be instilled in children to yield benefit to their overall character. The saccharine passages ‘where pacience and loue/together do dwell/All hate and debate/with malice they expell’, combined conventional virtues into the discussion on upbringing. Seager’s understanding of these virtuous ideals was neither groundbreaking nor revolutionary, perhaps a characteristic of this literature during a time of confusing religious and social disruption. His discussion of patience, charity and forgiveness were routine and lacklustre compared to the bluntness of earlier advice on blowing your nose and serving at the table. Seager’s discussion of these values corresponded largely to elementary assumptions about proper behaviour and the orthodox religious values of charity and forgiveness. More interesting was how these moral ideas were worked back into the focus on manners and prescribed behaviour. The blending of the two elements, observable gestures and manners, with moral character, exposed the importance of both characteristics in the socialisation of children and youths. Shelford did something similar, but his understanding of these issues was more sophisticated and well thought out. This was probably a result of his clerical training and

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education. The repeated publication of Seager’s book suggests he found sizeable audiences who were interested in what could be seen as a dual tutoring of young people.

A final and brief comparison between these books and a third courtesy/instructional work will be beneficial. William Fiston’s translation of the French L’ABC ou instruction pour les petit enfans, published in England in 1595 as The schoole of good manners. Or, a new schoole of vertue also has parallels to Shelford’s book. Fiston’s literary works included the translation of French and Italian texts aimed at adult religious audiences, with a particularly strong Protestant tendency to be noted in his books. His works for adult readers included Certain Godly and Very Profitable Sermons of Faith, Hope and Charity (1580), A Testomomie of the True Church of God (either 1560 or 1585) which Fiston alleged could be used as an alternative to Foxe’s seminal Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perilous Days, and a corrected version of Caxton’s The Ancient History of the Destruction of Troy (1597). We can also remember that The necessarie, fit, and convenient education of a yong gentlewoman was attributed to W.P, and is conventionally assigned to this author. There was little if no distinction drawn by authors or printers concerning writing for children or for adults. This separation was not a feature of children’s literature at this time.

The schoole of good manners engaged in a religious conversation, emphasising the relationship between good manners and religious duty: ‘let them know, that the first point of good manners, is to shewe most dutifulness unto him, who is most of Maiestie, honour and worthenesse, and to whome for benefits received they are most bound.’ A show of outward good manners became a way to express duty and reverence to God, promoting the concept of conduct and courtesy far above its social consequences. Earlier courtesy poems had correlated manners to religious doctrine, although often the unsophisticated nature of the comparisons was startlingly obvious; the The Lytyle Childrene’s Book was an example of how good manners were encapsulated within a simple

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46 William Fiston is sometimes identified with the spelling, William Phiston confusing matters somewhat. When discussing The schoole of good manners I employ the name Fiston, as identified in the book itself. The necessarie, fit, and convenient education of a yong gentlewoman, examined in the previous chapter is also associated with Fiston, spelt Phiston.

47 Popularly known as the Book of Martyrs.


49 Fiston, The schoole of good manners, p. Ai.

* In essence, there were no authors who specialised in writing only for children.
religious framework. Fiston’s argument adjusted good manners so it was central to a genuine Christian life, offering a defence of behaviour by discussing it as a manifestation of true Protestant conduct: ‘The manners (as I said before) are liuelie representations of the dispositions of the mynde’. 50 As with Sheldof’s book, this elevated the significance of manners to a higher level. In several respects Seager, Rhodes and Fiston and also Sheldof, were shoring up older ideas about courtesy and showing them to be an important part of sixteenth century social and religious identity. They would have created stability in what was an unstable world. Injecting good manners into the debate on upbringing and religious observance, and vice versa, exposed a continuing preoccupation with formal behaviour and the desire to retain a coherent set of mannerly actions that defined ‘good’ conduct, albeit in new and exciting ways.

The ongoing popularity of these beliefs, running parallel and sometimes in conjunction with moral and religious literature, is seen in this revival of what is essentially the courtesy genre in the sixteenth century. The unquestionably prolific publication of Rhodes’ and Seager’s books suggested that parents and authority figures were attracted to the values of mannerly behaviour and believed in having consistent definitions for conduct that defined well behaved children and young people, sometimes in the home, in public or as servants. We can also assume that the often dramatic religious changes in the sixteenth century influenced this desire for conservative and orthodox values.

Interestingly, Carter’s analysis of the eighteenth century shift from ‘politeness’ to ‘sensibility’ and then ‘etiquette’ cited Fiston’s text in the evolution of conduct and behaviour. Carter suggests the 1609 edition of Fiston’s The schoole of good manners was evidence of the image of the well mannered but moral man, with Locke’s work consciously or subconsciously drawing upon Fiston’s literary figure. 51 Carter overlooks late-fifteenth century precedents for the connection between manners and moral virtue. The principle of the Lockean ‘polite man’ should not be startling, since its antecedents had been visible in children’s literature since the mid-to late-fifteenth century. More interestingly, Carter has shown that the connection between manners and morality had implications for issues of class, suggesting that while Locke’s book was written specifically for

50 Fiston, The schoole of good manners, B5°.
51 Carter, ‘Polite ‘Persons’, pp. 333-354. He also referred to Erasmus in the progression of this concept, although without great detail.
the gentry, its focus on moral identity made it suitable for all individuals, as this literature also did.52

The philosophies behind the Lockean ‘gentlemen’ were noticeably different from the fashioning of moral behaviour in sixteenth century literature. In particular, the equation which was drawn between virtue and good manners as an expression not only of Christian ethics but of an awareness for a ‘natural’ desire to socialise with other human beings, was absent in this earlier material. I have been unable to uncover any indication of Addison’s ‘Sociable Animal’53 in this period. Rather it was Fiston’s and Shelford’s paradigm equating identity with religious principles that served to explain these concepts at this time. The shifts and balances occurring between these standards is a reminder that codes of behaviour, and the dominant ideologies which they were based upon, were continuously fluctuating and flexible.54 This literature never fixed or settled upon a single concept of behaviour or code of conduct for children, but echoed variant ideologies and principles which modified, supplanted, superseded and even reinforced different discourses at different moments.

Literary models were important indicators of prevailing trends and fashions for people and especially parents, indicating as they did an ideal world not bound by bureaucracy or mediated by pragmatic realities. These ideal worlds, populated by ideal children and their parents in model family households, revealed highly desirable qualities to their readers. Their ideological concerns were, however, constrained by the strong commercial interests of publishers and authors, and were often set within identifiably realistic contexts, lending them a valuable verisimilitude. The value in analysing this literature lies in identifying trends and patterns promoted over time that indicated and reflected new emphasises in what was seen as important in socialisation, based on religious uncertainties and changing social contexts. We can also compare the ideological household within literary sources to other environments outside the home. In the following chapter these trends from the literary archive will be considered in relation to childhood socialisation in one other arena: the educational institution.

53 Addison coined the term the ‘Sociable Animal’. Quoted in Carter, ‘Polite Persons’, p. 337; see his footnote for relevant references on Addison’s work.
54 Children’s literature in eighteenth century revolutionary France likewise suggested a cyclical interest in courtesy, at a time of broader political and social developments ‘When that revolutionary faith failed, books of manners returned to transmitting what might on the surface seem traditional rules for behaviour, adjusted to the relevant ages, genders, economic circumstances, and existing temptations.’ Higonnet, ‘Civility Books’, p. 131.
Chapter Seven
Socialising Children Within the School

‘For education properly, is nothing else but a bringing vp of youth in virtue.’

In previous chapters I have examined childhood upbringing and socialisation represented on the pages of manuscripts and printed books. In these texts, youthful behaviours and conduct were contained within the restricted and limited environment of the household. For girls, this was a very deliberate construction. In this literature, variations were made according to status and to the functioning roles of children, either the young gentry servant of the elite household, the child or apprentice of the urban merchant household, or the small household where children and parents lived as co-habitants, at least for some of the year. The household location had a symbiotic relationship with the literature and with socialisation; the household structure formed and informed the required codes of conduct and sustained a particular audience network. Incorporating a new location outside of the household into the equation between behaviour and socialisation allows us to map youthful identity in new ways. Schools, by their nature as training grounds, allow us to approach these issues from other perspectives.

Existing studies on education have focused on the changing nature of educational institutions in pre- and post-Reformation England, mapping education via demographic and statistical analyses. To my knowledge the

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social nature of schooling, in which the teaching of manners, virtue and conduct formed part of the daily educational routine has not been as thoroughly explored. In some senses I return to questions that have been posed by Helen Jewell: "To what particular academic, practical, or social purposes were founders and benefactors attentive?" The context of religious change in the sixteenth century also sets school objectives within a wider State-Church goal of religious orthodoxy. Integrating what we understand as 'social behaviour' into this debate allows us to see how this education fitted children for adulthood and, during Elizabeth I's reign, for responsible roles within the emerging Protestant state.

In this chapter education is considered at its broadest level, with educators teaching outside the strictly defined academic remit. I am aware that schools had important and necessary academic and practical functions in teaching Latin Grammar for clerical and university careers, as well as teaching practical skills in English literacy and in some cases, writing and casting accounts. However, in this chapter I am interested in the social value of school life occurring in tandem with academic lessons. Jaeger's analysis of early medieval European cathedral schools situated educational activity within an ethical context, and in his statement we can see precedents for the English experience I am interested in exploring:

Learning for its own sake had no legitimate role in this period. Studies had to be subordinated to a higher goal. For secular studies this goal was virtue and "composed manners"...all the disciplines and arts could serve that purpose and ideally were pursued "for the sake of learning virtue".

The spread of humanism, associated with educational movements in England in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also emphasised personal character, and is a background to this interest in behaviour and identity.


1 Jewell, 'The Bringing Up of Children in Good Learning and Manners', p. 2.

In Chapter Five I analysed Vaughan’s book, The golden-groue. In this he drew attention to the role of education in fashioning youthful behaviour as part of his overall thesis on the connections between gentlemen and virtuous conduct. The comment ‘For education properly, is nothing else but a bringing vp of youth in virtue’, positioned education as a means to higher objectives. The class implications of this are quite striking. For Vaughan, gentlemen referred to peers, knights, esquires, lawyers and those with university degrees, but not to merchants, artificers and yeomen. In this chapter I expand those involved with schools to social groups falling between the gentry and artisan level. The spread of education to multiple social groups is important in determining how far the interest in virtue and courtesy had spread beyond elite classes. Grammar schools are identified with the sons of the wealthy bourgeoisie, merchants, artisans, as well as with lower gentry. Joan Simon has shown that access to schooling was easier for the ‘middle classes’ in Tudor England, including tradesmen, yeomen, professionals, and artisans. Jo Ann Moran also saw a grammar education as attainable for the sons of merchants and prosperous yeoman, but probably not for poor laypeople. The sixteenth century increase in schools made the ideologies of courtesy and virtue part of the lives of ordinary people.

Throughout this thesis I have demonstrated ways to separate courtesy from virtue, or suggested where these values existed in parallel or where they differed.

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5 Jewell provides an overview of education and the spread of humanism and other developments, including the Reformation, in Education in Early Modern England, pp. 14-33. Ursula Potter also writes ‘The new humanist curriculum with its emphasis on the development of social skills was well placed to appeal to the newly founded, secular, civic-controlled grammar schools’. Potter, ‘Performing Arts in the Tudor Classroom’, in Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare, 1485-1590, New Directions for Research, Criticism and Pedagogy, ed. by Lloyd Edward Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren, and Martine Van Elk (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 143-165 (p. 144). It is not one of my intentions to study humanism in England or its role in educational processes beyond noting the context it provided for educational ideals. Humanism emphasised studying classical texts as opposed to studying medieval commentaries and prioritised the eloquence and style of Latin Grammar. It was not systematically introduced into England until the late-fifteenth century when it gained ground due to the eminence of humanist scholars such as Erasmus, Stefano Surigone, and schoolteachers such as John Colet, William Horman and John Stanbridge. David R. Carlson has written on the advancement of humanism in England characterised by Henry VII’s employment of humanist educators for the royal children, including the Princes Arthur and Henry (later Henry VIII). ‘Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII’, Sixteenth Century Journal, 22.2 (1991), 253-279.

6 Vaughan, The golden-groue, the third book, Chapter 32, ‘Of the Education of Gentlemen’.


from each other. The language and phrasing from educational sources raises some of the same issues. School statutes, foundation deeds and account books constructed courtesy and moral issues in amorphous ways. The evidence often supposed a relationship between multiple although distinct forms of conduct and manners. My analysis of pedagogical records does not overlook the likelihood that courtesy and moral values were not always comparable. In grammar school statutes and documents, good manners as well as hygiene and appearance were seen as elements in overall socialisation. Intriguingly, these sources also talked of ‘virtuous upbringing’ while sometimes returning to basic questions of hygiene and neat clothing. Bad conduct was given specific values, of which swearing and lying were often singled out. As a point of reference I will use the term ‘social behaviour’ to suggest both courtesy and virtue, or for occasions where it is difficult to distinguish between the two given the evidence at hand. I shall however note where distinct courteous terminology was employed, as well as where the terminology was suggestive of a moral framework.

How did the school affect the traditional socialising role of the household, given the strong emphasis on the household in literature? Mervyn James has suggested that the socialising function of elite and gentry houses declined during the late-sixteenth century, with schools increasingly accountable for socialising children.\(^9\) James argues that the domestic architecture of gentry, merchant and even yeoman houses began to privilege smaller private spaces. Specialist rooms for cooking, food storage, sleeping and dedicated servants’ areas were thus increasingly favoured.\(^10\)

Archaeologists have shown us that physical environments can shape behaviour and not simply mirror it.\(^11\) At issue in this chapter is how the space of the

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\(^11\) In looking at York households, Grenville writes ‘As social space is altered, so too is social experience’, in ‘Houses and Households in Late Medieval England’, in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by Wogan-Browne and others, p. 320. Also, B. Hillier and J. Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Susan Kent, ‘Activity Areas and Architecture: An Interdisciplinary View of the Relationship Between Use of Space and Domestic Built Environments’; and Amos Rappaport, ‘Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings’, in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, ed. by Susan Kent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-8 and pp. 9-20 respectively. Extending this to schools would be a very interesting area of research, although it would require extensive analysis of archaeological records that are not currently available. While this is outside the scope of this thesis I do think we can make some preliminary suggestions for how schools affected socialisation by examining school documents.
school and particularly the grammar school shaped behaviour, and specifically shaped socialisation. With household spaces encouraging privacy, I would argue as James does, that the socialisation of young people continued to devolve onto (grammar) schools which persistently remained as public and civic spaces. I do not presume that children from the large elite households that were the study of earlier chapters, attended these schools. The connection I am making is not in terms of elite children attending public schools but in how multiple social groups below the elite classes participated in environments similar in some senses to the large household.

Most schools were built or adapted around a large single room, with separate domestic chambers for the master and usher attached to the main space. Semi-fixed features divided and altered the internal area. While larger schools such as St. Paul's divided scholars into forms through the manipulation of semi-fixed features and moveable objects, the communal nature of schools largely did not change. These schools echoed the make-up of large houses where we can remember young children and servants were socialised according to the needs of public conduct and visible behaviour. Schools also experienced similar pressures and social tensions to those felt in large households, both containing sizeable (youthful) populations who were organised along hierarchical lines. As with these households, schools required social rules to be strictly observed to make the community function smoothly. In both arenas, adults monitored youthful behaviour according to preset rules. In elite households, positions of authority were filled by the lord and by senior officials holding key household positions. In smaller households, the male householder assumed similar control over his children, apprentices and servants. In the school, multiple people including the schoolmaster, usher, school governors, as well as older pupils fulfilled this function. Smaller households did not share the same pressures of these environments and therefore did not discuss socialisation according to the

12 Rappaport identifies the relationship between fixed features, semi-fixed features and moveable objects (including people) in, 'Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings', in Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space, ed. by Kent, p. 13. For school architecture see Malcolm Seaborne, The English School: Its Architecture and Organization 1370-1870 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 1-44. Changes in school design, both internal and external, tended to occur in the seventeenth century and may have included increased partitioning, pp. 45-61.

13 The school at Guildford was substantial, particularly after being re-founded under Edward VI. The statutes stipulated that up to one hundred scholars could be admitted, more so if there were additional children residing in the town. A similar number of scholars were listed in the Governor's Accounts for the Rivington Grammar School in 1574, Lancashire Record Office DDX 94/94.
needs of observable courtesy, hygiene and predetermined rules. This may explain why guidelines for courtesy and good manners were jointly maintained in school statutes during the sixteenth century, at a time they were disappearing from some household books, as examined previously.

The socialising remit of schools, as well as how school spaces fashioned interactions, has largely gone unnoticed. Re-examining pedagogical records in this light, as well as understanding the context provided by literary material which showed an interest in youthful behaviour, reveals a broader ideological preoccupation with the environments in which children were found. As with the contemporary literature, the educational evidence spoke of a concern with ‘good’ youthful identity fashioned through the careful application of different categories of behaviour, following both courteous and moral forms. By analysing these schools as environments where children participated in learning academic lessons as well as social ones, it is possible to observe how childhood as a whole was conceived by adults and experienced by children, and how academic learning and social behaviour mutually supported each other.

A Note on Sources

Different types of schooling will be considered in this chapter although evidence regarding socialisation is mainly available from grammar school documents. Elementary schooling was so fluid and variable in this period that recognising actual practices and curriculum is difficult. Some other educational provisions will also be excluded, including private tutoring for aristocratic children in elite households and ecclesiastical schooling within religious houses.\(^{14}\) We are in the fortunate position that grammar schools habitually created records of foundation, curricula, and sometimes documented more personal information.

\(^{14}\) Therefore the books by Roger Ascham (The Scholemaster, 1570), royal tutor to Princess Elizabeth between 1448-1550, later Elizabeth I, and Sir Thomas Elyot, who dedicated his educational treatise, *The Boke named the Gouernor* (1531) to Henry VIII have been excluded, although I am aware that their writings do portray a strategic interest in education and its value to the Commonwealth. In this chapter I do make some comparisons with Elyot’s, *The boke named the Gouernour*. For the education of the royalty and aristocracy see Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*. Richard Mulcaster’s two books, *Positions concerning the training up of children*, (1580), and *The first part of the elementary*, (1582), have also been excluded partly as a response to the substantial body of work already written on him. The scope of this chapter, which is interested in how grammar schools affected socialisation, cannot take into account all printed material. Comparisons to Ascham’s and Elyot’s books might be fruitful avenues for further research on education, socialisation, morality and the Commonwealth within aristocratic classes.
about schoolmasters and schoolchildren. Grammar school records that are typically available include, at the very least, a copy of the letters patent licensing the school issued by the centralised authority of the crown, Account Books, property records and statutes. Orme talks of a ‘national’ endowment of schools by the 1480s, with founders able to follow existing endowment models. At a micro level, the imitation of existing school patterns can be seen in school statutes, which tended to follow common formats.

In these documents that charted such prosaic concerns as school hours, fees, and wages, how are we to gauge the ‘spirit’ of the school when it comes to the more unstructured and fluid concept of ‘good behaviour’? The importance of a scholar’s social conduct in early records can be difficult to track accurately, with sources obscuring these elements and prioritising complex financial settlements and the like, probably in a pro-active bid to stave off future legal quarrels and entanglements. Schools often seemed to have become entangled in complex and convoluted legal battles running over years, if not decades, concerning initial endowments, incomes from lands, and other financial issues. It is necessary to tease out information about social conduct from these routine descriptions of school organisation. While the evidence regarding social conduct is certainly present in records, it is perhaps because it is hidden beneath other details that it has still to be fully explored.

Occasionally this information was clearly documented and was recognisably concerned with social behaviour as it occurred, or was thought to occur, in the school. In some cases, legal records provide information on what was expected of young people, allowing us to move closer to the experiences of the child. Between 1538 and 1544 the Court of Chancery heard a case involving John Aleyne, the son of a husbandsman who brought a case against his mother and step-father for ‘failure to put complainent to school during his minority’. The defendants’ answer was striking and suggested John’s agency in his educational choices, with the mother and step-father arguing that they ‘offeryd to ffynde hym at Scole at lernynge & often tymes sent hym to brystoll & to westvery wher good scoler ar keppyd…w[h]ich sayd co[m]playnit refused to be a Scole[r] &

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15 Orme, Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England, p. 15. Endowments played a significant role in the foundation of schools and subsequently on the school’s character and nature. Many schools were under the auspices of governors who administered the endowments, paying for school improvements and the schoolmasters’ and ushers’ salaries from these resources. Endowments allowed schoolmasters to teach without a fee, or with a partial fee. Grammar schools could therefore be free or fee-paying, and sometimes a mixture of both.

16 National Archives, C1/723/7-8.
wondryd abroade & woulde not take lernynge. In an age where the paramount authority of parents or the householder was so idealistically described in literature and conduct books, misbehaviour of this sort suggested certain real scenarios and situations. The statement of the mother and stepfather, and their ineffectuality, shows they believed they had no options in correcting John’s behaviour and were powerless in the face of his youthful disobedience. Whether these accusations and counter-accusations were true or not, it seems John felt entitled to take up this matter with the court on the basis that his educational needs as a child had not been met by his family.

This personal account of schooling (or rather, the lack thereof) is an exception rather than a rule. Informal schools predictably offer even fewer such resources or information, although it is possible to outline elementary educational networks through licensing records, as well as through tracing printed books which alluded to basic elementary education and training. It needs to be noted that it is particularly problematic to uncover systematic elementary school records from the early-fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, although documents can more easily be located from the close of the sixteenth century and from the beginning of the seventeenth century. This includes records for Dame Elizabeth Periam’s School, Henley (1609) and Sutton’s Charterhouse, Middlesex (1611). As a result, parish records and licensing records are particularly valuable for reconstructing elementary teaching, both licensed and unlicensed. The lack of evidence for elementary schools before the seventeenth century hampers what we can tell of the education of girls who were customarily excluded from grammar institutions. Girls most likely continued to receive their education in the home from mothers and unlicensed elementary teachers, for which there are some surviving references. For girls, socialisation remained firmly attached to the household and the social and academic lessons taught there.

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17 NA, C1/723/8.
18 W.B. Stephens’ wrote ‘many schools, especially petty schools offering elementary education, were ephemeral, so that numbers might fluctuate.’ W.B. Stephens, ‘Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900’, History of Education Quarterly, 30.4 (1990), 545-571 (p. 550).
19 Jewell notes that it was not until the seventeenth century that charitable endowments for elementary schools became more regular. The exception to this was London’s Christ’s Hospital (founded 1552). This institution is not studied in this chapter because of its unique nature. Jewell, Education in Early Modern England, p. 95.
Where institutional records are unavailable or silent on some issues, it is possible to turn to the printed sources that were published in England from the 1480s onwards. This literature included pre-Reformation grammar texts that may have been used within schools by the master, and perhaps owned by scholars themselves with printing increasing accessibility.²⁰ Writers such as Francis Seager, William Fiston and Edmund Coote also penned educational books during the sixteenth century. These published books were written within a realistic educational framework, with authors incorporating their theories and strategies into broader contemporary notions of childhood and education.

Published educational books developed within London printing networks, as well as Oxford networks, firstly in London with Caxton and de Worde and also in Oxford in the 1480s with the publishers Rood and Hunt. From the sixteenth century onwards, educational books were increasingly represented within print culture. The dominant educational printer of the late-fifteenth century and early-sixteenth century was Caxton’s former foreman, de Worde, who between 1491 and 1534 published approximately eight hundred and fifty books, of which about one third were educational texts.²¹ The pedagogical books available throughout this period ranged from Latin grammar textbooks, a genre intimately bound with early printing in Oxford, to English vernacular books intended for children and adult teachers as learning aids in the study of writing, reading and, more rarely, arithmetic. Educational books written for adults can also be distinguished as a specific category within this broader anthology, on topics ranging from theoretical arguments concerning the value and worth of education, to more practical books intended to show parents and would-be teachers how to educate children.²² These printed books often framed educational theories through references to commonplace notions about childhood, noting the importance of virtue and good behaviour for scholars. Bringing documentary evidence and literary sources together to consider

²¹ Edwards and Meale, ‘The Marketing of Printed Books’, p. 98, fn. 13, and pp. 117-118. This article examines how de Worde created a new market for educational books. Interestingly de Worde also established relationships with provincial markets which may have had an impact on the dispersal of educational material throughout England and not just to a London market.
²² Edmund Coote’s book looked at this. The English Schoole-maister, teaching all his scholars the order of distinct reading and true writing of our English tongue (London: Printed by the Widow Orwin for Ralph Jackson and Robert Dextar, 1596), 147. The ESTC records thirty-eight editions of this book published between 1596 and 1737. It was an enormously popular text.
socialisation in the schools is one of the newer developments in this field of study.  

‘brynyng forth in Conyng and vertue’. Sociability, Courtesy, Virtue and Religion in the Grammar Schools of England

Of interest in this chapter are documents which identified education, not just or even primarily as a foundation for a clerical education, but which specified higher social values. In Sir John Percyvale’s will dated 25 January 1502-3 he made the observation that the endowment of his Macclesfield grammar school would have a long-term socialising effect on scholars ‘whose lernynge and bryngynge forth in Conyng and vertue right fewe Techers and scolemasters been in that Contre whereby many Children for lak of such techynge & draught in conyng fall to Idlenes And so consequently live disolutely all their daies’. Sir John’s sentiments reflected a commonplace thought of English schools, such as the Pocklington School, Yorkshire, which made similar references to instilling values in children: ‘bringing up youth in vertue and larnynge’.

These sentiments can be found in educational institutions in pre-Reformation England. The Almoner perceived his duties at the almonry and grammar school at St. Albans as including the promotion of appropriate table manners: ‘He usually also, for the sake of good manners, not because he is obliged to do so, maintains table-cloths and napkins for the boys’ and servants’ table there’. This instruction was about fashioning an environment, and especially an elite environment, where good manners, refined behaviour and exclusive accoutrements had their place. We can see a similarity with this and courtesy poems which placed a great deal of emphasis on the table. This directive did not teach manners, although manners would have been developed by association,

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24 Sir John Percyvale’s will, 25 January 1502-3 regarding the founding of his grammar school in Macclesfield, Cheshire. Chester Record Office, SP3/14/1. A copy of this will is in Darwin Wilmot, A Short History of the Grammar School, Macclesfield, 1503-1910 (Macclesfield: Claye, Brown & Claye, 1910), Appendix IV, p. xii.

25 Chester, SP3/14/1.

26 Beverley Record Office, DDPS/3. The original license for foundation was dated 24 May 1514. The school was re-founded in 1551.

but focused on forming an environment similar to the great household and imposing on the grammar scholars some of the discipline of the monastery. A later ordinance for poor scholars from c. 1339 added to this association by discussing educational provisions in terms of behaviour: ‘Likewise, whosoever is convicted or notorious for being incontinent, a night walker, noisy, disorderly, shall be wholly expelled’. Immoral and uncontrollable behaviour, particularly immoral sexual conduct, would certainly have impacted on the monastic community. The religious setting located these rules in a different context to later secular grammar schools of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, these statements, carefully written down in the statutes, do indicate that the almonry and its grammar school were concerned with forming an educational environment where manners and courtesy were recognised.

In documents for another early institution at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, we can tease out indications of an institutional interest in social conduct and behaviour. This school was founded by Katherine, Lady Berkeley in 1384 and was one of the earliest grammar schools to be endowed in England and certainly the first to be endowed by a woman. The school’s Latin curriculum was cited as part of its foundation: ‘the intention and desire of many persons who wish to be instructed in and study Grammar – which is the foundation of the other liberal arts’. We can situate the following evidence within a distinctly realised grammar school context. Grammar was necessary for training in the liberal arts at the universities and for preparation for the

28 Nicholls also believes courtesy was practiced in the religious orders before entering into secular environments and secular literature. Nicholls, The Matter of Courtesy, pp. 22-44. We should perhaps not be looking for a direct interaction between this record and courtesy poems, but a circular movement of corresponding values and beliefs based on elite contexts.


30 Gloucester Record Office, S379/2/1/4. Lady Berkeley’s involvement indicated the legitimate contribution of a woman in establishing a grammar school, at odds with the traditionally espoused separation of women from formal educational opportunities and from higher classical learning so often cited in later humanist literature. Her participation in the founding of the school and particularly the presence of her name in the associated documentation does seem to be carefully balanced by the participation of Walter Burnell and William Pendock, both chaplains, whose names are recorded against Lady Berkeley’s. Consider: ‘We the said Katherine Walter and William’, ‘the said Walter William and Katherine who was the Wife of Thomas de Berkeley in this behalf’, ‘in aid of their maintenance according to the appointment in this behalf made by the said Lady Catherine Walter and William Pendock for ever’, or even just: ‘the aforesaid Walter and William Pendock’. Her grandson, Thomas de Berkeley, also appears in the official documentation, granting a licence to Walter Burnell and William Pendock: ‘that they may build anew a certain School house’ out of an endowment provided by Lady Berkeley’s Dowager holdings. My emphasis. Gloucester, S379/2/1/4. It is possible that their status, both as chaplains and as men, conferred a legitimacy and authority to the endowment process and was a necessary act in the legality of the foundation. S 379|2|1|4 is a transcript of foundation deeds, ordinances and statutes, from the Bishop of Worcester’s Register, c. 1749. The original is now at Birmingham Reference Library.
priesthood. However, an additional stipulation was made for two poor scholars to be admitted, with provisions for the two to be housed with the schoolmaster:

place them in the said House and do associate them in the manner of a College...into the said House shall associate together as Collegiate persons and shall continue and live therein in the manner of a College.

The two poor boys were to be supported for a period not longer than six years, at which time two other poor boys, of ‘honest Conversation’ were to replace the previous incumbents. The statutes granted support in ‘meat & drink lodging & all other necessary things except clothing & shoes’. Disobedience, unfortunately not specified, was to result in their removal and with their replacement by more deserving souls again of ‘honest Conversation’. Boarding encouraged a collegiate atmosphere and there is certainly some attention paid to the scholars’ daily life that goes beyond an interest in their academic conduct. The foundation documents for Jesus College, Rotherham, 1483, also nominated six poor boys who were ‘most apt and fit for learning and virtue’. As with Wotton-under-Edge, these six boys were to be fed and clothed as part of an interest in their overall education. Schools that were associated with basic provisions for food, clothing and housing should be considered boarding schools. Boarding increased the school’s opportunities to monitor and gain access to its young scholars, assuming some of the duties of the household.

The association between education and long-term socialisation formed part of the interests of the Canterbury Cathedral Grammar School in their re-founded statutes of 1541. Documents for the cathedral school identified the multiple skills that were to be developed in the choristers, including academic learning, more general behaviour and specific expertise in singing: ‘For their instruction and education, as well in good behaviour as in skill in singing’. It is easy to prioritise this educational statement in terms of the value given to singing, and certainly the context of the Canterbury Cathedral leads us to accept this. But contemporary audiences and parents may have valued the promise of ‘good

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31 Gloucester, S379/2/1/4. The statutes provided the names of the first of the two poor scholars, and from this we know that John Benley and Walter Morkyn were to be granted these places in c. 1384. Boys were to be under the age of ten, although it was possible for exceptions to be made. Interestingly, the statutes order that neither of these scholars were to perform any ‘offices or Services’ for the schoolmaster, but were to exclusively devote themselves to learning and study.

32 Gloucester, S379/2/1/4.


34 Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 455.
behaviour’ just as highly. Certainly, behaviour was further emphasised in later rules describing conduct at the table and the need for all of the grammar scholars, grammar schoolmasters, minor canons and other ministers to dine together. Again, the emphasis and stress on communal sociability was identified in the record, with wayward behaviour monitored and controlled, as it was likewise done in the elite household: ‘The Precentor shall be overseer of manners in hall...and shall rebuke any grown-up person who behaves badly, but the boys shall be rebuked only by their masters, that all may be done in hall in silence and good order’.35 In the mid-to late-sixteenth century, smaller and less prestigious grammar schools incorporated rules for table manners and general behaviour into their own statutes. This indicates a continuing and perhaps even escalating emphasis on behaviour as part of the school’s responsibility, as I develop now. It also extended these qualities to children from lesser gentry, merchant and artisan classes.

Detailed grammar school statutes from this later period are invaluable for detecting the social objectives school held. Increasing documentation reflects the institutional nature of this later period, as well as the increasing endowment of grammar schools and better surviving records.36 At Guildford Grammar School, Surrey, established in 1509 and with statutes dating to a period later than this,37 we can see how academic skills were monitored and tested during a yearly Examination where two examiners would ‘examine the Schollers’ between 8am and 11am to see ‘how they haue profited in learning and knowledge’.38 No doubt this was supplemented by rigorous testing by the schoolmaster throughout the year.

The examination process reveals part of the school’s educational responsibilities, with academic skills likely to be associated with moral values at a core level. The skill of memorization, which was a part of any grammar curriculum, held moral value, with Mary J. Carruthers pointing to the esteem in which memory was held: ‘The moral aspect of memory training is crucial to

35 Leach, Educational Charters, p. 461. Again, a high status religious setting was in place.
36 Orme, Medieval Schools, p. 236, p. 254.
37 After the Chantries Act of 1547 the school petitioned for additional endowments. The letters patent of Edward VI allowed for statutes to be drawn up, although it was possible that earlier statutes had been made prior to this. The statutes described here were drawn up by George Austen, mayor of Guildford, and were an adaptation of Colet’s statutes (1518) for St. Paul’s. They were approved by the Bishop of Winchester in 1608. Records are held in the Surrey History Centre, Woking, 1775/2/2. The architectural plan of this school can be found in Seaburne, The English School, pp. 17-19.
38 Surrey, 1775/2/2.
understand...For the trained memory was not considered to be merely practical “know-how”, a useful gimmick...It was co-extensive with wisdom and knowledge, but it was more – a condition of prudence, possessing a well-trained memory was morally virtuous in itself. The medieval regard for memory always has this moral force to it’. 39

Educational-moral accountability was laid alongside other responsibilities. At Guildford, social values were legitimised and fully documented within the statutes and proclaimed side-by-side with the rules for the curriculum, over which the schoolmaster was given like authority. The rules took on the form of traditional courtesy as well as moral and religious lessons. Of the thirty-one statutes, seven dealt directly with the curriculum and the learning requirements expected of scholars. This included references to exercises in grammar and rhetoric and the study of both Latin and Greek. A massive thirteen statutes governed the employment conditions of the schoolmaster and usher, a preoccupation itself linked to social matters. An additional six statutes incorporated directions for the moral and religious observance of scholars, statistically on par with the rules for the curriculum.

Of these six ‘socialising’ statutes, we find guidelines to kneel for prayers at the start and end of the school day, judgments concerning bad behaviour, including disobedience to the schoolmaster or usher, violence or threatening speeches to the same, and rules over swearing and blasphemy. Statute twenty-five discussed swearing, blasphemy and violent behaviour. To an extent this can be seen as part of an agreed contract with observable conduct: ‘yf any Scholler shalbe a common picker, stealer, usuall swearer or blasphemer of the name of God and cannot be reformed by often admonitions and moderate corrections...thereof shall immediately take him from the schoole’. 40 Statute twenty-nine clarified what this meant and bracketed together good conduct that was broken down into different values: ‘honesty and cleanes of lyfe, gentle and decent speeches, humilitie curtesye and good manners’. These elements were to be ‘established by all good meanes’. 41

40 Surrey, 1775/2/2.
41 Surrey, 1775/2/2.
It was obvious to the (biased) observer of schools in the 1558 Gloucester Boy-Bishop sermon, that grammar schools were set up with a strong socialising task. He wrote (and said) 'thei are scoles set up purposely for the good educacion of childer, as well in good nurture as in good learning'.

The supposed failure of schools in doing this resulted in children who lacked social graces and virtuous character:

but yet I dare not warant yow to folow the childer of the grammer scoles, for, how so ever it happ, nurturyd thei are as evill or rather worse then the other. Yf yow will have a profe herof, mark ther maners in the temple, and at the table; mark ther talkes and behavior by the wayes at such tymes and houres as thei leave scole and go home to ther mealys, specially on holydays and campos dayes, when thei are set a litill at libertie...yow find the most of them most ongracious grafftes, ripe and redy in all lewd libertie.

Boy-Bishop sermons were occasions for satire, and for the inversion of normal roles and character. This interest in satirical portraits might be at play here although even if this were the case, the themes singled out may still have been suggestive of commonplace perceptions.

In 1560, the statutes for the prestigious Westminster School showed the reverse of this and the concern of the school with the social behaviour and the general activities of the boys in a number of contexts. The statutes represent the far-reaching hold the schoolmasters desired to have in academic and social dynamics, and in different locations. The themes of conduct and behaviour that had been chosen by the author of the Boy-Bishop sermon was represented again:

Their duty shall be not only to teach Latin, Greek and Hebrew, Grammar...but also to build up and correct the boys' conduct, to see that they behave themselves properly in church, school, hall, and chamber, as well as in all walks and games

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42 The Camden Miscellany, Volume the Seventh, Containing Two Sermons Preached by the Boy-Bishop (London: Camden Society, 1875), p. 24. It is highly unlikely that a student penned the sermons. The Boy-Bishop ceremony was important in Catholic festivities. It was associated with St. Nicholas' day, December 6th and with the feast of Childermass or Holy Innocents Day, December 28th. Choristers would elect a 'Boy-Bishop' who was invested with the dignity of the Bishop and who carried out the religious services in the Cathedral for that day, with the exception of saying the mass. This was an opportunity for young people to have a legitimate place in religious affairs. The ceremony came under attack by Protestant reformers, was briefly revived under Mary I, but banned again under Elizabeth I. For information on the Boy-Bishop see, E.K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1903; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 337-343.


44 Leach, Educational Charters, p. 499.
The diligence with which these environments and activities were registered articulated this desire for control. In addition, Westminster scholars were monitored for hygiene and dress via detailed lists of responsibilities:

that their faces and hands are washed, their heads combed, their hair and nails cut, their clothes both linen and woollen, gowns, stockings and shoes kept clean, neat, and like a gentleman’s, and so that lice or other dirt may not infect or offend themselves or their companions.\(^{45}\)

This associated behaviour with the conduct of gentlemen and encouraged boys to esteem and aspire to gentlemanly status. For the boys at Westminster this was a class that was rightfully theirs by birthright. It was not surprising that conduct was defined in terms of gentlemanly status, nor that the statute appropriated some of the forms of courtesy literature in order to describe elite identity.

A desire to monitor physical appearance was cited in a number of other statutes from important, although less prestigious county grammar schools. Statute five of the 1592 Sherborne School Statutes, Dorset, regulated overall good conduct under the general provision: ‘Item, that good manners & behaviour maie by hadd & increased w[i]th good learnyng as it is seemly’ specifying that the scholars ‘wear their apparel cleane & decently w[i]thout wilful spoiling’.\(^{46}\) Further guidelines described modest neatness and cleanliness which was appropriate to all classes but which lacked the overt gentlemanly association.

In 1613 Dame Alice Owen’s school, Middlesex, played upon the schoolmaster’s authority concerning the cleanliness and appearance of scholars. This resembled an elementary school rather than a high status grammar school. Nevertheless, physical appearance was also carefully monitored according to pre-determined standards, with the statutes going so far as to specify the type of haircut required ‘That the Schoolmaster haue a care that the faces & hands of his Schollers be washed, their heads polled & their garments kept cleane. And that hee appoint every day two of his Schollers in order, to swepe the schoole that the place maybe swept & clean at all times’.\(^{47}\) This record signified a different awareness

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\(^{45}\) Leach, Educational Charters, p. 499.

\(^{46}\) This school was founded in 1550 by Edward VI from the chantry lands of Martock and St Katherine in Gillingham. Dorset Record Office, S235/A1/2(2).

\(^{47}\) London Guildhall, 5480 A. ‘Polled’ refers to having hair cut short, or shaven, perhaps in an attempt to stop the spread of lice.
in the value of cleanliness and simple appearance as part of an education appropriate to merchant and artisan groups, with the practical application of the skills and conduct learnt there intended to fit a range of scholars, including less affluent children, for the labour market. The reference to physical and manual labour was itself infrequently cited in grammar school statutes.\textsuperscript{48} The practical philosophy of the school was highlighted in a statute which acknowledged that poor children might be absent for sickness or for ‘needful employment of his parents’, recognising that children from less affluent households would have held additional responsibilities for their family’s financial wellbeing, a sentiment absent from the grammar school statutes I have seen. W.B. Stephens has noted that the cost of schooling involved not only school fees but the loss of ‘children’s earnings’, impacting upon regular school attendance and consequently on literacy.\textsuperscript{49} These references may have been thought to suit the lower class status of the scholars more readily than they did their higher status grammar counterparts.

No more than thirty poor scholars were to attend this school unless by special dispensation, with the curriculum based upon ‘Grammar, faire writing ciphers & casting of Accompts the better to traine up young beginners whereby they may be fitt to be Apprentices, or to take some other honest course for the obtaining of their living’.\textsuperscript{50} This pinpointed gainful employment as a core rationale for education, for which the practical lessons of ciphering and writing would have been suitable. Interestingly this school spoke about authority over scholars in similar ways to grammar school documents, although Owen’s school was certainly unlike the Westminster School which attached status to physical appearance. There was perhaps a downward movement of values from grammar schools to other schools, with elite language and ideals modified to suit economic contexts.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{48} At Almondsbury, the poorer, non fee-paying students were required to gather moss for the school roof, and clean desks. Potter, Pedagogy and Parenting, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{49} Stephens, ‘Literacy in England’, p. 562. Although his comments were not specifically directed at the period between 1400 to 1600, they would have been relevant to that time.

\textsuperscript{50} Guildhall, 5480 A.* These freely taught scholars were probably in addition to fee-paying scholars. There were comparable references to fundamental elementary learning in the Orders of Dame Elizabeth Periam’s School ‘to Read Write Cypher & Cast Account’. This was also specifically associated with fitting poor scholars ‘to be placed as Apprentices to some Trade or Ministry Whereby to get their Living’. Oxford Record Office, S128/1PB2/A1/2.

\textsuperscript{51} Of course some London apprentices were from gentry backgrounds. However, this school designated ‘That all children that shall be taught freely in the Schoole shall be children of poore people’, indicating a lower social context. Guildhall, 5480 A.

* These are the Orders for the School, dated 1615. This later copy (undated) is all that is available.
All of these statutes shared the same basic desire to enforce certain behaviours within the school grounds, and was alert to authority in relation to the immediate school environment. I would not see this as a formal decision to have the school’s power end at the school door as it were, or as a conscious or accepting awareness of limited power. How were schools able to extend their role beyond customary school hours when scholars were physically bound by school precincts? The street was an obvious place to begin to extend educational power. As a place between two centres of adult authority (the home and the school), the street was a potentially disruptive place, an observation made in the Boy-Bishop sermon.

In 1309, the statutes for St. Albans Grammar School restricted the times when male scholars could go outside and into public areas: ‘Also the Master forbids any scholar henceforth to wander or run about the streets and squares without lawful and reasonable cause’ 52. At Sherborne, a similar awareness of the potential danger of the street was keenly appreciated by school authorities who wrote ‘And also passing by the Streets to be courteous to all men, to use reverence to their elders & betters, not to swear nor use ribaldry nor filthie communication nor to frequent Taverns and Victuallling Houses nor to plaiet at dize cardes nor other unlawful Games’. 53 Rules governing the street were especially relevant to grammar schools which were often associated with urban environments and towns.

The street held a fascination for commentators of youthful behaviour, finding a place within early courtesy texts as I have explored in previous chapters. These conventions were relevant to both boys and to girls. The extant literature aimed at female audiences made particular use of the potential disruption and damaging location of the street. Interestingly, courtesy and instructional authors also incorporated the activity of going to school into household manuals, perhaps indicating uncertainty over who held authority over youths at this ambiguous moment, which was neither wholly part of the domestic home but outside of the school proper. Seager’s The schoole of vertue used the relationship between the household and school to set out a series of guidelines on how children and youths were to behave in the street on their way to class:

Howe to behaue thy selfe in going by the streate and in the schoole. ii.

52 Leach, Educational Charters, p. 243.
53 Dorset, S235/A1/2(2).
In goyng by the way
   and passyng the strete
Thy cappe put of
   Salute those ye mete
In geuynghe the way
   to suche as passe by
It is a poynte
   of siulitiie
And thy waye fortune
   so for to fall
Let it not greue thee
   thy felowes to call
When to the schole
   thou shalte resort
This rule nore well
   I do the exhort 54

This was reminiscient of those older courtesy poems such as Stans puer ad mensam which used the public space of the street to present instructions on the appropriate behaviour of young gentle servants when they were outside the structured environment of the elite household.55 Coote in The English Schoole-maister likewise cited a passage directly echoing courtesy poems when he wrote 'Vnto all men be curteous, and mannerly in towne and field.'56 He also identified the street as a key space in the socialisation of children. For Coote the time between leaving home and arriving at the school was significant, which he related to the vices of absenteeism and loitering:

    If to the schoole you do not goe,
      when time doth call you to the same:
    Of if you loyer in the streetes,
      when we do meet, then look for blame57

For scholars, the period between leaving the home and arriving at the school must have represented a short period of freedom, outside the monitoring gaze of

54 Seager, The schoole of virtue, AV^v.
55 Who speketh to the in ey man[ner] of place
   Lomysshlyche cast not thi hed adowne
But w[ith] sadd chere loke hym in the face
Walke demeverly by stret in the towne and a vertise
   the by wisdom and resor
   Withe inssonlte lghtins thou do none ofence

Stans puer ad mensam, Stowe 982, fols 10r-11r.
56 Coote, The English Schoole-maister, 14r.
57 Coote, The English Schoole-maister, 14r. The Birched School-Boy plays truant and is beaten by his schoolmaster for his insolence. Balliol 354, fol. 250r.
both parents and schoolmasters. For this reason, the public space of the street
became an important arena for scholars (and also for the young gentle servants
and youths mentioned in courtesy poems) as a space and time that existed
outside of habitual adult control. It was recurrently brought into play in both
literature and in school statutes to represent the importance of observable
behaviour and to suggest the necessity for continual monitoring and instruction.
The author of the Gloucester Boy-Bishop sermon was an observer of this and
used satire to criticise grammar scholars, and by implication grammar school
authorities, for the conduct of scholars outside the school.

Statutes for the Rivington School systematically extended school authority
beyond the school precincts. A highly detailed passage concerned scholars,
not only in the street, but extended even further to when they were at home.
This was simultaneously allied to religious instruction, and a religious routine
was provided for scholars to observe when they were at home. Those who
boarded in a house were particularly singled out, perhaps because they were
living outside the normal socialisation structure of the kin home and were more
susceptible to perilous influences: ‘And if there be ani number of scholars to
gether in one house at boud, eueri one in course shall rede ofte when the
household is most to gether a chapter of some piece of the Scriptures’. This rule
was also given in a modified form for when only one scholar boarded in a
house: ‘and though there be but one scholer in a house, yet he shall on the holi
daies and the long winter nyghtes, and other idle times whan most compani is to
gether rede some what of the Scripture or other godli booke, to the rest of the
household where he is lodged’. The literate status of the scholar may have
been deliberately highlighted here, with the school reinforcing the scholar’s high
status within a household, encouraging them to take on the role of reading
scripture to assembled household members. In parental advice books children
performed much the same function.

58 Founded in 1566 and later amalgamated with the contemporaneous Blackrod School, founded
in 1568. Lancashire, DDX 94/100, undated but about 1570. References to a school at Blackrod
first appeared in the will of its founder John Holme, dated to 10 September 1560: ‘one Learned
& discreet Schoolmaster which shall teach a free Gram[mer] School at or within y[e] Towne of
Blackrode in y[e] Church there or as near unto it as they shall think meet’. Lancashire, DDX
94/163. Where parts of the original Rivington documents are illegible or torn, I have turned to
the transcript appearing in Margaret M. Kay, The history of Rivington and Blackrod Grammar
School (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931).
59 Both from Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 8v.
In this statute, the instruction on prayers to be said in the morning, as well as pragmatic rules on washing hands and making beds replicated the advice of courtesy and instructional books, particularly those of Rhodes and Seager which charged children to observe certain standards of hygiene. Pragmatic lessons of this type had also been cited in courtesy poems dating back centuries, and which had also been directed at young children and adolescent boys. The school statute dictated that in the morning:

they shall dresse their bedd, comb their head, wasshe their hands, and see their apparell be cleanli: their hoose shall not hang about their heles, nor out of their shoes, nor their shoes be torne: for though their apparell need not to be costli yet it is shame to were it slovenly.\footnote{Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 8'. The school had gone to some trouble to distinguish between costly clothing and clothing that was clean. This rule did not rely on status to get the moral message across, but on elementary cleanliness.}

The school had no direct authority over this environment or these activities, but it assumed for itself some jurisdiction in dictating behaviour in all arenas of a scholar’s life. This control was emphasised when it was ordered that ‘The M[aster] and the Vssher shall inquiere diligentl whether their scholers doe these things and see them duli corrected which doe not’.\footnote{Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 8'.} Fiston’s \textit{The schoole of good manners} from 1595, paraphrased these ideologies and school parameters in a way which the Rivington authorities would no doubt have applauded: ‘When thou goest to the Schoole, remember that the Schoole is the very nurserie of all vertues: the workehouse of framing thy minde and body to a right fashion: the pathway to knowledge and the very direct entrance into a happy & well ordered life’.\footnote{Fiston, \textit{The schoole of good manners}, C4'.}

Coote’s emphasis on manners in \textit{The English Schoole-maister} also matched common preoccupations that associated childhood with observable gestures, behaviour and visible conduct. In Coote’s book, school-age children and scholars were singled out, often in place of more generic terms such as ‘child’ which was a term appropriate to any group, although the words ‘child’ or ‘children’ did occasionally appear. However, it was clear that Coote emphasised the term ‘scholar’, as in: ‘The Schoole-maister to his Scholers’.\footnote{Coote, \textit{The English Schoole-maister}, I4'.} We can also consider that Coote used both ‘child’ and ‘scholar’ to describe his audience: ‘My child and scholer, take good heed,\textit{vn}to the words which here are
set. 64 ‘Scholars’ usually referred to male grammar students, and ‘children’ to elementary boys and girls. Coote’s book suggests he was writing for a broad audience. The educational status of these children was itself confirmed through references to the accoutrements of learning: books, inkhorns, and pens, as well as through these more precise references to ‘scholars’ and ‘the schoole’. 65

Coote began his book with generic activities and conduct that again suggested fluidity between the home and the school. He recommended that clothes were buttoned and that handkerchiefs were kept in readiness, and that scholars washed their hands and faces; all meaningful concerns held by adults about the behaviour and misbehaviour of children. Misbehaviour was further identified and detailed, citing the seemingly perennial adult preoccupation with youthful misconduct:

If that you curse, miscall, or sweare,
   if that you pick, filch, steale or lie:
If you forget a scholers part,
   then must you sure your poyns vntie. 66

The school acted as an environment where behaviours such as these were scrutinised and corrected, here found in a book, but cited frequently in statutes. Some school statutes identified quite alarming vices. A list of unacceptable behaviours were drawn up in a detailed way at Rivington: ‘alehouse haunters truands gammers daliers with women harlot haunters, gadders on the night, troblers of their fellowes, pikers brallers, swearers liers taletellers, not given to praier nor resorting to the church’. 67 This was continued in a later comment on courteous behaviour towards elders: ‘unreverent users of their elders and betters in not shewing some curtesie as oft a thei passe bi theim, or when thei speak unto them’. 68

64 Coote, The English Schoole-maister, 14.
65 Coote, The English Schoole-maister, 142.
66 Coote, The English Schoole-maister, 14. ‘Poyns’: ‘A tagged lace or cord, of twisted yarn, silk, or leather, for attaching the hose to the doublet’. O.E.D. Probably in reference to letting breeches down before being beaten.
67 Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 5v. Kay’s transcript has reversed some of the lines. In A president for parents Grant identified similar vices and activities. These were perhaps relevant to older scholars: ‘So students (least they fall into the detestable vice of drunkenesse, and contaminate them selues wyth filthie pleasures) had their delightes, musike and other bodly exercises, wherewith theyr mynde (being tired with study) myght be moste pleasantly recreatid.’ Grant, A president for parents, Fiiif.
68 Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 9v.
In an attempt to control this behaviour, school authorities at this and other schools called upon other adult figures, inviting parents, tutors and hosts to regulate conduct, in conjunction with the school’s own power and sense of responsibility: ‘entreat their Parents tutors & hostes to be amended to demean them honestly & soberly at their meals & otherwise in their parents tutors & hostes houses’. The monitoring gaze of the parents supported the authority of the schoolmaster, but it did not detract from it. Authorities made a conscious decision that the school had a duty to monitor all behaviour. By enlarging the scope of this, educators took on more and more important roles extending into the household and into the parental sphere, and adjusting the relationships that existed between children and parents to include a schoolmaster’s authority.

Shelford’s comment on community responsibility from his 1596 book *Lectures or readings upon the 6. verse of the 22. chapter of the Proverbs,* is also pertinent in this context. Shelford acknowledged that duty towards children extended to multiple people as never before:

But now because this duty of parents is communicated to many, as to Rectors of Schooles, to masters of families, to dames, to patrons and guardians, and such like: let all they here understand whosoeuer they be, that haue the gouernement of children or any youth committed to their charge, that they are here bound by the voice of the Almighty, and that they must doe the dutie of parents unto them, as if they were their naturall children.

A core difference between these literary sources and school records related to who arbitrated behaviour. Statutes habitually ignored, under-emphasised or more cleverly subverted the role of parents and other adults to augment the schools’ own authority.

This co-option can be seen in Rivington’s statutes that included parents and householders or landlords in a contract with the school by making scholars subject to the oversight of the school governors outside the school, and even within the household:

Their [governors’] dutie also is to serch spie and learne how eueri scholler behaue himself in the house where he lies towards the women or servants; and also in their coming to

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70 Examined in Chapter Five.
71 Shelford, *Lectures or readings,* p. 8.
or going from the schole, and when they be abroad...and also
the governours shall sharply with words correct his ill-behaviour,
and cause the Schoolmaster or Usher to warn the parents of suche
a disordered person and owners of the house where he lies in
their names if the fault be great.\textsuperscript{72}

Sherborne School attempted something similar. It included parents and hosts in
a contract with the school when it came to the scholar’s conduct. This was
predicated on the fundamental authority of the school ‘that the M[aster] & Usher
themselves must enquire & diligently searche in the Houses of the Parentes &
Houses of all Schollers w[i]th in the Towne of their misdemeanors, and to give
due punishment & correction accordingly’.\textsuperscript{73}

Another educational writer from this period also discussed education in relation
to the household and parental roles. William Kempe was a long time
schoolmaster of the Plymouth Grammar School, governing there between 1581
and 1601. During his tenure he published his educational treatise, \textit{The
Education of children in learning: Declared by the Dignitie, Vilitie, and
Method therof. Meete to be knowne, and practised as well of Parents as
Schoolemaisters}.\textsuperscript{74} Kempe cited the ‘self-evident’ commonplace that ‘the
discipline and vertuous bringing vp of children in good learning is the very
foundation and groundworke of all good in every estate’,\textsuperscript{75} a sentiment he would
have been familiar with as master of a grammar school.

In \textit{The Education of children in learning} Kempe’s position as both schoolmaster
and author made it necessary for him to preserve his professional authority
while appealing to his readership, and he was particularly inclusive of the role of
parents and their agency in upbringing. Kempe declared that children were
socialised into proper, virtuous behaviour ‘partly by the helpe of the Parents,

\textsuperscript{72} Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fols 6\textsuperscript{v}. School governors often had an intimate role in a school’s
organisation, including the management of financial matters, the hiring and firing of
schoolmasters, and more detailed ‘hands-on’ management of the school and scholars. The
Rivington governors are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.
\textsuperscript{73} Dorset, S235/A1/2(2). When statutes discuss the household they do not necessarily mean the
parental home, but rather, any household where scholars were boarding.
\textsuperscript{74} Robert D. Pepper noted connections between Kempe’s text and Elyot’s translation of Plutarch.
In particular, Kempe’s passages on Socrates, a parent’s duties towards children and a master’s
duties, can all be compared to chapters in Elyot’s work. \textit{Robert D. Pepper, Four Tudor Books
on Education} (Gainesville: Scholars’ Facsimiles & Reprints, 1966), p. xii.
\textsuperscript{75} William Kempe, \textit{The Education of children in learning, declared by the dignitie, vilitie, and
method thereof. Meete to be knowne, and practised as well of parents as schoolemaisters}
(London: by Thomas Orwin, for John Porter and Thomas Gubbins, 1588), A2. Kempe’s focus
lay on the sons of merchants and yeomen, as well as the gentry.
and partly by the diligence of the teacher. Yet he deliberately emphasised the unique and distinctive role of schoolmasters who were able to offer the child something parents could not: ‘Therefore when the child is about fiue yeares old, the Father for the causes before allledged, shall commit him to some Phoenix...that can teach him all things’. The father’s role, and we can note the exclusion of the mother in this, was further subordinated to the schoolmaster through the new responsibility the father bore to his school age child: ‘His second care is to keepe his Child being now a Scholler, in good order at home, and there to exercise him in such things as he learneth, or hath learned in the Schoole.’ Interestingly, the child was now specifically identified by his status as a scholar, no longer just by his chronological age or by his position in the household. Kempe identified a child’s admission into a grammar school as something that set him apart from ‘childhood’ and family life in general. Coote’s recurring emphasis on the ‘scholar’ also accomplished something similar by emphasising the child’s grammar school status.

A passage in Kempe’s book condensed the stated philosophies of schools, as well as parallel themes in contemporary household books written about the good upbringing of children. Kempe wrote:

The Father therefore must keepe his fatherly authoritie ouer his Child, and ioynently with the Maister prescibe vnto him a good order for manners and behaviouer, for repairing home, for attendance, for diet, for apparell, for exercise in learning, that his behaviouer be godly and honest, in seruing God, in keeping his Church, in humilitie towards his superiors, in humanitie towards all men, that he repaire home aswell from Schoole as from play in time convenient: he gieue attendance to do service either at the Table, or any other way: that he be sober and temperate in his diet, well mannered in taking the same: that he be cleanly and frugall in his apparell: that he employ the vacant time in reading, in writing, in all good exercises for the gaine of learning.

This set up a framework for social activities and mannerly conduct that was expected from the child, or more accurately from the scholar, and which included aspects as diverse (but also as connected) as apparel, diet, modesty

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76 Kempe, The Education of children in learning, E3'.
77 Kempe, The Education of children in learning, E4'.
78 Kempe, The Education of children in learning, F1'. My emphasis. Potter shows how schools privileged the role of the schoolmaster over that of parents, especially over the mother. However, she demonstrates that literary evidence (principal school plays) reveals a different reality in parental control. Potter, Pedagogy and Parenting, pp. 36-90.
79 Kempe, The Education of children in learning, F1'.

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towards elders, service at meal times, punctual attendance at Church, and moderation in eating. Courtesy poems had once discussed some but not all of these same issues as part of socialisation within the household. The later sixteenth century literature aimed at household audiences also took up some of the additional descriptions about behaviour and particularly including the complex statements about ‘humanitie towards all men’, as well as serving at the family table. This literature also arbitrarily incorporated occasional courtesy lessons. Kempe attached education and added a further dimension to good upbringing. It is striking that schools participated in teaching across this range of social tasks, with these matters relevant to the school environment just as they were also relevant to the household.

Religion was part of the school system, developing out of the association between religious houses and the training of the clergy. Education and the institutional Church had an intimate history, cited in a case brought before the Court of Common Pleas in 1410 when the Masters of the Grammar School in Gloucestershire, first confirmed to the priory by King John in 1199, sued a newly established school by citing competition and declining revenue. The court resolved that this matter fell within the purview of ecclesiastical courts and that secular law could hold no jurisdiction over this: ‘The court cannot decide whether the Prior has such a collation of scholars or not, because the teaching of children is a spiritual thing’. While we can suspect this was a neat sidestepping of the issue for the court, it does indicate a certain acknowledged legitimacy in transferring the case out of secular hands into ecclesiastical ones. It also attested to a general perception by higher authorities that education was an instrument of religion, ‘a spiritual thing’. We can push this further to see that education could easily have been seen as a tool for religious preservation.

The newly emerging Protestant Church did nothing to sunder the ties between education and religion despite the Chantry Acts of 1545 and 1547. There is an interesting debate over the speed of the Reformation in England and how it progressed. Patrick Collinson is one whose work has suggested a slow and gradual development of Protestantism under Elizabeth I; a ‘dripping tap’ of

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80 This has a similar tone to the line from Caxton’s Parvus Cato, concerning the virtues to be found in all men.
measured Protestant feeling.\textsuperscript{82} Kenneth Hylson-Smith has also undertaken a review of Protestantism under Elizabeth I and identified it as a time of consolidation and true Protestant formation.\textsuperscript{83} Children were at the coalface of this as the future generation of the Protestant English nation, who with careful handling after 1558 could be brought up knowing no other religious form. In this, schools were a tool of the state and the Church. Authority over schools and teachers meant that the Crown and the Church could promote what they wanted in terms of the Protestant catechism, liturgy, and even teaching from the Bible for which humanist ideology was particularly suited.

The integration of Church attendance into educational practices in Elizabeth I’s reign was part of this strategy in securing allegiance to the Church against its attackers and critics. Gaining the hearts and souls of the younger generation would have seemed a vital way of stabilising religious, political and social networks at a time when religious allegiances were still open. Hylson-Smith talks of this emotional battle during the Elizabethan Settlement, where ‘winning the hearts’ of the people to Protestantism had yet to be decided. Neither did the Church or Crown seek to radically alter society, or even have fully delineated religious ideologies in place at this time.\textsuperscript{84}

The statutes for the Sherborne School indicated that church service was integral to the weekly school routine, with church attendance mandatory. At Sherborne, scholars were required to attend school as normal until the end of the day when they were ‘to goe to the Church by 2&2 the Master & Usher accompanying them’.\textsuperscript{85} Sunday services were also regulated under the statute:

\begin{quote}
  on every Sabbath daie & holidaeic the Schollers shall repair to the Schole before the last ringing to praier Morning & Evening & from thence shall goe by 2&2 to the Churche in quiet & decent order, the Master & Usher accompanying them. And there shall spend the tyme in praier to the laude & praise of God.\textsuperscript{86}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{82} ‘when Protestantism was for the first time taking a strong hold on families of the country gentry and on the urban middle classes.’ Patrick Collinson, \textit{Godly People, Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism} (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), p. 292.


\textsuperscript{84} Hylson-Smith, \textit{The Churches in England}, pp. 31-47. Also, Collinson, \textit{Godly People}, pp. 335-336.

\textsuperscript{85} Dorset, S235/A1/2(2).

\textsuperscript{86} Dorset, S235/A1/2(2).
Schoolmasters could themselves be presented to church officials for failing to abide by these regulations and in 1580 Mr Etheryng, a schoolmaster from Clapham, was recorded in the Presentment book as failing to go to the sermons with his scholars. These religious responsibilities had been confirmed in 1571 in the Canons for the Church of England which directed schoolmasters to teach from the Bible and from Nowell’s catechism, as well as accompany scholars to Church services, as seen above. Alexander has suggested that statutes became increasingly detailed regarding religious matters after 1571. Although he acknowledges the importance of religious teaching in schools prior to this, I suspect he still underestimates the consistent emphasis on religion in educational matters, considering references to religious issues in earlier statutes. The Oath of Supremacy had also been extended to schoolmasters some years earlier in 1563.

Religious instruction at the Rivington School was further secured via systematic religious teachings practiced throughout the day. There was a routine of daily prayers, the singing of one or two Psalms in English and the recitation of the Lord’s Prayer. Lessons began only after the religious elements had been completed, although this was again interrupted at 11am when a scholar would recite the Ten Commandments before all would sing another Psalm in English. This was repeated at the end of the day with a similar routine. Saturdays were further devoted to religious instruction, with younger scholars taught the short catechism in English from the ‘Common Book’, before all were read ‘Mr. Nowell’s or Calvin’s Catechism’ in Latin. The emphasis of religion in this curriculum was explicit:

But above all things both the M[aster] and the Usher shall continually move their scholars to godliness, both in maners and conditions, in lerninge and religion, and specialli to exhorting them oft and diligently to wait on God by prayers to forme their wittes in condition and prosper their studies, that they may serve God and the comon wealth diligentli as becometh Christians.

Religious careers were singled out for students: ‘But the eldest sort that are readi to be ministers must be diligentli practised and perfect in Calvin’s catechism and

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87 Chichester Record Office, Epl/17/5, fol. 73v.
88 While Nowell’s catechism was an important book in terms of school use, it remained an intrinsically religious text. This thesis cannot consider this book in depth, beyond noting its authorised status and the obvious connection it reveals between the Church and the school.
90 Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 19v.
institutions and the New Testament'.\(^{91}\) It was also ordered that a register book of names was to be kept for those scholars who had left 'either to the Ministry, University, or other service'.\(^{92}\) Rivington seems to be positioning itself at one end of a religious and educational spectrum.

At Guildford Grammar School, the integration of religious instruction was explicitly and poetically laid down in statute twenty: 'because God is the giver of all wisdome knowledig and vertue', and further detailed in statute twenty-six: 'that the seede of Religion may be sowen in the harte of children there to grow and bring forth fruite in their whole lyfe following'.\(^{93}\) As was the case at Rivington, the order was given that on Saturdays between 1pm and 3pm the scholars were to receive religious instruction by the schoolmaster and usher. This was either in Latin for those capable of it, or in English for the 'meaner sorte'. Statute twenty-seven further integrated religion and education by ordering all scholars to attend church on Sundays and to take their psalm book or prayer book with them. Note taking was part of this. There was a multiple benefit to this, as scholars were 'endowed with vertue and pietie together with good letters'.\(^{94}\)

Printed textbooks for children were composed with similar religious-educational interests and played into the multiple socialising and academic tasks schools were setting themselves. When the young scholar was reading these books, either in the school or perhaps at home, they found themselves participating in similarly complex and comprehensive forms of learning. In the case of ABCs, religious lessons were combined with practical literacy skills, with a generic religious function based neither on Catholic nor Protestant liturgy. In Chapter Five I highlighted their appearance in Whitford’s book for the household. ABCs were also printed separately and were a distinct genre in printing throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The 1538 *B.A.C* [sic] began with the alphabet, preceded characteristically by a cross and finished with 'est Amen'.\(^{95}\) A table of vowels immediately followed. An immediate and obvious elementary skill was being taught, similar to the lessons and intent of Whitford’s ABC. After this basic educational introduction, the remainder of the *B.A.C* was

\(^{91}\) Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 19".
\(^{92}\) Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 6".
\(^{93}\) Surrey, 1775/2/2.
\(^{94}\) Surrey, 1775/2/2. Sermons also tested the scholar’s memorizing skills.
\(^{95}\) See Orme, *Medieval Children*, p. 246-251, for why this was significant. See also Chapter Five of this thesis. *The B.A.C bothe in Latyne and in Englysshe* (London: Thomas Petyt, 1538).
devoted to more complex religious lessons, in the form of the creed, the Pater Noster, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. We can see a connection with this and the religious syllabus taught to all lay people. 96 Specific graces to be said before and after meal times were provided, evocative of the more sophisticated family advice guides developing through the mid-sixteenth century which similarly included prayers for the household.

