

**Music and post-Reformation English Catholics:
place, sociability, and space, 1570-1640**

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| Abstract

This project sets out to enhance scholarly understanding of English Catholicism from 1570 - 1640. It begins with the unusual, unanswered, and vital question: what did it sound like to be a Catholic? By utilising music in the broadest sense possible to include vocal and instrumental sounds, performance, composition and the material culture of music, this thesis sheds new light on what it meant to be Catholic in post-Reformation England.

The lives of English Catholics are unimaginable without music. Investigating Catholic exiles predominantly focused around the convents and seminaries established in the Spanish Netherlands, this thesis argues that the “soundscapes” of these institutions were crucial. Through music, exiles defined for themselves a sense of ‘place’ despite their detachment from England, and differentiated themselves within the European political landscape. In exploring their musical links with England, this thesis also challenges the prevailing view that English Catholic exiles were somehow different from Catholics living in England.

By investigating forms of ‘sociability’, this thesis unearths the sounds of Catholic communities at home. The English Catholic community was undoubtedly multifaceted, and yet by using music Catholics were united in forms of expression. Through composing and singing they exhorted their pious, social and political response to living as a member of an underground religion. The final section of this thesis draws the focus in to explore Catholic response to direct forms of persecution, and reveals the ways Catholics creatively used music in their devotions in order to transform and appropriate ‘space’.

Focussing on the interaction between groups and individuals, the relationship between individual and communal identity, and above all the adaptation of Catholic piety and the construction of devotional identities, this thesis reveals a more nuanced picture of what it meant to be an English Catholic in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart period.

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This thesis also includes two tracks on accompanying CD, which were recorded in the shrine of St Margaret Clitherow, a small medieval house on the Shambles, York, in January 2012.

Track 1: 'Adoramus te Christe' by *Les Canards Chantants*

Track 2: 'Haec est dies' by *Les Canards Chantants*

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| Declaration of Authorship

I, Emilie K. M. Murphy, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is clearly stated.

| Note on Conventions

In the text, dates in England have been given in accordance to the Julian Calendar, whilst for Catholic countries on the continent, the Gregorian Calendar has been used. Both the English and the continental style have been provided where the source material demands. Original spelling in all quotations from early modern manuscripts and printed work has been maintained, except for the occasional transposition of i to j, u to v, v to u, and y to i, where necessary for readability. The convention [...] has been used to denote any unreadable words in a manuscript. At times abbreviations have been expanded in square brackets.

| Introduction

What did it sound like to be a Catholic in post-Reformation England? More on what that question means shortly; but first, why is this worth asking? In 2002 Christopher Haigh reviewed the recent studies of English Catholicism and concluded that they were all distinctly lacking ‘big ideas’.

But we need some big ideas, something new to debate, something to shake up the field, someone to rescue the subject (again) from the ghetto. John Bossy, where are you when we need you?¹

Answering Haigh’s plea, the most innovative recent scholarship in the field of post-Reformation English Catholicism has come not simply from historians but can be found in the work of literary scholars such as Alison Shell, Christopher Highley and Frances Dolan.² Embracing the interdisciplinary trend and with the intention of further ‘shaking up the field’, this thesis uses music to explore the lives of post-Reformation English Catholics c.1570-c.1640.

The reader may now be wondering what an historian is doing writing about music, as surely this is a topic best left to musicologists. Yet this is precisely the problem. Despite flourishing conversations between early modern literary critics and historians,³ historians and art historians,⁴ art historians and literary critics,⁵ literary critics and musicologists⁶ and between

¹ Christopher Haigh, ‘Review Article: Catholicism in Early Modern England: Bossy and Beyond’, *The Historical Journal*, 45 (2002): 481-494 (at 494).

² Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Haigh neglected the work of Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (London: Cornell University Press, 1999).

³ See Lowell Gallagher ed. *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012). Cf. Emilie K. M. Murphy, ‘Redrawing the Map’ review of *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism* ed. Lowell Gallagher, *Reviews in History*, accessed 30 October 2013. <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1475>.

⁴ See Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper eds. *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁵ See Anne M. Myers, *Literature and architecture early modern England* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013) and Lieke Stelling, Harald Hendrix and Todd

musicologists and art historians,⁷ there remains a glaring scholarly divide between historians and musicologists.⁸ Music and all that it can tell us about the history of early modern England has been neglected by historians and treated with some caution by musicologists. There are of course exceptions to this rule. Whilst musicological study of English Catholics has been written almost exclusively in relation to the life and oeuvre of William Byrd, the work of Craig Monson, Kerry McCarthy and Jeremy Smith has been fundamental to our understanding of early modern music, composers and publishers more generally.⁹

The historical exceptions to the rule most notably include the recent work of Christopher Marsh and Jonathan Willis. Marsh reacted against scholars who have contemplated the past 'with their ears partially plugged' and Willis deplored the boundaries between the disciplines that 'have worked against broader understanding'.¹⁰ Marsh's study of music of the English 'majority' defined his subject in its broadest sense by focussing on sounds such as bell-ringing, popular musical culture in the form of ballads

Richardson eds. *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁶ See Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: attending to the O factor* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999) and Shell, *Oral Culture*. The relationship between music and poetry is also a long established sub-field of literary studies, see in particular Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Music in seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁷ See Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti eds. *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press [Proceedings of the British Academy], 2012).

⁸ Only very recently being mediated within fascinating interdisciplinary volumes, which include musicologists, art historians, literary critics and historians such as Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride and David L. Orvis eds. *Psalms in the Early Modern World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

⁹ See Craig Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics, and the Motet: The Hearing Reopened' in *Hearing the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. D. Pesce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 348-74; Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (New York: Routledge, 2007) and Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 25; Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in post-Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 4.

and church music in the form of psalms.¹¹ Marsh's 'ear-opening' survey revealed how early modern English society was alive with the sound of music, which had the ability to both polarise social divisions as well as unite individuals in practical and pious sociability. Willis's study focused more closely on church music and explained in particular how the innovations of congregational psalm-singing were critical to post-Reformation Protestant religious identities. Standing alongside this recent work, by asking what it sounded like to be a Catholic in post-Reformation England the questions behind this thesis are, first: did it sound different to be a Catholic than it did to be a Protestant? And second, how did the minority of Catholics living among the Protestant majority engage with broader contemporary musical culture?

Before answering these questions it is worth stressing what this thesis is not about. This study will not pay much attention to well-known composers or their compositions. Despite being the most celebrated English musician and composer of this period, William Byrd will not dominate this thesis and yet he will unavoidably be referred to with the frequency that warrants a short introduction for those unfamiliar with his legacy.¹² Byrd's career spanned six decades and began in 1563 on his appointment as organist and master of the choristers at Lincoln Cathedral. In 1572 Byrd was sworn in as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and served in the choir alongside the best church musicians of England until his death in 1623. He was also awarded the royal printing patent in 1575, which gave him complete control over musical publishing and ensured his own work was given a public forum. Byrd composed over five hundred pieces, some printed but others surviving only in manuscript. He composed in almost every genre: English sacred music, accompanied and unaccompanied secular

¹¹ Marsh repeatedly refers to the music of the 'majority' in this work see for example Marsh, *Music and Society*, 25, 29, 173.

¹² For the most thorough and up to date survey of his life see Kerry McCarthy, *Byrd* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

songs, a wide variety of instrumental music and most famously perhaps, Latin masses and motets. For in a paradox typical of the age, alongside his years of loyal service to the crown, Byrd was an avowed Roman Catholic.

Byrd was revered by both Protestants and Catholics alike and catered to their various proclivities. Byrd's largest composition was his magnum opus for the English Church, the Great Service, and recent scholarship from Kerry McCarthy has revealed this was most likely composed in the mid-to-late 1590s for performance in the Chapel Royal.¹³ In the process of the Henrician Reformation, music was attacked by reformers; music, like the liturgy, must no longer be in Latin but in English and Archbishop Cranmer's famous injunction stressed that the new music for the established church must 'not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly'.¹⁴ Whilst in the earlier decades of the sixteenth century and during the protestant reformations of Edward VI and Elizabeth I this was closely adhered to, by the 1590s there was a growing tradition of more elaborate English services.¹⁵ The Great Service reveals how some melisma (more than one syllable to a note) was allowed to creep in, whilst the centrality of the words was maintained.

The *Gradualia* are Byrd's most infamous Catholic composition: two volumes published in 1605 and 1607 of Latin music, which together were complex liturgical manuals composed for the performance of the Tridentine Catholic mass. Hearing these two works for the established and clandestine churches respectively, listeners today are struck by Byrd's extraordinary versatility. Byrd composed his Great Service in the decade between his Latin

¹³ McCarthy, *Byrd*, 158-167.

¹⁴ Thomas Cranmer, 'Letter to King Henry VIII, 7 October, 1544' in *Miscellaneous writings and letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J. E. Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [The Parker Society], 1846), 412.

¹⁵ 'Thomas Tallis' 'If ye love me', composed during the early years of Edward's reign c.1547-8, is a perfect example of the new Protestant English anthem style. It is homophonic (all voices together rhythmically to create chords) and the text is from the New Testament Book of John 14.15-17. During the Last Supper, Jesus says these words to his disciples.

'political' motets of the fraught 1580s, which spoke to the particular plight of English Catholics, and the publication of his *Gradualia* for recusant Catholic services. Possession of the *Gradualia* was subversive enough to warrant arrest and in 1605 a young Frenchman named Charles de Ligny was locked up in Newgate prison for having 'Certain books which Master William Byrd composed and dedicated to Lord Henry Howard': the *Gradualia*.¹⁶

Just as this thesis is not a study of William Byrd, neither is it an attempt to speculate when and how often elaborate Catholic music such as the *Gradualia* would have been performed. Musicologists have long mooted such issues. The resulting scholarship suggests that the performance of sung mass within the households of the English Catholic gentry, particularly within the households of Byrd's patrons and associates such as the Petre family of Essex and the Pastons in Norfolk, was not unheard of. This is supported from the evidence of ownership of music and instruments from household archives and from the occasional records of performance. This evidence sometimes made its way into government correspondence as the aforementioned incarcerated de Ligny revealed in a reference to an occasion in 1605:

[Father Henry] Garnet in company with several Jesuits and gentlemen, who were playing music: among them Mr. Byrd, who played the organs and many other instruments. To that house came, chiefly on the solemn days observed by Papists, many of the nobility, and many ladies by coach or otherwise.¹⁷

Yet neither was this widespread, for grander musical occasions between missionary priests and the laity should be viewed as remarkable by the very fact they were remarked upon. This was indicated for example by Father William Weston in his autobiography upon his arrival at the Lancashire gentleman Richard Bold's house in July 1586:

¹⁶ Cited in Philip Brett, *William Byrd and His Contemporaries, Essays and a Monograph*, ed. Joseph Kerman and Davitt Moroney (California: University of California Press, 2007), 196.

¹⁷ Cited in Brett, *William Byrd*, 212.

[T]he place was most suited to our work and ministrations, not merely for the reason that it was remote and had a congenial household and company, but also because it possessed a chapel, set aside for the celebration of the Church's offices. The gentleman was also a skilled musician, and had an organ and other musical instruments, and choristers, male and female, members of his household. During those days it was just as if we were celebrating an uninterrupted octave of some great feast. Mr. Byrd, the very famous English musician and organist, was among the company...Father Garnet sometimes sang Mass, and we took it in turns to preach and hear confessions, which were numerous. Nearly the whole of the morning passed in this way.¹⁸

It should be assumed that on the occasions a recusant Catholic mass was performed, it was nearly always a low mass, unsung, with the words simply spoken.

What, who, when, where

What then, is this thesis about? Music in this thesis is defined as vocal and instrumental sounds, performance, composition and the material culture of music. This allows the historian to utilise music in the broadest sense possible as a source as well as a methodological tool for enquiry. This thesis was also inspired by the musical philosopher Christopher Small's insistence in 1998 that music is a process and that the meaning of music lies not in objects or musical works but in action and in what people do.¹⁹ As such, Small unintentionally complemented the comment made by sociologist-cum-historian, William Christian in the prologue to his account of popular Roman Catholicism in Northern Spain of 1972: 'Religion is one of the things that

¹⁸ William Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London, Longmans, 1955), 71.

¹⁹ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

people do, for some of them the most important thing'.²⁰ By viewing religion as a verb, rather than the noun that is doctrine or dogma, this thesis adopts a bottom-up approach to investigate faith as practised by individuals, who might change their devotional behaviour depending on time and place. This definition also prompts us to think about music as a verb and how 'to music' is 'to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance...or by dancing'.²¹

By viewing music itself like this as an active process, the historian is also engaging with the early modern understanding of music. Music was quite literally a powerful force to be reckoned with during this period and as William Byrd asserted in the preface to his *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* of 1588: 'The exercise of singing is delightfull to Nature'.²² Byrd's views stemmed from the widely held trans-denominational belief, that music was both divine and natural, and a product of both God and Nature. As the Oxford scholar John Case asserted:

Music...has God for a father, Nature for a mother; it has a divine quality whereby the mind, the image of God, is wondrously delighted. It is a physical and natural thing, by which not only the ears of men, but the sense of all beings, as it were, are comforted in a way which is beyond speech or thought.²³

Under the heading 'the science of music' this discourse been well studied by scholars such as Penelope Gouk, H.F. Cohen and Gary Tomlinson.²⁴ The

²⁰ William Christian, *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (2nd edn. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), xiv.

²¹ Small, *Musicking*, 9.

²² William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs of sadnes and pietie* (London, 1588).

²³ Cited in Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Tis Nature's Voice": music, natural philosophy and the hidden world in seventeenth-century England' in *Music Theory and the Natural Order, from the Renaissance to the Early Twentieth Century*, eds. Suzannah Clark and Alexander Reading (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 30-67 (at 1).

²⁴ Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in seventeenth-century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); H.F. Cohen, *Quantifying Music: the science of music at the first stage of scientific revolution, 1580-1650* (Hingham, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers,

result of this scholarship has greatly enhanced our understanding of the development of ideas surrounding music during this period, and how this affected scientific and even 'magical' thought.

Music's power derived from the belief that the very soul of the universe was joined together in harmonious concordance and in tune with nature, the human body was also melodiously proportioned. As Tom Parker demonstrated for the sonnets of the circle around Sir Philip Sidney, the image of the harmony of the spheres was extremely common in the poetical language of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period because of the absolute certainty that this was a genuine phenomenon.²⁵ Music therefore had the power to effect physical and emotional changes within man, and could both cure and comfort. This meant, as Jonathan Willis highlighted, the human mind was regarded 'as stable as a weathercock when it came to the buffeting effects of music, swinging in accordance with the mood of a particular melody'.²⁶ Accordingly, man's relationship with music had to be carefully controlled and monitored. This tension was visible in the seemingly contradictory advice from the Bible and patristic fathers, epitomised in Saint Augustine's attempt to reconcile both the positive and negative attributes of music in this uneasy synthesis:

I realise that when they are sung these sacred words stir my mind to greater religious fervour and kindle in me a more ardent flame of piety than they would if they were not sung...But I ought not to allow my mind be paralysed by the gratification of my senses, which often leads it astray.²⁷

1984); Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).

²⁵ Tom W.N. Parker, *Proportional form in the sonnets of the Sidney Circle: Loving in truth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 184.

²⁶ Willis, *Church Music*, 26.

²⁷ Augustine, *Confessions*, 10.33, trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin, 1961), 238.

However even music's detractors during this period agreed that music was most effective when used to enhance devotion. For example in 1582 the English Jesuit Robert Persons published the influential, *First Book of Christian Exercise, Appertaining to Resolution* from Rouen. The *Resolution* was thoroughly 'post-Tridentine' in more than just a chronological sense; the aim of Persons' work was to instruct English Catholics in Ignatian spirituality, and directed readers towards a radical and permanent *inner change*.²⁸ Persons' *Resolution* was quickly recognised by the English authorities as a dangerous means of advancing the recusant cause, and directed against the practice of church papistry. Subsequently Edmund Bunny, a Church of England clergyman and active preacher in Yorkshire, composed his own treatise to counteract it. Rather than a theological rebuttal Bunny decided to replicate Persons' text, and after removing any discernibly 'Catholic' elements he published the work in 1584 with an almost identical title: *A booke of Christian exercise appertaining to resolution*.²⁹ The 'rigorous religion', as Brad Gregory has termed it, advocated by Persons within his treatise, and the resolution towards godliness over worldliness was thoroughly supported by Bunny. As Gregory demonstrated, 'the minor alterations constitute a shorthand summary of the changes in religious ideals (if not always religious practice)' but both shared the ultimate aim to make 'non-devout Christian' a contradiction in terms.³⁰ Each author vehemently maintained their own Catholic or Protestant faith, and the *Resolution* was one of the most popular devotional treatises of the period.

Within the work, Persons was explicit in his treatment of music and described it as one of the 'carnall recreations' and 'worldlie vanities', which

²⁸ Robert Persons, *The First Booke of Christian Exercise, Appertaining to Resolution* (Rouen, 1582).

²⁹ Edmund Bunny, *A Book of Christian exercise, appertaining to Resolution* (London, 1584).

³⁰ Brad Gregory, 'The 'True, Zealouse Seruice of God': Robert Parsons, Edmund Bunny and the First Booke of the Christian Exercise', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 238-268 (at 252-4).

is 'called by S. Iohn concupiscence of the fleshe'.³¹ Bunny replicated this section of the text on music word-for-word, and both authors vehemently quoted Job's assertion that those who 'solace them selues with all kynde of Musicke, & doe passe ouer their dayes in pleasure, and in a verie moment doe goe doune to hell'.³² Taking the conservative hard-line, Persons and Bunny cited the example of Christ against such worldly vanities as 'eatings, drynkings, laughings, syngings' and imparted the thoroughly sobering lesson that although Christ 'wept often...he is neuer redde to haue laughte in all his lyfe'.³³

Despite these strict warnings against the worldly and carnal uses of music, later in the treatise is a positive account of the godly and spiritual benefits of music, espoused in the references to Augustine's conversion to Christianity. Bunny and Persons replicated each other exactly, with the exception that Bunny emphasised the passage should be 'noted' whereas Persons implored his reader to *consider*. This process of 'consideration' is, as Victor Houlston has argued, 'a readerly equivalent to the examination of conscience required in the *Spiritual Exercises*'.³⁴ Bunny asserted:

Thirdly also is to be noted, that he had not only a good victorie over these passions, but also found great sweetnes in the way of vertuous life. For a little after his conversion he writeth thus: I could not [be] satisfied (O Lord) in those dais, with the marvelous sweetnes which thou gavest me: how much did I weep in * the hymns and canticles, being vehemently stirred up with the voices of thy church singing most sweetle? These voices did run into mine eares, and thy truth did melt into mine hart, and thence did

³¹ Persons, *The First Book of Christian Exercise*, 318.

³² Persons, *The First Book of Christian Exercise*, 319 and see Bunny, *A book of Christian exercise*, 300.

³³ Persons, *The First Book of Christian Exercise*, 320 and see Bunny, *A book of Christian exercise*, 302.

³⁴ Victor Houlston ed. *Robert Persons SJ, The Christian Directory (1582)* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), xxxiv.

boil out an affection of pietie, and made tears to run from me, and
I was in most happie state with them.³⁵

The other difference between the two treatises was Bunny's clarification of the *type* of music that had affected Augustine so profoundly after his conversion, which Bunny emphasised with a note (the star is in the passage above) stating it was 'when the people of God did sing their psalms of thanksgiving and praises to God'. This godly music ran into his ears and melted his heart, enflamed Augustine's piety and physically moved him to tears. Music, for both Protestants and Catholics alike, when used in a spiritual and godly rather than a carnal and worldly way was presented as profoundly good and moreover, could enhance godliness and devotion.

This was maintained by William Byrd, and in his preface to *Psalmes Sonets and Songs* Byrd stressed:

The better the voyce is, the meeter it is to honour and serue God
there-with: and the voyce of man is chiefly to be imployed to that
ende.³⁶

In appreciating music's status during this period and by approaching both music and religion as verbs, this thesis hopes to do something that might be viewed as methodologically innovative and quite different from the current historical scholarship on English Catholics and piety more generally. Historians interested in piety have so far mainly worked on sources that tell us something about pious practice in the conventional sense – such as records on processions, sacraments and the liturgical calendar. This thesis, however, asks what music (in reference to sounds, instances of musical performance, and compositions by Catholics) can offer to our understanding of post-Reformation English Catholic experience by investigating these people in the places and spaces where they interacted with one another.

³⁵ Bunny, *A book of Christian exercise*, 216-7 and see Persons, *The First Book of Christian Exercise*, 236-7.

³⁶ Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs*.

Who could or should be defined and studied as English Catholics is a historiographically fraught question. In 1975 John Bossy's *English Catholic Community: 1570-1850* revolutionised the study of English Catholicism by asserting that post-Reformation English Catholics were not simply a minority of victims, but the first generation of a new 'type' of Catholic.³⁷ Bossy drew a line under the history of Catholic suffering and directed historians towards Catholic resourcefulness in the midst of persecution. However Bossy's analysis was limited to the study of recusants and focussed on those Catholics that refused to attend the established church.³⁸ Since Bossy, post-Reformation English Catholicism was considered as having been markedly 'nonconformist and sectarian', but in 1993 Alexandra Walsham's pivotal study heralded the 'discovery of the church papist'; Catholics that occasionally attended the established church to avoid penalty, whilst continuing to practice their faith in secret. In so doing, Walsham revealed another type of Catholicism that was significantly non-recusant and demonstrated that there was more for Catholics than simply the gallows or the Church of England.³⁹

Borrowing Peter Marshall and Abbot Geoffrey Scott's apt remark, in recent years 'early modern Catholic history has begun to come in from the cold' and by including church papists in their analyses, recent scholars have revealed how English Catholics might adopt a whole range of political and devotional stances throughout their lives whilst still identifying as Catholic.⁴⁰ In the study of English Catholics, scholars have also been quick to assign labels such as 'conformist', 'occasional conformist', 'loyal', 'recusant' and 'church-papist' as indicators of religious culture and belief. Yet as Peter

³⁷ John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975).

