**Music supplement to Lute News 58 (June 2001)**

**Collected Lute Music of Brewster, Bulman, Cotton, E. E., Fernyer and Weston**

This supplement includes the known lute solos of six English composers from the 1580s or earlier [with one possible exception]. The music of Cotton and Weston includes settings of popular grounds of the Passameasures Pavan (passamezzo antico), Quadro Pavan (passamezzo moderno), Chi Passa and Goodnight. The style and genres of their music suggest these two represent a link between the Italian musicians at the Tudor court from earlier in the sixteenth century[[1]](#footnote-1) and the first lutenist composers of the Golden Age, particularly John Johnson. From the dates of the sources that preserve versions of their music, Brewster was presumably contemporary with Cotton and Weston, although it is more difficult to determine when Bulman flourished. To these, E. E. and Fernyer may be added, if they are indeed composers, to whom one lute solo each is ascribed amongst the otherwise largely anonymous repertoire from this period.

**Brewster - A Pavan**

1a. Willoughby, ff. 10v-11r *a pauyn Bruzter owt of grenes Book pag 7*

1b. Dallis, p. 104 *a pauen of Breuusters Makinge*

It seems clear from the titles that **Brewster** was the composer of this pavan. Both versions are for six-course lute in three strains differing in many details and so have been reproduced here as nos. 1a and 1b. All three strains have divisions in Willoughby, but only the third strain in Dallis. The title of no. 1a can be explained by the fact that Richard Green was a servant of the Willoughby household who it seems owned a lute book in which this pavan was copied. No biographical information is known that sheds any light on the identity of the composer, although he may have been related to William Brewster (?1560-1644), one of the founders of New Plymouth.[[2]](#footnote-2) However, two In Nomines for viols presumably by the same Brewster survive.[[3]](#footnote-3) The dates of the Willoughby lute book, compiled *c*1575, and the Dallis lute book, begun in 1583, suggests that Brewster flourished in the mid-16th century. It is not known whether Brewster was a lutenist, although from his other surviving music it seems likely that the pavan was intabulated from music for viol consort.

**Bulman - A Pavan**

2. Euing, ff. 47v-48r *A pauen by Mr Bulman*

Dd.9.33, ff. 23v-24r untitled

Nn.6.36, f. 24r *Mrs An Rogers Choice* [from bar 21]

All three versions of the lute pavan are closely concordant, and the version in the Euing lute book is reproduced here with the extensive indications of right hand fingering and ornaments. It is for six-course lute in three strains of 32, 17 and 28 bars, respectively. The second and third strains incorporate repeats (the repeat of the second strain adding an extra bar). The incomplete version in CUL, Nn.6.36 begins at bar 21 at the top of f. 24r, following the end of another complete piece on f. 23v. This suggests that a page of the original manuscript was missing before the foliation was added. Alternatively, the pavan could have been copied from an incomplete exemplar. The name of a possible dedicatee is written below the tablature, which probably reads Mrs An Rogers. This could be An Rogers [*d*1613] who was the wife of Richard Rogers [1532/3-1597], archdeacon at St. Asaph from 1559 and dean of Canterbury from 1584.[[4]](#footnote-4) There is a fragment of tablature at the bottom of the stub of the torn out f. 20r of the Trumbull lute book.[[5]](#footnote-5) It is not a common phrase but is very similar to the second half of bar 58 of Bulman’s pavan. However, this is insufficient to conclude that a version of the pavan was copied into this source. The dates of the lute sources, c1610 for Euing, *c*1600-5 for Dd.9.33, *c*1610-15 for Nn.6.36 (and *c*1595 for Trumbull), suggest that the lute pavan could have been composed anytime before the end of the sixteenth century.

A **William Bulman** is mentioned just once in court records, which reveals that ‘Wm Bulman sworn gent Extraordinarie the 24th of Aprill by the subdean wthout Comandmt, either from the Queene or dean wch was wthout example’ in 1580.[[6]](#footnote-6) He could conceivably have composed this lute pavan. However, a more likely candidate is **Baruch/ Barich/ Barack Bulman** to whom two five-part anthems are ascribed, one in BL Add. MSS 30480-4 and the other in BL Add. MS 31226.[[7]](#footnote-7)

**Cotton**

3a. Ballet, p. 88 *The quadran paven*

3b. Dallis, pp. 28-9 *Quadran F.C.*

3c. Dallis, pp. 24-6 *quadro pauane*

Marsh, pp. 227-8 *Quadro Cotton*

4a. Marsh, p. 30 *Cottonns* [Chi Passa]

4b. Marsh, pp. 248-51 [untitled variations]

5. Marsh, pp. 362-3 *Cotton* [Variations on the Goodnight ground]

Cotton’s setting of the Quadro Pavan[[8]](#footnote-8) has two strains of 16 and 8 bars, with divisions in nos. 3b and 3c only. The version in Dallis [no. 3c] is unascribed but is nearly identical to Marsh. Interestingly the few differences have been added as corrections in Dallis. The version in Ballet [no. 3a] begins the same but continues as a different setting that may or may not be by Cotton. Similarly, the ‘Quadran F. C.’ in Dallis [no. 3b] is a different setting but includes many of the same phrases, suggesting the work of the same composer [see below]. Cotton’s Chi Passa[[9]](#footnote-9) setting has two strains of 8 and 6 bars, respectively, with divisions to the second strain only [no. 4a]. Five complete variations on this two-strain pattern appear unascribed later in the same source [no. 4b] and may be by Cotton also. His Goodnight[[10]](#footnote-10) setting includes fifteen variations on the 8 bar ground. The latter has many similarities to John Johnson’s treble and ground duet on the same ground, and John Ward has proposed that it is Johnson who borrowed from Cotton, rather than the other way round.[[11]](#footnote-11) Is it possible that Cotton was Johnson’s teacher? All Cotton’s music is for six-course lute.

In 1575 a widow named Ellen Cotton married Thomas Cardell [*d*1621], Daniel Bachelor’s uncle[[12]](#footnote-12) and court lutenist and dancing master appointed in 1575, and reappointed in 1593, 1603/4 and 1605.[[13]](#footnote-13) Thomas Cardell and Ellen had a son Francis (Cardell), who also briefly held the post of court lutenist and dancing master before he died in 1604/5.[[14]](#footnote-14) Ellen’s son by her previous marriage was **Clement Cotton**, presumably the composer of a pavan in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book arranged for keyboard by William Tisdale.[[15]](#footnote-15) Clement was alive in 1593 as he signed for Thomas Cardell’s wages in that year.[[16]](#footnote-16) It is possible that Clement was old enough to have composed or arranged the lute solos prior to their inclusion in the Marsh lute book, compiled in the 1580s. However, it is also conceivable that Ellen’s previous husband was a lutenist and the composer of the lute solos. This is tentatively supported by the fact that a cognate version of Cotton’s Quadro Pavan with identical figuration in places [e.g. bar three from the end] is found in the Dallis lute book where it is entitled ‘Quadran F.C.’. The music is quite uncharacteristic of Francis Cutting to whom these initials are usually assigned, and no other music by him is found in this source. Therefore the initials may refer to someone else, and it is possible that it was **F. Cotton**, who could be Ellen’s earlier husband. If so, this F[rancis?] Cotton may be the composer of the lute solos.

Other possible but unlikely candidates are **Roger Cotton**, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal who received morning livery for the funeral of Edward VI in August 1553[[17]](#footnote-17) and **Ralph Cotton** who was granted a lease for the ‘late hospital of Newton co. York’ in December 1557.[[18]](#footnote-18) Both are not referred to again in court records and so there is nothing to suggest either were lutenists or composers. **Richard Cotton** is a possible later member of the same family, who was a lay vicar of Westminster Abbey in 1595, one of the singingmen of St. George’s Chapel at Windsor in 1596 and sworn as a priest of the Chapel Royal in 1605 ‘in Bartholomey Masons Roome’.[[19]](#footnote-19) He attended the funeral of James I in 1625, served throughout the reign of Charles I and seems to have died during the interregnum.

**E. E. - A Dump**

6. Marsh, p. 243 *Doompe E. E.*

E. E. is presumed to refer to the composer of this dump, although no one with these initials is known. The dump has ten variations on a simple 4-bar ground for six-course lute. [Or is it initials of the Earl of Essex?]

**Fernyer - A Fancy?**

7. Marsh, p. 133 *Fernyers* [Fancy]

Fernyer is presumed to refer to the composer of this Italianate fantasia for six-course lute, although no one of this name is known.

**Weston**

8a. Dallis, pp. 22-3 untitled

8b. Marsh, p. 188 untitled

8c. Dallis, pp. 96-7 *a pauin*

Folger V.a.159, ff. 20v-21r *Westones pauion*[[20]](#footnote-20)

Och 1280, f. 3r untitled [fragment][[21]](#footnote-21)

9a. Marsh, pp. 50-4 [Inci]*pit* [Wes]*tons pau*[an]:/ *West. Pau:*

9b. ML, ff. 10v-11r *the Passameasures Pauin*

Two pavans by Weston are known.[[22]](#footnote-22) The first has two strains of 8 bars and survives in three cognate versions, with divisions to one [no. 8c] or both [nos. 8a & b] strains. The second is a setting of the Passingmeasures Pavan[[23]](#footnote-23) in a longer version of nine variations of 16 bars in Marsh and a shorter and less elaborate version of five variations in the ML lute book.[[24]](#footnote-24) Both pavans are for six-course lute, except that a tenth-course is added in the later ML version [no. 9b].

Weston seems more likely to be the composer than dedicatee of these two lute solos. The title of a lute galliard that may be by the same composer was copied in a list of music in a mid-16th century source, but unfortunately the music is lacking.[[25]](#footnote-25) There is a candidate for the composer who was active for at least the twenty years between 1538 and 1559, which considerably predates the appearance of the two pavans in the Marsh [1580s] and Dallis [*c*1583] lute books. It is surprising that the pavan remained popular enough to be copied in the 17th century into the ML lute book [*c*1610-40]. A lute player named Weston seems to have been in the employ of Thomas Cromwell in 1538, as the papers from his estate record payments to ‘Weston for lutte strings, 22s 8d.’ on 17 January 1538, and again to ‘Weston R[e]c[eived?]. for a lutte, lowtt, lwwt: 50s.’ on 19 January 1538.[[26]](#footnote-26) This could be the same 'Weston, lute player' who was employed by the Manners family, Earls of Rutland, 1558-9.[[27]](#footnote-27) He is mentioned three times in the papers of the Earls of Rutland as follows: ‘Gyvyn to Weston for the teachyng of Rycherd, my Lady page, to playe on the lute, xs.’ on 1 January 1558, ‘Payde to Weston for teachyng my Lorde’s page to playe on the lute, xs.’ on 26 April 1558 and under ‘Rewardes’ [new years’s gifts?] ‘To Weston, lute plaier, vjs viijd.’ on 4 January 1559.[[28]](#footnote-28) My lord was presumably Henry Manners, 2nd Earl of Rutland from 1543 to 1563 and the lady was probably Lady Margaret Nevill (*d*1559), his wife.[[29]](#footnote-29)

A Weston is mentioned as early as 1500 in court records.[[30]](#footnote-30) Also for the inventory item no. 25 [Weston’s Pavan] of the facsimile of the ML lute book,[[31]](#footnote-31) Robert Spencer says ‘A “Master Weston” was page and lutenist to Henry VIII 1529-32, perhaps the same “Weston, lute player” employed by the Manners family 1558-9’. However, this seems unlikely as Henry VIII’s page was presumably the young [Sir] Francis Weston who was executed in 1536 for suspected adultery with Ann Boleyn![[32]](#footnote-32) Thus, Weston the page mentioned in court records was probably a different to the lutenist of Thomas Cromwell and Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland. Sir Richard Weston[[33]](#footnote-33) was a later patron of music, to whom Thomas Ford dedicated his *Musicke of sundrie kindes* (1607).[[34]](#footnote-34) Lady Weston, possibly his wife,[[35]](#footnote-35) is the dedicatee of an almaine in the keyboard sources Paris 1186 [compiled 1630s], f. 64r, and Drexel 5609, p. 146: *The Ladie Weston’s Allmaine*.