By 1561, the *A.B.C. for chyldren* printed by Ihon Kyng was more complex in an educational sense, and included several pages of extended tables showing various orders for vowels and consonants. It also included rhymes to illustrate the correct pronunciation of words and which were simple enough for even the youngest child to understand: ‘brake my heds: I go to bed: I hurt my leg: this ma[n] doth beg’. 97 The educational lesson was followed by religious passages, again the Pater Noster in Latin and English, the Ave Maria, the articles of faith and the Ten Commandments. 98 Advice on ‘good living’ completed the multi-dimensional lessons, and included both overt religious comments: ‘Trust in the mercy of god’, 99 as well as social and courtesy related advice: ‘Lose no tyme’, ‘Be sobre of meat & drink’, ‘Reuereunce thyne elders’, and ‘Washe cleane’. 100 Courtesy manuals connected religious precepts with courteous advice in simple and uncomplicated ways. Here, these issues were again raised for the young scholar as part of their educational training.

‘When all in a towne generally, shall murmure against vs’: 101 The Schoolmaster as Moral Example

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97 *An A.B.C. for children* (London: Ihon Kyng, 1561?), Aiii”.
98 This combination of religious texts was quite conservative. It was entered into the Stationer’s Registers for J. Walley in 1557-1558, and suits a Marian religious perspective. It was less appropriate to T. Purfoot against whom it was registered in 1561-1562, or for printing by King also in 1561.
99 *An A.B.C. for children*, Biii”.
100 *An A.B.C. for children*, Biii”.
101 John Brinsley, *A Consolation for Ovr Grammar Schooles; Or, A faithful and most comfortable encouragement, for laying of a sure foundation of all good Learning in our Schooles, and for prosperous building thereupon. More specially for all those of the inferiour sort, and all ruder countries and places; namely, for Ireland, Wales, Virginia, with the Sommer Islands, and for their more speedie attaining of our English tongue by the same labour, that all may speake one and the same language. And withal, for the helping of all such as are desirous speellie to recouer that which they had formerlie got in the Grammar Schooles; and to proceed ariight therein, for the perpetuall benefits of these our Nations, and of the Churches of Christ* (London: Richard Field for Thomas Man, 1622), G2".

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A scholar’s social conduct and moral fibre was only as strong and well
developed as those around him. Socialisation therefore depended on the
conduct of other scholars, as well as the conduct of the adults with whom these
young people were in daily contact. Early medieval European schools
developed a position on the schoolmaster as an embodiment of *cultus virtutum.*
Jaeger writes:

Eleventh-century schoolmasters would have lined up solidly
on the side of the Sophist Protagoras, who argued against
Socrates that virtue can be taught. But how did they teach it?
The framework of instruction known to us – reading, commenting,
memorizing, lecturing, interpreting – existed and was at work in
ethical instruction, but it was a minor element of a more embracing
mode: imitation of the teacher…the physical presence of the teacher
demonstrating the subject through his own example is the essence of
instruction in *mores*; he is the curriculum; his presence radiates a
force to the students.102

The urge to monitor adult behaviour was part of the broader ongoing anxiety
with youthful conduct; the influence of a schoolmaster on his scholars was
keenly appreciated and understood.

That the conduct of a schoolmaster was a living witness to virtue finds its place
in English schools, although we would find it hard to come across any notion of
the ‘cult’ of the schoolmaster or the impact of their individual presence and
charisma on scholars. However, the author of the Boy-Bishop sermon at
Gloucester deliberately spoke of schoolmasters in terms that were suggestive of
this:

I must have a word or ii with the scolemaisters, which, at
some of your handes, take your childer in cure to teach and
nurture them, as well in vertue as in prophae learning. Therfor
I say now to yow scolemaisters, that have the youth under your
handes to make or marr them not by your neglygence, but make
them to God ward with your diligence…so the scolemaster do or
ought to fascon the soule of the child by good educacion in
learnynge of good nurture and vertue.103

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102 Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels,* p. 76. We can of course compare this with the poor reputation of
schoolmasters’ in Shakespeare’s works.

103 *The Camden Miscellany,* pp. 27-28. This connection between the schoolmaster and virtue
was not unique to the Tudor period. Jewell cites a 1306 testimonial for a schoolmaster at
Beverley which emphasised his learning and behaviour. Jewell, *‘The Bringing Up of Children
in Good Learning and Manners’,* p. 11.
Realistic measures were taken to ensure this was carried out. School documents had parallel strategies regarding the scholars’ and schoolmaster’s behaviour, with similarities between the rules directed at students and those directed at their teachers creating striking connections. The public display of statutes in the school enforced this, with statutes also read aloud to the scholars and parents when children were first admitted to the school.\footnote{104}

While scholars would have felt the watchful eye of their teachers and the community on them, their schoolmasters and ushers were thus subjected to similarly strict and specific monitoring; a way of enforcing this positive ‘imitation of the teacher’. Brinsley wrote accurately about this when he said ‘all in a towne generally, shall murmure against vs, in this or the like manner’.\footnote{105} School statutes were open on the issue of the schoolmaster’s behaviour, providing community members with the written authority to ‘murmure against’ their schoolmasters as Brinsley was aware. At Rivington, the authorities insisted that the schoolmaster and usher were not to go to alehouses, were not to be negligent in their teaching, were not to swear, gamble, or be seen with whores, or, as they say later ‘he shall corrupt the youth’.\footnote{106} The accent laid on their activities both inside the school (consider the command concerning negligence in teaching), and outside the school (and which was often given more attention, including references to alehouses and gambling), was noted with great precision. All Rivington schoolmasters and ushers took a formal oath at their appointment to abide by the Statutes and formally promised that ‘I shall also teach my Scholars, and bring them up in learning and good nurture’.\footnote{107} We are fortunate that this oath has been written into the Statutes, and survives there.

The orders for Dame Owen’s school likewise unambiguously connected the schoolmaster’s behaviour with far-reaching moral consequences for his scholars ‘least his euill example breed any discredit to the Schoole & infecon also to the Schollers to whom he ought to be a patterne of vertue honesty and piety’.\footnote{108} Potter’s work on schools in the Tudor period identifies the character of schoolmasters as a major anxiety for contemporary observers: ‘Schoolmasters

\footnote{104}{Potter writes ‘[Richard] Mulcaster supported the public display of school ordinances in order to “take away matter of jarred betwene the parentes and the maister”. School ordinances were in fact frequently displayed in public, as well as brought to the attention of parents at the entrance of boys into the school’. Potter, Pedagogy and Parenting, p. 31.}
\footnote{105}{Brinsley, A Consolation for Ovr Grammar Schooles, G2'.}
\footnote{106}{Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 5'. The same rules applied to scholars.}
\footnote{107}{Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 13'. The oath for the school governors also survives.}
\footnote{108}{Guildhall, S460 A.}
attracted public criticism for a wide range of faults, usually those of ignorance and of cruelty, but including poor standards of social behaviour, conceit, and pomposity, a general incompetence in the affairs of the world, and poor judgement'. 109 Moral positions spoke directly to this.

We can also see this in terms of religious attitudes within schools that were directly related to this fear over the corruption of the young, part of the desire to secure allegiance to the Church. The watchful eyes of the community cited above would have presented a real concern for many schoolmasters caught in religious change, unsure as most were, of which way to turn. 110 Records indicate that schoolmasters could be regularly investigated for suspect religion. This occurred in addition to the systematic process of licensing which was already supervising orthodox religious views and which will be examined shortly. State Papers for 1591 show Mr Yates, schoolmaster at the Blackburn school, as harbouring a Catholic priest and being charged as a ‘recusant’, along with his wife, daughter and maid. During the testimony of John Bancroft to Sir Robert Cecil, Bancroft was questioned on his brother’s suspected Catholic leanings. On being asked ‘What papists you know’, Bancroft replied ‘there is no house worse in Lancashire that I knowe than Mr Yates Schollemaster at Blackburn whose wife daughter and mayd are recusants, his mayde is known to have done much hurt among the Schollers’. 111 It is not clear from his testimony what type of influence the maid would have had over the scholars or why female servants were in contact with male grammar students (beyond the obvious). George Alfred Stocks noted that five scholars later fled overseas after their involvement in the Counter-Reformation, indicating that schools could be significant breeding grounds for turmoil and religious dissent as authorities feared. 112

The people of Blisworth in Northampton similarly brought action against their schoolmaster, Francis Wigginton, during Elizabeth’s reign in a case heard by the King’s Remembrancer side of the Exchequer (36 Elizabeth). The

110 ‘we may speak in a certain sense of ‘popular Protestantism’. But in their more realistic moments, protestants and puritans knew that ‘the multitude’, ‘the great unjust rude rabble’, was not on their side...The petitions made on their behalf were a rhetorical fiction, a mere propagandic device’. Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants, The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 189-241 (pp. 190-191).
111 National Archives, State Papers 1591, SP 12 240 (105).
inhabitants of Blisworth considered they had the right to legal recourse over their anxieties with the local school, and the difficulties faced there by their children. In depositions for the case, Thomas Andrewe was asked if Wigginton was ‘a com[m]en Alehouse haunter’\(^{113}\) reminiscent of the wording used in school statutes, and probably a cue which had distinctive meaning and significance for people.

Not only were schoolmasters watched by parents and the community, but some school statutes clearly spoke of the school governors’ role in monitoring the master’s behaviour. Unusually, the statutes for the Rivington School extensively documented the role of the governors in the school’s management, organisation and administration, suggesting that partnerships were important not just between schoolmasters and parents, but between school governors as well. The position of governors in educational provisions is often overlooked in favour of the more visible schoolmaster, who was in daily and therefore more obvious contact with scholars. At Rivington a number of statutes applied only to the governors, who were to be over the age of twenty-four and were to come from local towns specified in the letters patent. Governors’ meetings were also held in the Church, indicative of the connections which were formalised between the school, the church and the town. Rivington school governors were directly identified with the task of monitoring the schoolmaster’s behaviour, and were able to call on the community to ensure this did not fall below acceptable standards:

> If the Schoolmaster or Usher be negligent in teaching, keep not their due hours...be gamesters, swearers, hore-hunters quarrellers, resort not to common praiers and the Church at appointed times...the Governours shall severely warne him of it...
> If in this time there appear not good hope of amendment, the governours shall take unto them six of the discreetest neighbours dwelling within the six towns of their corporation...and shall with sharp words both rebuke him or them for their misbehaviour\(^{114}\)

If the schoolmaster or usher failed to correct any of these social or academic breaches, the entire parish would be told and another person found to replace him, or them.

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\(^{113}\) National Archives E 134/36 Eliz/Hil10.

\(^{114}\) Lancashire, DDX 94/100, fol. 5r.
In the same period, Thomas Elyot wrote of the nature and behaviour of tutors who resided within households, aimed at elite groups who continued to make use of private tutoring. Elyot was aware that good education was related to the master’s moral character, which was to be ‘of sobre and vertuous disposition/specially chast of liuyng/and of moche affabilite and patience’. As with school statutes, this was based on a concern for the environmental influences to which children were exposed and their propensity to absorb lessons and behaviours from the people around them ‘leste by any vnicleane example the t[e]nder mynde of the childe may be infected’. Statutes acknowledged a similar belief and used this as the criterion for hiring and dismissing schoolmasters and ushers. Academic criteria, holding a BA or MA, was conversely less often cited or required in a schoolmaster.

Schools held a certain power in directing how they approached these responsibilities and tasks, as the individual and idiosyncratic nature of statutes reveal. In addition to these internal school policies, official mandates developed by the Crown and Church added to the strategies in place within schools. State intervention was particularly noticeable after the Reformation. The official educational documents issued from the Crown have been looked at by others; however, I am interested in the terminology of these policies that integrated moral values into educational matters. The re-drafted version of the controversial Chantories Act, passed on 21 and 22 December of 1547, ensured chantry endowments were converted to ‘good and godlie uses, as in erecting of Grammar Scoles to the educacion of Youthe in vertewe and godlinessse’. The Act’s emphasis on religious values and virtues, and not on academic skills is not surprising, given the attempt to introduce stable religious change to people after

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115 Elyot, *The boke named the Gouernour*, Diii'.
116 Elyot, *The boke named the Gouernour*, Diii'.
118 Jewell writes ‘With the Reformation, state intervention in education began and the ecclesiastical hold over education diminished, most obviously in institutional terms, though pious purpose and dominant orthodoxy remained important factors’. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England*, p. 22.
119 The Chantories Act, 1547, in Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 473. Similar statements of intent (if not actual practice) between academic responsibilities and social responsibilities can be seen in letters patent. In 1568, the letters patent of Queen Elizabeth I for the grammar school at Chevely stated in official language that the school was to be engaged with good morals as well as academic education: ‘for the education of boys and youths, as well in good morals as grammar’. Cambridge Record Office, *Commissioners Report on Cambridge Charities, 1815-1839*, pp. 94-95. Transcript of Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth I, 6 July 1568.
Henry VIII’s death and Edward VI’s minority. Schools were intended to support this religious reform.

Additional religious and political controls were instituted in 1559 when Elizabeth I issued a Royal Injunction commanding all schoolmasters and teachers to teach from the Grammar as set forth by Henry VIII and Edward VI, and ordering that all teachers were to be licensed by the ordinary under the criteria of good academic prowess, sober disposition and their ‘understanding of God’s true religion’. In 1563, the Oath of Supremacy was extended to schoolmasters (from the 1559 Act of Supremacy) to assure their allegiance to the emerging Protestant Church and specifically to Queen Elizabeth I as the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. Schoolmasters also had to subscribe to the Thirty-nine articles at this time. By 1604 the association between education and religious offices was strengthened in the Canons stating the local curate was to be given preference for the position of parish schoolmaster.

Licensing was one of these forms of control which evaluated a schoolmaster’s social and religious conduct to a higher standard than their academic proficiency. Since the thirteenth century licences had been required for teachers, the value of which was apparent for Mary I and for Elizabeth I for essentially the same reasons. In the mid-sixteenth century these licenses were recorded in ecclesiastical records including Visitation Records and particularly Libri cleri, as well as Subscription Books, documenting both grammar and informal elementary teaching. This guaranteed that the Church would maintain regular contact with schoolmasters and by extension with young and malleable scholars over the long term. There was also a financial incentive for schoolmasters and schools to monitor any educational provisions occurring locally. Loss of income for authorised schools would have created a healthy dislike for unlicensed teachers.

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120 Leach, *Educational Charters*, p. 495.
121 Synodalia, ed. by Cardwell, p. 291.
Elizabeth Key has identified two distinct types of licences in the register of licences (1574-1618) for the county of Cambridge. Licences for schoolmasters sanctioned to teach Latin grammar were recorded as: ‘to instruct boys in grammar’, ‘to teach the rudiments of grammar’, and ‘to teach the grammar and the rudiments of the Christian faith’, often written in Latin. Alternatively, elementary licences could be written either in Latin or English, often specifying an exact elementary programme of study: ‘teach young children to read English to write and cast compt’. Interestingly Key has shown that different licences could be associated with a single school at different times, with the school’s curriculum and status dependent on what the schoolmaster was licensed (and capable) of teaching. We should be receptive to the possibility that institutions were more amorphous and fluid in their status as either ‘grammar’ or ‘elementary’ schools than founding fathers, and statutes, would wish to indicate.

The rigorousness applied to licensing varied over the mid-sixteenth century, although it seems that by the 1570s harsher penalties were recorded against unlicensed teachers, confirming Jay Pascal Anglin’s argument that after the counter-Reformation, schoolmaster licensing became ‘more conscientious’. Monitoring recusant schoolmasters was noticeable in records dating to the 1580s, with penalties for recusant teachers reaching £10 for every month they remained teaching, either in schools or in private houses. A letter from the Council to Archbishop Grindal concerning recusant teachers noted with some alarm the influence they had over their young scholars:

And for as much as a great deal of the corruption in religion, grown throughout the realm, proceedeth of lewd schoolmasters, that teach and instruct children, as well publicly as privately in men’s houses, infecting eachwhere the youth…and if any shall be found corrupt and unworthy, to be displaced, and proceeded withall, as other recusants, and fit and sound persons placed in

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124 Elizabeth Key, ‘A Register of Schools and Schoolmasters in the County of Cambridge, 1574-1700’, Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 70 (1980), 127-189 (p. 128). In 1591 Edward Lamb was given a very specific license to privately teach boys Latin grammar from the books of Cato, Aesop’s Fables and the English and Latin Catechism. Chichester, Epl/17/7 fol. 216.

125 Key, ‘A Register of Schools and Schoolmasters’, p. 128.

126 Although she acknowledges that fluctuations could be the result of inconsistent clerks! Key, ‘A Register of Schools and Schoolmasters’, p. 128.

127 Jay Pascal Anglin, The Third University: A Survey of Schools and Schoolmasters in the Elizabethan Diocese of London (Norwood: Norwood Editions, 1985), p. 63. Authorities were becomingly increasingly concerned with unlicensed teaching and were intensifying their control through increased reporting.
their rooms.\textsuperscript{128} Schools themselves understood this, with most statutes noting the behaviour of schoolmasters and ushers in relation to their influence over younger people. In 1583/4, the Cheltenham Grammar masters and ushers were reminded that 'both of them be as well lively examples and patterns of vertue and Godliness in life and conversation to their Schollers'.\textsuperscript{129} The author Grant, in \textit{A president for parentes}, was also vehement in describing the flawed nature of schoolmasters placed in positions of authority over malleable children, disgusted with those parents who 'mancipate' their children to 'unlearned, and suspected men of euill life and scelerous converstion, polluted in the puddles of all filthinesse'.\textsuperscript{130}

Entries in Visitation and Subscription books documented more prosaic deviations. These were not necessarily always in relation to religious beliefs, but they did usually refer to religious conformity in some way. I have chosen to look at the \textit{Libri Cleri of Synods} for the Ely Diocese and the Register of Presentments held at the Chichester Record Office to explore licenses from the late-sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{131} Many of these entries were concerned with \textit{ad hoc} education. Six different descriptions are found in the register for 1579.\textsuperscript{132} Licensed schoolmasters were mentioned four times; unlicensed schoolmasters twelve times, with a further seven cases listing the licensed status as unknown. Additionally, teaching in private houses was registered six times. The dual responsibilities of schoolmasters was apparent; six times the vicar also acted as schoolmaster, and in two cases the curate was known to teach school. This was of course encouraged after the 1604 Canons giving preference for the local curate to act as teacher.

In \textit{Libri Cleri of Synods} for the Ely Diocese, several reports were made concerning problems with local educational provisions. In an entry c.1584, Thomas Newcomyn, vicar of Lynton was reported for teaching reading and religious lessons that were 'contraire to ye booke of common prayer, disallowinge ye same'.\textsuperscript{133} In other cases, Visitation or Presentment books

\textsuperscript{128} 1580. In Leach, \textit{Educational Charters}, pp. 524-525. Leach writes that the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 also produced a renewed interest in licensing and an increase in penalties. Leach, \textit{Educational Charters}, p. xlvii.

\textsuperscript{129} National Archives, C 116/151. 20 Elizabeth I, 1583/4.

\textsuperscript{130} Grant, \textit{A president for parentes}, Bvii.

\textsuperscript{131} These records were chosen for practical reasons. A thorough search of similar records from other dioceses and records offices would no doubt yield fascinating results.

\textsuperscript{132} From Chichester, Epl/23/5.

\textsuperscript{133} Cambridge, University Library, Ely Diocese Records, EDR D2/16, fol. 4'.
recorded atypical types of education or instances where concerns were raised with the schooling being provided. In 1579, John Humfrey was presented for privately teaching two children how to write with a similar entry recorded in the same Presentment book for Boxtgrove, where children were also privately educated: ‘there is one Thomas Sambourne that teacheth the children of Edward Pyckham. Also, Thomas East that teacheth twoo or three of his neighbours children in his hous’. The entry for Sambourne and East on the following folio shows this was retrospectively authorised on the basis of their religious soundness:

that Thomas East privately in his hous and Thomas Sandborne in Edward Pikhams house teach children both latyn and English and that (as far as he knoweth) they teach noo booke but such as bee lawfull, and the parties bee likewyse of good relygion

These records demonstrate the high probability that private education was customary within communities, even within the vicinity of authorised grammar schools. Interestingly, the recorded judgements concerning unlicensed teaching were flexible, and were modified according to other conditions. Sometimes the breach was tolerated and sometimes fines were recorded. Roger Hartfield, clerk in the Arundel parish church was sympathetically treated because he taught only young children and because of his own poverty: ‘an honest poor man, doth teach small children to know their letters & read English not licensed’. The case was dismissed and he was allowed to continue teaching, with no fine due to his pauper status. Earlier in West Dean, it was shown that ‘William Tregose hath a scolemaster in his hous which teacheth his children and some other of his frends children, licens he hath none, in that his master will aunsuer for him, he is of good behaviour and sound of relygion’. In Pulborough another unlicensed teacher was noted for his good behaviour: ‘We haue no scolemaster but one which doth tych the catechisme & saltar and to write, not licensed. He is sound of religion and diligent in teachinge’. These sources would indicate that education was far more flexible and fluid by the late-sixteenth century than endowed institutions indicate. It was common,

134 Registers of Presentments, 1571-1682, Chichester, Epl/23/5, fol. 35v.
135 Chichester, Epl/23/5, fol. 1r.
136 Chichester, Epl/23/5, fol. 1v.
137 Chichester had an authorised and long established grammar school supervised by the local cathedral.
138 Chichester, Epl/17/15, fol. 49r. 1613.
139 Chichester, Epl/23/5, fol. 3r. Likely to date c. 1570s.
140 Chichester, Epl/23/5, fol. 45r.
seen in the representative evidence within this Presentment book, for unlicensed teachers to have acted with the cooperation and support of the local community.

The 1585 case for John Joanes demonstrates this. He received testimonial letters after teaching boys in Kirdford during the previous three years, and in 1588/9 a Peter Joanes similarly received testimonials from the parishioners of Shipley which allowed him to teach anywhere in the Archdeaconry of Storrington.141 In 1574, it was the elementary nature of teaching that absolved Thomas Shepard, who was recorded as teaching without license, but was excused as he taught only reading and writing.142 In other cases, stricter judgements were recorded. In Chiltington in 1590, John Searle, a husbandman who taught children, was absolved but forbidden to teach again.143 William Bullaker was more seriously dealt with in 1575, and was excommunicated for teaching after being forbidden to do so, probably because of suspected Catholic leanings.144

The licensing system did set guidelines that allowed certain informal teaching to take place without intervention. These rules allowed teachers, including women, to teach basic elementary lessons to groups of fewer than six children, provided no boys over the age of ten years were included and that this type of teaching did not resemble a formal school.145 The popular image from devotional books and sculptures of St Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read may have contributed to an established sensitivity towards women teaching children as part of domestic household duties.146 The elasticity of these licences may have reflected an appreciation of women as teachers. However, the lowly status of such teachers is also indicated by the lack of interest in documenting this. This informal teaching did not require the same standards of moral character in its practitioners, just a basic ‘soundness’ and religious observance. The interest in schools as models of courteous and virtuous socialisation may have been a phenomenon for adolescent boys of a certain class. For children, both male and female who were taking part in informal education, socialisation

141 Chichester Record Office, STC 111/C fol. 110v and STC III/B fol. 64v respectively.
142 Chichester, Epl/23/4, fol. 27v.
143 Chichester, Epl/17/7, fol. 166v.
144 Chichester, EplII/4/3, fol. 38v.
146 Pamela Sheingorn, ‘“The Wise Mother”: the Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary’, *Gesta*, 32.1 (1993), 69-80. There was a particularly high-status connection between this and elite women. However, the idea of mothers teaching children basic lessons in the household seems fairly consistent across classes.
probably remained centred on what was learnt in the household, augmented by
the fact that this schooling was very often also taking place there. Social status
may have been an important factor in the systematic institutionalised interest in
virtue and good manners. Educationalists may have focused on male children
from the gentry, merchant and yeoman classes as having the most value to the
future well being of the Commonwealth. The behaviour and manners of girls,
the lower classes, and the peasantry seemed less unimportant for pedagogues to
actively concern themselves with. Again, the household would surely have
represented these groups better.

Orme has noted several references to female educators in the early-fifteenth
century, finding records for Matilda Maresflete in 1406, E. Scolemaystersesse in
1408 and a similar reference to Elizabeth Scolemaystres in 1441.\(^{147}\) Visitation
and Subscription books again intermittently included references to unlicensed
female teachers, suggestive of their role in informal educational networks. In
1616 Anna Hassall was recorded as teaching boys, although she was eventually
excommunicated after being found to be a recusant. In the ‘Minutes of
proceedings in actions brought by ecclesiastical authorities in the Archdeaconry
of Colchester’ between 1593 and 1596, there was a reference to Robert
Glascock of Beaumont and ‘his wyfe for teaching w[ith]out licence’.\(^{148}\) In the
Register of Presentments for Chichester, William Sharpe intriguingly blamed his
wife for teaching in an attempt to absolve himself.\(^{149}\) The participation of girls
and women in formal school institutions as opposed to informal arenas, was
more prominent by the mid-seventeenth century, particularly in the boarding or
finishing schools O’Day identifies for seventeenth century ‘middle-class’
females.\(^{150}\) In the ‘Deed of Tithes and lands to charitable uses for the parish of
Polesworth’, the indenture (dated 1655) remarked that there was ‘a
Schoolemaster and schoolemistris to teach Schoole’.\(^{151}\) At this school, the
schoolmistress was responsible for teaching girls’ skills that had once been part
of household lessons including needlework, how to read (no doubt in English
only), and basic religious instruction.

\(^{147}\) Orme, Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England, p. 50. This evidence is
often quoted in studies of education.
\(^{148}\) Chelmsford Record Office, Essex, D/ACA 21, fol. 147v.
\(^{149}\) Chichester, Epil/17/6 fol. 138v. 1588. Anglin records more legitimate joint ventures between
husbands and wives, in The Third University, p. 87.
\(^{151}\) Warwickshire Record Office, DR(B)16/52. Sir Francis Nethersole’s Charity.
Published sources can offer some valuable comparisons against these records and can be read against information from institutional documents. Published Latin grammars presuppose a grammar school environment and would not have been appropriate in elementary training.

The 1496 *Peraula*, printed by de Worde, began with the question ‘What shalt thou doo whan thou haste an englishh to be mad in latin. I shal reherce myn engilssh first ones.twyes or thryes. and loke oure my principal verbe.’ The c. 1483 grammar *Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio in Anglica[m] linguam traducta*, preceded by Anwykyl’s *Compendium totius* in the Bodleian Library copy, used the format of practical, familiar English sentences with Latin equivalents. The book began and ended with religious greetings: ‘Godd spede you’, and ‘fare wele and godd by wyth yowe’. It also included a range of social maxims, some of which were distinctly secular in tone, including: ‘women luff or desyre to be mich made off’, and the more direct: ‘The condicyon or disposicyon of wymen is whan a ma[n] will thei will not And whan a man will not than thei desyre moste’. Family life was alluded to, integrated into the educational context by describing the relationship between fellow scholars as comparable to that of kin: ‘Scolers shuld loue to gyder lyke as thei were bredyr’, and: ‘I luf noon[e] of my bredyr bettyr than odyre’. More direct references to family environments and kin relationships proper were included as part of lessons about morality and warnings about upbringing: ‘The modyr makyth moste of hyr yongist son[e]’, and: ‘All modyrs help their sonnys offendyng ageyns their faders’. This characterised commonly perceived maternal emotions and character, shown negatively with the emphasis on over-affection and favouritism. Fathers, who were the ultimate arbiters of behaviour, were also present: ‘I yelde me to the fader’; ‘A fadere shulde use his chylde to do wele by his own will or of his own accorde rather than by drede’; and ‘Faders shulde esy ande tendyr anemste therei chyldre but no so muche that their tendyrnes

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152 *Peraula* (London: de Worde, 1496), A1'. Wrongly attributed to John Stanbridge. For the history of the ‘foreign-language grammar’ in post-Roman Britain see Orme, ‘What Did Medieval Schools do for us?’, *History Today*, 56.6 (2006), 10-17 (p. 12). It was necessary to teach Latin using the *English version* because Latin was not the language of the community.

153 Terence, *Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio in Anglica[m] linguam traducta* (Oxford: Theodoric Rood and Thomas Hunte, 1483), A1'.

154 **Terence, Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio**, **Hiisi**.

155 **Terence, Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio**, **Aiiri** and **Cii’** respectively.

156 **Terence, Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio**, **Bii’** and **Aii’** respectively.

157 **Terence, Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio**, **Aii’** and **Eii’** respectively.
corrupt their myndes’. Repeating phrases such as these in a school environment introduced English-speaking children to Latin, while reinforcing social and gendered codes of behaviour until they become accepted and established norms.

John Holte’s *mylke for chyldren* is one of the most interesting humanist Latin grammars to be printed in England, principally renowned for its unique series of woodcuts devised to incorporate a visual element to the study of Latin grammar. Of the three woodcuts the most famous are the two illustrations showing an upraised hand with the declension of articles, with the second woodcut showing the second declension. They were possibly based on similar teaching aids common in continental Europe.

The environment in which Holte wrote *mylke for chyldren* parallels earlier courtesy manuals written specifically about youths living in the great noble households. The text was probably composed during Holte’s years in John Morton’s household at Lambeth Palace, where he was employed as grammar master to the boys and youths living there. Orme has commented that Morton ‘like the king and most great magnates of the day, maintained a number of boys in his entourage, who are likely to have included junior relatives, wards, choristers, and others received as a favour’. This was an environment similar to Grosseteste’s household where *Stans puer ad mensam* was originally written. Social principles were occasionally delved into in the third part of Holte’s text, in ‘The thre concordes of Gram[m]er’, but there was far less on social upbringing in this material than in the courtesy literature and certainly none of the complex social rules guarding behaviour and courteous interaction that appeared there. Holte’s text was explicitly intended as an educational textbook for the children at Lambeth Palace, beginning first with the ‘accidence’, or the eight parts of speech, including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs (incorporating the three woodcuts), followed by the second part which defined the parts of speech, and the third part as stated above. The short, simple English/Latin phrases reveal contemporary activities and concepts, such as ‘The mayster beteth scoler’, ‘Thou doost apprayse thy seruaunt’, and ‘I go to

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159 These woodcuts have been reproduced in Orme, ‘John Holt (d. 1504), Tudor Schoolmaster and Grammarians’, *The Library*, 6th series, 18.4 (1996), 283–305 (pp. 295-297).
162 Holte, *Lac puerorum...mylke for chyldren*, both GV.
huntynge'. The perception of misbehaviour was particularly identified with repentance: ‘I repent me for my lewdenes’, as well as consideration for others: ‘I am sory for thy losse’. One phrase unusually appealed to pride: ‘I passe ferre all my brethren both in wrytyng & redyng.’ Pride in literacy may have been justifiable.

The 1509 edition of the Vulgaria by John Stanbridge included a short verse addressed to ‘lytell chyldren’, warning them to heed their learning or face the rod, followed by several folios containing short English and Latin phrases, one of which gave an indication of audience: ‘I am seuen yere olde’. The phrases followed a logical order, beginning with the greeting ‘Good morowe’, and ending with the farewell ‘Our lorde be With you’. This replicated common social interactions. Sandwiched between these were common salutations and expressions, including ‘Whyder goost thou’, and ‘I shall bere the company’, as well as phrases suited to a grammar student, including ‘The mayster hath bet me’; and ‘He hath taken my boke fro me’. The interests of grammarians were well served by the inclusion of pertinent phrases: ‘I am Wery of study’; and ‘My mynde is not set to my boke’. Activities and social behaviours were also documented, again referencing the significance of visible behaviour and observable actions: ‘Wype thy nose’; and ‘Fetch me Water for my hondes’. Some attention was also paid to common activities we know youths participated in, relating to serving at the table: ‘Laye the table’; and ‘Set salte and spones’. Education and the school environment served as another context through which children received these lessons, and which reinforced and strengthened training learnt in the home and from other instructional sources.

The vitriolic but otherwise amusing ‘grammarians’ war’ between William Horman and Robert Whittington was conducted over the 1520s through increasingly venomous publications. It was an interesting event in itself, demonstrating the prominence of educationalists in the period and the

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163 Holte, Lac puororum...mylke for chyldren, Gv'. Indicating a gentry and elite class.
164 Holte, Lac puororum...mylke for chyldren, both Gvii'.
165 Holte, Lac puororum...mylke for chyldren, Hi'.
166 John Stanbridge, Vulgaria sta(n)brige (London: Wynken de Worde, 1509), Bi'.
167 Stanbridge, Vulgaria sta(n)brige, Cii'.
168 Stanbridge, Vulgaria sta(n)brige, Bi' and Cvii' respectively.
169 Stanbridge, Vulgaria sta(n)brige, both . Bi'.
170 Stanbridge, Vulgaria sta(n)brige, Bi'i' and Bi'ii' respectively.
171 Stanbridge, Vulgaria sta(n)brige, Bi'i' and . Bi'ii' respectively.
172 Stanbridge, Vulgaria sta(n)brige, both p. Bi'ii'.
173 Stanbridge, Vulgaria sta(n)brige, both p. Bi'ii'.
importance of status and rank within academic circles. The nature of this
disagreement has been documented by Beatrice White and needs no further
description here. Of interest were the different marketing techniques used by
Horman and Whittington for their respective publications. Orme has noted that
Horman’s 1519 Vulgaria sold for approximately 5 shillings, while Whittington’s
books were sold individually and cheaply, and were in frequent publication
through to the early 1530s. Horman’s 1519 book is of the most interest,
containing thirty-seven chapters on topics ranging from religious material, to
education, manners and social life. Judging behaviour in terms of how it
demonstrated courtesy was explicitly referenced: ‘It was a sayenge full of louly
courtesy’, and ‘This was vncourtesly done’. The maxim ‘Vnclenlye
langage/is the messanger of vnclenlye mynde’, combined the two elements of
outward behaviour with inner virtue. Practical glosses were also included in the
book, some relating to educational matters indicating practices in schools and at
home: ‘He that writeth vpo[n] his knee/hath more labour than he/that writeth
upon a writynge bourse.’ Horman’s book included themes as diverse as
religion, behaviour, manners, clothing and family relationships, all within the
framework of Latin exercises. Holt’s and Stanbridge’s textbooks demonstrated
a continuing use of courtesy terms and table rules in their lessons. The higher
status of Latin grammar study matches the emphasis on courtesy and the elite
context it gained from the household location. It is likely that courtesy remained
associated with elite contexts and higher academic lessons for some time, even
while morality was developing across broader contexts.

William Lily, a supporter of Horman and co-author of the 1521 Antibossicon,
was eventually to become the most famous of all the early humanist
grammarians through the fame and enduring publication of the composite text
composed partly by him. This text, ‘Lily’s Grammar’, or ‘The Royal
Grammar’, was consolidated in 1548, and comprised the two texts: A shorte
introduction of grammar generally to be used in the kynges maiesties
dominions, for the bryngynge up of all those that entende to atteyne the

174 See Beatrice White, The Vulgaria of John Stanbridge and the Vulgaria of R. Whittington,
edited with an introduction and notes by B. White (London: Early English Text Society, 1932), original series.  
175 Orme, ‘Horman, William, (1447-1535)’, D.N.B.,
also, Orme, ‘Whittington, Robert (c. 1480–1553?)’, D.N.B.,
176 William Horman, Vulgaria viri doctissimi Gul, Hormani Cesarburgensis (London: Richard
Pynson, 1519), LiiI’ and ‘Mii’ respectively.
177 Horman, Vulgaria, LxivI’.
178 Horman, Vulgaria, Oif’.
knowledge of the Latine tongue and: Brevissima institutio, seu, Ratio grammatices cognoscendae, ad omnium puerorum utilitatem praescripta, quam solam regia maiestas in omnibus scholis profitendam praecipit (1549). Lily’s reputation, built partly as master of St Paul’s School, London was confirmed in 1543, two decades after his death (1522/3) when the text was authorised by royal proclamation. This effectively ended the earlier influence of Holte’s, Stanbridge’s and Anwykyl’s books. However, grammar school documents would suggest that school libraries were composed of miscellaneous titles, not just Lily’s text. It is a reasonable assertion that older, but still perfectly tenable grammars continued to be in circulation while Lily’s text was printed, and that grammar masters may have dipped into any available grammar text that was available. The preface ‘To the Reader’ in the 1567 edition of Brevissima institutio seems to acknowledge this:

The varietie of teaching is dyuers yet, and always will be/ that euer Scholemaister lyketh that he knoweth, and feeth not the use of that he knoweth not.

As late as 1612 the question of multiple grammars in schools was identified as a problem, with Brinsley devoting a chapter to it in his 1612 book Ludus Literarius. The ongoing debate over acceptable grammar textbooks in the seventeenth century indicated that complete adherence to the authorised

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179 A concise history of this can be found in R. D. Smith, ‘Lily, William (1468–1522/3)’, D.N.B., <http://www.oxforddnb.com/virtual.lmu.edu.au/view/article/16665> [accessed 5 March 2008]. Lily’s book was a composite work of earlier grammatical texts, many of which are no longer extant in their first editions. Smith also cites two additional injunctions issued by Edward VI in 1547 and Elizabeth I in 1559 regarding Lily’s grammar, as well as ecclesiastical canons issued in 1571 and 1604. For Henry VIII’s royal injunction see Tudor Royal Proclamations, ed. by Hughes and Larkin, p. 317.

180 For instance, a memorandum for the Blackburn Grammar School, dating to September 1605, listed sixteen books donated to the school including Cooperi Dictionarium, Baretti Dictionarium, Lexicon graecolatinum Johis Scapula, and Johis Ravisii Textoris Epitheta. DDBk 3/10.

181 William Lily, Brevissima institutio, seu, Ratio grammatices cognoscendae, ad omnium puerorum utilitatem praescripta, quam solam regia maiestas in omnibus scholis profitendam praecipit (Excusum Londini: apud Reginaldum Vuolfium, Regie Maiest. in Latinis typographum, 1567). Aii’. Brinsley even quoted this in A Consolation for Ovr Grammar Schooles, D3’.

182 John Brinsley, Ludus literarius: or, the grammar schoole; shewing how to proceede from the first entrance into learning, to the highest perfection required in the grammar schooles, with ease, certainty and delight both to masters and schollars; onely according to our common grammar, and ordinary classical authors: begun to be sought out at the desire of some worthy favoures of learning, by searching the experiments of sundry most profitable schoolemasters and other learned, and confirmed by tryall: intended for the helping of the younger sort of teachers, and of all schollars ... (London: Printed [by Humphrey Lownes] for Thomas Man, 1612).
grammar was unachievable, and that grammar scholars continued to be taught from a variety of sources.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that English schools systematically claimed to offer boys the opportunity to learn academic skills, while also seeking to provide an equally valuable and productive education in courtesy, morality, virtue, and religious character. That school guidelines even went so far as to comment on clothing, cleanliness and hygiene suggested a strong and developed interest in the completely formed, well-mannered and socialised child. Fifteenth and sixteenth century educational sources, as well as educational books, picked up and developed the issues raised so insistently in literature, and brought socialisation back full circle to a discussion of conduct and youthful identity that was dependent both on outward appearance but also on inner behaviour.

The astute political decisions of Elizabeth I in maintaining licensing also ensured that the development of Protestantism was absorbed into these environments. Schools did not lag behind when it came to observing religious change with a strong agency in religious and state matters. Licensing, the 1563 Oath of Supremacy and the 1571 Canons for the Church of England all ensured there was outward conformity in the schools to Elizabeth’s doctrines. Children absorbed this from their teachers and, from Elizabeth’s reign onwards, grew up knowing no other belief system, unless contested in home life or by strong willed Catholic teachers in the vein of the Blackburn School’s Mr. Yates.

However, the final word on the relationship between education and conduct belongs with the humanist author Erasmus. In 1550 Richard Sherry, schoolmaster, translated Erasmus’ *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* and published it with his own grammar tract in *A treatise of Schemes & Tropes very profitable for the better understanding of good authors, gathered out of the best Grammarians & Oratours.* ¹⁸³ This gathered both the writings of the highly

¹⁸³ Richard Sherry, *A treatise of schemes [and] tropes very profitable for the better understanding of good authors, gathered out of the best grammarians [and] oratours by Rychard Sherry Londoner. Whervnto is added a declamacion, that chyldren even strapt fro[m] their infancie should be wel and gently broughte vp in learnynge. Written fyrst in Latin by the most excellent and famous clearke, Erasmus of Roterdame* (London: Iohn Day, 1550). See Appendix Five for details on other translations.
respected and influential humanist author with Sherry’s own instructional text on the use and abuse of grammar, two works Sherry saw as relevant to his audience in 1550.

Erasmus’ book, translated into English for the first time, positioned childhood, from the age of infancy as a time of both academic learning and the learning of manners. He asked ‘why shulde y[e] age be thought unmete to lerning, which is apt to lerne maners.’ He counselled fathers to put their sons into the care of both nurses and male teachers so that from the time of infancy the male child was imbued with good learning and wholesome values. Erasmus’ views struck at the heart of the relationship between the household, education, behaviour and religious obedience so often cited in literature and in school statutes. The value of this was profound: ‘but ryghte bryngynge up helpeth muche more to wysedome, then pronuciacion to eloquence. For diligente and holy bringing up, is the founteyne of al vertue’. ‘Bringing up’ here included religious values leading to the creation of virtuous behaviour. This united the themes so often articulated in literature, as well as paralleling the stated aims of school statutes which jointly promoted these values during a scholar’s time at the school. That Sherry issued Erasmus’ text in English in 1550 and that Edward Hake issued an abridged verse translation in 1574 indicates its relevance to sixteenth century audiences and to the parents sending their own sons to schools to begin this process. While the effectiveness of this ‘complete’ education may sometimes have fallen short, as claimed in the Boy-Bishop sermon, schools themselves nevertheless set lofty goals to achieve these desired ends. They saw their environment as vital in creating the well socialised, educated and mannered child, necessary for the school, the Commonwealth and indeed, necessary for the household itself.

184 Sherry, Schemes and Tropes, [Part Two] That children oughte to be taught and brought up ge[n]ly in vertue and learnynge... by Erasmus of Roterdame, B'i’.
185 Sherry, Schemes and Tropes, [Part Two] That children oughte to be taught and brought up ge[n]ly in vertue and learnynge... by Erasmus of Roterdame, Bvi’.
Conclusion

This thesis has been concerned with identifying how the socialisation of boys and girls within households and within schools was presented in contemporary literature and educational documents from the period 1400-1600. It has been possible to see that key issues in upbringing remained consistent, with a shift in expectations suggested by the evidence, rather than radical new approaches to the socialisation of children. Socialisation was always concerned, at its core, with producing firstly a well-behaved child, and then a well-adjusted adult who could meet the needs of society and current conventions. How this was achieved, what people perceived as important and why, in essence the form of socialisation, was what was subject to revision and amendment as the evidence of this thesis showed. There was a cyclical tendency in what I have examined; courtesy appeared to lose ground to morality but was then presented in sixteenth century printed books, as Rhodes’ and Seager’s work made clear, to remind people that observable conduct and the appearance of behaviour still held social value and importance. Schools also continued to emphasise basic courtesy and hygiene at the same time that higher moral and religious values were noted.

In the sixteenth century the form of upbringing, at least at the theoretical and idealised level represented in the literature and in documents, reflected a more sophisticated society in which patterns of manners were repeated, but understood through more complex objectives. Manners and behaviour were subordinated to deal with political disruptions and religious confusion. A desire to hold fast to conventional notions of good courtesy and polite conduct explains why conservative commentators such as Caxton, Rhodes and Seager could achieve commercial success in books echoing the need for conservative courteous behaviour against a background of change. At the same time, moral conservatives could achieve similar if not increased commercial success with books aimed at fears over moral incontinence and incorrect religious expressions. Authors and publishers such as Shelford, Vaughan and ironically Caxton again, reflected on contemporary social issues with a knowing and keen awareness of just how deeply connected youthful socialisation was to society’s concern with future stability and order. The political disquiet of the Wars of the Roses and uncertainty with how the Reformation would affect traditions, both religious and secular, were compelling contexts which required new mental and social strategies to be put in place to understand and deal with change. In the
late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries people wrote about their concerns with disorder, with the conceptual framework of texts becoming more complex.

As I proposed in the Introduction, my thesis explored the periodization of history, the margins between the medieval and early modern. While the evidence does show clear changes in how socialisation was imagined over the long term, there were no clear-cut divides between 'medieval' notions of behaviour and socialisation and 'early modern' models of the same. The often-distinctive division between manuscript and print culture has also been shown as less a concern to contemporary readers and publishers than to later historians of book culture. Such changes as there were in the type of literature prioritised in print were the consequence not of technological changes and the agency of the presses, but of the always-present responsiveness of literature to historical events and attitudes. Print did not change what was read; it had no inherent impact on literary types and culture beyond perhaps the production of books in greater numbers, which was itself meaningful. The relationships between manuscript and print culture, and the ideals of socialisation put forward by authors, were more complex and sophisticated than this. It requires us to examine changes and transformations at the individual level and not according to any pre-determined picture we instinctively have of the agency of the printing presses. This thesis has gone some way to answering questions about the progression of English literature over the centuries. Broader conclusions and statements can be drawn from this in terms of the shifting and variable relationship(s) between manuscript and print culture, the nature of production and technology on literature, and how vernacular writings explored English identity and social contexts better than Latin literature was able to do.

The initial emphasis on courtesy that appeared in the literature, at one stage the primary if not sole genre available for children and young people, achieved what it set out to do. Poems such as *Stans puer ad mensam*, *The Babees Book*, the *Boke of Nurture*, *The Lytyle Childrene's Book* and *Urbanitatis* introduced children, and especially boys, to the world of the court and noble household. Social and political networks, often based on land ownership and inheritance rights, were buttressed by inter-marriages and by the fostering of children in greater houses. Every class participated in these networks in their own ways.¹

¹ Consider the heated comments of the late-fifteenth century Venetian visitor to England on the practice of fostering and sending children away from the natal home: 'for everyone, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he in return, receives
Courtesy authors held out a promise to their readers of the future prosperity, advancement and success that was theirs, pledging that a knowledge of courtesy, of knowing how to behave in the right way and to the right people would benefit the reader in meaningful ways. Only in their failure to follow the courtesy guidelines, particularly at the table, did the reader or listener risk all of this; they would be considered ‘churls’, ‘Felde men’, and ‘glotons’. Courtesy was shown as an avenue and a means to avoid failure and impoverishment and be placed at the forefront of social advancement and worldly success in the household. Courteous behaviour meant being recognised by peers and superiors as acceptable and of good character.

Networks most directly affected by these courtesy poems included households where manuscripts circulated directly, as identified by Mertes in the Duke of Buckingham’s house at the start of the sixteenth century.\(^2\) The aural transmission of texts also extended these narratives beyond physical manuscript circulation. We should also not discount the ephemeral circulation of courtesy ideas within and around elite households; elite ideas that these poems sought to lay out in logical and structured order. We can even accept that some authors were legitimate participants in elite networks even with vastly different social and religious backgrounds. John Russell was one such figure. In the thirteenth century we also encounter Robert Grosseteste. These authors were participants in elite worlds and wrote about youthful upbringing as knowing observers of its specific requirements. The development from a Latin (religious) perspective to a secular English vernacular perspective in the fifteenth century is also significant of the changes in society and literacy in the fifteenth century and the importance of vernacular literature to reading communities, and to authors, as a chosen mode of expression.

A greater degree of subtlety came when courtesy poems framed other social and political anxieties that were particular not to the upper classes, but to those just outside this social group. Chapter Three showed merchant groups as having a distinctive interest in the ideology of upbringing, inserting mercantile work practices and ethical notions into poems including *Stans puer ad mensam* and *The Young Children’s Book*. Balliol 354 shows courtesy literature against a mercantile family context. These individual poems, as well as complete

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1 those of strangers into his own...they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners'. In Goldberg, *Women in England*, pp. 87-88.

manuscripts, ultimately responded to people outside of the elite sphere, embracing themes and topics that pushed socialisation in new directions.

In Chapters Three and Four we saw how late-fifteenth century manuscripts and early printed books expanded on the audiences with an interest in socialising children by setting lessons within a wider range of household contexts, and acknowledging interests not initially part of the courtesy tradition. The courtesy/instructional books Caxton published realised this. In this literature, young people were less likely to be found as gentle servants than as dependent members of the smaller household; Caton discussed fatherly duties and the Book of Good Manners initiated a household/family genre that flourished in England. Parents, rather than lords became the overseers of youthful conduct and identity. The social values upheld in courtesy literature concerning the display of good behaviour saw a gradual change. Highlighting moral conduct, as Caxton’s books and even the Ashmole manuscript did, gave socialisation new vitality and scope. Concerns with outward manners turned to concerns with inner character. Little John’s behaviour was shown in competing and contradictory ways. Over-courtesy was explored, but at the same time, there was also a continuing value placed on elite service. Likewise, Ruskyn gallants were described, even though courteous behaviour remained privileged. For boys, socialisation became increasingly confused and complex, with a neonate interest in higher objectives. The right mindsets, as well as the right practices, were required for these social objectives to work in a merchant and bourgeois environment.

Paradoxically, the literature for girls did not show comparable development in the fifteenth century in accentuating moral and ethical conduct. There was clear evidence of an ongoing and persistent preoccupation with (im)moral female behaviour from fourteenth century literature, and probably further back than this. In extant texts for girls, virtuous socialisation was unimaginatively although consistently written about as chastity, a concern paralleled less often in contemporary courtesy poems for boys. Patristic writers promoted virginity and continence in marriage, and this built a society preoccupied with the terms of moral behaviour for women. The Good Wife Taught her Daughter, itself associated with clerical writers, signalled this early concern with female moral conduct at the bourgeois level of society. It was repeated consistently in manuscripts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with similar themes embraced in its two sister poems; The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage and The Thewis off Gud Women.
Strikingly these writers were disturbed by realistic dangers. Teaching girls how to behave in credible scenarios and situations, in essence the ability to navigate dangerous situations, was critical. The bourgeois attention to moral female conduct, which touched upon class specific concerns with market places, the conduct of live-in-servants and reputable working careers, was matched by the elite writings of de La Tour Landry, printed by Caxton in 1484, in attitudes if not in exact rules. The tone de La Tour Landry took, echoed by Vives in the 1520s, was affected by an intellectual desire to protect vulnerable girls. Regardless of status and reading groups, the emphasis on moral conduct was upheld.

We could go so far to say that girls, regardless of status, were socialised according to virtue and morality in ways alien and perhaps unnecessary for boys to follow, at least until the strict moral atmosphere of the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw youthful male behaviour more judiciously linked to moral anxieties. At some point, probably at the close of the fifteenth century, but more likely over the sixteenth century, socialisation for boys and girls grew closer, especially when we consider bourgeois and merchant groups who professed a strong interest in moral conduct and morality for their sons. Their daughters, and the daughters of the elite, were already well aware of this.

In the sixteenth century the dynamics of family life were increasingly articulated and explored in the literature, as was the development of this moral/virtuous thread unifying behaviour, manners and conduct. Books by Whitford, Vives and Phiston/Salter were relevant to boys and girls living in a smaller household. The emphasis on the household was consistent in this literature, although we can track a shift away from the large elite house to smaller houses. At the same time, parents replaced children as the central figures addressed by books, and lessons were filtered through elaborate discourses exclusively addressing the father, and less often the mother or perhaps even an anonymous third (but necessarily adult) party. There was also an increasing subordination of socialisation to meet religious needs, something both Catholic and Protestant writers including Whitford and Shelford saw a chance to explore in print. The household became a site of religion. I am not unique in observing this development, but the study of early-sixteenth century literature does explain how religious writers were able to play upon parental anxieties to promote religious ideologies before the Elizabethan and Stuart puritan emphasis on the religious household. Simultaneously there was also a striking generic factor at
play in youthful socialisation. A Protestant child of Protestant parents behaved in the same dutiful, obedient and well-mannered way that the Catholic child of Catholic parents did. Rhodes’ and Seager’s books, and the publishers who released edition after edition, saw this perhaps more clearly than we can who are so conditioned to look for differences between Catholic and Protestant culture.

This reinforces the comment I made earlier; that a shift in expectations is suggested by this evidence rather than a radical new approach to the socialisation of children. Manners changed in specific form, but adult alarm with unruly children (directing the wish to have concrete rules in place as counter-measures) remained the same. The household itself remained the site where socialisation was situated, regardless of whether that household required its youngest participants to learn about elaborate meals, courteous behaviour and hospitality, or if there was a change to the smaller kin-household where children served their parents and said graces and prayers before meals were served. The importance of the household as a private, interior space but also one with communal and Commonwealth values set contexts for how young people were socialised.

Significantly, no sixteenth century religious reformer was prepared to suggest radical new approaches to socialising children, indeed the reforming acts of the Crown and Church were positively conservative in some forms. The 1552 Prayer Book accommodated Protestant reformers but appeased Catholics by still suggesting transubstantiation took place. The socialising literature of this period was also both deeply different to earlier genres, and fundamentally the same. The evidence of Chapter Six shows a strong interest in conservative values, offering step-by-step guidelines for how to practice courtesy and show good manners. Considering the evidence from Chapters Five and Six as a unified whole, one could say that the child now promised that their behaviour would demonstrate virtue but also good manners. Shelford and Fiston articulated an ideology for this that incorporated manners into moral-religious parameters. Again, a shift had occurred in expectations, with new tactics at play, but not one of a radical new approach to socialisation.

Most interesting was how the school environment was a place where courteous values and manners maintained their importance in youthful male behaviour,

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while also being arenas that secured religious values. During the Elizabethan Settlement the school helped establish the Protestant nation through careful consolidation and the placement of outwardly conforming teachers into educational institutions. Children, and parents through their children, were shown how Protestantism could develop, in parallel with attendance at parish churches. Schools were certainly perceived as locations fitting young male children for adulthood; but this is usually distinguished in modern studies according to scholastic criteria, whether that meant a Latin education that readied someone for a clerical or legal career or for a position at the universities, or vocational training for later occupations.

Just as significant was the idea of the school as an arena where boys learnt how to interact with their peers and with adults, and where they were socialised to ‘fit’ them for life as young adult men of Elizabeth’s Protestant nation. By the sixteenth century a ‘good education’ was one that saw a scholar leave the school with religious knowledge and the knowledge of how they were to behave in society, complementing and augmenting the lessons that were part of the household. Girls lacked this secondary socialising location, but learned similar if not identical social lessons based on the three cornerstones of manners, virtue and religion inside the household. Again the form of socialisation, if not its location, grew closer for boys and girls in the sixteenth century.

Chaucer’s squire and von Eschenbach’s Parzival now fade gracefully into the background in the face of the sixteenth century child, particularly the boy, who was adept not only at showing courtesy, but in serving in any number of household types, in conducting himself with virtue and in participating in years of educational study at the school. Courtesy poems which began the basic lessons of socialisation for the elite male classes now existed with other lessons on virtue, religion, morality and academic skills increasingly relevant for an array of social groups and for both genders. As Erasmus noted, nature was effectual but ‘educacion more effectual’. Households and schools were the locations where this socialisation took place, as authors and authorities were intimately aware. By the sixteenth century, ‘education’ either in the household or in the school, or in both, was sophisticated and complex enough to cope with anything society could demand of the child, be they male or female. As to why

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4 Sherry, Schemes and Tropes. [Part Two] That chyldren oughte to be taught and brought up ge[n]illy in vertue and learnynge...by Erasmus of Roterdame, BviI.
socialisation was important and of such persistent and enduring concern to parents, pedagogues, the Church and the State, Erasmus himself had the answer:

For we remem[ber] nothyng so well when we be olde, as those thynges th[at] we learne in yonge yeres

5 Sherry, Schemes and Tropes, [Part Two] That chyldren oughte to be taught and brought up ge[n]tly in vertue and learnyng... by Erasmus of Roterdame, B1.
Appendices

A survey of the source material which has been used in this thesis appears in the following Appendices. Appendix One surveys courtesy material circulating in manuscripts dating to the fifteenth century, and has been presented in (general) order according to the structure of Chapter Two. Appendix Two likewise records courtesy material analysed in Chapter Three. Another useful appendix of English courtesy texts has been compiled by Jonathan Nicholls in *The Matter of Courtesy*.\(^1\) Nicholls’ definition of ‘courtesy material’ omits several of the courtesy poems that have been identified in this study. However, it provides a useful secondary aid for this thesis and may be a helpful source for further studies.

Appendices Three and Four document printed books of the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. Of Caxton’s books, the first, *Stans puer ad mensam* was printed in the same year Caxton opened his business in Westminster, while the last used in this study, the *Book of Good Manners*, was published only five years before Caxton’s death in 1492. The books are listed chronologically for ease of reference. These appendices serve as useful sources for relevant bibliographical information not included within the chapters. This particularly relates to instances where multiple editions of a text had been published, or citing when a book had been translated from a pre-existing European source. For additional bibliographical information I would recommend the English Short Title Catalogue Online, as well as Early English Books Online as two databases which provide comprehensive coverage of much of the early printed material used in this study.

The educational material drawn on in this thesis has been compiled and summarised in a separate appendix for ease of reference, divided into two sections. Appendix Five, *Educational Material*, differs from the format of the previous appendices in order to reflect the particular quirks and idiosyncrasies of documentary evidence. Where possible this material is listed by date. Only the principal educational material examined in Chapter Seven is included in this appendix. School statutes are themselves particularly rich sources of information, although it can sometimes be the case that original records have not survived to the present day. Eighteenth and nineteenth century transcripts offer one way of reconstructing these documents. Records detailing daily activities within the school, as well as lists of successive schoolmasters and scholars are often found in Account books. For more detailed information on schools as well as licensed teachers in pre- and post-Reformation England, see the useful tables compiled by Elizabeth Key, Helen M. Jewell, and Nicholas Orme.\(^2\) It is not my intention that this appendix will duplicate the information available from these excellent studies. Founding dates reflect available evidence which may obscure earlier institutions at the site.


The latter part of Appendix Five returns to the familiar ground of printed sources. Relevant bibliographical information concerning school textbooks and other educational texts circulating in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is listed at this time.
Appendix One
Elite Courtesy Manuscripts

Uniform title: *Stans puer ad mensam*, Lydgate’s edition\(^3\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
<th>Author and/or scribal information</th>
<th>Date of original composition</th>
<th>Notes on dating of individual manuscripts</th>
<th>Notes on manuscript, text and textual differences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Stans puer ad mensam.</em></td>
<td>Robert Grosseteste, later translated and modified by John Lydgate.</td>
<td>Grosseteste, c. mid-thirteenth century. Lydgate, c. early-fifteenth century.</td>
<td>The poem is concerned with elite households, particularly manners while at the table. It also contains a passage on childlike characteristics, making it a useful poem for identifying childlike behaviours and character.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Stowe 982, fols 10(^1)-11(^1).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In this manuscript the poem is identified as <em>the boke of curtesye</em>. The poem <em>Rules for preserving Health</em> (Lydgate’s <em>Dietary</em>) comes directly after <em>Stans puer ad mensam</em> on fols 11(^1)-12(^1). <em>The Boke of Kervynge</em> also appears in the manuscript.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth 853, pp.150-157.</td>
<td>Written in middle English. Dialect points to Central Midlands, possibly</td>
<td>c. 1430, possibly the earliest of the editions I examine. Some date it to c. 1450.</td>
<td>References from this manuscript are typically given in page numbers rather than folio numbers. The poem concludes with</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

\(^3\) There are over twenty extant manuscripts containing *Stans puer ad mensam* (Lydgate’s version). Given this number it has not been possible to examine all instances where the poem appears. I make note of manuscripts which offer the opportunity to study intertext or which have interpolated stanzas. For the sake of space I do not reference each manuscript against every quotation, only noting where a manuscript offers a substantially alternative reading, or at other times to emphasise commonalities. Manuscripts not included in this study, include: National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh Advocates 19.3.1; Oxford Bodley 48; Bodley 686; Ashmole 59; Laud Misc. 683; Rawlinson C.48; Rawlinson C.86; Rawlinson D.328; Deposit Astor A.2; Cambridge University Library Fr.4.9; Cambridge University Library Hn.4.12; Cambridge, Jesus College 56; Penfrooke College 120; Washington D.C., National Library of Medicine 4; Leydon University, Vossius 9.
| British Library, Harl. 2251, fols 148r-149r. | Cambridge. | Possibly compiled by John Shirley (d.1456), a scribe who was closely associated with Lydgate’s works, or by the ‘Hammond’ scribe, based on a Shirleian example. | Possibly c.1460. This manuscript may be contemporaneous with Add. MS 5467, see note below. | ‘Thus eendith the book of curteisie. Th[a]it is celpid stans puer ad mensam’, p. 155. Jeffery Kluewer believes the manuscript ‘probably addressed a middle class audience.’[^4] |
| Cambridge, Jesus College, Q.G.8, fols 77r-78v. | Possibly c.1460. This manuscript may be contemporaneous with Add. MS 5467, see note below. | Vellum, 92 folios. | Fifteenth century. | Lacks the first stanza. Also contains Lydgate’s *Dietary* and four Latin Distichs on the ‘general Degeneracy of Mankind, and Dissolution of Manners’, and ‘Prudential maxims...for the same young noble youths’. The title *Stans puer ad mensam* is not used in this manuscript. |
| British Library, Additional 5467, fols 67r-68v. | British Library, Additional 5467, fols 67r-68v. | Includes pieces translated by John Shirley, see note above. | Mid-to late-fifteenth century. Most likely after 1461. | A paper quarto volume. This manuscript also contains passages on courses to set for a Royal Table, suggesting an interest in courtly protocol and elite activities. The title *Stans puer ad mensam* is not used in this manuscript. Various owners have been identified, including Thomas Wilson, a merchant (before 1697). |
| Oxford, Bodleian Library, | possibly c.1460. | See Appendix Two for details. | See Appendix Two for details. | 1480s. | See Appendix Two for details. |

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<tr>
<th>Library, Date</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Cotton Caligula A ii, fols 14'-15&quot;.</td>
<td>Completed by a single scribe, probably South-east or South-east Midland area.</td>
<td>Second-half of the fifteenth century. Also contains Ypotis, a moral tale of a wise child, and Urbanitatis. Stans puer ad mensam is combined with Lydgate’s Dietary. The title Stans puer ad mensam is not used in this manuscript.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Harl. 4011, fols 1'-1&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 1460. This manuscript contains a collection of Lydgate poems as well as John Russell’s Boke of Nurture. It has an abbreviated version of Stans puer ad mensam, of roughly only half the full text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Lansdowne 699, fols 83'-85&quot;.</td>
<td>Written by a Grammar school boy, possibly associated with the school of St. Anthony, Threadneedle St.</td>
<td>Fifteenth century. Contains no significant textual differences. Lydgate’s Dietary appears directly after Stans puer ad mensam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Balliol College 354, fols 157'-159&quot;.</td>
<td>Commonplace or household miscellany of Richard Hill. Hill has merchant connections, particularly with London.</td>
<td>1503-1536. Contains Stans puer ad mensam followed by five lines of verse beginning 'A Riserly/serve god devoutly', as well as the Holy salve regina, another set of simple maxims beginning 'Wytt hath wonder &amp; kynde ne can', and finally, the text of Caxton’s Book of</td>
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</table>
Curtesye (1477/8). Interestingly Caxton’s 1476 printed edition of Stans puer ad mensam also contained these multiple texts (although the Book of Curtasye was not part of the 1476 printed edition as it was when deWorde reprinted it in 1510). Hill transposes the order of stanzas in Stans puer ad mensam, inserting stanzas ten through to twelve between stanzas six and seven. There is no textual reason for this and it is possible Hill simply made an error in transcribing the poem.

Uniform title: The Babees Book

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
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<th>Notes on manuscript, text and textual differences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Harl. 5086, fols 86v-90’</td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 1475.</td>
<td>Only known from this manuscript.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuscript and current collection holdings</td>
<td>Author and/or scribe information</td>
<td>Date of original composition</td>
<td>Notes on dating of individual manuscripts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urbanitatis.</td>
<td>Author unknown.</td>
<td>End of the fourteenth century.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Concerned with the elite household and particularly manners to use while at the table. Thematical similar to Stans puer ad mensam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Cotton Caligula A. ii, fols 88'-90'.</td>
<td>Completed by a single scribe, probably South-east or South-east Midland area.</td>
<td>Second-half of the fifteenth century.</td>
<td>Also contains Ypotis, a moral tale of a wise child and Stans puer ad mensam.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Royal 17 A.1, fols 29'-32'.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fifteenth century.</td>
<td></td>
<td>This poem is catalogued as part of the preceding Regius Freemasonry poem. There is no break in the manuscript to signal the beginning of Urbanitatis. It also lacks the opening three lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.3.1, fols 28'-29'.</td>
<td>Primary scribe identified as ‘Recardum Heege’. Another scribe identified is ‘John Hawghton’. Northeast midlands. Believed to have been for family use, possibly forming the complete household library of the late-fifteenth century Sherbrooke</td>
<td>Late-fifteenth century. The paper in quire 13 can be dated from watermark evidence to 1478.</td>
<td>Omits first 2 lines. Incorrectly called Stans puer ad mensam.</td>
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5 For practical reasons I have chosen to examine the first two manuscripts only, held at the British Library; Cotton Caligula A. ii and Royal MS 17 A.1.
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Lyttle Childrene’s Book.</td>
<td>Author unknown.</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century.</td>
<td>Begins with an interesting connection between courtesy values and religion. Occasionally uses 'virtue' as a synonym for 'courtesy'. Predominantly concerned with table manners and the elite household. The religious preface is also used in a separate courtesy poem, The Young Children’s Book found only in Ashmole 61, see Appendix Two for details.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Egerton 1995, fols 58'-60'.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Post mid-fifteenth century.</td>
<td>Rubricates the opening letters to create ‘two paragraphs’. The poem concludes with the lines ‘Here endythe the boke’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The range of material is so wide as to suggest that this may have formed not part of the library, but more or less the complete library, of a smallish provincial household. The contents seem to cater for the complete needs of a family: spiritual, practical and recreational.’ Thorlac Turville-Petre, ‘Some Medieval English Manuscripts in the North-East Midlands’, in Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England, The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 125-141 (p. 139). Also, Shaner, ‘Instruction and Delight’, pp. 5-15.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Additional 8151, fols 201°-203°.</td>
<td>Made up of two manuscripts. Part of the manuscript was owned by Ricardo Calle, possibly Richard Calle. See the D.N.B for a biography.⁸</td>
<td>Mid-to-late-fifteenth century. Article 3 (<em>The Lytylle Childrene's Book</em>) dates to the late-fifteenth century.</td>
<td>The poem is not titled and appears at the end of the manuscript in a different hand.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, University Library Ee.4.35, fols 22°-23°.</td>
<td>See note above.</td>
<td>Early-sixteenth century (after 1503).</td>
<td>Concludes with ‘Explicit the/Boke of cortesey’. The manuscript also contains <em>the vii vertays agyn the vii dedly synys</em>, fol. 5°. Also contains the metrical tale, <em>The Cheylde and hes Step-Dame</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.3.1, fols 84°-86°.</td>
<td>Late-fifteenth century. See note above.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Also contains <em>The Sinner’s Lament</em>, as well as short pieces by Lydgate.</td>
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Uniform title: *How the Wise Man Taught his Son*

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⁸ Helen Castor, ‘Calle, Richard (d. in or after 1503)’, *D.N.B.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth 853, pp.186-193.</td>
<td>c.1430</td>
<td>See note above. The manuscript contains <em>Stans puer ad mensam</em>, <em>How the Good Wife Taught her Daughter</em>, and <em>The ABC of Aristotle</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 61, fols 6°.</td>
<td>c.1480s</td>
<td>The poem is catalogued as ‘A Father’s moral and religious instructions to his son’. The manuscript also contains <em>How the Good Wife Taught her Daughter</em>, <em>Stans puer ad mensam</em> and <em>The Young Children’s Book</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Balliol College 354, fols 152'-153'.</td>
<td>c.1503-1536</td>
<td>The manuscript also contains <em>Stans puer ad mensan</em>, <em>Caxton’s Book of Curtesye</em>, and <em>The Lytytle Childrene’s Book</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Harl. 5396, fols 297'-300' (mistakenly identified by Furnivall as Harl. 4596).</td>
<td>1456</td>
<td>The poem does not begin with ‘Lordylings’, although another poem in the same manuscript, <em>A pennyworth of wytt</em>, fols 286'-289', a popular Scottish/Northern poem, does.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, University Library FF.2.38 fols 53'-54'.</td>
<td>End of the fifteenth century, beginning of the sixteenth century.</td>
<td>Shares six texts with Ashmole 61.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Uniform title: *the boke of curtasye*

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
<th>Author and/or scribal information</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>the boke of curtasye.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century.</td>
<td></td>
<td>This poem on elite households is divided into three sections concerning manners at table, religious instruction and the duties and offices within a large household. It has similarities to John Russell's <em>Boke of Nurture.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| British Library, Sloane 1986, fols 12r-27v |                                   | Dated by Furnivall to 1430-1440 although also given a date by Furnivall/Rickert as c. 1460. | Only known in this manuscript. The manuscript also contains an English translation of what may have been a letter addressed to Bishop Grosseteste on the management of his household by his close friend Adam de Marisco. |

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Uniform title: John Russell’s *Boke of Nurture*[^9]

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Boke of Nurture.</em></td>
<td>John Russell, usher and servant to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1447). It is often</td>
<td>Mid-15th century.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A detailed poem of the various occupations and offices within a large elite household. Russell’s poem is unusual in that it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^9]: For practical reasons I have not been able to include Manchester, Chetham Library, MSS 8009 in this study. In Chapter Two I note lifted quotations and passages against all manuscripts where possible and where I believe it best shows continuities and changes. However, occasionally some passages are most relevant to particular manuscripts and I have not referred to additional versions.
believed that since Russell ends his poem with a call for prayers for Humphrey, that the poem cannot date to before 1447. It is also possible that Duke Humphrey was still alive at the time Russell was writing, and that he was calling for prayers for a living figure, much the same way he requests prayers be said for himself.

creates actual ‘characters’ with back stories and uses a dramatic storyline revolving around unemployment and despair as a way of introducing readers to his advice. In Harl. 4011 references are given about an earlier text: ‘This tretyse that I haue entitlde if it the entende to p[ro]ve/I assayed me self in youth w[j][h] outen any grewe/While I was young I nough & lusty in dede/I enjoyed these maters foresied & to lerne I toke good hede’. Harl. 4011, fol. 188°. Fumivall/Rickert speculate that Russell may have been referring to the boke of curtesye. While it is not necessary for us to accept that Russell did indeed diligently study and learn from this existing courtesy text, he is still creating a narrative which identifies courtesy literature as a tool for the dissemination of behaviour. The symbolism of his statement is perhaps as important as the veracity of the comment itself.

<p>| British Library, Sloane 1315, fols 1'-15°. | Before c.1460s. | Contains no envoi, and concludes with ‘Explicit’, leaving room for several further stanzas on the leaf before the start of the next poem on the following page. |
| British Library, | c.1460. | This manuscript also contains menus for |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Harl. 4011, fols 171'-189'</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Various dinners, recipes for Hippocrates, and other detailed passages on various types of meats and food, including baked meats, fried meats and potages, which sits neatly within the framework of elite household management. Contains a unique sixteen line envoi.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Library, Sloane 2027, fols 37'-52'</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Before c.1460s.</strong></td>
<td>Contains no envoi, but begins ‘An usscherre y am as ye may se/ To a prynce of hygh degre’, fol. 37'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Library, Royal 17 D. xv, fols 333'-348'</strong></td>
<td><strong>In different hands.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Third-quarter fifteenth century.</strong></td>
<td>The opening stanza is missing in Royal 17 D, xv, which begins with ‘Off such thinge as here be taught by diligence’, fol. 333'. Given that the 'O' is elaborately rubricated and is flush with the top of the leaf, it is unlikely that the first lines were ever included in this manuscript. It is possible that some leaves at the end of manuscript have been lost.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix Two
Modified Courtesy Manuscripts

Uniform title: *Stans puer ad mensam*, Lydgate’s edition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
<th>Author and/or scribal information</th>
<th>Date of original composition</th>
<th>Notes on dating of individual manuscripts</th>
<th>Notes on manuscript, text and textual differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Stans puer ad mensam.</em></td>
<td>Robert Grosseteste, later translated and modified by John Lydgate.</td>
<td>Grosseteste, c. mid-thirteenth century. Lydgate, c. early-fifteenth century.</td>
<td></td>
<td>The poem is concerned with elite households, particularly manners while at the table. It also contains a passage on childlike characteristics, making it a useful poem for identifying childlike behaviours and character.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 61, fols 17r-19r.</td>
<td>Scribe probably known as Rate (northeast midlands, possibly associated with Leicestershire). Thought to be a ‘one book library’ for a family, similar to Advocates 19.3.1.</td>
<td>c. 1480s.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Large and narrow English miscellany (418 x 140mm). <em>Stans puer ad mensam</em> is significantly different with the addition of a 47 line prologue. Also contains references to Dr. Palere as well as Grosseteste. The title <em>Stans puer ad mensam</em> is not used in this manuscript. Rate ‘doctored’ the texts of <em>The Sinner’s Lament</em> and <em>The Adulterous Falmouth Squire</em> to create one larger, unique text. This version emphasises the sins of rich noblemen. Rate frequently modified the texts he was copying to suit a family audience.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Uniform title: *The Young Children’s Book*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
<th>Author and/or scribal information</th>
<th>Date of original composition</th>
<th>Notes on dating of individual manuscripts</th>
<th>Notes on manuscript, text and textual differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The Young Children’s Book.</em></td>
<td>Author unknown.</td>
<td>Unknown.</td>
<td>Indexed in the catalogue of Ashmolean manuscripts as ‘Dame Curtasye’s moral instructions’. This poem is broader in its themes than many courtesy poems, and considers both table manners as well as some moral and ethical issues. There are specific references to ‘young children’. Begins with the prologue from <em>The Lytyle Childrene’s Book.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 61, fols 20'-21&quot;.</td>
<td>See note above.</td>
<td>c. 1480s.</td>
<td>Only known copy of this poem. Contains some interesting allusions to a mercantile readership.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Uniform title: *The Lytulle Childrene's Book* (sometimes also titled *the book of curtesye*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
<th>Author and/or scribal information</th>
<th>Date of original composition</th>
<th>Notes on dating of individual manuscripts</th>
<th>Notes on manuscript, text and textual differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The Lytulle Childrene's Book.</em></td>
<td>Author unknown.</td>
<td>Mid-fifteenth century.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Begins with an interesting connection between courtesy values and religion. Occasionally uses 'virtue' as a synonym for 'courtesy'. Predominantly concerned with table manners and the elite household. The same preface is also found in <em>The Young Children's Book</em> found only in Ashmole 61.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| British Library, Harl. 541, fols 210'-213'. | Part of the family circle of Sir Thomas Frowyk, (c. 1460-1506). | About the time of Henry VI or Edward IV, although the manuscript also contains items from the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. | Lydgate's *Dietary* (or *Rules for Preserving Health*) has been inserted into the text of *The Lytulle Childrene's Book*. This may have been an accidental inclusion by the scribe or a deliberate addition to add another layer to the poem proper. |

| Oxford, Balliol College, 354, fols 142'-143'. | See notes in Appendix One. | c. 1503-1536. | Ends 'here endith ye boke of Curtasie'. English, with French translations after each line. |

Uniform title: *The Good Wife Taught her Daughter*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
<th>Author and/or scribal information</th>
<th>Date of original composition</th>
<th>Notes on dating of individual manuscripts</th>
<th>Notes on manuscript, text and textual differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The Good Wife Taught her</em></td>
<td>It is likely that the author was a male cleric.</td>
<td>Unknown.</td>
<td></td>
<td>This describes an urban bourgeois or mercantile household. It is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Daughter.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>concerned with the social conduct and moral behaviour of girls, particularly relating to reputation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Emmanuel College, I.4.31, fols 48'-52'. Text E.</td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 1350.</td>
<td>The earliest of the manuscripts. It contains only one stanza on how the girl is to bring up her own children, while later manuscripts have further stanzas concerning this.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry E. Huntington Library, HM 128, fols 217'-220'. Text H.</td>
<td></td>
<td>First-half fifteenth century.</td>
<td>Along with Text E, this probably resembles the original text.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth 853, pp. 102-112. Text L.</td>
<td></td>
<td>c.1430.</td>
<td>Similar to Text T. Also contains lyrical and religious material as well as several didactic poems including <em>Stans puer ad mensam</em>, the <em>ABC of Aristotle</em> and <em>How the Wise Man Taught his Son</em>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Trinity College, R.3.19, fols 211'-213'. Text T.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1463-1490.</td>
<td>The text is similar to that found in Text L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed edition from a MSS in Norfolk, printed 1597. Text N.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Printed 1597.</td>
<td>Printed as <em>The Northern Mothers Blessing</em>, along with <em>The Way to Thrift</em>. It has been necessary to use the transcript in Mustanoja's book. Original page numbers are not listed by Mustanoja, hence their absence in footnotes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 61, fols 7'-8'. Text A.</td>
<td></td>
<td>c.1480s.</td>
<td>This manuscript contains the most textual variations and omits the proverbs between stanzas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Uniform title: *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
<th>Author and/or scribal information</th>
<th>Date of original composition</th>
<th>Notes on dating of individual manuscripts</th>
<th>Notes on manuscript, text and textual differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage.</em></td>
<td>It is likely that the author was a male cleric.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uses a parental advice format, where a mother addresses her young daughter on the management of a household in her absence. The advice is relevant to urban/mercantile households.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porkington MSS 10, fols 135*-138&quot;. Now National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn MSS ii.1. Text P.</td>
<td>Up to 16 scribes have been identified as working on this manuscript. Described as a 'miscellany' or possibly a 'household miscellany'. Dialect is mostly West Midland.</td>
<td>Late-fifteenth century. Watermarks suggest late 1460s.</td>
<td>Known only in this manuscript.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Uniform title: *The Thewis off Gud Women*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
<th>Author and/or scribal information</th>
<th>Date of original composition</th>
<th>Notes on dating of individual manuscripts</th>
<th>Notes on manuscript, text and textual differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The Thewis off Gud Women.</em></td>
<td>It is likely that the author was a male cleric.</td>
<td>Probably no earlier than c.1450.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A Middle Scots poem. Written in the third person and lacking the parental advice format of the previous two poems. Advice within this text is more generic and not specific to a bourgeois or mercantile audience. It again addresses young girls and provides advice on reputation, behaviour and conduct.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Uniform title: Peter Idley’s *Instructions to his Son*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript and current collection holdings</th>
<th>Author and/or scribe information</th>
<th>Date of original composition</th>
<th>Notes on dating of individual manuscripts</th>
<th>Notes on manuscript, text and textual differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Instructions to his Son.</em></td>
<td>Peter Idley, probably an esquire, associated with Kent. See Chapter Three for a more detailed biographical picture.</td>
<td>1445-1450.</td>
<td></td>
<td>This parental advice poem is divided into two books, <em>Liber Primus</em> and <em>Liber Secundus</em>. It is primarily concerned with social behaviour, upbringing and religious teaching, and does not discuss elite socialisation relevant to the great households. Its emphasis falls on gentry behaviour, with isolated information on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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12 While *The Consail and Teiching of the Vys Man Gaif his Sone* is similar in title to the poem *How the Wise Man Taught his Son*, R. Girvan suggests that they are not the same text. R. Girvan, *Ratis Raving and Other Early Scots Poems on Morals: Edited with an Appendix of the Other Pieces*, From Cambridge University Library MS Kk.1.5, No. 6 (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1939), p. xxiii-xxvi.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, University Library, Ee.4.37, fols 1ª-109ª. Text E.</td>
<td>Latter-half fifteenth century.</td>
<td>Contains both Liber Primus and Liber Secundus. It is the most complete of all texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Harl. 172, fols 21ª-51ª. Text H.</td>
<td>Fifteenth century.</td>
<td>Contains only Liber Primus. Includes biographical information on Idley which has been added in a later hand by John Stowe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library, Arundel 20, fols 43ª-70ª. Text A.</td>
<td>Late-fifteenth century</td>
<td>Contains only Liber Secundus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Library,</td>
<td>Early-sixteenth century.</td>
<td>Contains both Liber Primus and Liber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional 57335, fols 1r-97v.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix Three
William Caxton’s Incunabula.

Uniform Title: *Stans puer ad mensam*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s examined in this thesis</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Stans puer ad mensam.</em></td>
<td>Attributed to Lydgate. Printed by Caxton (STC 17030).(^{13})</td>
<td>1476.</td>
<td>Printed in quarto in type 2. <em>Stans puer ad mensam</em> with the Book of Curtseye inclusive was later printed by Caxton’s heir and successor Wynken de Worde in 1510, and by Johan Redman in 1534?</td>
<td>Caxton’s edition comprises the <em>Stans puer</em> poem as well as devotional material. This was replicated in the main by de Worde and Redman, although they each include a woodcut showing male and female characters surrounded by children and include the text of the Book of Curtseye (Lytell Johan).(^{14})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Uniform Title: *Parvus Cato*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s examined in this thesis</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Hic incipit parus Catho.</em></td>
<td>Translated into English verse by Benedict Burgh (d. 1483). Printed by Caxton. (STC 4851.)</td>
<td>1476/7, 1477 and 1481/2.</td>
<td>Either the first or second of Caxton’s books to be printed with woodcuts.(^{15}) The first and second</td>
<td>This text has been wrongly attributed to Marcus Porcius Cato. It probably dates from imperial times</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{13}\) All STC references are to Short Title Catalogue (2\(^{nd}\) edition).

\(^{14}\) de Worde and Redman reprinted the *Book of Curtseye (Lytell Johan)* from STC 3303, the original 1477/8 edition as printed by Caxton.

\(^{15}\) Blake speculates as to whether *Parvus Cato* or the *Mirror of the World*, also published in 1481, was the first English text to be printed with woodcuts. Details of this debate can be read in Blake, *Caxton: England’s First Publisher*, pp. 135-136, and Blake, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture*, pp. 26-27, p. 110. Early woodcuts were based on images found in manuscripts. This is another indication of the cultural and literary fluidity between manuscripts and print. See illustrations 48 and 49 in Blake, *Caxton: England’s First Publisher*, pp. 136-137 showing the similarities between the printed woodcut and the older manuscript woodcut it emulates.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition(s) examined in this thesis</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit the book of curtesye.</td>
<td>Unknown, although the author identifies himself as a student of Lydgate: ‘my mastire’. Printed by Caxton (STC 3303).</td>
<td>1477/8.</td>
<td>Printed in quarto using type 2. Balliol 354 (Richard Hill’s commonplace or household miscellany) includes a handwritten copy of Caxton’s text, an example of manuscripts and print existing concurrently. The arrival of printing did not cause the immediate disappearance or lack of interest in manuscript production.</td>
<td>Probably written after 1449/50 as Lydgate’s death is commemorated. Emphasises vice and virtue. Praises Lydgate, Chaucer and Hoccleve (particularly Regiment of Princes, c.1411). An original copy is held at Cambridge, University Library, Inc. 5.I.1.1[3482]. The original text is not paginated. For the sake of convenience I have designated each page, 1', 1' etc, similar to that in Furnivall’s edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book of Curtesye found in Oxford, Balliol College, Oriel 79, fols 88'-89', and 78'</td>
<td>Unknown, although the author identifies himself as a student of Lydgate: ‘my mastire’.</td>
<td>Second-half of the fifteenth century.</td>
<td>It is not a scribal copy of Caxton’s printed edition.</td>
<td>An additional 21 paper leaves have been inserted into the manuscript. It is in this section that the Book of Curtesye appears along with miscellaneous material including</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

16 Blake, Caxton: England’s First Publisher, p. 63, p. 75 and p. 92.
17 Blake, William Caxton and English Literary Culture, p. 299.
[leaves misplaced]. Catalogued as ‘A father’s advice to his son; with instructions for his behaviour as a king’s or nobleman’s page.’

the Wards in London and their taxes, and a list of parish churches within and outside the walls. This betrays a London affiliation. In the manuscript there is an additional verse commemorating Lydgate that does not appear in Caxton’s edition or in the Balliol copy. It does not use the phrase ‘Little John’.

Uniform Title: *Caton*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s examined in this thesis</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Here begynneth the prologue or prohemye of the book called Caton.</em></td>
<td>Translated by Caxton from a French text of the <em>Distichs of Cato</em>. Printed by Caxton (STC 4853).</td>
<td>1484.</td>
<td>Only printed once. Printed in folio.</td>
<td>Translated from a French manuscript by Caxton. Caxton’s prologue addressed to the city of London is particularly notable.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Uniform Title: the *Book of the Knight of the Tower*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s examined in this thesis</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Here begynneth the booke which the knyght of the toure made, and spheketh of many</em></td>
<td>Geoffroy de La Tour Landry around 1371/2. Printed by Caxton (STC 15296).</td>
<td>1484.</td>
<td>There are numerous surviving French manuscripts and also one English manuscript dating</td>
<td>Taken from the text of the French <em>Livre du Chevalier de la Tour</em>. Caxton’s prologue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to the reign of Henry VI. A German edition of the text was published in 1493 and was extensively reprinted over the following years. Interestingly, the first French printed edition appeared only in 1514, some thirty years after Caxton printed his English translation.\textsuperscript{18} Printed in folio.

emphasises 'virtue'. The dedication is most likely in reference to Elizabeth Woodville.

Uniform Title: \textit{Book of Good Manners}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s examined in this thesis</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Here begynneth the table of a book entitled the book of good maners.}</td>
<td>Translated out of an earlier French manuscript widely attributed to Jacques Legrand. Printed by Caxton (STC 15394).</td>
<td>1487.</td>
<td>A mercer, Wyllia[m] praat, is named as supplying the text to Caxton. Printed in folio.</td>
<td>From a French text, Livre de bonnes moeurs. The Cambridge University Library copy (Inc. 3. J. 1. 1. [3521]) was formerly bound with Royal Book (Inc. 3. J. 1. 1. [3520]), the Dicts or Sayings of the Philosophers (Inc. 3. J. 1. 1. [3526]) and the Doctrinal of Sapience.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{18} This information is detailed in the EETS edition of Caxton's \textit{Book of the Knight of the Tower} (London: Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series no. 2, Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. xix-xxiii.
Appendix Four
Sixteenth Century Texts

Sixteenth Century books on Virtue:

Uniform title: *The Instruction of a Christen Woman* or simply the *Instruction*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s identified in my study</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>A very frutefell and pleasant boke called the Instructio[n] of a Christen woma[n], mayde first in Laten, and dedicated vnto the queenes good grace...and specially women shall take great co[m]modyte and frute towarde the[n]crease of vertue [and] good manners.</em></td>
<td>Original text by Juan Luis Vives, <em>De Institutione Foeminarum Christianarum</em>. Translated into English by Richard Hyrde. Printed by Thomas Berthelet. (STC 24856).</td>
<td>Vives' original text dates to 1523. Published in England in 1529.</td>
<td>Vives dedicated the text to his fellow Spanish countrywoman Katherine of Aragon. This is retained in the English edition of 1529, along with Hyrde’s reference to Thomas More’s household.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Uniform title: *The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion* (1531 edition)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s identified in my study</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The conte[n]tes of this boke. A werke of preparacion,</em></td>
<td>Richard Whitford. Printed by Robert Redman. (STC 25412).</td>
<td>1531.</td>
<td>Parts were published in editions of <em>‘A werke for householders’</em> by de</td>
<td>This book supplements the <em>A werke for householders</em> and contains additional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
or of ordinance
unto
communion, or howselyng.
The werke for householders
with the
golden pistle
and alphabete
or a crosrowe
called an
A.B.C. all
duely
corrected and
newly
prynted.
(Includes A werke for householde,
see above).

Worde (STC 25422), twice by Robert Redman
(STC 25421.8, STC 25422.5). Also by Peter Treueris.
(STC 25422.3).
There are seven
editions in total.

Of the publishers,
Redman’s editions
including this 1531
edition and two
editions he
published in 1537
(STC 25425, STC 25413) are the
longest.¹⁹

religious and
instructional material.
It includes a reprint
of Whitford’s earlier
translation of St.
Bernard’s Epistola de
perfectione vitae
(STC 1912), which
had been published
by deWorde in 1530
as: Here begynneth a
goodly treatise, and
it is called, A notable
lesson, otherwyse it is
called The golden
pystle. Also included
in this 1531 edition
was Whitford’s
earlier St.
Bonaventura with an
ABC, which had
been published by
Richard Fawkes in
1530 as: Here
foloweth .ii.
opuscules or smale
werkes of saynt
bonaue[n]ture moche
necessarye, and
profitable unto all
Chrstystyanes
specyally unto
relygious [per]sones
put in to Englyshe by
a brother of Syon
Rycharde Whytforde.
(STC 3273.3) And
also STC 1915, the
Godfray version of
St. Bernard with St.
Bridget’s revelations.
The 1531 edition
concludes with
Bernard Silvestris’
Epistola, STC
1967.5. See
Appendix Five
concerning ABCs.

¹⁹ For a biography of Robert Redman see: Alexandra Gillespie, ‘Redman, Robert (d. 1540)’,
January 2008]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s identified in my study</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>A president for parentes,</em> teaching the vertuous training vp of children and holesome information of yongmen. Written in greke by the prudent and wise phylosopher Charonneus [sic] Plutarchus, translated and partly augmented by Ed. Grant: very profitable to be read of all tho that desire to be parents of vertuous children. Anno. 1571. Scene and allowed according to the Quenes injunctions.*</td>
<td>Ed[ward] Grant. Printed by Henry Bynneman (STC 20057.5).</td>
<td>1571.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sir Thomas Elyot also published a version of this as <em>The education or bringinge up of children,</em> c.1530. The text looks at childhood from infancy and considers the role of parents in their children’s upbringing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author/Printer</td>
<td>Date of edition/s identified in my study</td>
<td>Select publishing information</td>
<td>Other notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The necessarie, fit, and convenient education of a yong gentlewoman. written both in French and Italian, and translated into English by W.P. And now printed with the three languages together in one volume, for the better instruction of such as are desirous to studie these tongues.</em></td>
<td>Originally written by Giovanni Michele Bruto, <em>La instituzione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente.</em> (Antwerp, 1555). Translated into English by William Phiston/Fiston. Printed by Adam Islip (STC 3947).</td>
<td>Printed in Antwerp 1555. Printed in England in 1598.</td>
<td>Phiston/Fiston seems to have been unaware of Salter's earlier translation. His work is a trilingual text, including Italian and French, with an English translation on the facing page.</td>
<td>A translation of the Italian treatise. Bruto was a humanist author. See above for another edition of the text. Concerns female education and upbringing and retains more of Bruto's Italianate focus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author/Printer</td>
<td>Date of edition/s identified in my study</td>
<td>Select publishing information</td>
<td>Other notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures or readings upon the 6. verse of the 22. chapter of the Proverbs, concerning the vertuous education of youth: a treatise very necessary for all parents in this corrupt and declining age of the world.</td>
<td>Robert Sheldord. Printed by the Widow Orwin for Thomas Man (STC 22401.5).</td>
<td>1596.</td>
<td>Printed again in 1602 and 1606.</td>
<td>The text is based on a verse in Proverbs: ‘Teach a child in the trade of his way, and when he is old he shall not depart from it’. Links behaviour with religious values.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s identified in my study</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The golden-groue, moralized in three bookes: a worke very necessary for all such, as would know how to gourner themselves, their houses, or their countrey. Made by W. Vaughan, Master of Artes, and student in the ciuill law.</td>
<td>William Vaughan. Printed by Simon Stafford (STC 24610).</td>
<td>1600.</td>
<td>Printed and revised in 1608.</td>
<td>Considers the role of the Commonwealth and the family. Frequently uses the word ‘gentleman’ to identify interests.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sixteenth Century books on Courtesy:

Uniform title: *The boke of nurture*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s identified in my study</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>The boke of nurture for men, servauntes and children with Stans puer ad mensam, newly corrected, very vyle and necessary vnto all youth.</em></td>
<td>Hugh Rhodes. Printed by Thomas Petyt (STC 20953).</td>
<td>1545.</td>
<td>These editions are quite distinct from each other. See notes below.</td>
<td>Rhodes was a member of the Kings Chapel. Contains traditional 'courtesy' information relevant to young servants. Also contains advice for children at home. The 1545 edition is shorter than later editions and lacks the passages 'The maner of servyng a knight, squire, or gentleman' and 'Howe to ordre your maisters chamber, at night to bedwarde'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The boke of nurture for menservants and children (with Stans puer ad mensam), newly corrected, very vitle and necessary vnto all youth.</em></td>
<td>Hugh Rhodes. Printed by Abraham Veale (STC 20954).</td>
<td>1560.</td>
<td></td>
<td>See Chapter Six for textual details.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Booke of Nurture for man servauntes, and children: (with</em></td>
<td>Hugh Rhodes. Printed by Thomas East (STC 20956).</td>
<td>1568.</td>
<td>Physically, this book is quite distinctive. It is surprisingly</td>
<td>This edition is the most markedly different in terms of physical characteristics.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xxxi
Stans puer ad mensam) Herunto is annexed, our Lords Prayer, our Beliefe, and the. x. Commandements: with godly Graces, to be sayde at the Table, before and after meat. Very vile and necessary for all youth to learne.


Uniform title: The schoole of virtue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s identified in my study</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The schoole of virtue, and booke of good nourture for children, and youth to learne theyer dutie by. Newly persued, corrected, and augmented by the fyrst auctour. F.S with a briefe declaration of</td>
<td>Francis Seager [Segar]. Printed by Wylyam Seares (STC 22135).</td>
<td>1557.</td>
<td>This book was published throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first three editions are of interest in this thesis.</td>
<td>Later editions include additional material including prayers and graces for Queen Elizabeth I. This suggests some texts were malleable and flexible enough to meet contemporary political conditions and events. The book may have been popular with 'humble readerships'. It looks at the behaviour of young servants as well as children living in the family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xxxii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the dutie of eche degree.</th>
<th>Francis Seager [Segar]. Printed by H. Denham (STC 22136).</th>
<th>1582.</th>
<th>See note above. Some evidence suggests this edition (and presumably others) were sold at the stalls of ballad singers.²⁰</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.S. The schoole of vertue and booke of good nurture, teaching children and youth their duties. Newlie pervsed, corrected, and augmented. Hereunto is added a breife declaration of the dutie of ech degree: also certaine praiers and graces compiled by R.C.</td>
<td>Francis Seager [Segar]. Printed by John Charlewood for Richard Iones (STC 22137).</td>
<td>1593.</td>
<td>See note above.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁰ See Chapter Six for details.
Uniform title: *The schoole of good manners*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
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<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
### Appendix Five

#### Educational Material

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of School, and location</th>
<th>Relevant dates</th>
<th>Catalogue references and location of document</th>
<th>Additional notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Katharine, Lady Berkeley’s school, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire.</td>
<td>Founded 1384.</td>
<td>Gloucestershire Record Office, S379/2/1/4, c. 1719 transcript.</td>
<td>Considered to be the first grammar school to be endowed by a woman in England. Two ‘poor’ scholars were to be supported and housed with the schoolmaster in addition to general scholars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar School, Macclesfield, Cheshire.</td>
<td>Founded 1502/3.</td>
<td>Chester Record Office, SP3/14/1 (copy of will), SP3/14/2 (copy foundation deed), SP3/14/5 (charter).</td>
<td>Established in the will of Sir John Percyvale (1502/3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guildford Grammar School, Surrey.</td>
<td>Established 1509. Refounded under Edward VI.</td>
<td>Surrey History Centre, Woking, 1775/1/1 (copy letters patent), 1775/2/2 (copy statutes).</td>
<td>Established in the will of Robert Beckingham, a London grocer (1509). The surviving statutes date to 1608 although it is possible that they were based on earlier statutes and rules, now lost. By this time, the school was charging a fee for attendance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pocklington School, Yorkshire.</td>
<td>Originally founded 1514, refounded 1551.</td>
<td>Beverley Record Office, Yorkshire, DDPS/1 and 3.</td>
<td>Thomas Dowman is the schoolmaster listed in 1552/3 documents petitioning Edward VI on matters relating to the dissolution of the Guilds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherborne Grammar School, Dorset.</td>
<td>Re-founded in 1550 by Edward VI. Statutes date to 1592. Account</td>
<td>Dorset Record Office, S235/A1/1-2, also S235/A2/5/1, S235/B1/2, S235/C2/4/1,</td>
<td>Re-founded with chantry lands from Martock and St Katherine in Gillingham. Extensive building works were undertaken in c.1555.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Books Date to the mid-1550s</td>
<td>S235/D1/1/1-2</td>
<td>Note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivington Grammar School, Lancashire.</td>
<td>Foundation charter 1566.</td>
<td>Lancashire Record Office, DDX 94/94 (Account Book, including list of scholars) and DDX94/100 (statutes).</td>
<td>Charged fees on a scale depending on whether the scholar was from the surrounding area or outside it. Rich and very detailed statutes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dame Alice Owen’s School, Islington, Middlesex.</td>
<td>Founded 1613.</td>
<td>London Guildhall, 5480 A (indenture and orders for school) later copied and added</td>
<td>The curriculum was based on grammar but also ciphering, casting accounts, and was specifically identified with training people for apprenticeships. Poor scholars were taught without fee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Register of Presentments, Chichester.</td>
<td>1571-1682.</td>
<td>Chichester Record Office, Epi/17/5-12, Epi/23/5.</td>
<td>Records schoolmaster licences.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Printed educational records:

**Grammars:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s identified in my study</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio in Anglica[m] linguan traducta.</em></td>
<td>Terence. Printed Theodoric Rood and Thomas Hunt. (STC 23904).</td>
<td>1483.</td>
<td>The Bodleian copy is preceded by John Anwykyll’s <em>Compendium totius</em>. (STC 696).</td>
<td>English/Latin. Uses familiar phrases often relating to social interactions and family relationships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Uulgaria sta(n)brige.</em></td>
<td>John Stanbridge. Printed de Worde. (STC 23195.5).</td>
<td>1509.</td>
<td>175 editions are listed under Stanbridge’s name in the STC.</td>
<td>English/Latin. Uses familiar phrases, some relating to serving at the table.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various.</td>
<td>Robert Whittington.</td>
<td>1511 through to 1554.</td>
<td>Noted for selling his books individually and cheaply.</td>
<td>Critical of William Horman, leading to the ‘Grammariam’s war’ of the 1520s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Lily’s Grammar’ or ‘The Royal Grammar’.</td>
<td>William Lily and others. Printed by various publishers.</td>
<td>1548-9 onwards.</td>
<td></td>
<td>England’s official grammar. The history of this book is involved and sometimes unclear. Lily wrote only part of the grammar. For a full description see R.D. Smith’s entry in the *D.N.B.*21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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## Other published educational books:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Printer</th>
<th>Date of edition/s identified in my study</th>
<th>Select publishing information</th>
<th>Other notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The school of virtue.</td>
<td>Francis Seager. See Appendix Four for details.</td>
<td></td>
<td>See Appendix Four for details.</td>
<td>See Appendix Four for details.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The English Schoole-maister, teaching all his scholars the order of distinct reading and true writing of our English tongue.</td>
<td>Edmund Coote. Printed by the Widow Orwin for Ralph Jackson and Robert Dextar. (STC 5711).</td>
<td>1596.</td>
<td>Running to thirty-eight editions between 1596 and 1737.</td>
<td>Brief tenure as schoolmaster at King Edward VI Free School in Bury St Edmunds, and later at Hunsdon, Hertfordshire. Manual for elementary teachers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The schoole of good manners.</td>
<td>William Phiston/Fiston. See Appendix Four for details.</td>
<td></td>
<td>See Appendix Four for details.</td>
<td>See Appendix Four for details.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC [sic]</td>
<td>Unknown. Printed by Thomas Petyt. (STC 19).</td>
<td>1538.</td>
<td></td>
<td>According to STC, the first recorded stand alone ABC in England. The ABC format appears in William Barlow’s A proper dyaloge, betwene a gentillman and a husbandma[n]... An A.B.C. to the spiritualte, 1530 (STC 1462.5) and in Richard Whitford’s Saint Bonaventura, with an ABC in 1532 (STC 3273.5). See Appendix Four for another edition of this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludus literarius: or, the grammar schoole; shewing how to procee from the first entrance into learning, to the highest perfection required in the grammar schooles, with ease, certainty and delight both to masters and scholars...</td>
<td>John Brinsley. Printed by Humphrey Lownes] for Thomas Man. (STC 3768).</td>
<td>1612.</td>
<td>Cross promotes this and other books in press.</td>
<td>Educational and religious. Conservative Catholic grouping of passages. ABCs were popular and came in different forms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Consolation for Ovr Grammar Schoole: Or, A faithfull and most comfortable encouragement, for laying of a sure foundation of all good Learning in our Schooles, and for prosperous building thereupon...</td>
<td>John Brinsley. Printed by Richard Field for Thomas Man. (STC 3767).</td>
<td>1622.</td>
<td>No further editions are known to have been printed.</td>
<td>Brinsley was a prolific educational author. Over one hundred separate editions appear with him listed as author or translator throughout the seventeenth century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A treatise of schemes [and] tropes very profitable for the better understanding of good authors...Whervnto is added a declamation, that children even strapt fro[m] their infancie should be wel and gently broughte vp in learnynge. Written fyrst in Latin by the most excellent and</td>
<td>Richard Sherry. Printed by John Day. (STC 22428).</td>
<td>1550.</td>
<td>Includes a translation of Erasmus De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis. Erasmus’ text is very clearly identified as separate from Sherry’s text. Pagination begins again at Bi; there is also an opening title and the initial ‘I’ is decorated.</td>
<td>Erasmus’ text was printed in Antwerp in 1529 and was not translated into English until Sherry’s edition was published. This was not one of Erasmus’ most famous works in England, but it was taken up by two influential educational writers in the following decades, Richard Sherry and Roger Ascham. Edward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hake also translated this in 1574.\textsuperscript{22}

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
famous clerce, & Erasmus of & Roterodame. & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{22} Hake turned Erasmus' prose into verse, as he said: 'meeter vnto the vnlearned (vvhom I heartily vwish to be follovvers of this booke) doth seeme a great deal more pleasantaun than prose', indicating his audience was likely to be unlearned and falling outside of the gentry and aristocratic classes. Edward Hake, \textit{A touchstone for this time present, expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses as trouble the Church of God and our Christian common wealth at this daye}. Wherevnto is annexed a perfect rule to be observing of all parents and scholemasters, \textit{in the trayning vp of their schollers and children in learning. Newly set foorth by E.H} (London: By [W. Williamson for] Thomas Hacket, 1574). \textit{E5'}. Roger Ascham also borrows from Erasmus' text without acknowledgement in his 1570 \textit{The scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to vnderstand, write, and speake, the Latin tonge, but specially purpoused for the private brynging vp of youth in gentlemen and noble mens houses, and commodious also for all such, as have forgot the Latin tonge, and would, by themselves, without a scholemaster, in short tyme, and with small paines, recouer a sufficient habilitie, to vnderstand, write, and speake Latin} (London: Iohn Day, 1570). See M.F. Vaughan, 'An Unnoted Translation of Erasmus in Ascham's "Schoolmaster"', \textit{Modern Philology}, 75.2 (1977), 184-186.
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DDPS/3

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Laud. Misc. MSS 416

*British Library:*
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Additional MSS 8151
Additional MSS 37075
Additional MSS 57335
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Egerton MSS 2257
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Harley MSS 541
Harley MSS 787
Harley MSS 2251
Harley MSS 4011
Harley MSS 5086
Harley MSS 5396
Lansdowne MSS 699
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Royal MSS 17 D. xv
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MSS Ee.4.37
MSS Fr.2.38
Kk.1.5
Syn. 8. 53. 35

xli
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D/ACA 21

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SP3/14/1  
SP3/14/2.  
SP3/14/5

Chichester Record Office:  
Epl/17/5-12  
Epl/23/5  
STC III/B

Dorset Record Office:  
S235/A1/1-2  
S235/A2/5/1  
S235/B1/2  
S235/C2/4/1  
S235/D1/1/1-2

Emmanuel College, Cambridge:  
MSS I.4.31

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S379/2/1/4

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HM 128

Jesus College, Cambridge:  
MSS Q.G.8

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Lambeth MSS 853

Lancashire Record Office:  
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DDX94/100

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5480 A

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Pepys MSS 2030

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C1/1330/45-47  
C 116/151  
E 134/36 Eliz/Hil10  
E 301/9  
E301/35/31  
E 301/42/172  
E301/61/17
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*Oxford Record Office, Oxfordshire:*
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1775/2/2

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*Trinity College, Dublin:*
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DR(B)16/52
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- *Stans puer ad me[n]sa[m]*, (London: de Worde, 1510)

- *Stans puer ad mensa[m]. Otherwyse called the boke of Norture, newly imprinted and very necessary vnto all yytehe* (London: Johan Redman, 1540)

- *The B.A.C bothe in Latyn and in Englysshe* (London: Thomas Petyt, 1538)

Ascham, Roger, *The scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to vnderstand, write, and speake, the Latin tonge, but specially purposed for the priuate brynging vp of youth in ientlemen and noble mens houses, and commodious also for all such, as haue forgot the Latin tonge, and would by themselues, without à scholemaster, in short tyme, and with small paines, recourer à sufficient habilitie, to vnderstand, write, and speake Latin* (London: John Day, 1570)

Brinsley, John-

- *A Consolation for Ovr Grammar Schooles: Or, A faithfull and most comfortable encouragement, for laying of a sure foundation of all good Learning in our Schooles, and for prosperous building thereupon. More specially for all those of the inferior sort, and all ruder countries and places; namely, for Ireland, Wales, Virginia, with the Sommer Ilands, and for their more speedie attaining of our English tongue by the same labour, that all may speake one and the same language. And withal, for the helping of all such as are desirous speclittie to recouer that which they had formerlie got in the Grammar Schooles; and to proceed aright therein, for the perpetuall benefitt of these our Nations, and of the Churches of Christ* (London: Richard Field for Thomas Man, 1622)

- *Ludus literarius: or, the grammar schoole: shewing how to proceede from the first entrance into learning, to the highest perfection required in the grammar schooles, with ease, certainty and delight both to masters and schollars; onely according to our common grammar, and ordinary classical authours: begun to be sought out at the desire of some worthy fauourers of learning, by searching the experiments of sundry most profitable schoolemasters and other learned, and confirmed by tryall: intended for the helping of the younger sort of teachers, and of all schollars ...* (London: Printed [by Humphrey Lownes] for Thomas Man, 1612)

Caxton, William-

- *Explicit the book of curtesye* (Westminster, 1477/8)

- *Game and Playe of the Chesse* (Bruges, 1474)
- Here begynmeth the boke intituled Eracles, and also of Godefrey of Bolyowne, the whiche speketh of the conquest of the holy londe of Iherusalem...(Westminster, 1481)

- Here begynmeth the book of the subtyl historyes and fables of Esopo whiche were translated out of Fresnsse in to Englyshse by wyllham Caxton in the yere of oure Lorde M. CCC. xxxiiij (Westminster, 1484)

- Here begynmeth the prologue or prohemye of the book callid Caton whiche booke hath ben translated in to Englyshse by Mayster Benet Burgh, late Archedeken of Colchestre and yhe chanon of saint stephens at westmestre...and by cause of late cam to my hand a book of the said Caton in Fresnsse, whiche reherceth many a fary lernynge and notable ensamples, I haue translated it oute of fresnsse in to Englysshe, as al along here after shalle appiere, whiche I presente vnto the cyte of London (Westminster, 1484)

- Here begynmeth the table of a book entytled the book of good maners (Westminster, 1487)

- Here endeth this doctrine at Westmestre by London [in] fourmes enprinted [in] the whiche one euerrich may shortly lerne. Fresnsse and englissh (Westminster, 1480)

- Hic incipit paruus Catho (Westminster, 1476/7)

- Hic incipit paruus Catho (Westminster, 1477)

- Hic incipit paruus Catho (Westminster, 1481/2)

- [Le morte darthur] title taken from colophon: Thus endeth thys noble and joyous book entytled Le morte darthur ... which book was reduced in to Englysshe by Syr Thomas Malory ... and by me denyded in to xxi bookes ... Caxton me fieri fecit (Westminster, 1485)

- Stans puer ad mensam (Westminster, 1476)

- This book was compiled [and] made atte requeste of kyng Phelyp of Frauncse...whyche book is calyd in freynesse. le liure royal: that is to say the ryal book. or a book for a kyng....(Westminster, 1485/6)

- This is the table of the historye of reynart the foxe (Westminster, 1481)

- Thus endeth this book of the dyctes and notable wyse sayenges of the phylsophers late treanslated and drawnen out of the frenshe into our englishe tonge by my farsaide lord Therle of Ryuers and Lord Skales ...(Westminster, 1477)

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Coote, Edmund, The English Schoole-maister, teaching all his scholars the order of distinct reading and true writing of our English tongue (London: Printed by the Widow Orwin for Ralph Jackson and Robert Dextar, 1596)

de La Tour Landry, Geoffroy, Here begynmeth the booke which the knyght of the toure made and speketh of many fayre ensamples and thensygnementys and techynge of his daughters (Westminster, 1484)
Elyot, Thomas-

- The boke named the Gounemour, devised by Thomas Elyot knight (London: Thomas Bertheleti, 1531)

- The education or bringinge up children, translated out of Plutarche by Thomas Eliot elder, one of ye kingis most honorable counsayle (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1530)


Goeurot, Jean, The kegiment [sic] of life wherunto is added A treatyse of the pestilence, with The booke of children newly corrected and enlarged by T. Phayer (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1546)

Grant, Ed[ward], A president for parentes, teaching the vertuous training vp of children and holesome information of yongmen. Written in greke by the prudent and wise phylosopher Choeroneus [sic] Plutarchus, translated and partly augmented by Ed. Grant: very profitable to be read of all those that desire to be parents of virtuous children. Anno. 1571. Seene and allowed according to the Quenes intrustions (London: Henry Bynneman, 1571)

Hake, Edward, A touchestone for this time present, expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses as trouble the Churche of God and our Christian common wealth at this daye. Whereunto is annexed a perfect rule to be observed of all parents and scholemasters, in the trayning vp of their schollers and children in learning. Newly set foorth by E.H. (London: By [W. Williamson for] Thomas Hacket, 1574)

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Hyrde, Richard, A very fruteful and pleasant boke called the instructio[n] of a Christen wom[a[n], made fyrst in Laten, and dedicated vnto the queenes good grace, by the right famous clere myster Lewes Vives, and turne out of Laten into Englyshe by Rycharde Hyrd. whiche boke who so redeth diligentely shal haue knowlege of many thynges, wherin he shal take great pleasure, and specially women shall take great co[m]odyte and frute towarde the[n]creace of vertue [and] good maners (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1529)

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