³⁸ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 5.

³⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press [The Royal Historical Society], 1993), 5, 10.

⁴⁰ Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott eds. *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 1.

Marshall and Alec Ryrie have shown for Protestant culture, labels remain 'defiantly plastic and open to manipulation' and instead of focussing on 'types', it is preferable instead to focus on 'lived experience' in order to ask what 'being Catholic' actually meant during this period.⁴¹

In stressing what it meant to be a member of the English Catholic community this thesis also asks the pertinent and unanswered historical question of how English Catholics forged their individual and communal identities during this period. Bossy's study of English Catholics seemingly presumed the presence of a distinctive community, without paying attention to how or why these communities formed. Bossy's study also did not consider the ways in which English Catholics engaged with the political landscape of early modern England. This significant gap has since been filled, most notably by James Kelly through the investigation of the kin networks of the Petre family, and by Michael Questier in his analysis of the patronage and entourage of the Browne family of West Sussex.⁴² Both revealed how loyalty to the crown and adherence to the Roman creed were not mutually exclusive and that there were various ways that Catholics could exert political influence whilst practising Catholicism.⁴³ Such recent developments mean that we can no longer speak of post-Reformation English Catholic culture in monolithic terms. We have learnt a great deal about the manifold experiences of, and creative responses to, persecution through discussion of politics and literature, and this has overturned past

⁴¹ Peter Marshall, 'The Naming of Protestant England', *Past and Present*, 214 (2012): 87-128 (at 128) and Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 6.

⁴² James Kelly, 'Kinship and Religious Politics among Catholic families in England, 1570-1640', *History*, 94 (2009): 328-343 and Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For the influence of this approach see also Marshall and Scott eds. *Catholic Gentry in English Society*.

⁴³ Questier has since made this particular argument more concisely within an article that addressed the methodology and conclusions of Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalty in Elizabethan England* (London: Scholar Press, 1979) in Questier, 'Catholic Loyalty in Early Stuart England', *English Historical Review*, 113 (2008): 1132-1165.

conceptions of Catholics as inert. Yet how this creativity manifested itself in musical experience remains unexplored.

When analysing how the body of English Catholics forged communities after the reformations, this thesis sets its chronological parameters from the moment of Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570 to the eve of the Civil Wars in 1640. Beginning at 1570, this thesis implicitly supports John Bossy's assertion that a new type of community was founded, and sustained, by the missionary activity of priests from the new English Colleges on the continent.⁴⁴ This is revealed through the music and musical training brought with the priests on the mission, which had a clear effect on Catholics living in England. Moreover, just as 1570 signalled a turning point for historians who believe that England by the 1580s was becoming a more Protestant country both in practice and in a more meaningful cultural sense, so too were Catholics were becoming more 'Catholic'.⁴⁵ This thesis ends in 1640 largely for coherence, as the lives of all Englishmen were seriously disrupted with the decades of the civil wars and interregnum, and yet how Catholics used music in this period certainly warrants future attention.

Where the boundaries of the English Catholic community lay was previously rigidly defined. Bossy's seminal study marked English Catholics off from the 'Catholicisms of the continent' and subsequent discussion has remained insular.⁴⁶ It is only recently that the stories of English Catholics on

⁴⁴ This argument will be extended in Chapter 5. See Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, which has been the foundation for such an assessment. However historians remain divided over the question of the origins and membership of such a 'community'. For more information on this debate see Christopher Haigh, 'The fall of a church or the rise of a sect?', *Historical Journal*, 2 (1978): 181-186; Haigh, 'The continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 93 (1981): 37-69; Haigh, 'From monopoly to minority: Catholicism in early modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 31 (1981): 129-147 and Haigh, 'Revisionism, the Reformation, and the history of English Catholicism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 26 (1985): 394-405.

⁴⁵ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England* (2nd edn. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 95-101 and 113-19; Peter Marshall, *Reformation England* (2nd edn. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 157-186.

⁴⁶ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 6.

the continent have been told, such as Katy Gibbons' work on exiles in Paris and the exploration of exiled Catholic writings by literary scholars such as Christopher Highley.⁴⁷ By neglecting the continent scholars have overlooked the full picture of English Catholicism during this period. Consequently this thesis starts by focussing on the exiled groups surrounding the English monastic institutions, predominantly emerging in the territories of the Habsburg Netherlands. Organised around the voices of these Catholics, the opening three chapters ask if it sounded different to be a Catholic out of place and in exile on the continent. The chapters in the first section also ask what music can reveal about the way relationships were forged between English Catholic men and women, both at home and abroad.

The second section of this thesis returns to England and investigates how Catholic sociability was manifested through music. Chapter four asks how music affected the relationship between Catholics and their neighbours and chapter five highlights how music was used to develop and define Catholic networks. The final section of this thesis asks how Catholics used music in their devotions in order to transform space, and the last three chapters focus on prisons, sites of execution and the household. Taken together, the musical moments in these eight chapters enable us to listen to Catholic men and women and to hear in new and exciting ways what they had to say about their negotiation of estrangement from their Protestant home country. By focussing on the interaction between groups and individuals, the relationship between individual and communal identity, and above all the adaptation of Catholic piety and the construction of devotional identities, this thesis reveals a more nuanced picture of what it meant to be an English Catholic in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England.

⁴⁷ Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press [The Royal Historical Society], 2011); Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*. For affluent Catholics (and Protestants) travelling to the continent in the early decades of the seventeenth-century, see Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013).

1 | A Sense of Place: Soundscapes of Exile

What it sounded like to be a Catholic in exile depended very much on who you were: a nun, a seminarian or a layman or woman. Yet there were clear similarities in acoustic experience due to the tendency of English Catholic exiles to cluster around the seminaries and convents. This chapter will argue that the very fact the exiles were attracted to the institutions at all was largely due to their aural landscape, and a shared sense of its interpretation. By reconstructing the aural landscapes, or rather ‘soundscapes’ of these sacred institutions this chapter extends the approach embraced by Will Coster, Andrew Spicer and others who have moved away from the preoccupation with the visual.¹ Instead this chapter emphasises the importance of sound in the creation, and subsequent scholarly understanding, of early modern sacred spaces. By investigating the daily musical rhythm of the institutions, established practices, and musical training, this chapter will consider the early modern literary critic Bruce Smith’s observation that ‘people dwelling in a particular soundscape know the world in fundamentally different ways from people dwelling in another soundscape’.²

Nicky Hallett’s study of the convents of exiled English Carmelites recently argued that ‘nuns experienced the power of sound (seemingly above all other senses)’.³ This was due to the vast amount of time the nuns spent in silence, and yet other aspects of this provocative suggestion were

¹ Will Coster and Andrew Spicer eds. *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). See especially John Craig, ‘Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547-1642’, 104-123. Soundscapes have emerged very recently as an increasingly popular field of enquiry, see ‘Early Modern Soundscapes’ at Bangor, 24-25 April 2014, accessed 28 January 2014. <http://www.bangor.ac.uk/english/Soundscapes>, and also ‘Parish Soundscapes’, *Twelfth Warwick Symposium on Parish Research* at Warwick, 10 May 2014, accessed 5 March 2014. <http://my-parish.org/parish-symposium-2014-parish-soundscapes>.

² Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 47.

³ Nicky Hallett, *The Senses in Religious Communities, 1600-1800* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 147.

left unexplored. Hallett does not, for example, highlight the reactions of those outside of the convent to the sounds produced by the nuns, and it is the intention of this chapter to rectify this oversight. Indeed, the general scholarship on the institutions for English religious women has adopted a somewhat insular perspective, which is manifested most clearly in discussions of national identity. Claire Walker claimed it was a sense of nationalism that provided the strongest form of unity for English religious women, and asserted the convents were 'stridently English in both orientation and composition'.⁴ Similar conclusions were drawn by Christopher Highley and he argued that the 'nunneries functioned in effect as little self-enclosed Englands that shut out foreign cultures around them'.⁵ Over the course of the next three chapters, such sweeping assertions will be critiqued and instead the variety of political stances and devotional behaviours that were present within the communities will be highlighted. This chapter adopts a more nuanced approach and explores the local and international interactions with the soundscapes. This is evidenced in benefactions to the communities and in the employment of both local and international musicians.

This chapter also explores the lives and networks of two hitherto neglected English Catholic musicians in exile, John Bolt and Richard Dering, and will identify the influence these musicians had on continental devotional culture, as well as on those in England. In so doing, this chapter will dismiss claims from scholars such as Lisa McClain who have argued that whilst 'English Catholics might identify with their co-religionists throughout Europe and on the continent in a broad sense...they did not necessarily share communal relationships with them' because music by its very nature is

⁴ Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 38.

⁵ Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 183.

communal.⁶ Speaking specifically about the convents, Claire Walker also concluded that the English houses on the continent were in 'a liminal position – geographically separate from the families and English Catholic population they served and culturally distinct from the neighbourhoods in which they were situated'.⁷ This thesis qualifies such statements and asks how the soundscapes of English exile reveal active relationships between different groups of exiles, their host communities and across national and international borders.

Musical practice and provision: recreating the soundscape

Music (song, chant, prayer, and the ringing of bells) was ever-present in the convents and seminaries. Fundamental to the daily rhythm of the institutions was the performance of the divine office and the call to choir with the ringing of bells for the recitation of the prayers and hymns of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. The bells were critical in demarcating the aural boundaries of the communities as they echoed across the landscape and summoned the faithful hearers to prayer. Particularly significant was the ringing of the Ave or Angelus Bell, which as the 1609 constitutions from the Augustinian convent of St Monica's in Louvain explained: everyday 'after Compline they shall ring the Ave bell three times, and every time ring it thrice'.⁸ At every peal the *Ave Maria* was recited both by the nuns and seminarians, and in between, the Angelus devotion in memory of the incarnation was said (three versicles and responses describing the mystery). Individuals outside the communities within the bellscape that could hear them were bound to the soundscape of the convents and seminaries in prayer. As Ben Kaplan emphasised, 'church bells were the voice of local communities. Just as their sound carried to all within earshot, so it expressed the feelings and served the needs of the same.

⁶ Lisa McClain, *Lest we be damned: practical innovation and lived experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1642* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 234.

⁷ Walker, *Gender and Politics*, 174.

⁸ Douai Abbey, Berks. St Monica's Louvain [hereafter DAB St Monica's] E5 MS. Constitutions, Ancient Customs & Ceremonies AD 1609, f. 38.

It proclaimed their unity as a Christian community...In this way it exemplifies the non-individualistic, communal nature of much religious practice in early modern Europe'.⁹

The divine office was central to each community, and defined the soundscapes of the institutions from within. From their inception the regulations for performance were set out explicitly in the rules books and constitutions, as the *Lisbon Rule* from 1607 for the newly settled Bridgettine community of Syon emphasised:

[T]he sisters shall sing or recite eauerie daie according to the time of the Divine Roman office: and likewise they shal singe the Masses conformable to the saied office or the votive mass of blessed Marie and others according as the Roman missall shalt permit.¹⁰

Likewise, at St Monica's the nun Mary Copley, chronicler for the Augustinian canonesses, noted that as well as the Divine Office, the newly established community were to sing mass 'upon Sundays and holidays'. Although they were permitted to 'omit Our Lady's singing Mass upon Saturdays' because of their initial limited numbers, their chaplain 'good Father Fenn would needs have them to sing that Mass too; yea, he said if they would not, he would begin to sing it himself, but they were willing enough to strain themselves to honour Our Blessed Lady'.¹¹

The importance of music at the institutions for men was also outlined clearly, as the constitutions of the English College in Rome revealed:

⁹ Ben Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007), 50.

¹⁰ *Lisbon Rule (1607) and Additions (1607)* ed. James Hogg, *The Birgittine Legislation for Syon Abbey Lisbon* (Salzburg, 1991), 27.

¹¹ *The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran at St Monica's in Louvain*, ed. Adam Hamilton, 2 Vols. (London: Sands, 1906), Vol. 1, 71. Mary Copley (clothed in 1611, professed in 1612 and died 1669) has been revealed as the scribe of the manuscript at Douai that Hamilton edited by Victoria Van Hynning, 'Naming Names: Chroniclers, Scribes and Editors of St Monica's Convent, Louvain, 1631-1906' in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600-1800*, eds. Caroline Bowden and James Kelly (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 71-86.

On certain solemn feast days, let the students sing the Divine Office, Vespers and Mass in choir – as is fitting. Let them also learn well ceremonies, ecclesiastical rites and the proper administration of the sacraments.¹²

Adherence to these constitutions and the regular practice of the college at Rome were noted in the report after the apostolic visitation made by Cardinal Sega in 1585:

On Sundays...and on other solemn feasts which are made holy by precept of the Church, the Mass is sung by the priest with ministers, that is, with deacon and sub-deacon, master of ceremonies, six or eight canons (those who, wearing surplices, serve in the church), two acolytes, a thurifer, and, in addition, the singers and musicians in choir, and the latter are always present at the solemn singing of Vespers.¹³

According to the same report, it was also noted that on Saturdays the litanies of the Blessed Virgin were sung.¹⁴

As the constitutions for Rome explained, it was important that the ceremonies were learned ‘well’ by the members of the communities and music was vital to this training; standards for the performance of the divine office had to be high. After Sega’s 1585 visitation it was decreed: ‘Let the students – at given hours according to the judgment of the superiors – not

¹² Cited in Thomas Culley, S.J., ‘Musical Activity in Some Sixteenth Century Jesuit Colleges, with Special Reference to the Venerable English College in Rome from 1579 to 1589’, *Analecta Musicologica*, 19 (1979): 1-29 (at 13). Such practices sustained and the 1600 constitutions reiterated the importance of music for the Divine Office: On certain, more solemn feast days – as is fitting – let them sing the Divine Office, Vespers and Mass in choir. And let them also learn very well the ceremonies, ecclesiastical rites and proper administration of the sacraments. From *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* MS. Rom. 156, I, f. 111.

¹³ *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* MS. Rom. 156, f.60v. This is reprinted in the original Latin in the appendices to Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, trans. J.R. McKee (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1916), 492-519.

¹⁴ *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* MS. Rom. 156, ff.62v-63.

omit the diligent study of music'.¹⁵ The *Lisbon Rule* was also clear on the importance of sufficient voices for Syon's double choir:

[N]either shall there bee fewer sisters brought thereinto then maie be sufficient for to sing their office: nor fewer Brothers if it maie bee then that maie also bee able to sing the office eauerie daie of the time.¹⁶

From the outset the *Rule* was also clear about the proper way in which the community should sing, and in line with widespread concerns over music's power they remembered the 'Rule of our Father Saint Augustin':

When you pray to God in Hymnes and Psalmes, let that be meditated on in the heart, which is spoken by the voice. And when ye sing, see ye sing nothing but what is appointed to be sung in the book: and that which is not written to be sung, let it not be sung, Subdue your flesh with abstinence and fastings.¹⁷

This was reiterated in the *Lisbon Additions* of 1607, where it was emphasised:

[A]ll singing oughte to bee the office of the Divine praise, and the fruite of the labour of them that doe sing not onelie of them that doe sing the psalmes, *but also of them that doe heare them*: Therefore the sisters, shall be attentivelie, intierlie, and distinctlie discharge the saiede priases with sinceare devotion that soe the voice of the Divine praise, maie as it weare continuallie ressolte to the love of god and men. The singing of all shall bee graue simple plaine and modest: not broaken, high or clamorous but with all humilitie and devotion.¹⁸

The *Additions* explained the reasons for such high standards: those hearing must have their devotions enhanced by the music, as much as those performing.

¹⁵ Cited in Culley, 'Musical Activity', 13.

¹⁶ *The Birgittine Legislation*, 46.

¹⁷ *The Birgittine Legislation*, 19.

¹⁸ My emphasis. *The Birgittine Legislation*, 99.

Such devout performances meant that the churches and chapels became focal points for the local community, as the anonymous nineteenth-century nun and chronicler of the Brussels Benedictine community claimed:

[The] sisters began their novitiate with great fervour, the choir perfectly kept, and on Ember Wednesday in Advent 1599, which in that year fell on the 15th of December, they had the happiness of being able to sing their first High Mass, and they continued to do so on all Sundays and feasts, with much edification to their devout fellow citizens.¹⁹

Singing in the choir was first and foremost an act of prayer, and the edification of the laity was deemed so important that on occasion, discounts were offered on the dowries of potential nuns with musical skills and beautiful singing voices.²⁰ Particularly musical nuns were singled out within the chronicle of the Augustinian Canonesses, such as Sister Anne Evans who had 'learnt in the world to play upon the virginals [and] was since become so skilful upon the organ' and Sister Lioba Morgan, who 'was also very skilful in prick-song'.²¹ Furthermore, Sister Mary Skidmore was able to enter St Monica's because 'she had promise of her uncle, Sir Richard Farmer²², of 20 nobles a year; moreover, because she could play the organ and had other good parts'.²³ In the same way, men with a calling to the priesthood that demonstrated musical ability might be shown leniency if other qualities were lacking, as the Douay Diaries revealed with the entrance of John Worthington on 5 January 1607:

And he desires to become a priest if he can now obtain the knowledge for that office, for he can only understand Latin and at

¹⁹ *Chronicle of the First Monastery founded at Brussels for English Benedictine nuns A.D. 1597* (East Bergholt, 1898), 43.

²⁰ See Sylvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 113.

²¹ *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses*, Vol. 2, 186. 'Prick-song' meaning 'pricked' song, i.e. music written with pricks and dots in notational format. This meant Lioba could 'read music', as opposed to learning by rote.

²² Sir Richard Fermor (c.1578 - 1643), was a member of the wealthy Catholic Fermor family of Somerton in Oxfordshire. See below p.48 n.110.

²³ *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses*, Vol. 1, 78.

the most, write it. But he is a skilful musician, both in singing and at the organ. And so he is received into the College that he may at the same time help our choir and instruct others in this art, while he performs his studies.²⁴

Musical leaders like Worthington were important, and in the convents it was the responsibility of the nun elected 'Chantress' to ensure high musical standards. The chantresses at St Monica's during the period were Margaret Garnet, sister to Henry Garnet (the Jesuit superior in England and renowned for his musical prowess, more on him in chapter eight) and after her Anna Bromfield. Musical expertise was essential for the responsibilities of the position, and formed the basis of their election; the Chantress instructed the choir and was also responsible for appointing the best singers, as the constitutions for St Monica's explained:

[W]hen two are to sing together, she shall be careful to appoint two such as have voices that will best agree one with another, that there be no discord.

The constitutions made clear that the Chantress 'shall also be very careful that the choir keep a mean in the song, and that it be done in such a manner that it might stir one up to devotion'.²⁵

High standards in the seminaries were maintained through musical instruction. Music flourished at St Omer under Giles Schondonch, rector from 1600 to 1617. Schondonch led an exceptionally successful programme of education that was recognized by his contemporaries, and he advocated elaborate training in both vocal and instrumental music.²⁶ Moreover, as the

²⁴ *The Douay College Diaries 1598- 1654, Vol. 1*, eds. E.H. Burton and T.L. Williams, Catholic Record Society Record Series, 10 (1911), 344-345.

²⁵ DAB St Monica's MS. Constitutions, ff. 55-56.

²⁶ Maurice Whitehead and Peter Leech, "'In Paradise and Among Angels'", *Music and musicians at St. Omers English Jesuit College, 1593-1721*, *Tijdschrift van der Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* (2011): 57-82. William McCabe highlighted how certain passages of the *Constitutiones* established for the school during his rectorship were transcribed officially into the college regulations after his death and so were given

constitutions of the college revealed, there were four rooms set aside for musical performance: 'the first in the hall above the refectory; the second beneath the Holy Ghost dormitory; the third opening on the garden; the fourth the stage balcony'.²⁷ While the St Omer constitutions demonstrated a typical concern that music should not interfere with the hours given to classical studies, they also indicated that provision was made for training in singing for students immediately after meal times.²⁸ Similar training was visible in Rome and the level of musical provision in the English College has been deemed curious by scholars such as Thomas Culley. Culley asserted that 'of all Jesuit-governed institutions, [Rome was] perhaps the least likely to have been any sort of center of musical activity...' for the college was intended for the training of priests that would return to England on the mission. Here, Culley presumed, there would have been very little occasion for singing the mass and musical performance.²⁹ Culley's assumption in this regard was misguided. Firstly, whilst training priests for the mission was certainly the College's most important function, Culley has overlooked the importance of music for inspiring devotion within the surrounding community in Rome. For the institution played an important part in the lives of the local pious laity, as the college's diary from 1585 recorded:

We are so crowded at Mass and Vespers that many are kept out for want of room. They are attracted by our melodious yet grave style of our music, and by the gravity wherewith our students perform the several functions.³⁰

Such performances advertised convents and seminaries as beacons of 'English' devotion (in the sense that they contained English men and

lasting influence. See 'Music and Dance on a 17th-Century College Stage', *The Musical Quarterly*, 24 (1938): 313-322.

²⁷ Cited in McCabe, 'Music and Dance', 313.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Culley, 'Musical Activity', 12.

³⁰ *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: historic facts illustrative of the labours and sufferings of its members in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, ed. Henry Foley, 7 Vols. (London: Burns and Oates, 1875-1883), Vol. 6, 114.

women), which attracted English lay exiles. Yet the performances were simultaneously appealing to the indigenous local laity who were attracted to the institutions as exemplars of Counter-Reformation zeal. The convents and seminaries stood defiant in the face of persecution and as such were incorporated into networks of local and national lay piety. This is evident from the financial interactions with the communities and which this thesis dubs the 'economy of song'. The economy of song should be understood as a cycle of exchange that began and ended with the musical performances of nuns and seminarians, and was a vital contributor to their survival: musical performance aroused the devotion of the laity and motivated their support for the institutions, which then resulted in further musical performance. This will be explored in more detail in the next chapter, but one example, which also reveals the importance of the monastic churches and chapels to both the exiles and indigenous communities, was the donation made to the English College in Seville. A new church was built for the seminary by the pious widow, Dona Anna de Espinola, in her and her late husband's names. The 'new church was dedicated with great solemnity upon St. Andrew's Day, 1598' and no doubt such solemnities included music.³¹

Instruments and music books were also included in the gifts via the economy of song and were fundamental to the institutional soundscapes. At the English College in Valladolid the Count of Fuensalida donated

a sett of violes, which the Earle...bestowed some yeares agoe upon the Colledge, with bookes of musike, and...a payre of Virginales of an excellent sound, that Don Francisco de Reynoso Bishop of Cordova gave to this Church to accompany the other instruments which the schollers use with great dexteritie in the solemnities of Mass and Evensong upon festivall dayes, which they sing with no lesse devotion and proprietie of Ecclesiasticall

³¹ *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 7 pt. 1, xxix.

ceremonies, as the Institution and statutes of these Seminaries ordayne.³²

Instruments were present in the majority of institutions, and the benefactor's book for the convent of St Monica's recorded the purchase of an expensive organ after the profession of Sister Magdalen Throckmorton, thanks to the sizeable donation from her brother George.³³ A notable difference in the soundscape of Syon was the absence of the organ, and therefore the performance of the divine office was unaccompanied, as the *Lisbon Additions* stated: 'There shall in no wise bee had Organs in this Religion'.³⁴ However the majority of English convents and seminaries had an organ and the Brussels Benedictines also had virginals specifically for recreation. This was revealed by Richard Verstegan who dedicated his *Odes in imitation of the Seaven Penitential Psalms* (1601) to the community, which were to be performed with their 'sweet voyces and virginalles'.³⁵ Whilst inventories including instruments for the convents at Louvain and Brussels during this period are not extant, there are instances of other convents owning virginals such as the Augustinians at Bruges who purchased a 'pair of virginals' in 1654.³⁶

³² Antonio Ortiz, *A relation of the solemnitie wherewith the Catholike princes K. Philip III and Quene Margret were receyued in the English Colledge of Valladolid the 22. of August. 1600.* VVritten in Spanish by Don Ant. Ortiz and translated by Frauncis Riuers and dedicated to the right honorable the Lord Chamberlayne (Antwerp, 1601), 20-21.

³³ Later in 1619, George also travelled to the continent and entered the English College at Douai.

³⁴ *The Birgittine Legislation*, 99.

³⁵ Richard Verstegan, *Odes in imitation of the Seaven Penitential Psalmes* (Antwerp, 1601), sig. A2. Scholarship from Paul Arblaster has revealed that Verstegan was alluding to the Brussels community in the dedication of the *Odes* to 'the vertuous ladies and gentlewomen readers of these ditties'. See *Antwerp and the world: Richard Verstegan and the international culture of the Catholic reformation* (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 2004), 80-84. For more on the influence of the convent soundscapes on Verstegan see Emilie K. M. Murphy, 'A Sense of Place: Soundscapes of English Catholic Exile, 1598-1640' in Emilie K. M. Murphy, Robin Macdonald and Elizabeth Swann eds. *Sensing the Sacred: Religion and the Senses in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Forthcoming).

³⁶ Cited in Andrew Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister: Musical Culture in English Convents during the Seventeenth Century' in *English Convents in Exile*, eds. Bowden and Kelly, 175-190 (at 187).

Musical instruments were provided in abundance at St Omer and Schondonch insisted that the students be carefully trained for both the divine office and for recreation. He listed the variety of musical instruments befitting particular situations, which included 'the bass viol, or viol de gamba; the lute, or wanting this, the orpharion; the treble viol, the cither, the flute; add the tenor violin and the bassoon for effectiveness and charm'.³⁷ Music of wind instruments should be used 'especially for church services, for the reception of persons of high rank and for the theatre'. Schondonck also detailed the variety of wind instruments available to the scholars, including the hautbois, recorder, the sackbut and the cornett. The organ and harpsichord were identified as 'suitable and pleasing for church music' and it was noted that with 'the Rector's permission, anyone who is studying voice or instruments may go to the music-masters for a daily lesson'.³⁸ Other instruments recorded at the continental institutions include the purchase of a 'clavichord' noted in the accounts of May 1612 for the English College at Madrid.³⁹ This was almost certainly used for private practice and recreation; although much of the musical repertoire written for harpsichord and organ could have been played on the clavichord, it lacked the volume to participate in most chamber music or support the choir at mass.

Differences in instrumental provision draw attention to the distinctions between the soundscapes during this period. For the nuns this depended entirely on the degree of severity of the local ecclesiastical authorities' interpretation of enclosure, alongside the abilities of the individuals in the choir, and the instruction of their chaplains.⁴⁰ The soundscapes of the seminaries were also reliant on the inclination of each rector and this led to varying provision within the colleges, visible as early as

³⁷ Schondonch's inventory from Louvain Univ. Lib. MS. D. 321 (160), 29-30. Copied in McCabe, 'Music and Dance', 314-315.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *The English College at Madrid, 1611-1767* ed. Edward Henson, Catholic Record Society Record Series, 29 (1929), 147.

⁴⁰ Andrew Cichy places great significance on the musical backgrounds of the nuns within the English cloisters on the continent. See Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister', 175-190.

1579 in the bull of institution at the English College at Rome, where the students were to be trained in 'ecclesiastical singing, ceremonies and the divine office, according to the judgment of the superiors'.⁴¹ Thomas Culley suggested that despite the initial splendour of the music at the English College at Rome, which attracted crowds at Mass and Vespers, practice may have declined after 1585. This 'decline', Culley claimed, could be assumed from the reduction of students from 1585 and the fewer musicians noted in the 1596 visitation by Cardinal Sega.⁴²

Culley concluded that musical provision was reduced because 'it was not likely that taking part in elaborate liturgical functions...would be one of their [the seminarians] major functions'.⁴³ However Culley has overlooked the importance of learning music for priests on the mission to England, which will be revealed in subsequent chapters of this thesis.⁴⁴ Moreover, simply because there were fewer musicians and students after 1585 there is no reason to think that musical provision for the liturgy was any less important. The report after the apostolic visitation of 1596 observed that every day:

At the end of lessons and repetitions, all the students, with the same companions and at the same time, return home where, for half an hour those found suitable will be trained in singing by the maestro di cappella.⁴⁵

Alongside the resident 'maestro di cappella and the organist', Cardinal Sega also noted there were five non-residents paid for by the college.⁴⁶ The only reduction in musical provision was through the removal of musical instruments accompanying the liturgy, occurred after the appointment of

⁴¹ My emphasis. The Bull *Quoniam Divinae bonitati* was promulgated on April 23, 1579 and is cited in Culley, 'Musical Activity', 13.

⁴² Culley, 'Musical Activity', 15

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ See esp. Chapter 5 and Chapter 7.

⁴⁵ 'Report upon the English College, by his Eminence Cardinal Sega c.1596', BAV, *Ottob. lat.* 2, 473, f.185, trans. Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 6, 65.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Father Robert Persons as rector of Rome in 1597. Persons had previously expressed concern in 1587 in a letter to the Assistant General of the German Provinces (which included England); he worried that polyphonic music was a distraction and concluded that it might have a negative effect on the 'temporal well-being' of those within the college; it was an inconvenience and Persons was 'very much inclined to restrict the singing to chant'.⁴⁷ Yet Persons debated how this might be effected 'without too much trouble' because they would be 'taking away a good thing that has already begun'.⁴⁸

The discussion over musical practice in the English colleges serves to underline the importance of its role in the liturgy, particularly singing the chants. As Craig Monson has shown, music was one of the most widely debated topics during the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and in the months leading up to the twenty-second and twenty-fourth sessions in 1562-3 debates circulated surrounding the complete ban of polyphonic music and issues of intelligibility and comprehension. One such topic echoed Augustine's concerns above and was as follows:

It must also be considered whether the kind of music that has now become established in polyphony, which refreshes the ear more than the mind and which seems to incite lasciviousness rather than religion, should be abolished from the Masses...⁴⁹

However the official Tridentine decree subsequently said little on the subject of music. The twenty-second session ruled a mere fifteen words on the subject, which translated to:

⁴⁷ 'Letter from Fr Robert Persons SJ to Fr Paul Hoffaeus' in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*. (Rome: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, 1587), Germ., 167, ff. 224-224v. Full text and translation printed in Thomas F. Kennedy, 'Jesuits and Music: the European tradition 1547-1622' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, 1982), 103-4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ 'Item animadvertendum, an species musicae, quae nunc invaluit in figuratissimo modulationibus, quae magis aures quam mentem recreat et ad lasciviam potius quam ad religionem excitandam comparata videtur, tollenda sit in missis, in quibus etiam profana saepe cantantur, ut illa della caccia et la bataglia' (CT 8:918). Cited in Craig Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 1 (2002): 1-38 (at 8).

Let them keep away from the churches compositions in which there is an intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instrument or voice.⁵⁰

Although the twenty-fourth session decreed a little more on the important issue of intelligibility, the treatment of music was still brief:

Let them...praise the name of God reverently, clearly and devoutly in hymns and canticles in a choir established for psalmody.⁵¹

In this decree, it was also emphasised that with regard to 'the proper direction of the divine offices, concerning the proper manner of singing or playing therein' the bishop was to be responsible and 'may provide in these matters as seems expedient'.⁵² This decree, however vague, was to prove extremely important in its implementation at a local level, by explicitly stipulating this was to be enacted by the local ecclesiastical authorities. As Craig Monson has argued in his reconsideration of the impact of Trent's 'musical' decrees, to single out individual saviours or enemies of music is misguided. In actuality, the local delegation of responsibilities 'encouraged a post-Tridentine sacred music considerably more diverse than generally envisioned' and 'appears to have prompted an immediate amplification in Rome of criteria for musical reform at the local level'.⁵³ Due to the ambiguity of Trent's decrees, the debates surrounding the best form of music for devotion did not cease. Although Persons' appointment as rector in 1597 likely saw the restriction of more elaborate music, it is important to stress that this did not stop the seminarians learning how to sing the chants and the liturgies, which remained vital. As the new Constitutions for Rome written in 1600 reiterated:

On certain, more solemn feast days – as is fitting – let them sing the Divine Office, Vespers and Mass in choir. And let them also

⁵⁰ 'Ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas, ubi sive organo sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur' (CT 8:963). Cited in Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', 11.

⁵¹ '... et episcopo celebranti aut alia pontificalia exercenti adsistere et inservire, atque in choro, ad psallendum instituto, hymnis et canticis Dei nomen reverenter, distincte devotique laudare.' (CT 9:983-84)

⁵² CT 9:983-84. Cited in Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', 18.

⁵³ Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', 3.

learn very well the ceremonies, ecclesiastical rites and proper administration of the sacraments.⁵⁴

Musical provision at the secular English College at Douai was also varied. It can be assumed that initially music thrived because the observations of a visitation by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1626 complained that it had waned. The Propaganda Fide had been founded just four years previously with special responsibilities for the overseas missions, and the report they commissioned revealed that 'singing at the College had declined to the extent that only one priest among the scholars sang Mass at all. Secondly, the choir, *which had once been well-attended*, was now so depleted that only three or four people were able to sustain their parts in singing'.⁵⁵ The reaction of the Propaganda Fide was vehement and stressed unequivocally that the scholars must learn how to sing. The ruling of *Congregatio Particularis*, a decision made by a particular meeting of the Propaganda Fide on 21 June 1627, decreed that the College's President, Matthew Kellison, was no longer allowed to exempt the students from music classes, and that this was only to be granted by the permission of the Apostolic Nuncio. Furthermore, no student was to be promoted to Holy Orders who had not previously learned the music appropriate to the level of their orders. This ruling is extremely significant, for the Propaganda Fide was trying to ensure that every student that went on the English Mission was capable of singing the Mass. As at Rome, singing at Douai was clearly deemed crucial for sustaining devotional practice in England.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* MS. Rom. 156, f. 111.

⁵⁵ Cited in Andrew Cichy, 'Out of Place? The functions of music in English seminaries during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in *Music and Theology in the European Reformations*, ed. Grantley McDonald et al (Turnhout: Brepols, Forthcoming).

⁵⁵ My emphasis. *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ See Chapter 7 below and Emilie K. M. Murphy, 'Martyr Music: The Impact of Tridentine Spirituality on post-Reformation English Catholic Devotional Practice' in *Music and Theology in the European Reformations*.

There was never any ambiguity over music's role at St Omer, which remained lavish throughout the period as Maurice Whitehead and Peter Leech have shown.⁵⁷ Musical training was regarded as vital to prepare the boys either for a career in the priesthood, or for their return to England in order to support the faith of their beleaguered community as a layman. A letter of 1609 from the Apostolic Nuncio, Guido Bentivoglio to Cardinal Scipione Borghese described the highly musical daily activities of the students at the College:

I returned soon after dinner to inspect the Seminary more carefully, and was entertained by the scholars with vocal and instrumental music, in which they are instructed so as to increase in them a spirit of devotion... [Then a]fter supper I was again treated with sacred music, to my infinite delight, and then prepared to leave.

The scholars' duty to musically edify was fulfilled as the Nuncio noted that the 'city shows itself very favourable to the College' and concluded his letter:

[R]ecommending this Seminary to your Eminence's protection with all my heart and soul. During the whole of my visit I truly seemed to be in Paradise and among angels. I was greatly edified, and moved even to sorrow, at seeing for the first and perhaps the last time so many choice plants in the catholic Church destined to persecution, afflictions, and martyrdom, as now I behold springing up and growing before me.⁵⁸

It is clear that the music of the institutions were an important focus for their definition and survival.

Outside influence: engaging with the soundscape

The relationship between those interacting with the soundscapes, both the edified listeners and those making the sounds, was crucial and both groups

⁵⁷ Whitehead and Leech, 'In Paradise and Among Angels'.

⁵⁸ *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 7 pt. 2, 1152-1155.

engaged with each other. This was most significant among the convents, where boundaries were meant to be impenetrable: the nuns performed without seeing the public (or being seen by them) thereby fully respecting enclosure. The provisions of enclosure were first asserted in the papal bull *Periculoso* in 1298 and were unambiguously reaffirmed at the Council of Trent. In the twenty-fifth session of the Council in December 1563 it was decreed:

[T]he enclosure of nuns be restored wherever it has been violated...The holy council exhorts all Christian princes to furnish this aid and binds thereto under penalty of excommunication to be incurred ipso facto all civil magistrates. No nun shall after her profession be permitted to go out of the monastery, even for a brief period under any pretext whatever, except for a lawful reason to be approved by the bishop.⁵⁹

The physical boundaries of the convents were clearly demarcated from the surrounding landscape architecturally with the building of high walls. This was essential for the institutions' definition as explicitly sacred spaces, and acted as protection from 'the rapacity and other crimes of evil men'.⁶⁰ Walls also divided the convents on the inside and separated the easily accessible public church from the nuns' church, which was part of the internal, cloistered space of the convent. Interactions were strictly aural and despite the choir's separation from the public church, this was an obvious spiritual link for the nuns to the outside world. Heard but not seen, from the choir the nuns followed the religious ceremonies; they listened to the words of the priest, sang their parts in the office and sang in unison with the local community. On occasion the nuns also sung music on their own, or in small groups, for the edification of the silent, prayerful, lay congregation.

⁵⁹ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner S.J., 2 Vols. (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), Vol. 2, 778.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

As with the majority of the decrees of Trent, the enclosure of nuns was left to be enforced and maintained by the episcopate, and as recent scholarship as shown, implementation of Trent's decrees was by no means uniform. The work of scholars such as John O'Malley, Simon Ditchfield and Robert Bireley has been fundamental in redefining the role of Trent and a more nuanced picture has emerged, which has particularly influenced scholarship on the female religious.⁶¹ Scholars in Cordula van Wyhe's volume on female monasticism have argued that enforcement of enclosure be viewed as 'a flexible schema which was constantly manipulated in response to local conditions rather than a universal, seamless implementation of Roman legislation'.⁶² Whilst perhaps such revisionism has overplayed the autonomy of women within the convents, described in terms of what was only a dynamic minority, this scholarship has been critical in identifying networks of communication between the nuns, and complicating the view of enclosure as total withdrawal.⁶³ As the prioress of the Augustinian canonesses in Louvain wrote to her family in England in 1630: 'doe not suppose me a well mortified Nun dead to the world for alas tis not so, I am alive and...as nearly concern'd for thos I love as if I had never left them'.⁶⁴

⁶¹ John O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013); Simon Ditchfield, 'Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints' in *Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 6, Reformation and Expansion, 1500-1600*, ed. Ronnie Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 210-224 and Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism 1450-1700* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999). Also see Elizabeth Leffelt, *Religious women in Golden Age Spain: the permeable cloister* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) and Evangelisti, *Nuns*.

⁶² Cordula van Wyhe ed. *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 7.

⁶³ For work on the musical lives of some particularly dynamic European nuns see Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: music and culture in an early modern Italian convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). This convent's exceptionalism, however, is clear from the recent title of this work's reissue in paperback, *Divas in the convent: nuns, music, and defiance in seventeenth-century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). See also Robert Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: nuns and their music in early modern Milan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁶⁴ Cited in Claire Walker, "'Doe not suppose me a well mortified Nun dead to the World': Letter Writing in Early Modern English Convents' in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing 1450-1700*, ed. James Daybell (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 159-76.

A flaw within recent scholarship on the convents in exile, as one reviewer has recently noted, is the 'unresolved tension between the frequent claims as to the 'strict enclosure' of the religious men and women and the many and varied interactions that they clearly had with the outside world' alongside the assertion that "'the walls of the cloister remained porous and fluid'".⁶⁵ Yet any 'unresolved tension' should be viewed as a consequence of the lack of uniformity between the convents (and whilst the laws of enclosure do not apply, this can also be extended to the seminaries). Devotional experience and practice for those within and surrounding the institutions was, despite the attempted standardisation of the Council of Trent, extremely varied. The Brussels Benedictines certainly seemed slightly more moderate in their interpretation of enclosure, as during the diarist John Evelyn's visit on 7 October 1641, he spent time, 'discoursing most part of the afternoon' with the nuns.⁶⁶ Whether this was through the grille is unclear but the Brussels nuns' proclivity for hospitality in their parlours infuriated the Archbishop of Mechelen. After his visitation in 1620, the Archbishop cautioned the women for socialising with clerical and lay friends at the grate.⁶⁷ However, numerous convents seemingly embraced *clausura* and it should be presumed that the majority of interaction the nuns had with the outside world was mediated by physical limitations. This does not mean they were hermetically sealed and what follows will complicate suggestions from scholars such as Highley that the communities were 'self-enclosed little Englands'.⁶⁸ Both the convents and the seminaries were susceptible to outside influence, which permeated the boundaries of the communities through gifts via the economy of song.

⁶⁵ David J. Crankshaw, 'Review of Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, c.1400-1700, ed. E. A. Jones and A. Walsham', *English Historical Review*, 127 (2012): 151-154 (at 154).

⁶⁶ *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. Guy de la Bedoyere (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1995), 40.

⁶⁷ See Craig Harline and Eddy Put, 'A Bishop in the Cloisters: the visitations of Mathias Hovius (Malines, 1596-1620)', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22 (1991): 611-39.

⁶⁸ Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 183.

The musical repertoire of the institutions was continental and influenced by the decrees of Trent. The 1576 inventory of the English College in Rome counted the possession of 'two new Roman Breviaries in 4to ex typis Plantine' and 'Missale pulchrume jusdem Plantine in folio', which were gifts from Sir Thomas Englefield'.⁶⁹ Out of the graduals and antiphonals extant, full of the plainchants that would have made up the music of the everyday, such as those found within the archives of St Monica's held at Douai Abbey, the *Graduale Romanum* from the Benedictine convent in Ghent is particularly revealing: the *Graduale* was published in 1607 at Antwerp by Joachim Troгнаesius and edited for the Archbishop of Mechelen, which, as Andrew Cichy has argued, indicated the convent's musical repertoire drew upon the sources available locally.⁷⁰ English Catholic exile Richard Verstegan was also closely associated with Troгнаesius, and appeared to have been the general buying agent in Antwerp for books for all of the exiled English colleges.⁷¹ Born Richard Rowlands, Verstegan reverted to his ancestral Dutch surname when he travelled to Antwerp in the aftermath of the execution of Edmund Campion in the 1580s. From the Netherlands, Verstegan continued to disseminate texts and publish in support of the English Catholic community: in a list of books Verstegan sent to Seville for Father Persons there were 'Music bookes for Valladolid'.⁷²

When the community of Syon settled in Lisbon they brought their 'Reliques, Rules & Monuments, Service books, Choir books, Libraries, Bulls, Records & Church furniture of Sion' with them'.⁷³ Out of the little that survives, there is a beautiful antiphonale from the period, which contains the

⁶⁹ Cited in Francis Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920), 61.

⁷⁰ Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister', 209.

⁷¹ On 30 June 1588 he bought various books for Father Creswell, then Rector of English College in Rome. See Arblaster, *Antwerp and the world*, 50.

⁷² *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan (c.1550-1640)* ed. Anthony G. Petti, Catholic Record Society Record Series 52 (1959), 187.

⁷³ Exeter University Library [hereafter EUL] MS 262/Add.1, *An account of the Travels. Dangers & Wonderful Deliverance of the English Nuns of the famous Monastery of Sion*, ff. 197-8. (Hereafter *An account of the Travels*.)

music for the two choirs of brothers and sisters set to various psalms and texts. This was inscribed in Dutch on the final page in 1644:

This book has been written by one of the exiled sisters of Saint Mary's throne who humbly recommends her to the ardent devotion of those who will use the same.⁷⁴

The Dutch inscription points to the local influences within the community which permeated the walls of the convent and suggests some fluidity of national and linguistic boundaries. Whilst the members of the majority of English convents during this period were meant to be English, the Bridgettines did accept a few local women and one source records the presence in 1622 of two 'Dutchwomen' and three 'Portugeses'.⁷⁵ As Claire Walker revealed, whilst Syon was only supposed to profess Englishwomen, relaxation of these rules (presumably due to financial stress) allowed for the provision of local patronage networks.⁷⁶

Rather than self-enclosed, the convents absorbed elements of local culture, and this was revealed through musical practice. Before her death in May 1612 'of a vehement burning ague mingled with pleurisy', Mother Margaret Clement, knowing that she was close to the end:

reflecting of her death, sitting at the high table by the Mother that was then [Jane Wiseman], being very merry in recreation, she said unto her: good Mother, give me leave to do as the swan doth, that is, to sing you a song now before my death: which the Prioress answered, saying: Good Mother, let us hear it: and with that she

⁷⁴ Desen Boeck is geschreven door eene Bandeghe blucthe susters van Ste Marien Throon de Welche haex ootmoedenck re-Commandeer tinde bierige devotie van de gene die den selven sullen ghebrycken'. EUL MS 262/11, *Antiphonale*, f.185. Thanks to Liesbeth Corens for this translation.

⁷⁵ Thomas Robinson, *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon in Portugall* (London, 1622), 32.

⁷⁶ Claire Walker, 'Continuity and Isolation: The Bridgettines of Syon in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, c.1400-c.1700*, eds. Edward A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), 155-176 (at 162).

set out such a voice, that all the company admired. It was a Dutch ditty, but the matter was of the Spouse and the Bridegroom.⁷⁷

The particular song Margaret Clement performed has proved impossible to identify, but Margaret's contemporary biographer Sister Shirley recorded that it was 'from the exceeding Joy & Jubilation of her hart [Margaret] sang a devout song of Jesus which made of the Elders to weep that sat neere her'.⁷⁸ Moreover, the fact this song was a 'Dutch ditty' highlights the outside influences that were present within the institutions, most likely brought with the nuns as they entered.

Non-liturgical, recreational musical activities within the Carmelite convents in Antwerp also demonstrated the way that institutional boundaries might be traversed. This was revealed by the intimate friendship between the nuns Ana de San Bartolomé (born Ana Garcia) and Anne Worsley (Anne of the Ascension after her profession).⁷⁹ Ana was a companion of Saint Teresa of Avila, played an instrumental role in the foundation of the initial Carmelite convents, and helped to support the establishment of new institutions throughout Europe.⁸⁰ Ana was made prioress of the new Spanish convent in Antwerp in 1614, and in 1619 a second convent was founded expressly for exiled English ladies, whose first prioress was Anne Worsley. The two prioresses communicated frequently and their letters, in Spanish, reveal intimate snapshots into the daily lives of the nuns. They told each other humorous stories of activities in the refectory

⁷⁷ *Chronicle English Augustinian Canonesses*, Vol. 1, 99.

⁷⁸ DAB St Monica's Q1 MS. Life of our Most Reverent Mother Margrit Clement, 1628, f. 140.

⁷⁹ Ana de San Bartolomé, *Autobiography and Other Writings*, ed. Darcy Donahue (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

⁸⁰ For more on English Carmelites during this period see Nicky Hallett's oeuvre: *The Senses in Religious Communities, 1600-1800; Witchcraft, Exorcism and the Politics of Possession in a Seventeenth-Century Convent* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) and *Lives of Spirit: English Carmelite Self-writing in the Early Modern period* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). For an introduction to the globalisation of the Carmelite order, the European historical background, and a transcription of some primary texts in both the original Spanish and in English, see 'More than One Teresa: A Movement of Religious Women' in *Untold Sisters Hispanic Nuns in Their Own Works*, eds. Electa Arenal and Stacey Schlau (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 19-130.

and exchanged rhymes and verses they had composed, as Ana wrote to Anne:

I would have liked to cheer you with the rhymes I made up while I was in bed, but I have no room here. Let us hear yours, and whether the Sisters were cheered; here there has been much gaiety, for I had them doing all sorts of nonsense, and they made a sport of Monsior de Beruel and his associates, and Madam Acaria played Dionisia so that we were dying of laughter, and Angelito did Ymon, to the same effect.⁸¹

English Anne later replied:

And though I have but little space, I write and send you the verses you request, the Christmas Eve verses, to rouse the Sisters first and then to dance in the choir. As we had danced so much in our cells, I wrote these to cheer them in the choir, which say

Wake up, Blas,
for I hear something stirring;
let no plaguey troubles come
to disturb our pasture...⁸²

This exchange between the Carmelite convents in Antwerp reveals the use of musical verses and dance for recreation. Furthermore it shows that the Spanish and English prioresses shared a friendship that stretched beyond enclosure, and beyond national boundaries.

Musical recreation was not uncommon in the other convents on the continent, as revealed in Thomas Robinson's 1622 'exposé' of the Bridgettines in Lisbon. Robinson spent several years with the community before he claimed that he had no vocation and left. Upon his return to England, Robinson launched a written assault on Syon's many alleged failings and this included their scandalous use of music:

⁸¹ *Untold Sisters*, 72 (Spanish at 65). The sisters were mocking Pierre (later cardinal) de Berulle and their superiors.

⁸² *Untold Sisters*, 74 (Spanish at 67).

[W]ell doe they [nuns] manifest the abundance of idleness that is in them, when at sundry times playing upon their instruments for their fathers [confessor's] recreation, they sing him ribaldrous Songs and jigs, as that of Bonny Nell, and such other obscene and scurrilous Ballads, as would make a chaste eare to glow at the hearing of them, and which I would scarce have believed would have proceeded out of their mouthes, had I not heard them with my owne eares.⁸³

Sources such as this had a dual effect of promoting the visibility of England's Catholic exiles to the English populace whilst simultaneously denouncing them. The Bridgettines themselves were later aware of the text as a manuscript letter survives in the British Library from the community, which explained:

About the fyrst of December 1622, Syon had a full notice and syghte of a most slaunderous printed lybell, sett forth by one Thomas Rbison against them: but because they then understand that it bine published dyvers months before it came to there knowledge and no doubt to the greefe of their parents and frindes whose remedy and comfort they weare bound to procure with all possible speede.⁸⁴

The community were particularly afraid of the damage to their reputation and the 'greefe' of their friends and family, and made sure to respond to Robinson point-by-point, which included his attack on music.

And though these Nuns as others of this country singe or have musike somtymes at their grates, yet that these ever sunge bony Nell, or any immodest tunes or ditty, it is only his false tounge which doth affirme it.⁸⁵

The nuns' response confirmed not only Syon's use of recreational music 'at their grates', but emphasised that it was not 'immodest' and justified the

⁸³ Robinson, *Anatomy of the English Nunnery*, 13.

⁸⁴ BL. Add. MS. 21203, f.42v

⁸⁵ BL. Add. MS. 21203, f.49.

performances with the retort that it was no different to the behaviour of other religious communities, 'as others of this country' had done. More significantly still, this episode reveals the way in which the nuns were aware of, even if they claimed it was not performed, popular music in England. The original text of the ballad 'Bonny Nell' has unfortunately not survived, although its content was certainly lewd. Its tune (also lost) was very popular and was added to several other risqué broadside publications throughout the period.⁸⁶

International influence, from the continent and England, on both the convents and seminaries was most obviously facilitated by the employment of musicians. Alongside the employment of local musicians evident from the institutional account books to support the music for feasts and grander occasions, the convents and seminaries also employed permanent musicians. In the English College, the 'maestro di cappella' (the master of music) noted during the 1585 visitation was Paolo Paciotti (or Paciotto) Tiburtino, 'magister cantorum et Capellae' and there were also musicians working in the college without a salary: 'Maurice, an Englishman and a bass, Aurias Monsfortis, a Spaniard and a contralto and Ludovico Gualterio, an Englishman and a soprano as they say'.⁸⁷ From this it is clear that musical provision of the college was international and developed upon the skills of the Italian maestro, alongside the English and Spanish musicians serving unpaid. At St Omer, the Annual Letter of 1653 also revealed that music and dancing were still being taught at the College and that despite the troubled years of the interregnum, the college managed to retain 'two skilled singing masters brought from England'.⁸⁸ The exchange of musicians between England and the continent had its roots in the earlier period: several English

⁸⁶ See for example 'The deceased Maiden-Lover' (1619-1629?), digitised by the *English Broadside Ballad Archive* project at the University of California, Santa Barbara (hereafter *EBBA*), accessed 5 March 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30059>. More on Catholic engagement with English ballad-tradition below in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

⁸⁷ Cited in Culley, 'Musical Activity', 14. Soprano in this instance might either mean that the male singer was a castrato, or simply that they had a high range known as a 'falsettist'.

⁸⁸ Cited in McCabe, 'Music and Dance', 321.

Catholic exiles, including Peter Philips and John Bull, were employed at the court in Brussels of the Archduke Albert VII of Austria and Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, sovereigns of the Habsburg Netherlands. Peter Philips had been a choirboy at St Paul's cathedral under Sebastian Westcote who named Philips in his will.⁸⁹ Westcote was organist, almoner and master of the choristers at St Paul's from 1550 and held his post through the reformations of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth whilst simultaneously retaining his adherence to Catholicism. After his master's death, Philips went to the continent and was admitted to Rome on 20 October 1582. He entered the service of Cardinal Farnese, and was also the organist for the English College until October 1585. Philips joined the court of the Archdukes in 1597 and remained in Brussels for the rest of his life. John Bull joined him in 1613 and although Bull alleged he fled England for his 'faith', his self-imposed exile was surrounded by accusations of adultery and other grave offences. It was reported that Bull 'hath more music than honesty and is as famous for marring of virginity as he is for fingering of organs and virginals'.⁹⁰ John Bolt and Richard Dering, two lesser known English Catholic exile musicians, were also employed on the continent as resident musicians of the English convents of St Monica's in Louvain and the Brussels Benedictines.

Such external influences certainly undermine the view of the institutions as self-enclosed, and the networks of contacts between expatriate circles and English Catholics across the channel were vital. Whilst priests may have provided the initial contact, it was the laity that established their

⁸⁹ Westcote left £5 in his will to four choirboys 'now remayninge in my howse' and 'to Peter Phillipps likewise remayninge with me five poundes thirtene shillings fower pence'. See John Steele. 'Philips, Peter', *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 30 October 2013. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21570>.

⁹⁰ Letter from Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbott to English envoy in Brussels Sir William Trumbell, dated December 1613 cited in Julie Anne Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music* (Dent: London, 2010), 275. Also see Denis Arnold and John Milsom, 'Bull, John', *The Oxford Companion to Music*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 30 October 2013. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e1019>.

own links. Yet such networks remain relatively unexplored in the scholarly literature on the subject. By identifying the networks around the exiled musicians John Bolt and Richard Dering, this chapter reveals how the relationships between English Catholics both at home and abroad were reciprocal. These musical networks also provide evidence for communal relationships, which united exiles and the local laity, alongside the laity in England. The circles around these two musicians have been chosen as case-studies because they remain neglected by scholars but therefore it is hard to suggest that what follows is representative of all the exiled communities during this period. Unfortunately it was beyond the scope of this thesis to undertake further and more detailed analyses of the networks of lay piety and patronage surrounding all of the institutions on the continent. However, if and when such future studies are undertaken it will be interesting to see if similar conclusions surrounding the place of music and musicians within these networks are drawn.

John Bolt: local nexuses

John Bolt was born in Exeter around 1563 and until 1586 the details of his life are somewhat uncertain. In the early 1580s it is possible that he was employed at the Royal Chapel, as the chronicle of St Monica's claimed he lived:

two or three years in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, being in great request for his voice and skill in music; but the Court was most tedious unto him, being drawn by God to better things. For he had a great desire to become a Catholic, and therefore once seeing a fit time and occasion, he stole away from the Court and came to live among Catholics, where after some time he was reconciled, to his great joy; and although he had many allurements to seek after places of preferment, he would not accept of them, but desired much to come over the seas, which as yet he could not compass in some years. The Queen hearing of his departure, fell out with the

master of music, and would have flung her pantoufle at his head, for looking no better unto him, but he lived secretly in Catholic gentlemen's houses, being very welcome everywhere for his good parts.⁹¹

Despite the dutiful repetition of this account by scholars who have briefly mentioned Bolt, these events are highly dubious as there is no evidence from the chapel royal records of his employment there.⁹² It is likely that John Bolt himself fabricated this story. This is quite telling, for it may have helped secure his appointment, and would simultaneously have enhanced the reputation of the convent. Perhaps Bolt's fiction was inspired by the situation of William Byrd, whom he had known personally during their time employed together within the household of the Petre family in Essex.⁹³

Bolt's time in and around London and Essex between 1586 and 1594 is a rare period of certainty in the chronology of his life. It also appears to have been the most formative, as he came into contact with the individuals who would shape his final twenty-seven years. Until 1593 Bolt worked as a household musician for John Petre at Stondon Massey in Ingatestone and here he met several well-connected Catholic and Protestant families.⁹⁴ As Anna Schmitt has revealed in an analysis of Lord Petre's dinner guests, despite Petre's Catholicism, the majority of visitors outside of his kin-network were Protestant and almost half were public office holders from outside Essex.⁹⁵ Bolt then spent some time at Compton in Warwickshire, perhaps a result of his introduction to leading figures in the county with

⁹¹ *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses*, Vol. 1, 149-150. (A 'pantoufle' is a slipper.)

⁹² Absent from Andrew Ashbee's meticulous volumes of primary material for Ashgate: *A biographical dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714, Volumes I and II* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) and the *Records of English Court Music*, 9 Vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993). For most recent repetition see Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister', 175.

⁹³ David Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford Bodleian Ms Mus. Sch. E. 423', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 29 (2006): 21-46.

⁹⁴ For more on Bolt's connections to John Petre see James E. Kelly, 'Learning to Survive: the Petre family and the formation of Catholic communities from Elizabeth I to the eve of the English Civil War' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College London, 2008), 115-17.

⁹⁵ Anna Schmitt, 'Guess Who's Coming to Dinner? Social networks and religious allegiances at Lord Petre's Dinner Table, 1609-1619', *Recusant History*, 29 (2009): 341-354.

direct links to the Petres such as the Throckmorton family. He is likely to have associated with them whilst residing with 'Mr Verney [at] his house to teach Mr Bassetts children to syng and play on the vrygynalls...'96 By the middle of 1594 Bolt was back in Essex, this time with William Wiseman and his family at Braddocks. Soon after, he was arrested with Wiseman and others at a house suspected to be a mass centre on Golding Lane, London. The authorities' suspicions were accurate, and the house had been rented by the Jesuit missionary priest, John Gerard. Yet despite Bolt's interrogation by the infamous Richard Topcliffe, he maintained that he had been there simply to retrieve his stockings.⁹⁷ He was eventually released due to the personal intercession of Lady Penelope Rich, and who Bolt may have met through William Byrd: Byrd was a regular guest at the Petre household from 1586.⁹⁸ Due to their shared profession and musical prowess, it is probable that they even worked together on occasion. Byrd was close to Lady Rich and his *Psalms Sonnets and Songs* of 1588 contained a thinly veiled reference to her in the secular part-song 'Constant Penelope'.⁹⁹

After his release Bolt travelled to the continent and at this point there is further uncertainty surrounding the details of his life during these early years of exile. The St Monica's chronicle noted he travelled first to the college at St Omer and studied there.¹⁰⁰ This is quite likely for, as John Bossy has shown, this was a typical pathway for the majority of English émigrés. Bolt was likely to have served a musical role at the college, acting as organist and

⁹⁶ SP 12/248 f.79r. For more info on Warwickshire see Michael Hodgetts, 'Coughton and the Gunpowder Plot' in *Catholic Gentry in English Society*, eds. Marshall and Scott, 93-122 (at 109). Richard Verney was later knighted in 1603 and became Justice of the Peace for Warwickshire in 1614. It is unclear why Mr Bassett and his children were resident there particularly as, Michael Hodgetts has suggested, the Bassetts were a recusant family.

⁹⁷ SP 12/248, ff.79-81.

⁹⁸ A.C. Edwards, *John Petre* (London: Regency Press, 1975), 73. He was also present at Christmas 1609, as well as seemingly having a chamber set aside for him throughout the year. See Kelly, 'Learning to Survive', 115.

⁹⁹ Byrd, *Psalms, Sonnets and Songs*, no.23.

¹⁰⁰ *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses*, Vol. 1, 42.

a tutor for the scholars.¹⁰¹ Between c.1599 and c.1605 Bolt spent an unspecified amount of time at the newly established Benedictine convent for English women in Brussels, as the chronicle of St Monica's noted, 'to help their music, which hath been so famous'.¹⁰² Mary Copley's recognition of the fame of the Brussels Benedictines highlights the level of exchange and mutual respect between the exiled English institutions. The next likely trace of Bolt comes in in 1605 within the records of Douai College as one 'Joannes Boltus, Exoniensis', John Bolt from Exeter, was ordained as a secular priest.¹⁰³

Our next certain trace of Bolt is on 5 August 1613, when he arrived in Louvain and joined the crowds of exiles and local laity that had gathered for the profession of Margaret Throckmorton to the Augustinian Canonesses. Bolt knew Margaret from the time he spent in Warwickshire as Mary Copley asserted on behalf of St Monica's, 'having known her in the world, [he] was very glad to see her so happily made a nun'.¹⁰⁴ Bolt was then persuaded by Jane Wiseman, the prioress and daughter of his friend William Wiseman, to take residence as chaplain, 'without any pay, maintaining our Musick to the honour & glory of God'.¹⁰⁵ Here Bolt remained for the rest of his life, and had considerable impact upon the convent's musical culture through the instruction of the nuns on the organ and in the choir. The network that surrounded him also facilitated the profession of particular nuns to the convent through the contacts they maintained, and also helped secure benefactors. Together this influenced the soundscape through the nuns' particular singing voices, and the incidence of prayers sung as part of the economy of song. Bolt's influence reached beyond the walls of the convent, and beyond his lifespan for after his death in 1640 the chronicle recorded:

¹⁰¹ John Bossy, 'Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics: A Question of Geography', *The Historical Journal*, 7 (1964): 135-142.

¹⁰² *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses*, Vol. 1, 42.

¹⁰³ 'Diarium Primum' in *Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws*, ed. Thomas Francis Knox (London: David Nutt, 1878), 3-96 (at 19).

¹⁰⁴ *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses*, Vol. 1, 150.

¹⁰⁵ *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses*, Vol. 1, 151.

He left after his death our Sisters so expert in music by his teaching, as they were able to keep up the same without any other master or help for many years.¹⁰⁶

In the benefactors book for St Monica's, which detailed the donations made to the sisters during the period, a few individuals figure prominently and all had links with John Bolt and his time in Essex. The first is 'Mr Southcoat' who made a notable donation towards the making of the new Ave bell: between 15 November 1610 and 1 January 1611 there was an 'Item received from Mr Southcoat himself *toward making our bell*' to the sum of 40 guilders, which was equivalent to £4 in English sterling.¹⁰⁷ This individual is almost certainly John Southcote who was born c.1553 and entered Middle Temple alongside John, first Lord Petre. He later married Magdalen Waldengrave, the younger sister of John Petre's wife. Related by kin and religion, John Southcote and his wife were among the names sent to the government from one 'Corbett' detailing the activities of suspected Catholics.¹⁰⁸ Corbett noted that he attended a mass at Ingatestone Hall around the feast of Assumption, alongside Mr Southcote and his wife and several servants. Southcote would have known Bolt personally, due to the latter's employment with the Petres at this time and moreover, it is possible that he and Bolt were mutually acquainted before 1582 as Southcote's father and Bolt were named in Sebastian Westcote's will. David Mateer has suggested that Bolt may have held the position of deputy almoner as he was bequeathed £4, and he was mentioned alongside 'mr Justice Sowthcote my especiall good frende'.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ *Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses*, Vol. 2, 185.

¹⁰⁷ DAB St Monica's P1 MS. Benefactor's Book, 1609-1627, unfoliated. For an idea of how that relates to 2005's money, the national archives money convertor is a useful tool, accessed 8 February 2013. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency>. For example, £1 in 1600 is approximately £100 in 2005.

¹⁰⁸ SP 12/238/62

¹⁰⁹ TNA PROB 11/64/142.

Southcote's engagement with the economy of song of St Monica's was prolific, as he personally donated vast amounts to the convent (218 guilders by 1616). This was undoubtedly due to the role played by his niece, Mary, in helping to found the community. Southcote had visited her at the convent in 1610, and he also made an annual donation of £10 from Mary's profession in 1599. He was responsible for securing significant sums from others and the majority of the donations to the convent were from the Essex circle; for example from 1613 to 1614 Southcote secured 30 guilders from Sir Richard Fermor, uncle to the skilled organist Mary Scudamore, and the benefactors' book records that by 1616 Southcote was responsible for securing alms totalling 1274 guilders, over 11% of the convent's total income in the period.¹¹⁰ How Southcote may have secured these donations was revealed by an eighteenth-century descendent:

His near relation to my Lord Petre's family made him often there, and, though he was no gamester himself, would be often amongst them when great sums were played for; whose only business was to single out the winner and get money of him for the poor.¹¹¹

Another benefactor from Bolt's time in Essex was recorded in the benefactor's book in 1611 as 'Mr Standish' and 'Mr Standish Priest'. This is extremely likely to have been the Jesuit John Gerard who acted under the pseudonym of John Standish.¹¹² Gerard was the assistant to the novice-master in Louvain from 1609 to 1613, and was also fundamental to the Essex network. He was responsible for sending two novices to the convent whilst the English were still part of St Ursula's for profession in 1599: Southcote's niece, Mary Welsh, and Anna Broomfield. Anna was the daughter of a widowed Protestant, who was 'Mother' to the Maids of Honour at Elizabeth

¹¹⁰ DAB St Monica's MS. Benefactor's Book. Fermor was related to the Essex network through kin and religion, he was a recusant and his second daughter, Lucy, married William Petre (1602 -1678) grandson of Lord Petre.

¹¹¹ *The Troubles of our Catholic forefathers related by themselves*, ed. John Morris, 3 Vols. (London: Burns and Oates, 1872-1877), Vol. 1, 385-6.

¹¹² DAB St Monica's MS. Benefactor's Book; John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, ed. Philip Caraman (London: Longmans, 1951), 27.

I's court.¹¹³ These associations led to her placement in the service of Lady Katherine Petre and it may therefore have been the Petres that introduced Anna to Father John Gerard, who facilitated her conversion and delivery to the nuns at St Ursula's.¹¹⁴ Gerard had also met John Bolt during their residence with the Wisemans at Braddocks in Essex, and described Bolt as one of the men he 'sent abroad for study' because he aspired to the priestly life:

His musical talent was outstanding and won him the affection of a very powerful patron. But he laid this aside and with it all his hopes of fame, in order to attach himself to me and to follow the counsels of Our Lord explained in the Spiritual Exercises.¹¹⁵

Adding some empirical strength to this network, there were 713 nuns professed in all of the English convents on the continent before 1650 and out of those with known regional origins, fifty were associated with Essex (7%).¹¹⁶ Whilst Bolt was resident at the convent of St Monica's from 1613 to 1640, sixteen nuns were professed with known Essex associations, and the majority had visible links to his Essex circle.¹¹⁷ This is 15% of the total number of nuns (92) professed at St Monica's before 1650, and almost a third (32%) of all the nuns associated with Essex within all of the English convents

¹¹³ The 'Mother' to the Maids of Honour was the woman in charge of the maids.

¹¹⁴ Broomfield was supported £10 a year by Lady Petre.

¹¹⁵ Gerard, *Autobiography*, 49. The 'powerful patron' Gerard refers to is presumably either Richard Verney, later JP for Warwickshire (his last employer before meeting Gerard through Wiseman) or perhaps Lord Petre.

¹¹⁶ 'Association' is defined in this instance by the nuns' residence in Essex or the residence of either of their parents, or of their close relation by kin to Essex families. For the source of the overall figure of 713 see next footnote.

¹¹⁷ Information from the AHRC funded Who Were the Nuns? Project Database, at Queen Mary, University of London, accessed 4 February 2012. <http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk>. Ten nuns professed after Bolt's arrival: Mary Winter (prof. 1617), Cornelia Fermor (prof. 1628), Mary Altham (prof. 1612), Mary Bendlow (prof. 1625), Frances Kempe (prof. 1622), Frances Parker (prof. 1626), Elizabeth Skinner (prof. 1626), Mary Thorsby (prof. 1619), Margaret Throckmorton (prof. 1613), Penelope Wiseman (prof. 1645). Six already there: Mary Skidmore (prof. 1609), Anne Bromfield (prof. 1609), Mary Welsh (prof. 1599), Barbara Wilford (prof. 1599 St Ursula's), Bridget and Jane Wiseman (both prof. 1595 at St Ursula's). Other networks are visible from the database, particularly surrounding Yorkshire and Lancashire with links to the Blundells. More on the Blundells in Chapter 5.

on the continent. After Bolt's death, between 1650 and 1700 there were 1107 English nuns professed on the continent, and 41 had known associations with Essex (4%). During this same period there were 71 nuns professed at St Monica's, and three were associated with Essex, which totalled 4% of the convent. Therefore the regional variation within St Monica's was parallel to the other English convents on the continent. This statistical evidence points toward the significance of the network that surrounded John Bolt and his Essex circle. Bolt's circle was served by the priest John Gerard, enhanced by the active channels of communication between Essex to the exiles, and highlighted by the donation and security of alms by John Southcote from their shared associates. Without networks such as these, which stretched beyond the walls of the institutions and even beyond the seas, the convent would not have survived.

Richard Dering: international networks

This chapter turns now to another English convent, the Benedictine convent of Our Lady of the Assumption in Brussels and explores the networks surrounding resident musician, composer, and English Catholic exile Richard Dering. What follows will further underline the communal relationships and exchange between cloisters, seminaries and the Catholic laity both on the continent and in England. Richard Dering was born in Liss, Hampshire around 1580 and was the illegitimate son of Henry Dering and Lady Elizabeth Grey, sister to Henry Grey, earl of Kent. Nothing is known of his early life, but on 26 April 1610 Dering supplicated for the degree of BMus at Christ Church, Oxford and stated he had studied music for ten years. Recent scholarship on Richard Dering has focussed on dating, and making speculations about, his posthumous musical output within Playford's Restoration publications.¹¹⁸ Scholars have also focussed on his role as organist in the chapel of the Catholic Queen Henrietta Maria and 'musician

¹¹⁸ Peter Leech, 'Richard Dering, *Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*. Ed. by Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica*, 87. (Stainer and Bell), London, 2008', *Music & Letters*, 92 (2011): 282-285.

for the lutes and voices' at the court of her husband, King Charles I from 1625 to his death in 1630.¹¹⁹ Yet the majority of Dering's somewhat short adult life was spent in exile on the continent. During this time he published four collections through the Antwerp printer Pierre Phalse: two sets of motets, *Cantiones Sacrae Quinque vocum* and *Cantica Sacra...Senis Vocibus*, of 1617 and 1618 respectively, and two sets of canzonettas from 1620, *Canzonette a Tre Voci* and *Canzonette a Quattro Voci*. This chapter returns to these significant earlier years in Dering's life and will explore the networks of patronage and musical exchange that surrounded the convent in Brussels and their patrons the Archdukes Albert and Isabella.¹²⁰

The first reference to both Dering's time abroad and hints of his Catholicism are found within a letter of June 1612, from Sir Dudley Carleton in Venice to Sir John Harington (1592-1614), when he warned the nobleman of the suspicious behaviour of one of his dependants:

You have a servant wch. hath spent some time in this city and is now gone to see more of Italy; touching whom I received this advertisement. Mr. Dearing is at Rome, lodged neere if not in the English College. I feare he will remaine with them; wether for want of meanes or abundance of devotion is uncertaine.¹²¹

After graduating from Oxford in 1610, this correspondence reveals that Richard Dering was then in the service of Sir John Harington and had spent time in Venice before travelling to the English College, Rome, in 1612. Based on information gleaned from the dedication of Dering's five voice sacred Latin motets, which stated 'For a long time now this Music of mine has longed to go forth...born in The Chief City of the Globe', it is likely that it

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Wainwright, 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel' in *Henrietta Maria: Politics, Piety and Patronage*, ed. E Griffey (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195-213 and 'Richard Dering's few voice "concertato" motets', *Music & Letters*, 89 (2008): 165-194.

¹²⁰ For most recent survey of the Archduke's court see Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

¹²¹ SP 99/10/62

was during this period in Rome he composed the *Cantiones Sacrae* before they were published in 1617.¹²²

Harington's employment of Dering may have been through the connection between Sir John's father, Lord Harington and Dering's uncle, the Earl of Kent.¹²³ Moreover, Harington's close friendship with Prince Henry (James VI/I's short-lived heir, d.1612) meant that the pair shared many similar interests, and as Henry had a large musical establishment it followed that Sir John might also have wanted to build his own. Among Prince Henry's musicians was John Bull, memorable for scandal and adultery and who later joined a network of English Catholic exiled musicians that were employed by the Archdukes in Brussels. Musicians at the Brussels court included fellow English Catholic exiles; the violinist Daniel Norcombe, cornet player Anthony Chambers and the organist Peter Philips.¹²⁴ The music at the court was renowned, as Sir Charles Somerset (1587/8-1665) noted in his 1611-1612 travel diary, '[t]he Archduke hath the most excellent musike in his Chappell both for voice and instrument; he had some English at my being there, which were accounted the best of all his musike'.¹²⁵

The most prolific composer of the Archduke's musicians was Peter Philips, previously organist at the English College, Rome, from 1582-5 and who was well-connected in the networks surrounding the convents and institutions. Kerry McCarthy has revealed how these networks also included musical collaboration, and channels of communication between the exiles meant that Peter Philips used the Jesuit priest Richard Stanihurst's *Hebdomada Eucharista* (1614) as the source for the material he set to music in

¹²² Richard Dering, *Cantiones Sacrae quinque vocum, cum basso continuo ad organum* (Antwerp, 1617).

¹²³ Sister Joseph Damien Hanlon, 'Richard Dering, Catholic Musician of Stuart England', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 46 (1961): 428-452 (at 435-6).

¹²⁴ Anne E. Lyman, 'Peter Philips at the Court of Albert and Isabella in early seventeenth-century Brussels' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2008),

¹²⁵ Charles Somerset, *Travel Diary (1611-1612) of an English Catholic...* ed. Michael Brennan (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1993), 166-167.

his *Paradisus sacris cantionibus constitutus*, which was published in 1628 (the year of his death).¹²⁶ Despite Peter Platt's assertion that there are 'no known records of Dering's connections with...John Bull and Peter Philips', there are strong links between them in Brussels via the Archdukes. As the principal patrons, Albert and Isabella were regular guests and would often bring a musical entourage with them.¹²⁷ It is likely that on one of these occasions after Dering's employment from 1617 the two composers met, especially as from 1616 Philip's daughter, Mary, was professed at the convent. Due to her paternity, it is no surprise that Mary was appointed as chantress in 1640. Dering and Philips were also linked by their mutual acquaintances at the Archducal court, such as Colonel William Stanley who received dedications from both the composers, Dering in 1617 and Philips in his 1598 madrigal collection for eight voices.¹²⁸ Evidence of interaction between the two composers was also noted by Jonathan Wainwright who observed the stylistic links between them, and how 'in the years Philips and Dering were together in Brussels, it was a two-way relationship, with the older composer [Philips] perhaps learning as much from the younger composer as vice versa'.¹²⁹

Whilst employed at the convent Dering worked as an organist, published four collections of music, and perhaps also instructed the nuns in music through the grille, as Bolt had done. As early as 1601 the Brussels community had songs dedicated to them, in the form of Richard Verstegan's pious 'Ditties' that he had hoped the nuns would sing and accompany with the virginals. Dering also dedicated music to the community and there is evidence to suggest that the nuns may have performed the para-liturgical sacred music he composed. As Andrew Cichy has suggested, due to the lack of experience in singing High Mass in England during this period, the nuns

¹²⁶ Kerry McCarthy, 'Philips's 1628 *Paradisus* and the Triumph of the Eucharist', *Renaissance Studies*, 25 (2011): 447-458.

¹²⁷ Richard Dering, *Cantica Sacra (1618)*, ed. Peter Platt (London: Stainer and Bell, 1975), xi.

¹²⁸ Peter Philips, *Madrigals for 8 voices* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalese, 1598).

¹²⁹ Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's few voice "concertato" motets', 179.

may well have been used to utilising sacred motets in a liturgical as well as a devotional-recreational context.¹³⁰ Dering's 1617 collection of *Cantiones Sacrae* was composed in Rome and dedicated to the military leader and English Catholic exile, William Stanley. Stanley was in the service of the Archduke and evidently engaged with the devotional and musical culture of the convents and exiled institutions. Dering hoped his collection would provide relaxation for Stanley when his mind was 'wearied with warlike cares'.¹³¹ The timing of Dering's 1617 dedication is telling because earlier in that year construction had started on a new church for the Brussels convent and Stanley's regiment had donated their services as masons and labourers.¹³² It only seems fitting that the nuns would have performed some of the sacred motets from the 1617 collection during masses that Stanley no doubt attended, such as the eucharistic hymn 'Ave verum corpus', which would have been sung during the elevation of the host.¹³³ Whilst it is tempting to speculate on whether men would have been allowed to sing alongside the nuns to provide the alto, tenor and bass parts in the five voice motets, there remains no evidence to support this. If this did occur, it would almost certainly have only been allowed through the grille.

Whereas the sacred motets of 1617 were composed in the context of Rome, when Dering was 'lodged neere if not in the English College', his 1618 collection was composed during his time in Brussels and the collection is notably different in style. As Peter Platt emphasised, the 1617 collection was 'impassioned and mystical, truly in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation'. The 1618 collection, however, are almost 'madrigalian' and similar in style to the work of Peter Philips, which demonstrates his influence (fitting for a convent that contained Philips' daughter). Perhaps Mary had even brought some of her father's sacred music with her at her profession for the convent

¹³⁰ Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister'.

¹³¹ Jonathan P. Wainwright ed. *Richard Dering: Motets [Cantiones Sacrae, 1617] and Anthems*, *Musica Britannica* 98 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2014).

¹³² Cited in Hanlon, 'Richard Dering', 444.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

to use.¹³⁴ The *Cantica Sacra* were dedicated to the abbess of the convent, Mary Percy, and this indicates that they were composed with the nuns in mind. The contents may therefore reveal glimpses of musical practice within the convent itself. Peter Leech suggested that the repertoire in the collection with tenor and bass parts may well have been sung transposed higher, citing the examples of this practice in other convents on the continent.¹³⁵ Yet it is also possible that the nuns supplied the other parts with instruments, a common performance practice of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹³⁶ In 1618 the church was finished and at the consecration of the convent the nuns may well have performed 'Virgo prudentissima' from the *Cantica Sacra*: the source for this text is unidentified but is possibly related to the Antiphon to the Magnificat at Vespers on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Considering the community's dedication to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, this would have been extremely appropriate.

Dering's publications must then be re-heard in the context of the Brussels soundscape and the wider community, which included exiles and the indigenous population who heard the nuns' musical performances. This music also made its way back to Catholic households in England and has been found in the vast manuscript music collections of the Norfolk Catholic gentleman Edward Paston (1550-1630), whose two daughters Catherine and Margaret were professed at the Brussels convent in 1613 and 1624 respectively.¹³⁷ Tellingly, the Paston collection does not contain any music by an English composer flourishing after 1585, except for William Byrd and his fellow English Catholic composers in exile.¹³⁸ Anne Kirwan-Mott has

¹³⁴ Platt ed. *Cantica Sacra*, x.

¹³⁵ Leech, 'Richard Dering', 285.

¹³⁶ See Timothy J. McGee, 'Voices and Instruments' in *Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Performer's Guide* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), 54-82.

¹³⁷ See Hector Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: performance practice in the music collection of Edward Paston (1550-1630)' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010).

¹³⁸ For suggested links between Byrd and Paston see Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston (1550-1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and his Musical Collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1964): 51-69.

suggested that Richard Dering might have brought the music back to England with him and whilst plausible, this overlooks the presence of networks that were circulating prior to Dering's return.¹³⁹ For example in an inventory of Sir Charles Somerset's books compiled about 1622 was a copy of Peter Philips' *Deliciae sacrae*. This was not published until 1616 and therefore obtained after his return to England in 1612.¹⁴⁰ Moreover by 1622 it is clear that Dering and his exiled compatriots were already known to the English, as revealed in the conduct guide of Henry Peacham which held Dering's music in high regard 'for depth of skill and richnesse of concept'.¹⁴¹ Peacham also praised John Dowland, who also spent most of his career on the continent. Dowland was known to the English government, was suspected of treasonable activities due to his associations with English Catholics, and claimed to have been converted to Catholicism by Richard Verstegan.¹⁴² Peacham also revealed the popularity of Peter Philips in England in the period:

our rare countryman...organist to their *altezzas* at Brussels and now one of the greatest masters of Musicke in Europe...he hath sent us over many excellent songs, as well as motets and madrigals. He affecteth altogether the Italian vein.¹⁴³

Music composed by Catholic exiles was therefore circulating openly in England during the period.

Dering's reputation from the continent may well have supported his appointment in 1625 at the new court of Henrietta Maria where he remained until his death in 1630. Other than the evidence above, the level of Dering's

¹³⁹ Anne Kirwan-Watt, 'The small-scale sacred concertato in the early seventeenth-century' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, 1981), 370.

¹⁴⁰ See M.G. Brennan, 'Sir Charles Somerset's music books', *Music & Letters*, 74 (1993): 501-518.

¹⁴¹ Henry Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622), 104.

¹⁴² Arblaster, *Antwerp and the world*, 29.

¹⁴³ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, 102. 'Altezza' was a noun in use during the period, chiefly in Italian or Spanish contexts, to denote a person of high rank; a nobleman or (in later use) a noblewoman.

popularity is unclear during his lifetime, but after his death Dering's fame was widespread and influenced English musical culture throughout the seventeenth century via his posthumous publications in collections of John Playford.¹⁴⁴ As Peter Leech and Jonathan Wainwright have suggested, many of the compositions from Playford's collections were also likely to have been composed during Dering's time on the continent. The most obvious is 'O lux et decus Hispanie', a text to St James, the patron saint of Spain and the Spanish Netherlands, as well as 'Duo seraphin' and 'Gaudent in caelis', which were scored for two cantus parts. Their two companions, although scored for two tenors, work equally as effectively an octave higher: 'Beatus vir inventus est' and 'Sancta et immaculata virginitas'. Peter Leech has also suggested that Dering's composition 'O crux ave spes unica', an adaptation of the Vespers antiphon for Exaltation of the Holy Cross, with a specific plea 'Salva praesentem catervam' ('Save this present company'), might also have been performed at the Palm Sunday procession that took place at the Brussels convent in 1623, at which an ornate reliquary of the Holy Cross was dedicated.¹⁴⁵ Finally, the most obvious music composed by Dering during his time at the convent is his 'Veni sponsa Christi', the principal antiphon traditionally sung (usually four times) at the profession rite of a new nun.¹⁴⁶ Dering's work among the English at the Brussels convent, which would later result in his appointment to the queen's chapel that was frequented by many of the English aristocracy, was influential in placing him among a group of artists that were transmitting the new Tridentine reforms and ideas to his English Catholic contemporaries.¹⁴⁷ Until their publication by Playford, Dering's compositions presumably survived through manuscript circulation.

¹⁴⁴ Dering's motets remained popular and appear in several manuscripts throughout the civil war, Commonwealth and Restoration periods. See Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's few voice "concertato" motets', 199.

¹⁴⁵ Leech, 'Richard Dering', 285.

¹⁴⁶ London RCM 2033 and 2039 – part of Playford's 'manuscript publication' of the motets in the late Commonwealth, which was a test of their popularity before their eventual publication in 1662.

¹⁴⁷ See Caroline Hibbard, 'A Cosmopolitan Court in a Confessional Age: Henrietta Maria Revisited' in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* eds. Ronald Corthell et al (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 117-134.

The majority of his compositions were written in the service of the Catholic Church and the daily rhythm of the convent clearly had an influence on his output. Furthermore, the publication dedicated to the abbess of the convent also served to advertise the plight of the English nuns amongst his wider continental and English audience. The life and music of Richard Dering reveals how those outside of the soundscape might engage with the exile communities, as music inspired by the daily rhythm of the convents circulated within English domestic circles throughout the course of the seventeenth century.

A Sense of Place

Whether inside or outside of the institutions established on the continent, a significant part of the daily lives of English Catholic exiles was defined by music both heard and performed. The soundscapes of the convents and seminaries were all unique in their own way, as the decrees of the Council of Trent were purposefully ambiguous to allow for local implementation of musical reforms. Despite the debates over elaborate music's place, which resulted in varied provision, it is clear that the singing of the chants and liturgy were essential. The daily performance of the divine office regulated the lives of the nuns and seminarians and attracted the local laity, which gave the communities a sense of place in the European landscape. The influence of the local was vital to the institutions, evidenced in an exchange of instruments, music-books, and the employment of musicians. This extended to England, where music and musicians were exchanged freely and at times this exchange facilitated the conversion and travel of individuals to the continent itself, as we saw with the employment of John Bolt at St Monica's in Louvain. Rather than 'self-enclosed', the communities were a significant focus for networks of lay piety and patronage, as will be explored in more depth in the next chapter, and was most obviously manifested through the economy of song.

2 | Economies of Song: Public Piety and Patronage

Exile was financially precarious and individuals, as well as the convents and seminaries, were all dependent upon some level of patronage. This chapter looks more closely at the 'economy of song' in order to understand the various ways the convents and seminaries attracted, secured, and maintained the benefactors that were crucial to their survival. Caroline Bowden has argued that the exiled convents acted as an 'interface between locals and English culture' and through local interactions with their texts, buildings and objects, the monasteries became cultural centres.¹ Whilst other scholars have alluded to the role music played within the English institutions and suggested this had the potential to attract patronage, scholarship has stopped short due to the reluctance to tackle musical sources.² Although Bowden noted the importance of music to cultural exchange in the employment of local musicians, she conceded that 'specialist research is needed'.³ For the continental convents, Robert Kendrick's study revealed how nuns in early modern Milan utilised music to enhance their convent's status within the urban landscape and how 'the fame of the nun musicians points to their key place in the symbolic economy of prestige, attracting the attention and patronage of outside visitors and underlining the city's claim to be a second Rome'.⁴ This chapter will reveal how English Catholic exiles on the continent also used music in order to survive; they utilised the everyday rhythm of liturgical music to their advantage and attracted attention to themselves through highly elaborate musical performances.

¹ Caroline Bowden, 'Performance and Practice: Assessing the Significance of the English Convents as Cultural Centres in Flanders in the Seventeenth Century', *English Studies*, 92 (2011): 483-495.

² Walker, *Gender and Politics*, 108.

³ Bowden, 'Performance and Practice', 485.

⁴ Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 416.

This chapter will also ask what the interactions between communities and patrons at grander ceremonies, such as rites of passage and great feasts, can tell us about the 'types' of English Catholic that settled overseas. Alison Shell argued that the individuals within the monasteries, convents and seminaries were markedly different from those groups of lay or clerical expatriates who gathered in certain towns and cities.⁵ This chapter adopts an alternative approach by stressing that these groups must not be viewed in isolation from each other, and will also counter scholars such as Stefania Tutino who have argued that 'English Catholics in England saw things differently from English Catholics on the continent'.⁶ This chapter challenges the prevailing view that English Catholics on the continent were fundamentally different: their act of removal abroad a deliberate separation and in consequence they were differently Catholic, exceptional from the type of Catholics practising their faiths covertly in England. Catholics on the continent were keen to stress their 'Englishness' despite their exile; by exploring the cult of Saint Thomas Becket and the way music manifested itself in events surrounding martyrs and martyrdom, this chapter asks how 'Englishness' was expressed within the institutions. More complex than a simple statement of national identity, this chapter reveals how musical performances blurred the boundaries between those inside and outside of England, as Catholics cultivated an idea of nationhood that was not defined by territorial integrity. The fact that these 'English' displays were supported by international patrons and had a great impact on the local communities surrounding the institutions also means that Richard Helgerson's argument that nationhood required a fixed place should be complicated.⁷ This chapter will reveal how the English Catholic experience was one of diaspora but

⁵ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 108-9.

⁶ Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 5.

⁷ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). Helgerson also analyses English Catholic culture during this period in terms of the Elizabethan memory of Marian Catholicism, relegating Catholics to the nation's past.

matched by a keen sense of English identity with the latter also influenced by the local.

The events which had the greatest impact on the surrounding communities were performances that emphasised the ambiguity between 'public' and 'private' during the period, heightened by the perceived 'visibility' of the individuals within convents and seminaries. The musical celebration of the profession of a novice resulted in at least some level of withdrawal from the world, whereas for the majority of English Catholic priests the profession to priesthood was followed by his departure from the continent on the mission back to England. The tensions between public and private within the economy of song were exacerbated when added to the political, as revealed by the devotions surrounding the *Vulnerata* at the English College in Valladolid. The *Vulnerata* is a disfigured statue of the Virgin Mary, which after its installation in the College was central to the devotional lives of its members. This final snapshot of exile life will underline the arguments made in this chapter, revealing how the music for the *Vulnerata* united local, national and international patrons with the laity, regardless of their 'type', and reveals that 'Englishness' on this occasion was focussed on devotion to Mary, rather than a fixed place.

The everyday economy: uniting the locale

European convents were inextricably linked to the economies of the cities where they were based, and the nuns adopted various practices in order to support their income. For example, most houses of continental female religious produced a wide range of items for sale, such as embroidery, sweets and distilled liquor.⁸ After Trent, no longer able to go out into the communities to collect alms, the nuns' economic activities increased in order to replace lost revenues. With the enforcement of enclosure, aural interaction

⁸ See for example the medieval and post-Tridentine economic practices of convents in Renaissance Florence in Sharon T. Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2009).

acquired renewed significance, and the nuns increasingly undertook what Claire Walker has referred to as ‘spiritual work for profit’: the prayers of the nuns and monks for their patrons.⁹ Principal income for the English convents and seminaries was through the support of perpetual patrons of high status. For example, the Spanish Kings were patrons of Syon Abbey and the English College in Valladolid, and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella of the Netherlands supported the foundation of the Benedictines in Brussels and the English Augustine Canonesses in Louvain. However, due to their status in exile the majority of donations were sporadic and in exchange for something specific. This is exemplified by this extract from the year 1624-5 in the benefactor’s book of St Monica’s:

In primis received of Mr Standford to *pray for his soule* 20
 Item received of Mr Bannister to *pray for his wife* 60
 Item received of Mrs Copley to *pray for her brother* 40
 Item received from Mrs Cooke a *legacy* left us by her husband 200
 Somma 320.¹⁰

The money secured represents the economy of song, where musical performances were economic transactions; singing prayers from the choir attracted potential new benefactors by arousing their devotions at the services within the convent-church. In turn, benefactors made payments and legacies for the nuns to pray for their souls and these prayers were sung from the choir, the cycle beginning again. The prayers were usually during vespers and matins, and the legacies for the dead might include a special sung mass for the deceased although specific instances are difficult to discern from extant records. The nuns were being entrusted with a critical task, to sing in order to attract intercessors necessary for the salvation of the souls of the departed. The economy of song united the community with the locale but as we have seen in the last chapter, these donations were not

⁹ Walker, *Gender and Politics*, 87. See also Claire Walker, ‘Combining Martha and Mary: Gender and Work in Seventeenth-Century English Cloisters’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30 (1999): 397-418.

¹⁰ DAB St Monica’s MS. Benefactor’s Book. Emphasis in original.

always financial, and were received from national and international patrons as well.

The criticism occasionally levelled against music in the seminaries and convents is also revealing of the ability of the everyday liturgical round to invite outside interaction with individuals within the institutions. In 1587, Persons was asked his opinion by the Assistant General of 'the question of stopping or continuing figured singing [polyphonic music] in the college'. Persons' subsequent criticisms were focussed on music for special occasions, beyond that of the everyday at the college:

[D]uring which it is hardly possible for them to say their prayers or maintain some spirit of recollection on account of the ordinary concerns of the choir. In addition there is *a continuous concourse of outsiders on those feast days*, and their conversation both with the students and with the Jesuits, is of a kind that the front door can rarely be closed now and many also enter through the church. The second reason is that when the young students are sitting every feast day as canons in the church, which is quite small, *various ladies come to sit very close*.¹¹

This concern was mirrored for the convents, where the Council of Trent raised a series of questions over the compatibility of music with enclosure. Music's ability to gratify the senses and arouse moral deviance, as much as devotion (as exemplified by Augustine in the introduction to this thesis), was a serious concern. This concern was present before Trent, and in 1446 the City Fathers of Florence sheltered the nuns from the 'corrupting influence of secular music' by barring heraldic civic musicians from playing within fifty yards of any convent.¹² This concern extended to the performance of sacred music by the nuns, as Silvia Evangelisti explained, 'even when hidden in their choir or behind the curtains of their parlours, singing nuns might be

¹¹ My emphasis. 'Letter from Fr Robert Persons SJ to Fr Paul Hoffaeus'. Cited in Kennedy, 'Jesuits and Music', 103-4.

¹² Cited in Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries*, 173.

heard by outsiders, triggering fantasies about their forbidden bodies'.¹³ The Tridentine response, as implemented by the episcopacy, was often to discourage more elaborate forms of music. In spite of this, the several laws banning nuns from playing instruments and singing for outsiders (except sacred music related to religious subjects or episodes related to the lives of saints) it is clear that a flexible approach prevailed in order to secure patronage.

Powerful patrons: securing support

Celebrations at the convents and seminaries were always musical and important visitors to the exiled institutions were greeted with the grandeur their status deserved, even if their arrival was unannounced. The unexpected visit of the governor of Artois to St Omer in 1624 meant that a play was produced at just a single day's notice but 'still delighting and amazing the audience, despite the lack of rehearsal time'.¹⁴ The most lavish entertainments at the convents and institutions were saved for the arrival of their perpetual patrons, such as King Philip III's visit to the English College in Valladolid in 1600. The royal visit assured the prestige of the King's favour and the College were prepared; Philip III was greeted with orations, and an even greater significance placed on music than there had been on previous occasions during the reign of Philip II.¹⁵ This was most likely because the chapel had recently been enlarged through a gift of the new King in response to an earlier appeal from the rector, which complained their chapel was 'small and without any musical instruments'.¹⁶ It was therefore appropriate for the College to demonstrate the fruits of the King's patronage and advertise their piety and devotion to those attending the celebrations.

¹³ Evangelisti, *Nuns*, 114.

¹⁴ Cited in Whitehead and Leech, 'In Paradise and Among Angels', 64.

¹⁵ Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II* (London: Burns and Oates, 1963), 214.

¹⁶ Cited in Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans*, 215.

Guests and potential patrons at St Omer were similarly welcomed with instrumental performance. The rector Giles Schondonch instructed the boys that ‘the “broken consort” [ensembles with more than one instrument] is much more delightful...for the reception of guests and persons of distinction’. When extra ‘effectiveness and charm’ was required the students might use ‘the tenor violin and the bassoon’, and for persons of high rank ‘the music of wind instruments is full of majesty’.¹⁷ Several such occasions presented themselves, for example in 1600 the Countess de Zueda and her train were entertained with ‘a broken consort and Greek and Latin verses’.¹⁸ In 1602 the duke of Navarre was delighted by two hours of vocal music performed by the students at St Omer before the Holy Sepulchre in the college chapel¹⁹ and also in that year Jean Richardot, the bishop-elect of Arras, heard a broken consort perform in the college theatre.²⁰ The seminaries were important places for hospitality, such as the occasion in 1604 when Juan Fernandez de Velasco (c.1550-1613), fifth duke of Frias and constable of Castile, stopped at St Omer en route to meet Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, to ratify the Anglo-Spanish treaty signed that year. At the college he was welcomed with a concert of vocal and instrumental music.²¹ The Archduchess Isabella also visited in 1625 and there were public celebrations held in the city in her honour. Isabella arrived ‘along with his Excellency the Marquis di Spinola and a crowd of nobles, and, after hearing Mass in our church at which the scholars assisted, went through nearly the whole College, and was present with her suite at a drama performed by the students’.²²

¹⁷ Cited in McCabe, ‘Music and Dance’, 314-315.

¹⁸ Cited in McCabe, ‘Music and Dance’, 315.

¹⁹ *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 7 pt. 2, 1148.

²⁰ Cited in Leech and Whitehead, ‘In Paradise and Among Angels’, 62.

²¹ Cited in Leech and Whitehead, ‘In Paradise and Among Angels’, 66.

²² ‘Addenda. Annual Letters. St Omer’s’ in *Records of the English Province*, Vol. 6 pt. 2, 1162.

Rites of passage: the locale and beyond

Albert and Isabella were fundamental to the economy of song of the exiled convents in Brussels and Louvain, and it is evident they were regular guests at the institutions. One such occasion was the celebration of the fifty-year jubilee of Margaret Clement in 1606 at Louvain. This event revealed the degree of cultural exchange between the convents, local musicians, and the laity. It highlighted the economic consequences of the occasion through the support from local, national and international patrons, alongside their compatriots in exile. For 'although the Convent was very poor yet they desired to have it done with the most magnificence that could be, she having been Subprioress thirty-eight years' and the majority of costs for Margaret's jubilee were donated by her nephew Caesar Clement.²³ The remaining costs of the celebration were provided by the convent, but some 'also was given by the town, they loving her very well'.²⁴

Margaret's jubilee ceremony included singing from the *jubilaria* (Margaret, the nun celebrating her jubilee), the priest, the nuns' choir and the laity and was accompanied by 'a whole set of viols', which played throughout the mass.²⁵ On this occasion 'a special anthem, *Esto mihi Domine in Deum protectorem*' was also performed, which had been composed especially.²⁶ The festivities lasted a whole week; the choir and church were grandly decorated with 'costly hangings, and corded wholly overhead with green cords and many pretty devices that we had not seen before' and every day of the week different visitors were invited to join in the celebrations:²⁷

the first day the magistrates, the next day the burghers who were of her acquaintance, and, after the rest, the poor neighbours, besides all the English, and many that came from other towns, which her two nephews, Doctor Clement and Doctor Redmond

²³ 'Life of Mother Margaret Clement' in *The Troubles of our Catholic forefathers*, Vol. 1, 40.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.* Unfortunately the setting has not survived.

²⁷ 'Life of Mother Margaret', 40-41.

brought with them. They also brought with them the Duke's [Albert's] musicians, so that there was excellent music, besides those of the town. The religious of the town, being also desirous to congratulate in this joy, brought with them their best voices and some instruments, and so divided themselves into days. The first day there came the Choristers of St. Peters, the second day the Austin Friars, the third day the Franciscans, the fourth day Canon Regulars, and so the whole week was brought over with great jubilation.²⁸

As this passage revealed, Margaret was well-known to the burghers (the local citizens) and the entire event was glorified by music. This was performed by the nuns from the choir, supported by the town musicians, and accompanied with musicians from other religious communities in Louvain.

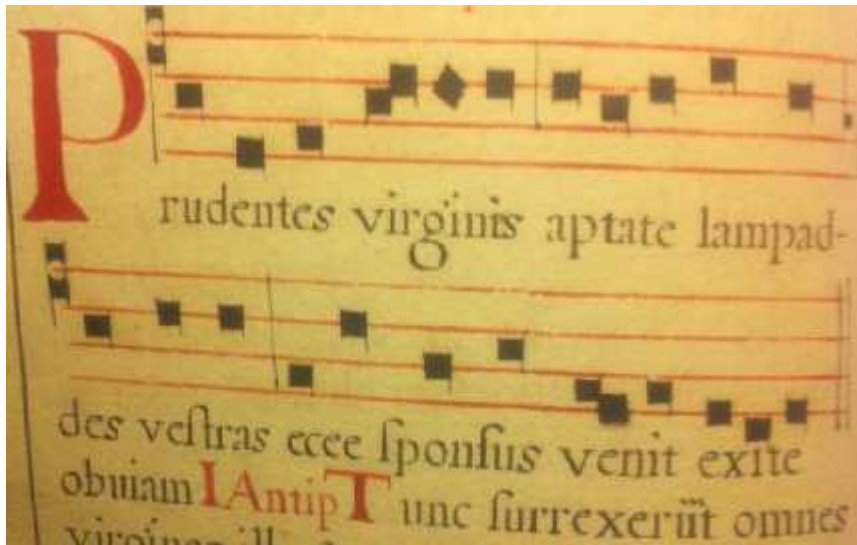
Similarly, in 1599 the clothing ceremony of the first eight postulants at the Benedictine convent in Brussels was conducted in the presence of the entire court of the Archdukes, as well as the Archbishop of Mechelen and the papal nuncio. Isabella played a key role in the ceremony: she led Mary Percy and Dorothy Arundel into the church, provided a banquet for the newly clothed novices and local worthies, and acted as the postulants' Godmother.²⁹ According to the chronicler for the Brussels Benedictines the 'Governor, magistrates, and chief inhabitants of Brussels were present, and the whole town kept holiday upon the occasion'.³⁰ Clothing and profession ceremonies were attended by the local laity and the families of the candidates. In order to mark the arrival of a new life in the convent both the novice as bride of Christ and the ceremonies were richly adorned. They were

²⁸ 'Life of Mother Margaret', 41-42.

²⁹ SP 12/273/49.

³⁰ *Chronicle of the First Monastery founded at Brussels for English Benedictine nuns A.D. 1597* (East Bergholt, 1898), 48.

accompanied by sung and instrumental music, such as the hymn *Prudente Virgines*, preserved in the ceremonial for St Monica's (see Fig. 1).³¹



[Fig. 1. DAB St Monica's Q6 MS. Ceremonial, 1609-1633, 16]

The instructions in the ceremonial were precise and detailed for the performance and it was the chantress who masterminded the organisation, ensuring the candidates and their supporters were well-briefed. All elements of the clothing ceremonies were highly symbolic, as a witness reported to the English government on the occasion in 1599: '[the profession ceremony] was one of the solemnest things that was seen this hundred years; many ladies and others could not forebear weeping'.³² The Archdukes were frequently at the Brussels convent for other key rites of passage and spy-reports revealed how in 1607 the Archdukes were present at the profession of five Englishwomen. At the ceremony 'these Princes [Albert and Isabella] did them the honour to assist with their persons, and the Pope's Nuncio to sing the Mass and to put their garments on them'.³³ Another informant reported the Infanta's presence at the profession of 'Misses Digby, Knatchbull and Colford' in 1609.³⁴ Patronage from the archdukes consolidated the royal and ecclesiastical support for the communities by advertising its credentials both

³¹ DAB St Monica's Q6 MS. Ceremonial, 1609-1633, 16.

³² SP 12/273/49.

³³ SP 77/8/279.

³⁴ SP 77/9/ f.310v.

locally and internationally. The elaborate displays for the rites of passage also aimed to encourage further patronage in the form of money, gifts, and to encourage the arrival of more postulants. Such events highlighted the way that musical celebrations united the convents with their local community as well as their fellow English exiles and their relative frequency ensured the communities were regularly reminded of their presence.

Comparing the profession of nuns with the ordination of priests, rites of passage highlight the tension on these occasions between public and private. The participant was simultaneously part of a public parade as well as a personal, private, and spiritual journey. Singing whilst processing was highly significant to the procession, and changed the participant's relationship with those around them; through communal song they were united with the spectators. For the nuns, the dramatic and complex ceremony required active performance both individually, and as a group, in the enactment of their special wedding as the brides of Christ. The occasions served as powerful pedagogic tools for the instruction of the monastic community as well as the attending laity, reminding witnesses of the importance of humility, chastity, and piety. Key figures also attended the consecration of priests, and the ceremony was similarly symbolic. Music also played a fundamental role in enhancing the ritual; for example the hymn 'Veni creator spiritus' was sung at the clothing ceremonies of novices, the profession of nuns, and also at the consecration of priests. This is revealed within the archives of Valladolid, which describe the details of the 'prescribed form that is observed when the students of this College take their oath':

1. There is sung in the choir alternately with the organ the hymn *Veni, Creator, Spiritus*.
2. The door of the tabernacle where the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist is reserved is opened, and the Rector, vested in surplice and stole, stands on the Gospel side, and the students

kneel before the altar and says his oath in a clear voice in the presence of all the students.

3. The versicle and response are sung:

V. *Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus est in nobis.*

R. *A templo sancto tuo, quod est in Jerusalem...*

4. The musical instruments are played and some suitable motet sung.³⁵

Yet the ceremonies for religious men and women were also distinctive, for some of the mystery attached to the processional pilgrimage of nuns was due to the journey being from public to private, the visible becoming invisible. Priests, on the other hand, were consistently present in the lives of the local community. Their processions were symbolic of their future journey to England on the mission, where they would have to remain under the radar of the Elizabethan authorities. The possibility of the priests' future martyrdom also had a powerful impact upon the laity they engaged with. As well as the donation of alms, it inspired one Spanish gentlewoman, Luisa de Carvajal, to leave Valladolid in 1605 on her own spiritual journey, and resulted in her residence in England supporting the Catholic underground.³⁶

Music and martyrs: Thomas Becket

It was important to continually impress benefactors and as well as rites of passage, other well-attended and elaborate devotional performances were for the celebrations of great feasts. The most important feast for the English Catholic exiles was the feast day of St Thomas of Canterbury.³⁷ Despite the destruction of Thomas Becket's shrine in 1538, his cult continued to flourish;

³⁵ The earliest timetable and rules that are to be found in the College archives are contained in *Diario de Costumbres, 1600-1731* (Serie II, L16). This is translated and reprinted in Appendix to Michael E. Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (London: C. Hurst, 1986), 243.

³⁶ Glyn Redworth, *The She-Apostle: The Extraordinary Life and Death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008) and see Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza, *The letters...* ed. Glyn Redworth, 2 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012).

³⁷ See Katy Gibbons, 'Saints in Exile: The Cult of St Thomas of Canterbury among Elizabethan Catholics in France', *Recusant History*, 29 (2009): 315-340.

he was interpreted by English Catholics as a hero, and a martyr against an oppressive monarch (Henry II). Becket's own period of exile also held particular resonance and his cult was very popular among English Catholics on the continent, highlighted by Thomas Stapleton's *Tres Thomae* of 1588.³⁸ Many Spanish and Portuguese vessels displayed his image on donation boxes for the English refugees, and consequently heralded Becket as the 'patron saint of English exiles'.³⁹ This devotion was not particular to the English, and his cult also appealed to the wider continental Catholic community. The Italian Cardinal and formidable polemicist Caesar Baronius (1538-1607) composed an 'Ecclesiasticall Historie' of Saint Thomas and in the preface heralded Becket as an 'inspiration to the army of the Counter-Reformation'.⁴⁰

Public celebrations in honour of Becket were lavish at the English Colleges. The celebrations of the most Holy Trinity and St Thomas of Canterbury at Rome were noted by Cardinal Sega in his visitation report of 1596 where musicians were hired 'at a cost of over 100 scudi; grand dinners were provided for them, and for more than 200 other guests, so that on these days the College spent more than 300 scudi'.⁴¹ Becket's feast was also fervently celebrated by scholars at the secular college in Douai, as the entry for 1602 in the *Diaries* reveals:

On the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, martyr, and our patron, High Mass was sung by the President in the presence of the other doctors and priests and the students of the college, in St. James's Church, where during the Mass, an English priest, Mr. Thomas Coniers, of the Society of Jesus, delivered a sermon to the people, in which he eloquently declared the deeds of the same glorious

³⁸ See Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London: Arnold, 2004).

³⁹ Victor Houlston, 'St Thomas Becket in the propaganda of the English Counter-Reformation', *Renaissance Studies*, 7 (1993): 43-70 (at 53-4).

⁴⁰ Cesare Baronio, *The life or the ecclesiasticall historie of S. Thomas, Archbishope of Canterbury* (Paris, 1639) 49.

⁴¹ Cited in Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College*, 101.

martyr, and described the many martyrdoms and illustrious confessions of the members of this college.⁴²

The celebrations for the feast day at Valladolid in 1592 were similarly elaborate, and actively drew many of the local community to the College. As Father John Price later reported to Father Robert Persons in 1601:

[There is] general applause and good liking of all sorts of people, which was well declared upon St. Thomas of Canterbury's day, when the first High Mass was solemnly sung in the College Chapel. As it were present the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, who was received with a Latin oration, the Assistants and Senators, and great store of ecclesiastical prelates, Superiors of Religious Orders, and other men of authority, gravity, and nobility a great number. Don Alonso Coloma, then Canon of the High Church of Seville, afterwards Bishop of Barcelona, sang the High Mass, and instead of a sermon, John Worthington, one of the scholars, made a Latin oration of the praises and martyrdom of St Thomas, in the which also he declared the present state of our country, and the institute of the Seminary, which greatly moved all the hearers and caused in them great estimation of this work and love towards the scholars.⁴³

Such forms of devotion might be viewed as explicitly 'English': sung by Englishmen to their English Saint, and their prayers often turned to the homeland. As the Annual Letter of the English College in Rome of 1583 revealed:

The Forty Hours Prayer was held in the English College chapel for the relief of the straits to which England is reduced, and in its conversion from heresy. A Plenary Indulgence was granted to all who were present. The chapel was splendidly decorated, and

⁴² *The Douay College Diaries 1598- 1654, Vol. 1, 336.*

⁴³ Extract from an original letter of Father John Price to Father Robert Persons (then Rector of the English College, Rome), dated March 1 1610 (*Stonyhurst MSS. Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 90). Cited in *Records of the English Province*, Vol. 7 pt. 1, xxix.

strains of devout music, composed for the occasion, added not a little to the impressiveness of the function, which drew an immense concourse. A Latin sermon was preached during the mass, which was sung by a Bishop, this was followed by discourses in Italian delivered by preachers of our Society and of other sections of the clergy.⁴⁴

Yet it was not just English exiles that sang for England because those attending these festivities included visitors from several nations, alongside locals, and all were singing in honour of the country's plight.

Crowds were also attracted to the English Colleges for the staging of plays. Plays offered an important educational medium both in terms of instruction for the scholars in practising effective expression of proper Christian behaviour, and in developing skills to promote the English Catholic cause, which might be used on their return to England. Theatrical performances aroused support and patronage via 'spiritual fun', mental and physical relaxation that also engaged the local community.⁴⁵ Admission was free and therefore all levels of local society had the opportunity to witness the spectacles. Moreover as William McCabe demonstrated, music on such occasions was 'wedded to drama' and was wide-ranging 'from plainsong to polyphonic choral music, from a simple instrument piece to artistic ballet'.⁴⁶ It was performed in the interludes separating the acts of the plays, in occasional ballets and songs, and then structurally in scenes where music vitalised the dramatic atmosphere.

⁴⁴ 'Annual Letters of the English College AD 1579-1641' in *Records of the English Province*, Vol. 6, 110.

⁴⁵ For 'spiritual fun', theatre and Italian convents during this period see: Elissa B. Weaver, *Spiritual Fun: Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴⁶ McCabe, 'Music and Dance', 318. This is not the same as the classical ballet we know today; during this period 'ballet' used to describe a theatrical spectacle, which at St Omer included singing and dancing.

The centres of this drama were the Jesuit-run colleges at St Omer, Rome, Valladolid and Seville, and the plays tended to be written by masters at the institutions. The plays were performed by the schoolboys or seminarians on public occasions such as prize-days, or for the visit of an ecclesiastical or secular dignitary. As with other public celebrations, performances aimed to further the patronage of the institutions and harness the support of those watching. Impressive stage productions exemplified the powerful status of the colleges and the plays were performed in the refectory, in the great hall, or sometimes outdoors. They were typically in Latin (although the synopses were circulated in English to the audience beforehand) and the plays were long, usually tragedies with explicitly politicised content. One such example is the Christmas tragi-comedy performed at the English College of St Alban in Valladolid, *The Fall and Rise of England*. This was composed and performed by the students and 'greatly pleased the magnates of the city, and moved them to pity and tears'.⁴⁷ The city magnates and those watching were presumably also moved to financially support the English cause as well.

Other political themes included plays about Thomas Becket and featured the English martyrs repeatedly. Within a volume in the Archives of the English College at Rome are four Latin plays, which included the tragedy of *St Thomas of Canterbury* along with the *Tragedy of Blessed Thomas More*, written in 1612, a dramatic tragi-comedy called *Captiva Religio* and a tragedy entitled *Roffensis*, relating to the trial and martyrdom of Blessed John Fisher.⁴⁸ Victor Houlston also discovered another play on St Thomas Becket in the archives of the Cecils at Hatfield House.⁴⁹ Its presence there is revealing and perhaps suggests that it was procured by a contemporary spy and delivered to Cecil. The small playscript, the *Brevis dialogismus*, was

⁴⁷ *Records of the English Province*, Vol. 7 pt. 1, xxv.

⁴⁸ Cited in Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College*, 336.

⁴⁹ Victor Houlston, 'Brevis Dialogismus: An Anonymous Becket play from the Jesuit Seminary at St Omer,' *English Literary Renaissance* 23 (1993): 382 - 427.

performed on the feast day of St Thomas of Canterbury, patron saint of the English, at St Omer in 1599. It is the earliest surviving testimony to schoolboy drama at the English College, and this play demonstrated how Becket was interpreted as a heroic figure for imitation and veneration for the sons of Catholics and the future priests at St Omer. Through the characters *Christianismus*, *Lancearius* and *Coronoarius*, the *Brevis Dialogismus* underlined the parallels between Becket, the English Catholic martyrs and the prospective missionaries among the boys at St Omer, and emphasised how they drew shared inspiration from the passion of Christ. *Christianismus* declared that 'St Thomas bore under the rule of the tyrant Henry, sustained by divine love for the fair liberty of the church. Nor was his love contained within these limits, but as his blood flowed out he threw down his life, sacrificing it to Christ'.⁵⁰ Victor Houlston asserted that this dramatic martyrology was to be used as a means of 'converting the audience to potential martyrs' and whilst perhaps this is an overstatement, it would certainly have highlighted the plight of the English Catholic exiles and of the state of the nation back in England, further attracting patrons.⁵¹

The performances were intended for mixed audiences of several nations, and the students at the Colleges were instructed in Latin and several other European languages. This was exemplified in the ten languages of orations in 'English of the Spanish tongue', Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, Cornish, Welsh, 'Flemmish' (Dutch), French and Italian used to greet Philip III at Valladolid in 1600.⁵² The Colleges' abilities to attract an international audience was demonstrated in 1613 at St Omer and the Annual Letter from that year highlighted the 'great numbers from all nations [that] visited the College and admired its arrangements, rooms, dormitories, gardens, choirs, sodalities &c. but especially the piety and modest deportment of the

⁵⁰ Houlston, '*Brevis dialogismus*', 409.

⁵¹ Houlston, '*St Thomas Becket*', 55.

⁵² Ortiz, *A relation of the solemnities*, 40-60.

scholars'.⁵³ In 1613 the rector also noted that 'a sacred tragedy was acted, with grand scenery, called "The Triumph of the Cross"' and again in the following year another 'Passion play was acted this year before a large assembly. One of the scholars suitably clothed in red represented our Saviour, and sustained his part excellently...These pious representations produced feelings of intense devotion among the people'.⁵⁴

The grand displays continued throughout the period, and culminated in the celebrations of 1640 to honour the Society's first centenary. As the St Omer records revealed, 'it was celebrated with great eclat by the whole community and students. Each school took its part in the plays, concerts, poetical and literary exhibitions &c. the classes of rhetoric and poetry doing so in especial honour of St Ignatius and St Francis Xavier'.⁵⁵ The most famous document on the anniversary jubilee, sanctioned by Father General Muzio Vitelleschi, was the *Imago primi saeculi*, which contained lavish illustrations such as glossed emblems made up of *imprese* and mottos, a prose history of the order, as well as oratorical set pieces, poems and epitaphs. The work, like the other publications in honour of the centenary, as Lydia Salviucci Insolera has explained, advertised the great scholarship and piety of the Jesuit College of Antwerp and was utilised to dramatically represent the triumph of the Society over heresy.⁵⁶

Prior to the outpouring of commemorative literature in 1640, the Jesuits regularly sponsored publications after royal visits or festivals at the colleges. These pamphlets advertised the institutions, which helped secure benefactions and enhanced their wider support networks. The prolific textual production and transmission of exile literature, particularly college-

⁵³ 'Addenda. Annual Letters. St Omer's' in *Records of the English Province*, Vol. 7 pt. 2, 1155.

⁵⁴ *Records of the English Province*, Vol. 7 pt. 2, 1155-6.

⁵⁵ *Records of the English Province*, Vol. 7 pt. 2, 1167.

⁵⁶ See Lydia Salviucci Insolera, *L'Imago Primi Saeculi (1640) e il significato dell'immagine allegorica nella compagnia di gesu: Genesi e fortuna del libro* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2004). See also the forthcoming study by John W. O'Malley ed. *Art, Controversy and the Jesuits: The Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (Philadelphia: St Joseph's Press, 2014).

sponsored propaganda, has been explored by recent scholars such as Berta Cano Echevarria. These scholars have shown that whilst the performances were 'local', the texts describing the events had a wider audience and united the colleges with the broader English exile and international Catholic communities.⁵⁷ Focussing on the pamphleteering of St Alban's College in Valladolid, these scholars have also revealed the central importance in the accounts of the poetry and emblems composed for the royal visitations. Moreover, the accounts described these visits in specifically politicised terms as they were written to commemorate the efforts to reconvert England. This propagandist literature has furthered the picture of English Catholic exiles as a group that retained a striking sense of national consciousness, or at least a group that wanted to be perceived this way, and purposefully promoted a sense of national commitment and internal agreement.

It is notable that the few scholars exploring the topic of English Catholic exile have been quick to analyse this discourse and emphasise the expressions of English Catholic national identity. Such historiography has reacted against 'Protestant' nationalist discourse and propagated the prevailing sense of an exiled Catholic 'Englishness'. The most recent surveyor of such literature, Geert Janssen, has highlighted the 'apparent obsession with ethnic exclusiveness' within the convents and seminaries, and criticised scholars for their over-reliance on the available source material.⁵⁸ In consequence a potentially misleading picture has been painted, which is overly reliant on propaganda from the communities that contained its own agenda. This has skewed our understanding of 'English' exile identity by obscuring the other priorities and activities which blurred national and cultural lines. This chapter ends by exploring the events and

⁵⁷ Berta Cano Echevarria et al, "'Comfort without offence'? The Performance and Transmission of Exile Literature at the English College, Valladolid, 1592-1600', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 31 (2008): 31-67.

⁵⁸ Geert H. Janssen, 'The Exile Experience' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter Reformation* eds. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, Mary Laven (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 73-90 (at 84).

devotions at Valladolid surrounding what universally became known as the *Vulnerata*. Although described by scholars as 'the image of England', this chapter will underline the complexities inherent in these practices and highlight the resulting implications for understanding exiled identities more generally during this period.⁵⁹

The Wounded One: the image of England?

In the summer of 1596, the Spanish port of Cadiz was raided by English and Dutch soldiers under the dual command of Lord Charles Howard of Effingham and Robert Devereux, earl of Essex. In the carnage, a statue of the Virgin Mary with the Christ child was attacked: dragged along the streets, beaten and mutilated. The figure of Christ was cut out of the Virgin's arms and her face disfigured (see Fig. 2). The statue was discovered abandoned in the wreckage left by the soldiers in the plaza and sent to Madrid, where it was claimed by Martin de Padilla, the Count of Santa Gadea, who wanted to place it in his private chapel. When the scholars at the English College at Valladolid heard of the attack, they signed a petition claiming it was more appropriate that 'the English Catholics should disclaim the injuries which the English heretics have inflicted upon our Lady, and should serve and revere the image abused by them'.⁶⁰ The sense of duty that the English men should be the ones to repair the English abuses was explicit: the petition was successful and the image was carried in procession from Madrid to Valladolid.

⁵⁹ Peter Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England' in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, 19-51 (at 25).

⁶⁰ Cited in Williams, *St Alban's College, Valladolid*, 61-62.



[Fig.2, 'The Vulnerata']

It is significant that the beginning of the festivities surrounding the transfer of the image was 7 September, the birthday of Queen Elizabeth I. This highlights from the outset the *Vulnerata* was intended to be identified with England, and 'English' forms of devotion. It simultaneously made a political statement: whilst the celebrations for the Queen occurred in England, on the continent the image of the heavenly Queen was taken from the English College chapel to the Monastery of El Carmen and then returned to the English chapel, where after a novena the Jesuits placed it on the altar piece. It is important to stress, however, that this was no less a significant occasion for the Spaniards. As Anne Cruz argued, for Catholic Spaniards the events surrounding the reception of the Madonna were both a theatrical spectacle and a politico-religious strategy. It was intended to rally support for a Catholic England and for English Catholics living in Spain, and

simultaneously ensure the significance of Valladolid as Spain's next capital. For the Virgin was 'a Spanish icon, first and foremost' and became 'the political glue that united Spaniards under a burgeoning nationalist zeal'.⁶¹ At the image's entry into the chapel at Valladolid it was the Spanish Queen Margarita that was the first to pay homage to the Virgin and one contemporary described the pair as 'the only Queen of Heaven and the only Catholic Queen on Earth'.⁶² This was a pointed reference to the heresy of the Queen of England and emphasised the devotion of the Spanish Queen consort.

Although scholars such as Peter Davidson have argued that the statue became 'the image of England self-wounded by the ignorance and blindness of her children', this should not overshadow the multi-national and multi-cultural aspects of the festivities, which attracted the devotion and attention of several nations as well as the local Spanish laity in Valladolid.⁶³ The occasion was both civic and public, and united many: when the Virgin was taken from the Cathedral to St Alban's College in procession throughout the city there were 'such an innumerable multitude of people was gathered together all along the way to reverence the holy image', so many that 'the other parts of the citie were left desert and unpeopled'.⁶⁴ In honour of the events there was a cultural outpouring, and scholars have investigated the literary aspects of the celebrations which appeared in print such as the 'divers poems, epigrammes and hieroglyphicks in prayse of our blessed Ladyes Nativitie, and of the solemnitie and receiving of her image'.⁶⁵ However, little has been said of what must have been tremendous amounts of music composed and performed.

⁶¹ Anne J. Cruz, 'Vindicating the *Vulnerata*: Cadiz and the Circulation of Religious Imagery as Weapons of War' in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604*, ed. Anne J. Cruz (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008), 39-60 (at 50).

⁶² Cited in Williams, *St Alban's College, Valladolid*, 62.

⁶³ Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces', 25.

⁶⁴ Cited in Echevarria et al, 'Comfort Without Offence?', 53.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

The surviving contemporary account is by Antonio Ortiz, and his *Relacion de la Venida de los Reyes Catolicos, al Colegio Ingles de Valladolid* (1600) was divided into two parts: the first described the reception of Philip III and his queen Margarita, and the second, entitled *Recebimiento que hizo en Valladolid a una imagen de nuestra senora*, described the festivities surrounding the reception of the *Vulnerata*.⁶⁶ These pamphlets were then partially translated by Francis Rivers (1601) and published in England, without the account of the *Vulnerata's* reception. This was most likely due to the publication's aim of enhancing English goodwill toward the Spanish, which might have been hindered by such an emphatic reminder of Catholic devotional practices.⁶⁷ From the account it is clear that music played a fundamental role in the festivities, which should by now not seem surprising when added to the evidence of this and the last chapter. Moreover, as Echevarria and others have noted, there were several references of payments in the Book of Accounts for Valladolid to singers in 1609, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1620 and 1623, celebrating a range of events from royal visits to the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola.⁶⁸

Philip III and Margarita were greeted at the college by the students who:

above in the quire sang *Te Deum laudamus*, in their accustomed Ecclesiastical Musike which contented so much, as the Duke of Lerma and other noble men that came with the king; thought the singers had bene procured from abroad, but understanding that it was the ordenarie musike of the Colledge, and onely the students,

⁶⁶ Antonio Ortiz, *Recebimiento que hizo en Valladolid a una imagen de nuestra senora* (Madrid, 1600). An English translation from 1602 of this document is preserved in the archives of the Venerable English College, Rome: V.E.C. Liber 1422, ff.49-61. My thanks to Alison Shell for providing me with a photocopy of this document.

⁶⁷ Rivers in the preface to Ortiz, *A Relation of the solemnitie*, exclaims that the Spanish 'were wont to be our best friends, though of late prouoked to be our enemyes', and asked his dedicatee, Lord Hunsden, to draw his text to the attention of the queen in order 'to renew the old confederations which our forefathers with so great wisdome procured so many ages, with so great benefit of the land', sig. A2r.

⁶⁸ Cited in Echevarria et al, 'Comfort without Offence', 55.

receiued double contentment to heare it, & much more when at the entrance it was told them, that nothing was borrowed that day to receiue their Magesties but onely the hanginges.⁶⁹

It was important for the College to emphasise it was their own students singing for the monarchs; 'nothing was borrowed' and they were not 'from abroad' and therefore their Englishness was emphasised alongside their musical prowess. As well as music for the liturgy, the students also performed for Philip and Margarita when they entered the Great hall:

the Musicians in the other roome adioyning, deuided onely with a curtayn, began to play vpon their vials and virginals a very graue and pleasant song of eight partes, till their Magesties and those that came in their company were set, the schollers stood betweene the cloth of estate and the musike in their rankes or companies, on the one side stood the Poetes and Rhetoricians: on the other, the Philosophers, and in the midst the Priests & diuines.⁷⁰

The subsequent festivities and novena in honour of the reception of the *Vulnerata* were glorified with music.⁷¹ On the eve of the festival the statue was solemnly processed from the Carmelite church to the cathedral during Vespers, and was therefore accompanied by singing this hour of the divine office. This procession was accompanied by twenty members of the English College; the students and Jesuits fathers bore tapers, and they were followed by the laity. The act of singing and processing underlined the solemnity of the occasion. At the entrance to the Cathedral the procession was re-formed and travelled to the College where they were met at the gate by Philip III's consort Margarita. After an all-night vigil they sung High Mass in the morning, and the first day was ended by hymns in both Latin and English. On each day of the novena there were various musical ceremonies in which the Rector and the scholars of the English College took charge, which

⁶⁹ Ortiz, *A Relation of the solemnitie*, 38.

⁷⁰ Ortiz, *A Relation of the solemnitie*, 39.

⁷¹ The following all from Ortiz, *Recebimiento que hizo en Valladolid*, ff.53-56v.

included further processions of confraternities, the religious orders, the clergy, and other members of the large crowds of the laity who all came to pay veneration to the Madonna. The concluding ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Valladolid who bestowed upon the image the title of *Santa Maria Vulnerata* (Mary the Wounded One).

The *Vulnerata* quickly became fundamental to the musical tradition and devotions of the College. In the College archives are the *Diario de Costumbres*, a collection of documents that reveal a vivid picture of College life from 1600-1731. Among the documents are the details of 'What is observed in devotion to and veneration of the statue of Our Lady, Saint Mary Vulnerata':⁷²

On all Saturdays of the year there will be a sung a votive Mass of Our Lady: in summer at 10am and in winter at 11am.

A Mass of our Lady will be said all through the year at 10am and 11am of which notice will be given by ringing the bell at full swing, and at this Mass, *the statue of Our Lady will be exposed to view.*

The Mass at 10am will be said from Easter to St Michael's, and that at 11am from St Michael's to Easter and on all Saturdays *the statue will be exposed to view* after the Mass.

Every Saturday the Salve will be sung, in winter at four o'clock in the afternoon, in summer at six, and *the statue will be unveiled.*

On Christmas Day, Easter and Whit Sundays, the nine feasts of Our Lady, the feasts of the Apostles and the Evangelists and on others marked on the College lists as feasts with Mass, vespers and antiphon, on the eve, at winter at four o'clock in the afternoon, in the summer at five, an antiphon will be sung with instrumental accompaniment, and on that day itself, there will be

⁷² The following contains my emphasis. Cited in Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 240-241.

High Mass and vespers, and on these three occasions *the statue will be unveiled*, as it will also be on all feasts of Our Lady during the Masses said at the High Altar. The High Mass in the summer will begin at 8.30am and in winter at 9.30am. Vespers in the summer are at 3pm and in winter at 2.30pm.

The principal feast day of this statue is the Birthday of Our Lady, and is celebrated each year on the Sunday following the feast.

The instructions demonstrate the inextricable link between the music, the *Vulnerata* and the devotional life of the College. Especially important was the visibility of the Virgin, which as the instructions repeatedly stressed should be 'exposed to view' or 'unveiled' during the devotions. This indicates the importance of viewing the *Vulnerata* whilst singing the liturgy and during musical performances at feasts. It was therefore very important for the students to contemplate the wounds of the Madonna in order to heighten their religious experience. Similar devotional behaviour was occurring among the Catholic community in England; as Alexandra Walsham revealed, disfigured shrines were regarded as symbols of the embattled Roman faith and enhanced the devotion of the beleaguered laity.⁷³ The *Vulnerata* was the visible witness of suffering, she was to be meditated upon, and this made the Madonna almost like a relic: she had been touched, she was to be seen and the music performed would have been heard.⁷⁴ All the senses of the individual faithful were to be aroused by the regular performance of this communal devotion.

The impact of these rituals was significant and boosted missionary zeal, whilst attracting the devotions of the local people, both Spanish and English alike. The Spanish noblewoman Luisa de Carvajal took an especial interest in the plight of the English and was, as Glyn Redworth explained,

⁷³ Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the landscape: religion, identity, and memory in early modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 173.

⁷⁴ For more on relics during this period see Alexandra Walsham, 'Skeletons in the Closet: Relics after the English Reformation', *Past & Present* (2010), 206 (suppl. 5): 121-143 (esp. 127 n.21).

'transfixed' by the *Vulnerata*. Her letters revealed that 'since it is just a few steps away from home, I present myself before her every day even if I am very sick'.⁷⁵ The festivities at the college need therefore to be contextualised not only within the atmosphere of persecution and propaganda, but also in terms of border-crossing between cultures and languages which were critical to Catholic life in exile during this period. The festivity and the devotions of the *Vulnerata* placed the College in a strategic position in international politics, as Anne Cruz argued, but also at the centre of Spanish society as the ceremonies of Valladolid made a great impression on the local community.

Stressing the relevance of the *Vulnerata* to Spain should not diminish the analysis of scholars such as Alison Shell who observed how the cult of the *Vulnerata* highlighted how 'yearning for England could be projected onto the Virgin Mary, piously supposed to have England as her dowry'.⁷⁶ Marian veneration was also politicised at the other colleges, when the seminaries specifically referred to the state of England. This may even have been inspired by the *Vulnerata* ceremonies at Valladolid, as Shell observed; at the opening of the new church at St Omer, the Abbot of St Bertains carried a statue of the Virgin in a procession whilst the Litany of Loreto was sung and in the middle of the College a temporary chapel was built for its reception.⁷⁷ The occasions were glorified with music and the economies of song were politicised through their connection to the conversion of England.

Exiled and English

Through the economy of song, the English convents and seminaries were linked through public piety and patronage. The local Spanish and Dutch communities were attracted to the institutions as centres of devotion, which were advertised by music and in turn inspired donation and support. For the exiled English laity the convents and seminaries were no less central, as

⁷⁵ Redworth, *She-Apostle*, 84.

⁷⁶ Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 194-5.

⁷⁷ Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 205.

English Catholics often travelled miles to witness the profession of English men and women to the communities.⁷⁸ During these festivities, musical experience was vital and a sensuous atmosphere aimed to arouse the devotions both of the novices and the audience. The significance of singing, seeing, hearing and touch was epitomised in Valladolid through devotion to the *Vulnerata*, and, as the ceremonies revealed, the way English Catholic exiles enhanced the sense of their own national identity was complex. One form of national expression was through devotion to the image of a wounded Mary at Valladolid. Yet at the same time the image was also utilised by local and international visitors to the community, as they adopted the image for their own devotional needs and political ends. It is to this complex ideological and political landscape that the final chapter in this section will now turn. The following chapter will investigate the more precise ways in which music was adopted within the political culture of exile to show how musical forms of expression generated unity amongst English Catholics both at home and abroad.

⁷⁸ See for example see below p.113 n. 64

3 | Singing for England: The Politics of Performance

In recent years there has been renewed interest in the political and ideological implications of exile, particularly for the early modern period.¹ Katy Gibbons' study of English Catholic exiles in Paris revealed that whilst there is some truth to the perception of exiles as disaffected extremists, particularly those involved with the Catholic League, there is much more evidence to suggest that English Catholics negotiated and shifted their religious identities and behaviours depending on the contexts in which they found themselves.² This underlines how the study of 'types' of Catholic may ultimately be unhelpful. The role of music within the political culture of the exiled institutions remains unexplored and this chapter will ask how exile-politics had a direct impact on musical practice and provision. Through analysis of literary sources, scholars such as Michael Halvorson and Karen Spierling have vitally added to our understanding of exile experience by arguing that 'the least-conflicted and most coherent early modern communities were often those whose members were widely dispersed and who, therefore, relied even more heavily on abstract ideas of unity as promoted through shared texts, letters, rituals and images'.³ This chapter will ask similar questions of music and reveal the role it played in promoting unity amongst exiles and with their co-religionists both on the continent and in England.

¹ See David Worthington ed. *British and Irish emigrants and Exiles in Europe: 1603-1688* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Philip Major ed. *Literatures of exile in the English Revolution and its aftermath 1640-1690* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Christopher H. Johnson ed. *Transregional and transnational families in Europe and beyond: experiences since the middle ages* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011). For exile to America see Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) and Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and apocalypse in the Puritan migration to America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Also see pertinent forthcoming work on the topic: Jesse Spohnholz and Gary Waite eds. *Exile and Religious Identity: 1500-1800* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014) and Timothy G. Fehler et al eds. *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014).

² Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*.

³ Michael Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling, *Defining community in Early modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 22.

This chapter will explore how the soundscapes of the institutions were politicised through local influences, national problems, international concerns, English anti-Catholic polemic, and finally by the communities themselves as they sang for the conversion of England. This chapter will then ask how ideas surrounding the intrinsic sanctity of physical places had an impact on exile-politics. The exiles' geographic displacement from the English nation, as well as English Catholics' dislocation from their continental compatriots, reinforced the necessity of imagining England and this was manifested in song. As Julian Yates has emphasised, 'to be Catholic was to have a particular relationship to space, to England and its borders' and their very dislocation inspired a desire to emphasise their cultural, religious and national identities.⁴ Christopher Highley, Alison Shell and Katy Gibbons have revealed how this was expressed in the idealisation of the city of Jerusalem and other common literary themes, such as the tales of the voyages of classical heroes, biblical extracts about the wanderings of God's people in the Old Testament, and stories of the flights of members of the early Church.⁵ These themes were widely recognisable and Gibbons also highlighted how these tropes attracted considerable attention from European humanists, poets, and were included in Shakespeare plays.⁶ Exile was deeply rooted in Christian theology, life on earth viewed as exile from heaven, and yet the prevalence of these themes in music remains overlooked. This chapter will explore their repeated utilisation as exemplified in the work of William Byrd. Music was a powerful means of expression during this period and this chapter will ask how music about exile was used to enhance distinctively English Catholic forms of devotion. Finally, the politics of musical performance will be explored in looking at popular songs about exile, by exiles and for exiles, as revealed in ballads. This chapter will ask

⁴ Julian Yates, 'Parasitic Geographies: Manifesting Catholic Identity in Early Modern England' in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur Marotti (Houndmills, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1999), 63-84 (at 64).

⁵ Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*; Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*; Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*.

⁶ Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 114. Also see Jane Kingsley-Smith, *Shakespeare's Drama of Exile* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

how English Catholic exiles utilised music to voice their prayers, exhortations and protests on behalf of their fellow exiles and the wider Catholic community. In so doing, this chapter will reveal the vital role music played in the construction of religious and national identities.

Politics of the everyday: local influence and English problems

The first two chapters of this thesis have shown how both exiles and the local and international laity were drawn to the English institutions established on the continent, and how the convents and seminaries were an important part of their lives. Due to the openness of the institutions to local influence, the everyday performance of the divine office was therefore often politicised and affected by the local context. This was vehemently felt by the community of Syon during the Siege of Rouen from December 1591 until May 1592. During these six months the community became a haven for the international Catholics in the city and the Syon chronicle accounted:

[T]here was no place so noted as our Convent for having frequent quarantine hours, & oratories, sometimes of 7, sometimes of 14, & sometimes of 40 days, as in the time of the Siege. This councourse of People to our Church was much remarked & evinced by the hereticks & politicks who fled away, & by the friends of the contrary party who staid behind...⁷

The monastic community of exiled English men and women became a focal point for Catholics of all nations, united against the Protestant threat until their liberation by Spanish, Catholic forces.

The institutions were also susceptible to the religious politics of their fellow countrymen in England. As Claire Walker noted, many of the internal disputes in the convents abroad were partially grounded in the rivalries which fragmented English Catholics during the period.⁸ The frictions began

⁷ *An account of the Travels*, f. 114.

⁸ Walker, *Gender and Politics*, 175.

soon after the arrival of the first Jesuits to England in the 1580s and were to last until well into the seventeenth century. Put crudely, Catholic loyalties were divided between the secular clergy (those without a Rule) and the Jesuits. Both at home and abroad there were frequent arguments throughout the period between the two factions over strategies for the Mission and tactics to be adopted by Catholics in England. Those against the Jesuits argued that they were attempting to 'take over the whole English Mission' and many did not appreciate the hard line promoted in Persons' writing, for example, in support of recusancy and a no compromise stance against the authorities.⁹ These disputes exploded in questions of hierarchy and authority, flaring up in the Archpriest Controversy (1598-1602) and the Approbation Affair (1627-1631). In the late 1590s, some of the secular clergy began to elect priests ready to restore the ecclesiastical hierarchy in England. They hoped this would bring order to the community and prove their loyalty to the Elizabethan government, against the 'Machiavellian Jesuits'.¹⁰ Unsurprisingly, the Jesuits felt somewhat undermined and Rome waded in and attempted to diffuse the situation with the appointment of George Blackwell as 'Archpriest'. Blackwell was to lead the secular clergy and work alongside the head of the Jesuit mission to England. This did not suit the seculars for several reasons: they claimed Blackwell was too close to the Jesuits (his appointment was suggested by Persons) and they were particularly perturbed that his position had not existed in the medieval English Church. The arguments continued over who would be in charge when 'toleration' in England eventually came and this peaked again in 1625 with the appointment of anti-Jesuit Richard Smith as Bishop of Chalcedon.¹¹ Much disagreement occurred over the nature of his role and in particular, this affair engaged both the clergy and the laity over questions of how

⁹ An outline of these affairs has been astutely summarised in Kelly, 'Kinship and Religious Politics', 328-343.

¹⁰ Kelly, 'Kinship and Religious Politics', 330.

¹¹ Chalcedon was an episcopal see, (*ex partibus infidelibus*) having the status of an archbishopric, appointed to have full authority over secular and regular priests in England, Wales and Scotland.

English Catholics should govern and conduct themselves. The community remained divided.

This split was explosively paralleled in the Brussels convent, and catalysed controversies that had a devastating effect on the community for over two decades. Despite the early popularity and success of the convent, helped by the renown of their beautiful voices from the choir, from 1628-1651 the convent was in a state of 'open warfare'.¹² The events of these years are woefully absent in the extant evidence due to the desire of the nineteenth-century abbesses to suppress the event, presumably out of embarrassment. What follows will at least make a start in highlighting the catastrophe. The community were not in agreement over their choice of confessor, and although from 1599 Robert Chambers was the community's official spiritual director, the abbess Mary Percy had made the decision to allow some of the nuns to have an English Jesuit confessor. Unhappy with this arrangement, in 1624 several of the community left to found a new convent with a Jesuit director in Ghent. In 1628 Chambers died and the Archbishop of Mechelen, Jacobus Boonen, appointed Anthony Champney (then Vice-Rector at Douai) as confessor to the Brussels community. This was a controversial choice and prompted outrage from the pro-Jesuit faction. Champney had been involved in the anti-Jesuit movement, was an appellant against Blackwell, and was one of thirteen priests who had signed the controversial protestation of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth in 1603. By 1631 two clear factions had emerged, and knowledge of this circulated widely. From the letters sent to the papal nuncio it appears that those supporting the Abbess and the seculars numbered forty, and those pro-Jesuits led by Mary Vavasour numbered twenty five.¹³ Despite the permission given to the Jesuit

¹² Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic refugees on the continent 1558-1795, Vol. 1, The English colleges and convents in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558-1795* (London: Longmans, 1914), 259. May I also thank Jaime Goodrich for her comments on the troubles of the convent during this period.

¹³ Some details of the 'quarrel' are found in a footnote in Guilday, *English Catholic refugees*, 261, n. 2. This is the only scholarship on the issue.

faction to receive a father of the Society six times a year, there were several outbursts which revealed how musical performance from the choir reflected politics, and how critical music was for the survival of the community.

Within the voluminous archives of the Archbishop of Mechelen are a few boxes with correspondence from the Brussels Benedictines: a wealth of information ready to be mined by modern scholars.¹⁴ Within a haphazard collection of documents related to the community in the Archive of the Archbishopric is an extremely revealing letter to Archbishop Boonen from 1632, which was composed by Agatha Wiseman. It was endorsed in the margins by various nuns of her faction and several have signed their names at the end. The letter is fourteen pages long, and contains twenty eight points describing a series of violent events that had occurred at the convent since the Archbishop and papal nuncio's last visit in February of that year.¹⁵ This visit was supposed to have put an end to the unrest in the convent, but when the time came to elect new officers: 'the Appellantes [pro-Jesuits] made there a mutinye'. The group surrounding Mary Vavasour, pro-Jesuit and 'the leader of the rest' cried out that they would not surrender their places and offices: 'that the said convent had confirmed them, and that they would maintaine their right'. From then on, conflict was 'made dayly in the places where the convent meete bt *especially in the quier*, by the occasion of the deposed deanes and Chantresse whoe will still hold their places and offices'.¹⁶ For example:

The first Saturday in the first weeke in lent D. Martha [Colford] began her office of chantresse, but D. Aurea [Anna James, pro-Jesuit] would perforce intune the psalmes with her, with she did

¹⁴ Mechelen, Archief van het aartsbisdom Mechelen, doos 4: Regulieren Brussel, Engelse Nonnen. The Who Were the Nuns? Project are making invaluable headway with such unnoticed materials, although the particular pamphlet in this discussion is not included in the six volumes published most recently. See *English Convents in Exile, 1600-1800*, ed. Caroline Bowden, 6 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012-2013).

¹⁵ Mechelen, Archief van het aartsbisdom Mechelen, doos 4: Regulieren Brussel, Engelse Nonnen, 12/2, unfoliated.

¹⁶ All italics my emphases.

in extraordinarye and unaccustomed tunes of purpose (as it may seeme) to - make a discord, see that one part of the religiose following the Chantresse, and the other part D. Aurea, there was made an unsupportable discord and confusion, to the great scandale of those whoe wer in the church.

The conflicts in the choir steadily worsened and on March 12 the letter explained how the two chantresses appointed rival nuns to sing from the martyrology, with the result that the nuns physically fought over the book until 'D. Mectild [Mechtilda, Vere Trentham, pro-Jesuit] having lost the place was forced to give over, and D. Katherine [Paston] sunge it to the end'. In an attempt to prevent similar embarrassment, later that day:

at the highe masse my Lady [Abbess Mary Percy] to prevent contentions ordayned that the tracte (which is ordinarylye sung by 2 or 3 religiose to each verse whoe are appoynted by the chantresse) should be sung by all the religious together, which as soone as it was tould to D. Mectild and Dame Mary Evers [Margaret Eure, pro-Jesuit] whom D. Aurea had appoynted to sing the first verse, making noe account of my Ladyes order, they ranne presently with great violence to the deske, putting their hands and armes uppon the booke to the end the religiuose might not so to sing...they sought to take the booke of from the deske, wherein they were hindred by my Ladyes religiose they endevaoured by shaking the deske to make the masse booke to fall downe, and hearin they did soe much, as the booke began to fal, but their dessigne being suddenly prevent by D. An [Anne Ingleby] and D. Marina [Elizabeth Draycott], whoe fearing the danger (for the booke being very great if it had fallen must needs have greevously hurt many of the religiose) they held the deske with all their strength, and my Lady cumming to them to hindred their strife willing them not to strive soe at masse, *received a blow on the face* by D. Mary Phillips [pro-Jesuit].

The fisticuffs in the choir stalls did not cease and on the Sunday 14 March at Matins the letter described how similar factional rivalry meant 'the religiouse *laying aside for a time the divine office* they betooke themselves to chiding and striving together in the quier'. The letter explained how the sounds of the nuns' dispute were '*to the scandale of the people in the church*', as they listened to the nuns snatching books from one another and pushing each other to the ground. The violence continued on 15 March, 19 March, and on 21 March there was 'raised a great tumult' as the nuns continued to provoke each other to the extent that:

the divine office was left of for a tyme and the religious betooke them to strive and contend. the Appellantes would have thrust out of the quier those of my Ladyes side, and to coming alsoe to the prioeres whoe set in her seat pulled her booke out of her hand and bid her to goe out of the quier using unto her very contumelious words and D. Mary Evers especially whoe at last as it were to provoke her, said unto her *strike, strike if you dare, strike if you dare*, in this contention D. Flavia [Joyce Langdale] fell to the ground, but by what means it is not known...

Despite the fact that the Archbishop visited on 24 March in an attempt to appease the situation, the nuns wrote that the Appellants continued to defy him, even though Agatha Wiseman had appealed for them to 'put in minds what you Lordship had spoken', they 'refused with great animostitye'.

The chaos continued and on March 26 the community had to take a dramatic step:

we have bin forced to shutt the quier dore, and to say our office in private, rather than by irreverence in the church to offend god and scandalize those that come thether.

Cutting themselves off from the local community like this indicated the problems were so bad the nuns were willing to risk their entire livelihoods,

and it was this that prompted the desperate Abbess, Mary Percy, to write the letter to the Archbishop. As chapter two demonstrated, the community relied on their performance in the choir and the economy of song to survive. This was incredibly embarrassing for the community that were previously held as exemplars of English Catholic piety.¹⁷

It is clear that the nuns' reputation was greatly damaged as stories of the divided convent were soon circulating in manuscript. One is preserved in the British Library and briefly described the conflict, singling out the musical altercations:

Amongst other things, when the new elected cantrix or singer, had begun a psalm in some tune according to the rubrics, the Refractory Chauntress, (who was out of office) did begin the same psalm in another tune, the most of the refractory Nuns pertinaciously following the same tune, whilst on the contrary some of the other side continue the tune of the new chauntress. Therefore the Nuns singing their alltogether in diverse & diverging tunes. *There was heard not an English or Angelical Harmony, but a Diabolical Discord*, to the great injury of Divine service, & scandal & laughter of strangers.¹⁸

It is significant that the writer emphasised that the harmony was not 'English or Angelical' and therefore disassociated the discord with 'Englishness', whilst simultaneously reminding readers of the community's national affiliation. These troubles had a devastating effect on professions, which plummeted during the two decades of strife. Only two lay sisters joined the community between 1628 and 1652, compared with, for example, between 1609 and 1619 when thirty one new choir nuns and lay sisters were

¹⁷ As Richard Verstegan had written to Joanna Berkeley in 1603 in the preface to his *Odes*, sig A.2: you [are] the first Abbess of your holy order revyved in our nation, whose posteritie by the divine providence may come to brighten our country with their shyning sanctitie as your predecessors heretofore have donne: after that Saint Augustyne had brought and taught unto the English people the first knowledge and belief in the true God and his deer sonne and our saviour, Christ Jesus.

¹⁸ BL. Add. MS. 18393, 16. For nineteenth-century copy see BL. Add. MS. 18934, 13.

professed.¹⁹ Whilst the civil war years of the 1640s may also have been a strong factor in the reduction of professions, the low opinion of the community clearly had a strong part to play. This was not lost on the convent, as revealed in a letter also found within the hodgepodge of documents in the Mechelen Archbishopric Archives. Potentiana Deacon wrote to the Archbishop in 13 December 1632:

Of late my lady in the chapter tould us that there was so ill an opinion held of us abroad, that we weare compared to the ruins of Troy, with some other words to that effect, it did trouble me to heare this newes, and therefore in privat I demanded of my Lady from whence such reporte came, her Lady tould me out of England but I could learne no particulars of her...I feare this monasterie wilbe much disgraced and impoverished therby and we shalbe in daunger to loose our best friends, unless your Lordship undertake the business, and with your powerfull hand, reduce us under due Religious peace and discipline, from which we are fallen but by you may be raysed agayne.²⁰

Despite their plea, the conflict continued and was only resolved in 1651 when Mary Vavasour was elected abbess after the death of Dorothy Blanchard (Blanchard was abbess after Percy's death in 1642). Normal musical practice and provision restored, the economy of song gained momentum again and the 'Diabolical Discord' was over.

Politics of the everyday: international polemic

Knowledge of the internal division within the English Catholic community during this period was widespread, much to the distress of Catholics and the delight of English Protestants. The divisions were advertised in anti-Catholic print, and this literature served to remind Catholics and Protestants in

¹⁹ Information from the Who Were the Nuns? Database, accessed 2 February 2013. wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk. The two lay sisters were Elizabeth Sunley, professed in 1634 and Grace Bake, professed in 1638.

²⁰ Archief van het aartsbisdom Mechelen, doos 4: Regulieren Brussel, Engelse Nonnen, 12/2.

England of the presence of convents and seminaries abroad. For Catholics the convents stood as symbols of the future return of their homeland to the Roman faith, whereas for Protestants they stood as reminders of the papist threat that haunted England from across the channel. Anti-Catholic reaction against the perceived Catholic 'threat', as Arthur Marotti has shown, was both a catalyst and cause of the construction of a Protestant English national identity, and created the appearance of a united Protestant front against a common Catholic enemy.²¹ Marotti's analysis predominantly focussed on the missionary priests of the Society of Jesus and this was certainly due to his source base; it was the institutions for men that received the full force of anti-Catholic attack such as the writings of the religious controversialist and spy Lewis Owen. His major work, *The unmasking of all popish monks, friers and Jesuits*, was printed in 1628 and as he stated in the preface, its purpose was to highlight the role of the religious orders in supporting the 'tottering kingdom' of the 'Romish Anti-Christ'.²² His polemic aimed to expose the Jesuits in particular, for their alleged greed, laziness, wealth and general lack of devotion. Owen singled out music to make his point:

as for high Mass (or a singing Masse, which endures a whole
 heure) alas they neure meddle with it, or with such bauling stuffe,
 for the priuate Masse is the fairest flower in their Garden.²³

Owen suggested that the private masses, those that made up the economy of song, were favoured due to their higher financial reward and therefore they neglected the sung, high mass. Another attack came from James Wadsworth and his polemical memoir, *The English Spanish Pilgrime*, was printed in 1629.

²¹ Arthur Marotti, *Religious ideology and cultural fantasy: Catholic and anti-Catholic discourses in early modern England* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2005).

²² