

# PETER MOONE OF IPSWICH (d. 1601)

## A TUDOR TAILOR, POET AND GOSPELLER AND HIS CIRCLE

by JOHN WEBB

OF ALL THE entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, one of the briefest and least informative is that devoted to the 16th-century Ipswich gospeller and poet, Peter Moone. His biographer, Ronald Bayne, made little effort to investigate his subject's background, merely contenting himself with describing Moone's only known published work. In 1954, Professor A.G. Dickens, recognizing the significance of this rhyming tract, and believing that much more information about the writer must be available, published a short article in which, apparently with little success, he sought the help of fellow historians to collect all extant evidence concerning this 'figure of genuine historical interest'.<sup>1</sup> Moone, who was an Ipswich tailor, was a well-known character in the Tudor town, but he was of comparatively low social status, and references to him are scattered through many different sources. Fortunately, sufficient information remains to make possible a small-scale biographical study of an engaging personality whose career touched upon many facets of 16th-century Ipswich town life.

Branches of the Moone family are to be found in many of the towns and villages of late medieval East Anglia. Interestingly in view of Peter's career, about 1430 the household of Thomas Mone, a prosperous craftsman of Loddon in Norfolk, was alleged to be a 'scole of heresie'.<sup>2</sup> In and around Ipswich the name was not uncommon. Thus Hugh Moone, a lastmaker, was resident in the town in October 1510, and Robert Mone of Tuddenham was listed in the 1524 subsidy return.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to establish Peter's antecedents with certainty, or to discover details of his education, apprenticeship and early career, but by the end of Henry VIII's reign he was already settled in Ipswich and reasonably well-off, since at the time of the 1545-46 lay subsidy he was a resident of the north ward with land valued at £12 for which he paid £1 4s. tax.<sup>4</sup> On 16 May 1548, the bailiffs judged him to be of sufficient standing to accept ten-year-old Elizabeth Nobbys, daughter of the deceased Edmund Nobbys, as a parish apprentice for ten years. She was one of several children who were put to various trades about this time in accordance with the poor law of 1547 (1 Edward VI, c.3).<sup>5</sup> Some time earlier Peter had married, and Joan, the first known of his many children, was baptized at St Lawrence parish church on 12 March 1546.<sup>6</sup>

During Henry VIII's reign Ipswich people had become well acquainted with the radical religious ideas being propagated by the continental reformers, and many townsmen are known to have witnessed the burnings of Peke (1538) and Kirby (1546) on the Cornhill.<sup>7</sup> In 1530, the Bishop of Norwich had commented on the ominous role played in his diocese by 'marchantes and suche that hath ther abyding not farre from the see'.<sup>8</sup> In their frequent visits to the marts in the Low Countries, Ipswich traders had easy access to the large body of anti-Papal propaganda circulating there. Some of this illicit literature must have found its way back to Ipswich covertly in bales of merchandise. The only stationer known to have operated in Henry VIII's Ipswich was the Frisian Reginald Oliver *alias* Vytar, whose shop was in St Lawrence parish at the western end of the modern Buttermarket. Nearby was the house of the Carmelites, once a distinguished centre of learning, which was closed in 1538.<sup>9</sup> Oliver arrived in Ipswich before 1524, when he was included in that year's subsidy return. In 1530 he is found importing from the Low Countries a small basket of books worth 20s. The colophon of an extant 1534 edition of the *Historia Evangelica*, a version of the gospel story by the 4th-century Christian Latin writer Juvencus, makes clear that it was one of the books sold in his shop. At his death in 1549 Oliver's wife Helen took over the business, which later passed into the hands of their son Joyce.<sup>10</sup>

There is no evidence that the Oliver family ever owned a printing press, but soon after the accession of Edward VI, two, and possibly three, printers were apparently at work in Ipswich. During the brief period 1547–48, Anthony Scoloker and John Oswen were responsible for a small avalanche of more than a dozen books carrying an Ipswich imprint. Mainly of a Reformist religious character, these works for the most part consisted either of translations of continental publications or, as in the examples to be discussed, original tracts in English by local men. Scoloker, who was said to reside in St Nicholas parish, was a scholar of Dutch origin, while John Oswen, who later carried on business in Worcester, was probably of Welsh extraction. The third printer, John Overton, is such a shadowy figure that his presence in Ipswich, even his very existence, may be strongly doubted. The setting up, operating and dismantling of two or three printing presses in the town in such a short time would have been remarkable, and there is some justification for the thesis that despite their imprints, the books were in fact produced elsewhere for reasons which now can only be conjectured. There is certainly an absence of corroborative evidence in the existing town records of the printers' presence, although this is not particularly significant considering the brief period covered. There is no doubt, however, that within Ipswich at this time there was a stirring of literary talent among some of the more radical religious thinkers, and an awareness by them of the enormous importance of the printing press in helping to disseminate their convictions to a local, regional, and possibly national audience.<sup>11</sup>

The men most closely associated with this development were Peter Moone, John Ramsey and Richard Argentine *alias* Sexten. The last, who was a considerable scholar, had allegedly first come to Ipswich during Henry VIII's reign 'in a serving man's coat', which would suggest that he had acted as tutor or possibly, since he was awarded a Cambridge M.D. in 1541, physician in one of the local gentry households, such as that of the Wingfields of Brantham and Ipswich, in which some years before the young Roger Ascham had received his early education. Later Argentine, having become a priest, held the Brantham living, but was said to be grossly negligent, 'to the great peryll of the inhabitantes'. Among the residents during Queen Mary's reign was the musician turned farmer Thomas Tusser, then engaged in compiling the first version of his *A Hundredth Goode Pointes of Husbandrie*. Argentine, who became successively usher and Master of Ipswich grammar school, translated from Latin three works by continental religious reformers which were produced by Scoloker with an Ipswich imprint. It is quite possible that it was Argentine, with his experience and connections, who forged the original link, whatever its character, between Ipswich and publishing.<sup>12</sup>

Closer to Moone in background and temperament was John Ramsey, described as a carver or joiner, who had been born about 1501. A witness to the burning of Peke on the Cornhill in 1538, in the mid-1540s he was bailiff of the Ipswich manor of Christchurch for Edmund Withipoll. Like Moone a man of little education compared with Dr Argentine, Ramsey almost certainly was the author of *A Plaister for a galled horse*, which was 'Imprinted at Ippyswitche by me Jhon Oswen' in 1548.<sup>13</sup> Ramsey has been confused with his namesake, the erstwhile prior of Merton Abbey in Surrey,<sup>14</sup> but the coarse, unsophisticated polemical tract is unlikely to have come from the pen of a scholar. Typical of the twenty-three eight-line stanzas is the first:

The horse that is galled will wynse and kycke  
 If any do enterprise to come such a-nerre,  
 He thinketh ye go aboute to touche the quicke,  
 That rather he wolde runne thorow water and fier.  
 Even the lyke our massmakers begynne to stere,  
 If any in their maungines fyndeth lacke,  
 Then lyke a galled horse they stampe and stere,  
 But guppe<sup>15</sup> ye godmakers, beware your galled backe.

Maintaining this equine metaphor, Ramsey goes on to rant against the impious and arrogant life-style of the clergy and their perverted celebration of the mass. He beseeches them to 'Loke in holy scripture, learne there your dewtye'.

It is possible that a further tract, written in prose, which comes from the same reign but bears no imprint or date, is also the work of the Ipswich man, although its exact attribution is never likely to be established. *A Corosyfe to be layed hard unto the hartes of all faythfull Professours of Christes Gospel, Gathered out of the scriptures by John Ramsey* is evangelical in character, more restrained in its language than *A Plaister for a galled horse*, and supported in its argument by numerous scriptural references. Ramsey's 'corosyfe' is a mild medicine 'taken out of the heavenly Poticaries shope whiche is the holy scrypture . . . it wyll mitigate and purge the synnes, clense and make clene the inner parte of the consciens makyng them without spote or wrinkle . . .'. On occasion he also employs a military metaphor, his readers being entreated to serve their 'Capitayne Jesus Christe as his faithful souldyours'. The Saviour's body was their banner, the cross their battle-axe.<sup>16</sup>

Also published in 1548, the same year as *A Plaister for a galled horse*, was Peter Moone's contribution to the theological debate. *A short treatyse of certayne thinges abused In the Popysh Church . . .* [see Appendix], a rhyming tract of thirty-seven eight-line stanzas, is a more ambitious and accomplished piece of writing than Ramsey's poem. Interspersed with biblical quotations and references, incorporating a wider vocabulary and revealing Moone's gift for alliteration and the use of repetition for effect, it is a valuable example of the uninhibited religious literature which poured from the presses soon after the accession of Edward VI. Moreover, it gives the historian a vivid insight into the mind of an intelligent, articulate and deeply religious craftsman, the nearest one can get to a mid-Tudor Ipswich man-in-the-street. The tract, Professor A.G. Dickens has observed, 'recalls the old proletarian anti-clericalism as much as the more constructive emphases of the new theology'.<sup>17</sup> Moone saw the dawn of a new age which he and his radical contemporaries were determined to celebrate with gusto. The old days when men had been blinded by misinformation had passed. Under the young sovereign, and hopefully with the support of his sisters, Protector Somerset and the King's Council were about to take the people into the promised land, where deception would be replaced by God's word, 'the lyght of our salvation'.

During the remainder of the reign records are silent on Moone's religious activities in the town. However, all was to change with the accession of Queen Mary. When she and her entourage arrived in Ipswich for an overnight stay while en route to London to claim her throne, he and his fellow gospellers must have felt deep concern at the turn of events. Despite his naïve confidence five years earlier that Mary would give support to her brother 'all Poperie to deface', she was clearly at odds with the beliefs that Moone had so publicly proclaimed in his tract. Within a matter of months Ipswich was seething with discontent. News of a 'conspiracy' by certain 'leude personnes' whom the bailiffs had arrested, prompted the Privy Council on 22 August 1554 to order the local J.P.s to investigate. As a result, Peter Moone, John Ramsey, Christopher Goodwin and William West the younger, described as 'the first and chefest styrrers' of the trouble, were ordered to London to be kept in close confinement in the Tower.<sup>18</sup>

The dissidents were a socially diverse quartet. Moone the tailor and Ramsey the joiner were allegedly abetted by the sons of two of the richest and most prominent townsmen. Goodwin, whose merchant father, Ralph, had been an M.P. for the town in 1542 and was to represent Ipswich again in November 1554, was then about twenty-eight years of age. Already a well-known figure among the English wine merchants at Bordeaux, he was probably the co-author of the Ipswich mart project of 1573.<sup>19</sup> William West the younger also came from a merchant family, his father's kinsman having been a vice-admiral of Henry VIII's navy who had acquired the old house of the Ipswich Dominicans at the Dissolution. The fathers of the two young malcontents were close friends, Ralph Goodwin being the supervisor of West senior's will, and the two jointly holding office as bailiffs on three occasions.<sup>20</sup>

After four months' custody, the Ipswich men were called before the Lord Chancellor at the

instigation of the Privy Council, and released on condition that each should acknowledge his offence at his parish church and stand bound for his own and his fellows' future good conduct in the substantial sum of £200. The peace proved to be short-lived. In the following March there was talk of another disturbance and Ramsey, already in prison, was to remain there for the time being.<sup>21</sup> In August 1555 Robert Samuel died at the stake. A married cleric, he had been deprived of his benefice at East Bergholt and had moved with his wife to Ipswich, where he had ministered clandestinely at a time when few of the Edwardian clergy remained.<sup>22</sup> The following month brought the indictment of two carpenters (Thomas Smith and Thomas Carpenter), a bricklayer (Nicholas Mundy) and a cordwainer (Richard Browne) for having foolishly spoken of overthrowing the Queen because of 'thes nawghtie masses and shryfte'. Within a fortnight, so they said, an old house in Ipswich would be set on fire as a signal,

. . . and then men shall ringe awke and gather company together and make an insurreccion and there metinge together should be at the fire and there deuide themselves into severall places in the towne where they were appointed and to kepe the boundes of the towne that no man should go owte.

They were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment, but the authorities cannot have taken their threats very seriously since they were pardoned in January 1557.<sup>23</sup>

The following year, 1556, saw matters reach a climax. Two factions had emerged in the town, as is clear from the evidence published in his *Actes and Monuments* in 1563 by John Foxe. Besides working extensively in diocesan archives, Foxe collected much oral testimony, and both John Ramsey and more especially Peter Moone were among his informants. Early in Queen Elizabeth's reign he visited Ipswich, where later his nephew was to become headmaster of the grammar school. It is possible that Foxe also acquired first-hand evidence from his printer, John Day, who was Suffolk-born and well known to some of the leading Ipswich burgesses.<sup>24</sup> Where it is possible to check Foxe's facts, the information about events in Queen Mary's reign seems generally to be reliable.

According to Moone's testimony, those in Ipswich who were 'in heart and purpose mightily bent to impugn and impeach the growing of Christ's gospel and favourers of the same' were few in number but influential. They included Richard Smart, a wealthy draper who was M.P. and bailiff during the reign, and father of William Smart, the most dominant burgess during the Elizabethan period; Edmund Leeche, a fellow draper; John Steward, a prosperous resident of St Peter's parish who was the lessee of Handford Hall and its farmlands; and the Welshman Philip Williams *alias* Footman, an innkeeper who had lived in Ipswich since at least 1535. A fanatical supporter of Queen Mary, he became one of the town's M.P.s in 1558. Others were Matthew Butler, a musically gifted apothecary and grocer who was described as 'a curious singing man, a fine player of the organs', John Bate the town crier, 'a very enemy, and one that in Queen Mary's time would have been a priest, as it was reported, but that he was married', and a certain Philip Ulmes who remains unidentified. But the most notable of the persecutors of Moone's circle was Dr Argentine, who had forsaken his Reformist principles after Mary's accession. Then 'none more hot in all papistry and superstition than he, painting the posts of the town with "Vivat Regina Maria"'.<sup>25</sup>

The year 1556 opened sombrely:

When two women in Ippeswicke towne  
Joyfully did the fier embrace;  
When they sange out with chereful sounde  
Their fired foes for to deface;  
When Norwich Nobody put them to deth,  
We wishte for our Elizabeth.<sup>26</sup>

In May, at a visitation held in the town by Hopton, Bishop of Norwich, 'divers and sundry godly Protestants, through the accusation of evil men, were sore troubled and presented before him'. Among those examined were Peter Moone and his wife. Initially it was Peter alone who was summoned to answer for his failure to attend church and receive the sacrament. After asking him whether he believed that the Pope was supreme head and King Philip and Queen Mary rightful sovereigns, his interrogators required him to say whether he believed that 'in the sacrament of the altar was the very body of Christ substantially and really there present'. Moone's courage deserted him, and 'being timorous and weak' he meekly conformed on all points, much to the Bishop's satisfaction. Richard Smart, one of the many townspeople present, spoke of having 'good hope in the man', but added, 'he hath a perilous woman to his wife . . . she never came to church yet, since the queen's reign, except it were at evensong, or when she was churched. And not then until mass were done.' At Smart's suggestion, Moone was commanded to bring his contumacious wife Anne to be questioned, which he did that afternoon. A sharp exchange between Mistress Moone and the Bishop was followed by interrogation, during which both Peter and his wife submitted. Further discomfort was saved when Miles Dunning, the diocesan chancellor, interrupted the proceedings to inform Hopton that many heretics, some of whom were anabaptists, from places in the 'cloth country', including Boxford and Lavenham, remained to be examined. Amidst some confusion Anne was allowed to leave to breast-feed her baby, which could be heard crying in the yard below, but she and her husband were ordered to return the next morning. When the hour approached they waited at home to be summoned. 'But God so wrought, that when the time drew near that they feared calling forth, the bells rung for the bishop's departure out of the town; for the which they were not only glad, but also many a good heart in Ipswich rejoiced and gave thanks to God.'<sup>27</sup> Bishop Hopton's hasty withdrawal from the town was an unexpected anti-climax. 'The diocesan authorities', Ralph Houlbrooke has written, 'seem to have been remarkably reluctant to grasp the nettle of urban discontent.'<sup>28</sup> One is left with the impression that the volume of resistance they found, not only in Ipswich but in Suffolk as a whole, was beginning to overwhelm them.

It had been a humiliating experience for the couple. At a critical moment Peter, like his apostolic namesake, had been found wanting. In front of his fellow townsmen he had denied the very doctrines which he had so earnestly propagated a short time before. When he arrived home after his confrontation with Bishop Hopton, he was so ashamed of his irresolution that on entering his parlour he was tempted to kill himself with a sword hanging on the wall.

From these same critical weeks comes 'A Complaint against such as favoured the Gospel in Ipswich', which, almost uniquely for a 16th-century town, provides the names of those men and women who were said to be members of the Protestant 'resistance' to the Catholic reaction. Drawn up by Philip Williams *alias* Footman, John Steward and Matthew Butler, it was 'exhibited to Queen Mary's Council, sitting in commission at Beccles . . . the 18th of May, anno 1556'.<sup>29</sup> Surprisingly, both Moones are omitted from the list, but John Ramsey and his wife, 'now in prison', are among the seventy-nine men and women alleged to have offended.<sup>30</sup> The accused came from all but two of the town's twelve parishes, but St Clement's with seventeen named dissidents and St Nicholas with fourteen seem to have been the principal centres of discontent. The largest section of the document consists of the names of twenty-two males and seventeen females who had 'fled out of the Town, and lurked in secret Places'. In all but one instance – that of Alice Tooley, who went to Darsham, near Dunwich – the destination is not given, and so it is not known whether any had gone overseas, which would have been relatively easy from Ipswich with its strong European commercial connections. Certainly a minor emigration to Switzerland took place from the Hadleigh area, where Dr Rowland Taylor was burnt in February 1555.<sup>31</sup> With the exception of Mistress Tooley and Rose Nottingham with their mercantile background, the Ipswich refugees were almost all from the class of artisans and minor shopkeepers. They included a tanner (William Pickess), a bricklayer (William Harset), a cloth finisher (Stephen Greenwich), a saddler (John Carlton), a seller of heretical books, of whom little else is known

(Richard Hedley), a former curate of St Margaret's (Laurence Waterward), and at least five master or journeymen shoemakers (Thomas Thompson, Thomas Flower, William Palmer, Richard Richman and John Deersley).

The next two sections are more specific in their charges. In the first are given the names of seventeen men and six women from nine parishes who had refused the sacrament. We know less about the occupations of the people in this group, which included the Ramseys, Martin Johnson (an alien hatmaker 'who lieth bedrid'), and Robert Bray, a future bailiff.<sup>32</sup> The other section reported 'such as observe not Ceremonies'. In the five parishes affected, three men (Richard Haward, Robert Cambridge and William Lyons, gentleman) 'refused the pax', and four of the nine women, including Robert Bray's wife and two midwives, opposed infant baptism, an equal number objecting to aspects of the mass. The misdemeanour of the wife of John Tye, a prosperous mariner and shipowner, was not given. Finally, five women who were priests' wives were said to 'have access' to their husbands.

By way of an appendix to these allegations are requests to regulate the conduct of certain persons who were likely to subvert other members of the community. They included Richard Bird, the town gaoler (in whose custody were the Ramseys), 'who by evil counsel doth animate his prisoners of his sect'. Furthermore, Bird and his wife 'did check us openly with unseemly words, tending almost to a tumult'. Thomas Sadler, a priest, had had words with John Bate, the town crier, on 6 May [1556], and the Bishop was requested 'to appoint a curate of more ability to feed his cure with God's word'. It was also hinted that Ralph 'Carlton' [i.e. Thornton], the married curate of St Matthew's and St Mary Elms, 'whether by corruption of money he hath crossed his bookes of any that are there named, and hath not received indeed, as it is reported'. There was also a plea 'That none may be suffered to be midwives, but such as are catholic, because of evil counsel at such times as the necessity of women's travail shall require a number of women assembled'.

Despite a very thorough search of all the principal contemporary town records, almost no further information has been forthcoming about approximately one-third of those named. Clearly these were very humble, normally law-abiding people, often still young, who doggedly stood by their faith and faded into obscurity again after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. The religious activities of only a few of all the gospellers listed can be traced during the remaining two years of Mary's reign. The most celebrated was undoubtedly William Pickess the tanner, who, after fleeing from the town, seems eventually to have sought safety in the environs of the capital, since he was one of a group of religious radicals who were surprised and arrested in a field at Islington in May 1558. He and others were sent to Newgate, interrogated and sentenced to death. Seven suffered at Smithfield and six, including Pickess, at Brentford on 14 July 1558.<sup>33</sup> A certain Elizabeth Pickess, presumably of the same family, was still living in Ipswich c.1620 and was mentioned in the will of her cousin, William Pickess, a Surrey shipwright, whose possessions included 'my book of Martyrs', in which his namesake had been immortalized, as well as his 'best Bible, all Calvin's works and Mr Parkyns [William Perkins] upon Mathew'.<sup>34</sup>

The Complaint reveals clusters of kinsfolk and friends who must have provided focal points of dissent. Much in evidence is one prominent merchant and ship-owning family, the Nottinghams. According to John Foxe, with whom she communicated, Rose, the stout-hearted daughter of William the elder, might easily have shared the fate of her friends Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield, and Robert Samuel, whom she defiantly kissed on his way to martyrdom. John and Nicholas Nottingham refused to receive the sacrament, as did two of the servants of Robert Nottingham. A third, Anne Fenne, was one of those who fled, perhaps accompanying Rose when she found it too dangerous to remain in Ipswich. Another dissident, Alice Tooley, widow of the most prosperous and philanthropic merchant of early Tudor Ipswich, and herself described as 'swelling by too much riches into wealth', was a close family friend.<sup>35</sup> Ironically, Matthew Butler, one of the three anti-Protestant activists who drew up the Complaint, was linked by marriage to the Nottinghams. Although the relationship is not entirely clear, he was very probably Rose's brother-in-law.<sup>36</sup> Another family group consisted of Emma Pownder, widow of

Thomas, a merchant whose brass is one of the most famous to survive from Henry VIII's reign. She, her daughter and grand-daughter, like Mistress Tooley, lived in St Clement's parish, where they 'refused to behold the elevation of the sacrament'.<sup>37</sup>

One of their neighbours was the intrepid Agnes Wardall. She and her family were among the most interesting of the alleged troublemakers. The widow of a mariner who had been shipmaster to William Sabyne for over 20 years and who had died in early 1555, their son Robert, born about 1523, was a central figure in St Clement's parish well into the next century. One of those forced to flee Ipswich, he temporarily adopted his father's profession, 'serving as a sailor' aboard a crayer, 'a faculty not of him before frequented, nor he a man nimble for that trade, because God had given him an impediment by reason of a stumped foot, unfit to climb to top and yard'. Nevertheless, 'it pleased God to enable him with his strength, that he was strong and lusty to do good service, as they can well witness that were of his company'. Meanwhile his wife, also called Agnes like her mother-in-law, was forced to flee the town. One night in July 1556 she returned to see her children, who had been left in the charge of a maid. Unfortunately her presence was discovered by Dr Argentine, who informed Matthew Butler, then one of the constables, who took a party of the watch to apprehend her. The story of how the members searched 'in the bed . . . under the bed, behind the painted cloths, and in the chimney, and up into the chimney', while Agnes remained concealed in a cupboard, was reported to Foxe by Peter Moone. Eventually she was able to scramble through a gap in the garden fence into a field, where she hid in a ditch full of nettles. There she was detected by George Manning, a sympathetic member of the watch, but he turned a blind eye and diverted his companion's attention.<sup>38</sup>

Mistress Bird, Joan Barber (Emma Pownder's daughter) and Alice Tooley were among those who repudiated the allegations.<sup>39</sup> Apparently, except for William Pickess, those named in the Complaint, as well as Peter and Anne Moone, managed to avoid more drastic persecution during the remainder of the reign. After the accession of Queen Elizabeth recriminations could easily have poisoned Ipswich society, but the anti-Protestant faction that had been so active seems rapidly to have disintegrated. Dr Argentine once more became a firm adherent of the reformed church and, having given up his Mastership of the grammar school, left the neighbourhood to further his career, although he retained the living of St Helen's with St Clement's in Ipswich until 1568, when he probably died.<sup>40</sup> Matthew Butler (died 1560) and more especially Edmund Leeche (died 1581) continued to participate in local government during the early years of the new reign,<sup>41</sup> and John Steward, who survived until 1567, was not averse to leaving 6s. 8d. in his will for a funeral sermon.<sup>42</sup> Philip Williams *alias* Footman is last heard of in 1565, when he was recorded as having paid 5s. rent to the town for a house at St Mary Tower church gate.<sup>43</sup>

Richard Smart, the Moones' particular adversary, died in 1560. According to information given to Foxe, he spent his last two years repenting his earlier behaviour and tearfully listening to sermons given by 'divers godly learned men'.<sup>44</sup> Yet while his eldest son, William, became a pillar of the Ipswich establishment, his youngest, Edmund, espoused the Catholic faith, and about 1565 fled to Brussels, where he was still living in 1570, financed by the revenues from lands and tenements which he had inherited from his father. Two houses in St Mary Quay parish brought £4 a year and a farm in Kirton and Falkenham another £16 or £18. During one of several secret visits to Ipswich he was said to have sold these properties to his brother William, possibly to avoid their seizure, although his accusers admitted that they were not aware of any 'covyn fraude or deceypt'. Another Ipswich man, Richard Seely, fled to Elsinore in Denmark, where he married. Some stubborn Catholics who remained in the area were alleged to have acquired 'bokes of Papistrye' from various sources, including Joyce Oliver, the Ipswich stationer.<sup>45</sup>

Quite possibly among Oliver's less contentious stock were copies of the first edition of Thomas Tusser's *A Hundredth Goode Pointes of Husbandrie*. Destined to become a national best seller, its publication in 1557 coincided approximately with Tusser's decision to exchange country for town because of his wife's illness.

Then thought I best, from toile to rest,  
 and Ipswich trie:  
 A towne of price, like paradise,  
 For quiet then, and honest men,  
 There was I glad, much friendship had,  
 a time to lie.

Unfortunately his wife soon died,<sup>46</sup> almost certainly in early November, 1559, since St Mary Quay register records the burial then of 'Mrs Tussarde the wiffe of Mr Tussard'.<sup>47</sup> Within a short time he had married a certain Amy Moone, whom most writers have assumed was related to Peter, his fellow Ipswich rhymester.<sup>48</sup> No connection has been discovered and one seems unlikely, since Amy came from a gentry family of Blunts Hall, Witham, only a short distance from Rivenhall, Tusser's birthplace.<sup>49</sup>

In August 1561, Queen Elizabeth paid an extended visit to Ipswich while on her progress through the eastern counties. Almost nothing is known about the civic welcome, but no doubt the town governors arranged the customary programme of speeches, gifts, and dramatic and musical entertainment. It has been suggested that one of the events was a production of John Bale's play *Kynge Johan*. Originally written before 1536, at a time when Bale had probably been prior of the Ipswich Carmelites, and subsequently revised to make it more suitable for stage production, the work is thought to have been specially adapted by its author to suit the royal occasion. In 1838 the Camden Society published a version based upon the only extant script, which, it was said, had been discovered 'among some old papers, probably once belonging to the Corporation of Ipswich'. An internal reference to 'Great monymentes' which had been established by King John in Ipswich, Dunwich and Bury, and praise and a prayer for Elizabeth at the play's end, give added credence to the suggestion that it was part of the 1561 celebrations. Generally accepted to be the first English historical play, 'or at least a bridge between the morality and the historical play proper', it is of particular interest to discover a tentative link between its performance and Peter Moone.<sup>50</sup>

For several years after the Queen's visit, the chamberlains' accounts contain occasional references to money disbursed towards the expenses of the occasion. In 1561–62 there is recorded the payment of 5s. 'to the plaiers Peter Moone and his companie'. This is the only known reference to Moone as an actor-manager, and may well refer to a performance before the Queen of Bale's anti-Catholic work, in which the fifteen parts, which needed a cast of at least five, were performed by loyal townsmen, some of whom, perhaps, had been associated with the defunct guild play. The following year there is a payment of 5s. to an anonymous group of performers 'wyche playde a matter cawled Barberows Terryne', and in November 1563 the disbursement of 6s. 8d. 'for a playe to the towne plaiers'. These same accounts also contain two references which suggest that John Ramsey may also have been associated with these local dramatic activities. In 1562–63, 6s. 8d. was paid to 'Father Ramsey to playe on Mote Halle' and in 1564–65 a similar sum to Ramsey 'for a playe'. It is not known for certain whether this was Moone's fellow gospeller, but 'Ramsey' was an uncommon Ipswich surname, and at about sixty years of age he may well have been described as 'Father'.<sup>51</sup>

During the mid-years of the century, Moone's family continued to expand, with his wife giving birth to seven children between 1562 and 1569.<sup>52</sup> For many years their home was in St Mary Tower parish, in the north ward. Here he had some minor difficulties with his neighbours. In November 1562, for example, John Cooke, a saddler, annoyed him by piling muck against his wall and 'with evill savours in laynge the makynge clene of one privye ageynste hys parloure wyndowe'. A few years later Cooke's widow was said to have laid earth against the ground sill of his house, and she was ordered to move it at least fourteen inches away. At the same time he was being troubled by another neighbour, Hegtree, who was required by the headboroughs to maintain permanently a gutter to carry away the rainwater from Moone's roof. In 1571 Widow

Cooke was causing him further vexation by stacking logs against his wall, and she had also neglected to tile the 'crepelynge', which was her responsibility.<sup>53</sup>

In 1581 Moone decided to undertake substantial repairs to his house but did not have enough money to do so. He therefore sought the assistance of the Corporation, and at a Great Court it was agreed 'that there shalbe lent to Peter Moone in respecte of his povertie . . . tenne poundes'. The burgesses' gesture reflects the esteem in which he must have been held at this time. Half was to be paid back the following Michaelmas and the remainder a year later.<sup>54</sup> The debt was finally settled a few weeks late on 24 December 1583.<sup>55</sup> It is probable that the rebuilding did not take place in St Mary Tower parish but either in St Stephen's, where he was resident in 1580 and where in 1583 he paid a weekly rate of 2d. towards the preacher's wages, or in St Lawrence parish, where in 1580–81 a house was described as 'Peter Moone's . . . late in the occupyenge of Rauff Cannawaie'.<sup>56</sup> In August 1590 he was living in Brook Street and was one of several residents ordered to pave in front of their houses.<sup>57</sup>

Towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign a suit in the Chancery Court shows Peter in the middle of a legal wrangle with John Lucas, an Ipswich mariner. The latter complained that some three years earlier, about 1588, his wife, then a widow and Moone's tenant, had been approached by the tailor, who, being in need of money, had persuaded her to borrow on his behalf £10 from Robert Coppyn of Ipswich. She did so, and with Moone and a clothier named Randes stood bound for its repayment in the sum of £20. Before the time came, Moone, 'by flatteringe and dissembleinge speaches and other inderecte practises' inveigled her to convince Lucas 'that the sayd *xli* soe borrowed . . . was for herself and to her owne use and that she had it'. When, after marrying her, Lucas eventually discovered the truth, he felt particularly aggrieved since, having given 'faith and credit to the wordes of his sayd wife', he had entered into further financial arrangements with Moone, who was alleged to have defaulted on the agreed date and repaid the loan only after he had been gaoled. The bond had been confiscated by Coppyn and Lucas claimed to have lost substantially from the transaction. Moone, for his part, made a series of denials, alleged that Lucas had been outlawed, and asked for the whole matter to be dismissed with costs.<sup>58</sup>

Unfortunately nothing further is known about this dispute, but the tone of Lucas's accusation seems alien to what we know of Moone. References to his poverty must be viewed with caution; it was a relative term. During the early years of Elizabeth's reign he was of modest substance and appeared from time to time in the tax records. In 1568, for example, he was one of sixty-three men and women out of a total of 222 taxpayers who were assessed at £1 in land and expected to pay 1s. 4d. In his own ward he was one of fourteen out of forty-four.<sup>59</sup> During the middle and later years he appears less frequently and not at all in the poor rate returns which survive. He was neither substantial enough to pay nor poor enough to receive, a good example of the lesser master craftsman of whom normally we know little. That he owned a small house, possibly in St Lawrence parish, which he let, is clear from the Lucas lawsuit, and when he came to make his will in September 1600, he was able to leave money owed by Christopher Brook 'for my howse' to his daughter, Alice Barker, a widow, as well as his goods and chattels.<sup>60</sup>

Extant town records provide only limited information about Ipswich burgess admissions during the pre-Elizabethan period, but if an entry in Bacon's *Annalls* relates to Peter Moone the tailor, he neither served his full apprenticeship with an Ipswich master nor was the son of an existing burgess. Dating from June 1552, the extract from a lost court book tells us that a certain Peter Noon [*sic*] 'elected free burgess for 40s. fine, is discharged of the said place and fine, paying 10s.'<sup>61</sup> This suggests that originally he had been a 'foreigner' in Ipswich who had been allowed to buy his freedom, but subsequently had either compulsorily, or more probably voluntarily, had it revoked. Whatever the circumstances, any business activities during the Marian years must have been carried on as a non-burgess who paid an annual fee for the privilege but was denied the benefits enjoyed by a freeman. At a Great Court held on 6 December 1560, he asked to be readmitted to the town's burgess body and was permitted to do so on payment of 30s. – not 40s. as on the previous occasion – credit apparently being given for the 10s. fine he had paid in 1552.<sup>62</sup>

Glimpses of Peter the tailor are to be found in a number of records, most notably the annual accounts of the Tooley Foundation. From material supplied to him he made clothing for some of the inmates. In 1576–77, for example, he and another tailor received £1 3s. 4d. for twenty gowns with badges. Two years later Peter was paid 4s. for six pairs of men's hose, 8d. for a frieze gown and hose for Mother Harrison, and 8d. for a pair of slops made of black russet kersey with Welsh plain cloth lining for Thomas Harpam. In 1580–81 he received 5s. for making six gowns and in December 1582 10s. for twelve gowns. He does not seem to have acted professionally for the Ipswich Christ's Hospital, although in 1574 he sold a laver to the governors for 6s. A somewhat unexpected entry among the Corporation records for 1580 reveals him being fined 2s. for engrossing butter. In the Petty Court books are numerous references to him as plaintiff or defendant in various legal actions, mainly concerned with the non-payment of debts. Only one son is known to have followed him into his craft. William Moone was formally apprenticed to his father for seven years in March 1567. Like most boys he was promised double apparel and a sum of money (10s.) at the end of his training, together with the tools of his trade, in William's case a 'pressinge iron' and a pair of tailor's shears.<sup>63</sup>

Moone's role as a burgess can be examined in detail for only the last twenty-eight years of his life. He, like all Ipswich freemen, whether portmen, members of the Twenty-four, or of the 'common sort', was expected to be present at the Great Courts which were held at the Moot Hall on the Cornhill on an average about seven or eight times a year. Unless he had some 'lawfull or reasonable excuse', it was his duty to share in the discussions and decisions of this, the town's ultimate ruling body. Moone's attendance over the years was reasonably good by the standards of the time. Of the 231 courts for which we have information between 1572 and 1600, he was present at 114. Absences grew more frequent during his last four years, when he made only five appearances, the last being shortly before his death in 1601.<sup>64</sup>

The largest number of burgesses known to have attended a Great Court during this period was on 26 September 1576, when a grand total of 134, but not including Peter, turned up; as few as thirty-five were present on 31 December 1596. Absentees could be fined, and on one occasion in 1580 Moone and eight others were each ordered to pay 10s. for this offence. Subsequently it was agreed that they had been given inadequate warning of the impending court and the fines were remitted. Nevertheless, absenteeism was a recurrent worry and it was decided on 11 October 1581 that henceforth each ward should be allotted a specific burgess whose task was to discover and report offenders, and to receive twopence for himself out of every shilling fine levied as a result of his information. Moone was appointed to undertake this responsibility in the east ward (i.e. the parishes of SS Clement, Mary Quay and Stephen).<sup>65</sup> Despite his and his colleagues' efforts, there does not seem to have been a marked improvement in the burgesses' record.