*John H. Robinson May 2001/revised May 2016*

1. Lute solos by Italian musicians at the English Court: Augustine Bassano, Lodwick, Ambrose, Anthony, Mark Anthony, Petro and Renaldo Paradiso, *Lute News* 50 (June 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Norman Josephs, Brewster [Brusser, Bruster, Brusters], *New Grove* iii, 273. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. A four-part In Nomine is in BL Add. MS 31390, ff. 108v-109r, [modern edition: *Musica Britannica* 45, no. 132]. A five-part In Nomine ascribed to Brewster/Bruster is in Kassel 125(1-5), p. 72 etc.; NYp Drexel 4180-5, f. 58v, 77r, 79r, 72r, 53v; Ob Mus Sch. D.212-6, f. 55r etc.; Och 984-8, no. 98; BL Add. MS 32377, f. 12r (part I only), James MS, p. 196 (part I only) and Tenbury 389, p. 205 (part II only) [modern edition: *Musica Britannica* 44, no. 14]. The version in Kassell 125(1-5) is found amongst contrapuntal music by John Taverner (*c*1490-1545), Robert Parsons (*c*1530-1570), Christopher Tye (*c*1505-?1572) and John Bull (?1562/3-1628). Thanks to Peter Holman for this information. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Sidney Lee, under Richard Rogers, *Dictionary of National Biography [DNB]* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1909). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Facsimile edition: Robert Spencer, *The William Trumbull Lute Book c.1595* (Clarabricken: Boethius Press, 1980). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music [RECM]* viii, p. 318. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. The ascription to the first appears as follows: BL Add. MS 30482, f. 54v, *Baruch Bulman* (tenor); and 30483, f. 58r, *barich bullman* (bassus); the title appears in 30480, f. 52v as *I behold ye to give me grace to be have myselfe accordinge to thigh thy holy romman ...*(cantus), but the contra-tenor part in 30481 and quintus in 30484 are untitled. The name Bullman is also in a list of composers in 30480, f. 88v, according to Diana Poulton, Bulman [Bullman], *New Grove* iii, 451. The second is titled *Lord thou hast commanded* with the name Barick Bullman at the beginning and Barack Bulman at the end in an 18th century manuscript BL Add. MS 31226. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. For other settings of the Quadro Pavan see John M. Ward, *Music for Elizabethan Lutes*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 100 footnote 302. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. For other settings of the Chi Passa see Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965), pp. 101-3 and John M. Ward, 1992, *ibid*., p. 101 footnote 307. [All cognate lute settings edited for *Lute News* 131] [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. For other solo and duet settings of the Goodnight ground see John M. Ward, 1992, *ibid*., p. 75, footnote 206 and p. 102 footnote 314. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. John M. Ward 1992, *ibid*., pp. 75-6 and p. 76 footnote 208: Johnson has based his treble on Cotton’s lute solo as follows: Cotton’s variation 6 = Johnson’s variation 1; 131-4 = 31-4; 12 = 9; 7 = 12; 10 = 13; 14 = 15; 15 = 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Anne Batchelor, Daniel Bacheler: The Right Perfect Musician, *The Lute* xxviii, pp. 3-12 (1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby*, A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714* [*BDECM*] (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), I, pp. 230-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. *BDECM* I, 229-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. *Pavana Clement Cotto[n] 3/ William Tisdall*, Fitzwilliam Virginal Book [copied before 1619], p. 328. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. *RECM* vi, p. 222. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. *RECM* vii, p. 127. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. *RECM* vii, pp. 143-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. *RECM* viii, p. 321; *BDECM* I, p. 309. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Modern edition in John M. Ward, 1992, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 116, and vol. 2, p. 63, no. 52. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. John M. Ward, 1992, *ibid.*, p. 88, identifies the fragment in Och 1280 as consisting of bars 24-53 and 9-202 of a varied repeat of the second strain different from the other versions. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Listed together as one pavan in the inventories of Julia Craig McFeely, *English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630* (doctoral dissertation, Oxford, 1994). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. For other settings of the Passingmeasures Pavan see John M. Ward, 1992, *ibid.*, p. 99, footnote 298. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Variations 1-2 and 4-5 in ML correspond to 1-4 in Marsh, and ML variation 3 is unique. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. John M. Ward, 1992, *ibid.*, p. 43; Sloane 2329, f. 2v, no. 18: *Westones galyet*. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. *RECM* vii, p. 416. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 269. Woodfill, p. 62, argues that - the printed record does not show whether Weston was a musical gentleman, living as a retainer with the family, a music teacher who came to give lessons, a servant of some kind who also happened to be able to teach the lute, or whether he was a professional musician in residence. Woodfill continues - According to the evidence of the printed records the earls of Rutland did not maintain any musicians in their households from this time on, although they did have music teachers or even musicians called the earl of Rutlands. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. *Historical Manuscripts Commission* 24. Rutland Mss iv, pp. 381, 383 and 386. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 137. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. *RECM* vii, p. 170: 23 October 1500/1, Itm to Weston for 2 singers in rewarde, £4. *RECM* viii, p. 342: 18-22 December 1502, Itm to Weston for bonetamps [John Bonetamps, minstrel] in Re[ward], 40s. This is too early to refer to the young Sir Francis Weston who was born *c*1511 [cf. *DNB*]. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Facsimile edition: Robert Spencer, *The M. L. Lute Book c.1610-40* (Clarabricken: Boethius Press, 1985); also cf. *RECM* vii and viii under Sir Francis Weston. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. *RECM* vii, p. 413: Sir Francis Weston [and others] accused of adultery with Ann Boleyn, 1536; p. 414: 10 May 1536, letter Sir John Dudley to Lady Lisle: Mr. Weston [and others] indicted, and on Friday they will be arraigned at Westminster; p. 414: 10 May 1536, letter from John Husee to Lord Lisle: This day Weston [and others] hath been arraigned, and are judged to be drawn, hanged and quartered ... They shall die tomorrow, or Monday at the furthest; p. 415: Letter dated 19 May 1536 from John Husee to Lord Lisle: Weston [and others] suffered with the axe upon the scaffold at Tower Hill on Wednesday the 17th of this instant, which died very charitably. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Two possible candidates are Sir Richard Weston, first Earl of Portland [1577-1635], who was knighted in 1603, or Sir Richard Weston [1564-1613], great grandson of Sir Francis Weston mentioned above [*DNB*]. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Ford declared that he was - bound unto you by many particular favours. Of the contents Ford said - some of them hath beene gracd with your speciall favour and liking. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. She may be either Elizabeth [*d*1602] the first wife, or Frances [d1645] the second wife, of Sir Richard Weston, the Earl of Portland [*DNB*]. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)