When attending, each burgess who was sufficiently well-off was expected to wear a 'comly gown'. Failure to do so could lead to exclusion and a fine of 3s. 4d. Surprisingly, considering his profession, Moone was one of twenty-one who, on 8 September 1578, in the eyes of their peers, could afford to provide themselves with such a garment but had failed to do so. He and his fellow defaulters were not fined on this occasion, but required to repair the omission before the next Great Court or face the consequences.<sup>66</sup>

Moone's status was such that he was never called upon to be a guildholder (i.e. alderman of the guild merchant), an office which was intensely unpopular and which few but the humblest burgesses could avoid. He was sometimes required to undertake certain routine duties, but these were never of great significance. On a few occasions, for example, he was co-opted on to the body which annually assessed the fines to be paid by non-burgesses to enable them to continue trading in the town.<sup>67</sup>

Like all resident able-bodied males, Peter Moone was expected to be a member of the local militia. Perhaps because of his acting experience, he was chosen to be town drummer. An interest in percussion is revealed in 1562, when he was said to have bought a 'droume de walnuttree' for 26s. 8d., together with a dagger costing 8s. An inventory of items in the gaoler's keeping in 1568

included 'a dromme belongynge to the towne remaynyng with a case of lether', perhaps the same as that for which, in 1571–72, Moone provided new 'dromme heddes' costing 3s. It was not until September 1580 that his regular role was first recorded. In recompense for 'certain service by him done with the drome for the towne at certain musters and traynyng past' he was excused the fine of 2s. imposed on him for regrating. The drummer was an important figure during military exercises, often described in contemporary records as an 'officer', whose job it was to beat time when the men were on the march, transmit orders to the rank and file, and induce a martial atmosphere when required. In 1586–87 Moone was paid 3s. 4d. for repairing the town drum, but by then his duties had been taken over by others, including John Cressye *alias* Mynter, who was required 'to use the drome at all tymes when nede shall require'.<sup>68</sup> Also on show at the musters and on various civic and social occasions was the town flag or ancient, which was in the Ipswich colours, now uncertain, and probably made of silk with tassels and streamers attached. A new one was made by Moone in 1578–79, for which he received 14s. 2d. It must have had rough usage, because the following year's accounts reveal 8d. being paid to John Wilkinson, a fellow tailor, for repairs to the fabric, and 1s. 8d. to John Greenleaf for a new staff. This ancient seems to have lasted until 1587 when it was replaced.<sup>69</sup>

Little evidence has been found of Peter's religious activities during the post-Marian period. That he was still much involved in spiritual matters is clear from such entries as that in St Peter's churchwardens' accounts for 1585: 'Paid to Peter Mone for Readinge of service iij severall daies ijs.'<sup>70</sup> It proved to be a significant year for Peter since he was a principal player in events which were helping to shape the character of the 'godly civic commonwealth' which, as Professor Collinson has reminded us, was the ultimate ambition of the townspeople.<sup>71</sup> His participation also gave his finances an unexpected boost.

In early 1585 Ipswich was abuzz with

serten seditious libelles, rymes and wrightinges moving sedition, contencion, slaunder or defamacion . . . touching the bayliffes, portemen, prechers & other of this Towne published or spredd . . . within sixe monethes last past . . .

The Great Court was so alarmed that on 1 February it was decided to offer the very substantial sum of £40 to anyone who could discover the perpetrators within eight days. Apparently there were two separate libels and a month later the author of the first, one Edmund Goodyng, had been discovered and confessed. He and 'all other actors and consentors therunto' were ordered to be prosecuted and punished according to advice given by Mr Justice Clench. As for the discoverers of the principal culprits, they were to be rewarded for their service to the community. Since there was some dispute over the relative merit of their claims, the matter was to be resolved by arbitration. A further £10 was offered to anyone discovering the author of the second libel.

The two sleuths were in fact John Hawys, the town clerk, and Peter Moone. In May it was decided at a Great Court 'that Peter Moone, being the first fynder of the most infamous libell shall have xxx*li* therof and that the other *xli* shall remayne to be geven to him that shall fynde out the other libell between this and Michaelmas'. If it remained undiscovered, 'then the said Peter Moone shall have that *xli* also; and because John Hawys hath taken great paynes about the sifting out of the libell and had the matter confessed to him first that did make the libell, the said Peter Moone of his owne offer and good will hath promised uppon receipt of the said xxx*li* to geve to the said John Hawys xls.' If Peter should happen to be awarded the other £10 he promised to give a further £1 6s. 8d. to Hawys. The Treasurer's account for 1584–85 shows that £30 was paid to Moone, but there is no record of his receiving the second reward.<sup>72</sup>

The nature of the allegations to which the burgesses took such offence is unfortunately not clear since there are no further direct references in the town records. It seems likely, however, that they were not unconnected with the controversy at this period between Dr Robert Norton, the principal public preacher since 1576, and his recently arrived assistant, the more radical William Negus. Soon the two were at odds and on 1 March 1585 the dispute came to the Great Court

which, according to Nathaniel Bacon, divided into pro-Norton and pro-Negus factions, and 'foule wordes were spoken'. It was decided that a committee should confer with the protagonists to decide their future. Some Ipswich people, it was later reported, took offence at Norton's non-residency at Aldeburgh, where he had held the benefice since 1572, and apparently refused to contribute to his town preacher's salary in protest. But Christopher Whatwith of St Matthew's parish praised him for his sound doctrine and stated that one of the bailiffs, the puritan John Moore, was 'as vile a man as liveth'. In the event, Norton, a dying man, left plague-stricken Ipswich in September 1585 and retired to Aldeburgh, taking with him a testimonial from the town governors to allay any suspicion of misbehaviour on his part. It stated that during his nine years at Ipswich he had 'governed himself his famely and houshold to the good example of the inhabitantes . . . and in that tyme also he confuted sondrye dampnable opinions tending to heresye if by his care and diligence it had not ben well loked into in tyme'. The Presbyterian Negus, ostensibly the victor, was also soon on his way out of the town, having 'accepted a good call' to the church at Leigh in Essex.<sup>73</sup>

Peter Moone died early in 1601 and was buried at St Stephen's on 28 February almost exactly a year after his wife.<sup>74</sup> Of the huge family that they had had, virtually nothing further is known. William and John Moone, presumably their offspring, are occasionally found referred to in contemporary documents,<sup>75</sup> but only a widowed daughter, Alice Barker, was mentioned in Peter's will, made on 20 September 1600 and written in his own clear but trembling hand. She was the sole beneficiary with the exception of Richard Dawtrey, gentleman, his supervisor, to whom he bequeathed 20s. 'to stand good frond unto my dawghter Alice and to be aydant and assystant with his good counsell and healp to deffend hir from troubills yf any shall happen to be offryd unto hir'. He left his body to be buried in the earth 'untyll the gloryous comyng of our blessyd Lorde & savyour Jesus cryst his comyng to Judge bothe the qwyck and the dead and then to beholld his gloryous maiestye with thease same eyes, so that bothe bodye & soule being Joyned togythar agayne with the elect, shall entar those Joyes preparyd before the creacion of the world, and In this constant faythe my hope Is to persever and contynew by thassistances of godes holye sperit unto the end . . .'<sup>76</sup>

## APPENDIX

## PETER MOONE'S TRACT

Moone's tract was printed both by John Oswen in 1548 and by William Copland of London, probably about the same time. The text reproduced here is based on the British Library copy (C.39, e.59) of the Ipswich edition. Consisting of a paper booklet which, with covers, contains eight leaves, it now, after cropping, measures approximately 5in x 7in, and is contained in a later leather binding. The poem is printed in black-letter type. The colophon reads: 'Imprinted at Ippswyche by me Jhon Oswen Cum Privilegio ad Imprimendum solum.' There is no printed date but this copy has '1548' written on it in ink. Faded 16th-century handwriting on the back cover shows that at one stage it was owned by a certain Robert Rowly. Another copy of the Ipswich edition is in the Fellows' Library, Clare College, Cambridge (Tractus K 227).

The poem is reprinted faithfully in its entirety, but marginal biblical references have been omitted and stanza numbers added. Following the title are five scriptural texts not given here in full: Matthew vii, 19; Psalm cxxiv (referred to as cxxiii), 7; Matthew xv, 13; Psalm cxix (referred to as cxviii), 126; Psalm xvi (referred to as xv), 1. At the end, after 'Amen', are further quotations: James i, 17; Proverbs ii, 6; Psalm cxv, 1; I Timothy i, 17 – 'Quod Peter Moone'.

Sixteenth-century spelling, use of capitals and the ampersand have been retained, as have been the original *y<sup>e</sup>* (the) and *y<sup>t</sup>* (that), but the modern usage of *u* and *v* and *i* and *j* has been adopted. The half-hearted and confusing 16th-century punctuation has been modified.

A short treatyse of certayne thinges abused  
In the Popysh Church, longe used:  
But now abolysed, to our consolation,  
And Gods word avauced, the lyght of our salvation.

- 1 Grace whiche is the mercy, favor and acceptation  
Of God our heavenly father be geven to this audience.  
Peace from Jesu Christ, our helth and satisfaction,  
Whiche is the true tranquillite of a quiet conscience,  
Be ministred unto you with a more relyced sentence  
Than all tonges be able to make declaration.  
My intente is to declarc, yf a while ye will kepe scilence,  
How goddes worde is florissed, the light of our salvation.
- 2 We have bene drowned with dreames as our forefathers have bene,  
Lyvinge in wilfull ignorance, not searching for y<sup>c</sup> verite,  
Beleving to have syght whan we have not sene,  
But heapinge synne upon synne, committing iniquite  
For lacke of godly knowledge, brought into captivite,  
So y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>c</sup> blind leade y<sup>c</sup> blind, as Christ maketh demonstration,  
And bothe fell in y<sup>c</sup> lake of utter darkenes or tenebre,  
But now goddes word is florissed, ye light of our salvation.
- 3 The shepheardes that should fede the flocke, as Ezechiel doth say,  
And hath famysshed them for fode, wo unto them all,  
That thus suffereth y<sup>c</sup> shepe to perisshe, going astray,  
From y<sup>c</sup> handes of suche blind guydes y<sup>c</sup> lord doth us call.  
The sicke have they not healed, y<sup>c</sup> weake have they let fall,  
But churlishly and cruellye be they had in estimation.  
Come away good people from their doctrine diabolicall,  
For now goddes word is florissed, y<sup>c</sup> light of our salvation.
- 4 A gret colour of holines in y<sup>c</sup> Popes church hath ben used,  
The which is playne wickednes, as goddes word proveth ryghte,  
To mainteyn the old customes, of most men now refused,  
The verite cleane banissed & truth put to flight,  
Yf god had not bene mercyfull, all men had lost the light,  
Blynde was the cerimony for all the saintification,  
But now it is evident to every christen wight,  
How goddes word is florissed, the light of our salvation.
- 5 In y<sup>c</sup> stede of goddes word we had holy bread & water,  
Holy palmes, holy asshes, holy candles, holy fycr,  
Holy bones, holy stones, holy crewittes at the aulter,  
Holy censars, holy bannars, holy crosses, holy atyer,  
Holy wax, holy pax, holy smocke, holy smyer,  
Holy oyle, holy creame, holy wync for veneration,  
Holy coope, holy canepy, holy reliques in y<sup>c</sup> quier,  
Thus godus word could not floriss, y<sup>c</sup> light of our salvation.
- 6 We have had belles christened, vestimentes consecrated,  
Chalices anointed, high altares wasshed and halowed,  
Images tabernacled, dead mens bones shryned,  
Conjured Crosses censed, spittled and spattled,  
With turne and half turne, the people was deceyved,  
Seist me or seist me not, and moche more abhominacion,  
Feattes of legerdemayne by these jugglers invented,  
That goddes worde shulde not florysshe, the lyght of oure salvacion.

- 7 Upon the high holy evennes, as they do them call,  
 They range all the belles a solempne noys to heare,  
 There had we evensong, complyne, & salve w<sup>l</sup>all,  
 Of y<sup>t</sup> was song or sayd themselves were never the nere,  
 For it was in a foren tonge, as it doth well apere,  
 Nother to them nor us was there edification,  
 For it was all lippe labor, song they never so cleare,  
 Syldome preache they christ to be the light of our salvation.
- 8 The nexte day folowing we had matynes with prime and howres holy,  
 Many a deus in adjutorium, all in the latten tonge,  
 Conjuring of holy water folowed then immediaty,  
 Procession after ydolles all the churche yarde long,  
 Hygh masse with devout sensinges ruffling it in prikson,  
 Then ranne we to take holy bread withoute signification,  
 These plantes be pluct up, be they never so stronge,  
 They were not graffed on goddes worde, the light of our salvation.
- 9 With these old customes & such lyke god is displeased sore,  
 As in the first of Esay there is demaunded playne,  
 Who required these of you, suche thinges I do abhor,  
 Your Sabothes and your solempne dayes, your fastinges are in vayne,  
 Newe holydayes & fastinges from my hart I do disdayne,  
 God saith he is wery both of you and your oblacion,  
 He byddeth you labour in his vneyarde and therin take payne  
 To teach the people Gods word, the light of our salvation.
- 10 Sone it is sene what paynes in this vneyarde they dyd take,  
 For every quicke sprynge that brought forthe the frute of Gods verite,  
 They cryed out on him, herctike, burne him at a stake,  
 He speaketh againste oure Ceremonyes and therfore shall he dye,  
 Throwe suche wretches in prison and let the caytyfes lye,  
 And yf they be not willinge to make their recantation,  
 Famysh them for fode or murther them pryvely,  
 They speake agaynste tradycions, the lyght of oure salvacion.<sup>77</sup>
- 11 Than scourged they the simple soules with their whyp of correction,  
 And thereon hanged vi strynges, surely fastened with a lawe,<sup>78</sup>  
 This whyp was very mete for their pestilent complection,  
 For thorow suche tyranny the peoples hartes were rawe,  
 Thus many faithfull membres frome the truth dyd draw,  
 Untyll our noble kynge, of his mercy and compassion,  
 Brake this cruell whyp that kept the people in awe,  
 And hath advanced Goddes worde, the lyght of our salvation.
- 12 Bewayle doth our Balamytes, disclosynge their owne nature,  
 Even as unshamefaste shavelynge, thretinge Christes pore shepe,  
 Saynge, yf the sworde were on our sydes, be ye sure,  
 As it hath bene before, than wolde ye not ones pepe,  
 But now that ye thinke all good ordre is layde downe to slepe,  
 Ye make a braggyng and a boasting of your exaltation,  
 Now who but ye gospellers that Christes flocke dothe keape,  
 Ye teache the people gods worde, the lyght of our salvation.
- 13 Thus was their handes defyled with bloud, their fingers with unrightuousenes,  
 Devouringe up the gospellers in every towne and citey,  
 From their lyppes proceded lyes, their tongues advaunced wyckednesse  
 Without respecte to the trewth, they judge nothing treuly,  
 Thei hatched Coccatrice egges, as we have sene it plainly,  
 And weaved spyders webbes by their cruell consultation.  
 Now he that eateth of their egges shal not escape but dye,  
 Or be an ennemy to the truthe, the light of our salvation.

- 14 The chiefest thing they set by is almost fallen away,  
 I meane their masking Masse, by so many Popes devysed,  
 For thorow it the Lordes supper hath bene in great decay,  
 And the right institution blasphemously blemysshed,  
 Thus in the Popysh church it hath bene longe abused,  
 But now veritic will have the matter in examinacion.  
 He saith playnly suche abusion shall no more be used,  
 It shal be tryed by Gods worde, the light of our salvation.
- 15 This Masse, as they supposed, was alone sufficient  
 To pacify Goddes wrathe for our wretched mysery,  
 Free forgyvenes of synnes, beinge never so unpenitent,  
 Myght be receyved at the Masse: this was their doctrine dayely.  
 No smale tyme were we blynded with suche Popysshe peltry,  
 Makinge us to paye for the holy consecration.  
 Lyke theves that were unsaciat they robbed soule & body,  
 Without the feare of Goddes worde, the lyght of our salvation.
- 16 Christ held not the bread over his head, it is not in the Scripture,  
 But brake it and devyded it to his Apostels all,  
 Christ bad them not knele to it, of this ye may be sure,  
 Yf ye do searche the Scriptures, fynde it so ye shall,  
 Christ willed them to reserve it in the memoriall  
 That his body for our synnes suffred payne and passion  
 To pacify the fathers wrath when we in synne do fal.  
 Thus was he offred ones for all, the light of our salvation.
- 17 Marke how blyndly we were fed w<sup>t</sup> our popysh gentylnen,  
 Marke how w<sup>t</sup> false doctrine they have bleared our eyes,  
 Marke how craftely we were fedde w<sup>t</sup> Pharisecys leaven,  
 Marke also how they repyne y<sup>t</sup> gods worde sholde aryse,  
 Marke what devylish doctrine these dreamers did devise,  
 Marke how cruell they have bene to Christes congregation,  
 Marke howe moche they have maynteyned phantasyes and lyes,  
 Nothing regarding gods word, the light of our salvation.
- 18 Of longe tyme have they caused us commyt abhominacion,  
 Robbyng god of the honor which to hym is dewe,  
 By inventing false goddes of their Imagination,  
 Makynge therof a sacrifice, and yf they prove this trewe  
 They must confesse thei crucify gods sonne againe a newe,  
 For yf their bread be Christe, by transsubstanciation,  
 Than offre they in sacrifice, this muste nedes insewe,  
 God and man fleshe and bloude, the lyght of our salvation.
- 19 Doth not scripture say into heaven Christ ascended,  
 And dwellyng not in temples made with mannes hande,  
 But sat him downe for ever untill the worlde be ended,  
 Makinge intercession, both for free and bonde,  
 That unto his godly promise faithfully do stonde.  
 This shoulde be to the Idolatres an honest reformation,  
 To drive them from Idolatry, for feare they be fonde  
 Enemyes unto gods worde, the lyght of our salvation.
- 20 Christ is the bread of lyfe which descended from y<sup>c</sup> deite,  
 Yf any cate of that bread he shall lyve evermore.<sup>79</sup>  
 Christ alone the sonne of God maketh us free,  
 And from all our synnes clearely doth us restore,  
 Christ for all penytent hartes hath layd up mercy in store,  
 Christ dyed for our synnes and rose for our justification.  
 We beleve to fynde him a mercyfull saviour,  
 For god hath chosen hym to be the light of our salvation.

- 21 Now seing we have Christe to be our onely advocate,  
 In whom God the father hath a speciall delight,  
 Let us heare him, for he alone doth invocate,  
 And of our synnes cleane forgyvenes, we have in Goddes syght.  
 What nede we than to seke helpe at any other wyght,  
 But even onely in the merites of Jesu Christes passion,  
 Bewaylinge our great mysery, desyringe daye and night  
 To fynde him a mercyfull God, the light of our salvacion.
- 22 All we have offended and have nede of Goddes glory,  
 No man is founde righteous and pure in his presence,  
 Yet thorow his sonne Christ we be forgyven frely,  
 For he hath made a sacrifice for our synnes and offence,  
 He is our reconciler, peace maker, and defence,  
 He it is that shed his bloud onely for our redemption,  
 And wolde have all men saved, this is his pretence,  
 Thus are we cleansed by Christ, the light of our salvacion.
- 23 No small cause have we to rejoyce yf we do consyder  
 How our mercyfull God hath for his flocke provyded,  
 Replenysinge us with meat that endureth for ever,  
 I meane his eternall word, frome which we were devided  
 By waye of persecution, abhorred and deryded,  
 But thanks be to the lyvinge God whiche, for our consolacion,  
 Hath overthrowen the ennemyes that thus enterprysed  
 To persecute the Gospell, the light of our salvacion.
- 24 And where we lyved in feare to confesse the verite  
 By hydinge our talent, as servauntes unprofytable,  
 Now is that yooke broken and we set at libertie,  
 Plenteously to publyshe the truth without fable,  
 Let us therfore beware we be not founde variable,  
 But laye a sure holde to the ploughe with harte and cogitation,  
 Continuinge unto the ende, stronge, stedfaste and stable,  
 In no wyse to renounce the truth, the lighte of oure salvacion.
- 25 Forsake the whore of Babylon and the marke of the beast,  
 Forsake her marchantes all for they be most pestelent,  
 Forsake the wares that she solde, from the mooste to the least,  
 Forsake her holy holynes that she esteemed excellent,  
 Forsake the develysh doctrine that she dyd invent,  
 Forsake and flee utterly from her abhominacion,  
 For Kynges and Princes were disceyved that to her dyd consent,  
 Persecuting Gods worde, the light of our salvacion.
- 26 Let us forsake all ceremonies that to Scripture be not consonant,  
 Tradicions of forefathers wherin we have ben lead,  
 And with the lyvely worde of God let us now be conversaunt,  
 For therin shall we se with what baggage we were fead,  
 Wanderinge in the Popes lawes, forsakinge Christ oure head,  
 Heapinge upon ourselves the more greater damnacion.  
 Thus were Tradicions and Ceremonies maintayned in the stede  
 Of Gods true and syncere worde, the light of our salvacion.
- 27 Let us earnestly therfore desire w<sup>t</sup> an harte unfayned,  
 That in all thinge we do God may have the glory,  
 Yea, and imbrace this heavenly worde whiche we have receyved,  
 Not in talke nor to receyve it as a carnall liberty,  
 But to bringe forth the frutes of the spirit so that therby  
 It maye apeare manifest, in our Godly conversacion,  
 To be a light unto the worlde, forsakinge all inquite,  
 And to persever in the truth, the light of our salvacion.

- 28 And doubt not all that the heavenly father hathe not planted  
 He will plucke up by the rotes, they shall no more endure,  
 This in his eternall worde, he hath it promysed.  
 Therefore be not unfaithfull, for his covenaunt is full sure,  
 Heaven and earth shall perysh, this is without recure,  
 But his worde shall never passe, by no determination,  
 Untyll all thinge be ended: therefore I you allure  
 To trust wholly in his worde, the light of our salvacion.
- 29 Honger and thirst for righteousnesse, than shall ye be satisfied,  
 Mortify the flesh with the dedes therof also,  
 Let no fylthye communication oute of youre mouthes procede,  
 But as it becometh sayntes, even so loke ye do,  
 Blessed be he to whom synne is not imputed to,  
 Neither in his spirite is there founde dissimulacion.  
 Suche shall injoyc the heavenly joyes, knowinge no kynd of woo,  
 But have the fruicion of Goddes sight, the lyghte of oure salvacion.
- 30 And above all thinge to imbrace Gods eternall veritie,  
 Which unto a Christen man there is nothing so acceptable,  
 For as moche as in it is containd sincerely,  
 The dewtie of all persons, a doctrine most profytable,  
 And in especiall to this we must be agreable,  
 To love God above all thinge, this is the chief foundacion,  
 And oure neygbours as ourselve, thus shall we withoute fable  
 Receyve at the hande of God the lyght of our salvacion.
- 31 Let us be thankfull to our God for his etern[al] verite,  
 With which he hath moste plenteously endewed our noble kyng,  
 So that amonge all his affaires he maye set forth goddes glorye,  
 With no lesse zeale than he hathe done sence his firste begynninge,  
 I meane Edward the sixt, over us now rayninge,  
 Right Inheritour by dissent of this realme or dominion,  
 That oute of his Princely harte there maye dystyll and springe  
 Gods power and lyvely worde, the light of our salvacion.
- 32 Also for those good ladyes of the same stock and lynage,  
 Mary and Elyzabeth, systers unto his grace,  
 The heavenly Lorde endewe them unto their last age,  
 Even as their noble father dyd, all Popery to deface,  
 And Gods eternall Testament alway to embrace,  
 For therein shall they learne, by the heavenly instigation,  
 To folow the frute of the spirite, and thereby to purchase  
 The Celestiall kyngdome, the lyght of our salvacion.
- 33 For the most honorable Councell, with my Lorde Protector,  
 Which stryveth strongely with the enemyes of God night and daye  
 In his procedynges and doynge, the Lorde be his director,  
 With his holy spirite also to rule their hartes alwaye,  
 That thorowe their spirituall labour all Poperye maye decaye,  
 And utterly banysed the lande with Godly reformation,  
 Suppressinge all false doctrine and to set suche a staye  
 That Goddes worde maye increace the lyght of our salvacion
- 34 And that it may please the (O God) to illumine the spiritualtie,  
 As Bysshoppes and all ministers, with knowledge and understandinge  
 Of thy most blessed worde, to set it forth with synceritie  
 And unfaynedly folowe both in doctrine and lyvinge,  
 Fedinge Christes flocke with the worde everlastinge,  
 Not compelled therunto nor for hope of promocion,  
 But for favour which they beare to it above all thinge,  
 And thus shall Goddes worde florysshe, the lyght of oure salvacion.

- 35 Let Christ be preached, the savyour wherein we maye trust,  
 Rebuke every synne, beware of Develysh Doctrine,  
 Double tongued men in no wyse be they must,  
 Not gyven to fylthy lucre nor to moche wyne,  
 But havynge the mysterye of faythe in consyence pure and cleane,  
 And or they presume to minister in the congregacion,  
 They ought to be well proved, this doth sainte Paule determyne,  
 And then to fede us with the truth, the lyghte of our salvacion.
- 36 And even as it is their dewtie to rebuke synne,  
 So is it our partes also to cease from synne alwaye,  
 Consyderinge Sathan was the fyrste that dyd it begyn,  
 Therefore be they our watchmen, as Ezechiell doth saye,  
 Now, yf we have a warninge and willfully decaye,  
 Oure owne bloude upon our headdes, this is withoute negacion,  
 Rede the texte and more playnly, se it there ye maye,  
 Thus God wolde have all men saved, the light of our salvacion.
- 37 And for us pore communs also the Lorde be our oversear,  
 That above all we maye desyre peace and quiet rest,  
 Both of soule and body, for that do we require,  
 So shall we prosper in all goodnes and God pleased best,  
 And at the last to be with Christ, this is our request,  
 Whiche is the head of the faithfull and Christian congregacion,  
 Receyvinge there a kyngdome, ever to have rest  
 In joye and blysse withoute ende, there to have oure salvacion.  
 Amen

## NOTES

- 1 Dickens 1954, 513–14.
- 2 Tanner 1977, 25–28, 175–81.
- 3 S.R.O.I., C8/1A/2; Hervey 1910, 221.
- 4 P.R.O., E179/181/270.
- 5 S.R.O.I., C5/15, f. 58r.
- 6 B.L., Add. MSS. 37, 226.
- 7 Foxe, V, 254, 530–32.
- 8 B.L., Cotton MSS. Cleop. EV, f. 389v.
- 9 *Ibid.*, f. 397r.; *VC.H. Suffolk* 1907, 130–31.
- 10 Watson 1946–48, 185–87; P.R.O., E122/53/25; N.R.O., N.C.C. Wymer, ff. 302v.–304v. (will of Reginald Oliver); S.R.O.I., IC/AA1/18/389 (will of Helen Oliver).
- 11 Watson 1946–48, 187–95; Sessions 1984, 12–81, 165–69. My thanks are due to Mr H.A.N. Hallam of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for correspondence on Ipswich printers.
- 12 *D.N.B.* (*sub* Argentine *alias* Sexten); Foxe, VIII, 219–22; MacCulloch 1984, 183–86; Sessions 1984, 17–21; Grigson 1984, xvii; P.R.O., C1/1475/51, C1/1389/56.
- 13 S.R.O.I., C5/12/10, p. 105; Foxe, V, 254; Webb 1962, 12, 98. The unique surviving copy of Ramsay's tract bearing an Ipswich imprint is in the Fellows' Library, Clare College, Cambridge (Tractus K 227). My thanks are due to Dr Roger Schofield for enabling me to examine it in the Cambridge University Library. Another edition was produced in London by Thomas Raynalde the same year.
- 14 See *D.N.B.* and Jordan 1968, 142. Dickens 1967, 307 accepts that the Ipswich man was the author.
- 15 I.e. 'get up' as to a horse. This line, or a slight variant, is repeated at the end of each stanza.
- 16 B.L., 4372. aa. 41.
- 17 Dickens 1967, 308.
- 18 *A.P.C.*, V, 65, 70; Webb 1962, 155.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 22, 45, 142, 146; Richardson 1884, 218, 243, 260; S.R.O.I., C5/18, f. 483r. The family was also known as 'Gooding'.

- 20 Webb 1962, 22–23, 146; Richardson 1884, 224, 232, 246; S.R.O.I., C5/15, ff. 166v–168r. William West senior was sometimes '*alias* Sabyn'.
- 21 *A.P.C.*, v, 87–88, 105.
- 22 Foxe, VII, 371–74; B.L., Harl. MSS. 419, f. 131.
- 23 *C.P.R.* (Philip and Mary), III, 257.
- 24 Foxe, v, 254, VIII, 222, 225; Strype, 1824, I.1, 375, 379; *D.N.B.* (*sub* John Day); Gray and Potter 1950, 43–44; S.R.O.I., C5/12/12, f. 356r.
- 25 Foxe, VIII, 219, 222, 223; Webb 1958, 166–68; Richardson 1884, 238, 251, 256; MacCulloch 1984, 258, 297; S.R.O.I., C13/15, f. 12r.
- 26 From a poem by Thomas Bryce in Farr 1845, I, 166. 'Norwich Nobody' was presumably Bishop Hopton. The two women were Joan Trunchfield and Agnes Potten (Webb 1962, 155).
- 27 Foxe, VIII, 223–25.
- 28 Houlbrooke 1979, 237.
- 29 Foxe, VIII, 598–600.
- 30 The exact number is a matter of interpretation. For example, 'Andrew Ingforby, his wife and daughter' is taken to mean 'Andrew Ingforby's wife and daughter'.
- 31 Garrett 1966, 89, 118, 127, 252.
- 32 Richardson 1884, 261.
- 33 Foxe, VIII, 468–82.
- 34 P.R.O., P.C.C. 59 Soame.
- 35 Foxe, VII, 373–74, VIII, 598–600; Richardson 1884, 197, 222–23.
- 36 S.R.O.I., IC/AA1/18/424 (will of Wm. Nottingham); P.R.O., P.C.C. 55 Mellershe (will of Matthew Butler).
- 37 N.R.O., N.C.C. Knights ff. 344r.–346r. (will of Emma Pownder); Webb 1962, 13, 22, 62.
- 38 P.R.O., E101/86/39; S.R.O.I., IC/AA1/15/242 (will of Robt. Wardall the elder); Foxe, VIII, 219–22; P.R.O., E134, Easter 29.
- 39 Foxe, VIII, 600.
- 40 Gray and Potter 1950, 34–36.
- 41 Richardson 1884, 252–65 *passim*.
- 42 S.R.O.I., IC/AA1/19/273.
- 43 S.R.O.I., C9/2/1, f. 4r.
- 44 Foxe, VIII, 223.
- 45 P.R.O., E178/2133.
- 46 Grigson 1984, xi–xx, 205–06.
- 47 B.L., Add. MSS. 37,230. William Tusser, gentleman, of the Middle Temple, possibly Thomas's brother of that name, was in dispute over certain lands and tenements in Ipswich early in Queen Elizabeth's reign (P.R.O., C3/124/56).
- 48 E.g. *D.N.B.* *sub* Moone.
- 49 Rye 1891, 205–06. Her grandfather, John Moone, gentleman, had died in 1551, leaving her £3 6s. 8d. to be received on her wedding day (E.R.O. 96 BW 25).
- 50 Collier 1838, vi, 102–03; Harris 1940, 71, 104; McCusker 1942, 86–96; Drabble 1985, 61.
- 51 S.R.O.I., C9/11/4,5,6, C9/2/1, f. 8r. Ramsey's subsequent career is equally unclear. About 25 August 1570 he witnessed the handing over of certain documents in the Ipswich gaol, where 'I the said John Ramsy was'. A few days later he was apparently still in prison when he defended a legal action brought against him by Sebastian Man, senior. Described as 'clerke', it is possible that he was the 'Rumsey' who, in the early 1570s, was acting curate at Great Wenham. A Marian Rumseye (or Ramsey), widow, was an inmate of the Tooley Foundation from 1583 until her death in 1586 (S.R.O.I., C5/12/12, ff. 341v., 371v.; Houlbrooke 1974–75, 260; Webb 1966, 94).
- 52 B.L., Add. MSS. 37,226.
- 53 S.R.O.I., C7/2/1, ff. 46r., 88v., 95v.
- 54 G.C.B., 72v.
- 55 S.R.O.I., C9/20/17.
- 56 S.R.O.I., C9/4, ff. 247r., 253v., 335v., 343r.
- 57 S.R.O.I., C7/2/3, f. 63v.
- 58 S.R.O.I., C5/12/18, p. 171, C5/12/19, p. 8; P.R.O., CPII/226/74.
- 59 Hervey 1909, 156–66.
- 60 S.R.O.I., IC/AA1/36/126.
- 61 Richardson 1884, 237. There was a well-known local Noone family, but apparently no member was called Peter. Francis Noone of Martlesham Hall was appointed counsel to the town in 1560 and died in 1574. In 1567, 'for his paynes consernyng gold dyggers', he received 5s. from the town. V.B. Redstone misread the name and assumed that the recipient was Peter Moone (Richardson 1884, 255, 283; N.R.O., N.C.C. Fairechilde, f. 263v.; S.R.O.I., C9/11/7; Redstone 1933, I, p. 5).
- 62 S.R.O.I., C9/20/2.
- 63 B.L., Add. MSS. 25,343, ff. 61r., 72v., 81r., 101r., Add. MSS. 31,893, f. 12r.; S.R.O.I., C9/3, f. 199v., C5/12/12, ff. 156v., 268r., 293r.

- 64 G.C.B., *passim*.  
 65 G.C.B., ff. 42r., 64v., 72r.  
 66 G.C.B., ff. 41v., 53v.  
 67 G.C.B., ff. 17r., 54r., 71r.  
 68 G.C.B., ff. 65r., 122r., 194r.; S.R.O.I., C5/12/11, p. 182, C9/2/1, C9/3, f. 316r., C9/20/18.  
 69 G.C.B., f. 122r.; S.R.O.I., C9/20/10, 12, 13.  
 70 B.L., Add. MSS. 25,344, f. 25v.  
 71 Collinson 1992, 170–77.  
 72 G.C.B., ff. 99v.–100r., 101r., 103v.; S.R.O.I., C9/20/17.  
 73 G.C.B., ff. 101r., 103r., 107v., 108r.; Richardson 1884, 341–44; Redstone 1933, 2, p. 3; *D.N.B.*, sub Negus, Norton.  
 74 B.L., Add. MSS. 37,231.  
 75 S.R.O.I., C5/12/16, p. 208, C5/12/20, p. 324, C7/2/3, f. 162v.  
 76 S.R.O.I., IC/AA1/36/126.  
 77 A printed marginal note: ‘Papistes make traditions y<sup>e</sup> light of their salvation.’  
 78 A reference to the Act of Six Articles of 1539 (31 Hen. VIII, c. 14) which asserted Roman Catholic doctrine and was popularly known as ‘the whip with six strings’.  
 79 ‘By faith’ added in ink in a contemporary hand, probably that of Robert Rowly.

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*Abbreviations*

- Add. MSS. Additional Manuscripts.  
A.P.C. *Acts of the Privy Council*.  
B.L. British Library.  
C.P.R. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*.  
D.N.B. *Dictionary of National Biography*.  
E.R.O. Essex Record Office, Chelmsford.  
Fuxe Foxe, J., 1837–41. *Actes and Monuments*, ed. Cattley, S.R. and Townsend, G., 8 vols.  
London.  
G.C.B. Ipswich Great Court Book, 1572–1634 (S.R.O.I., C5/14/1).  
N.C.C. Norwich Consistory Court.  
N.R.O. Norfolk Record Office, Norwich.  
P.C.C. Prerogative Court of Canterbury.  
P.R.O. Public Record Office.  
S.R.O.I. Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Since completing this article, I have learned that two leaves from a copy of Moone's tract are kept with the Ipswich Town Library, although they do not belong to it. Examination of photocopies kindly supplied by Dr John Blatchly has revealed that they are not part of Oswen's Ipswich edition, but almost certainly were printed in London by William Copland (see Appendix, p. 46 above).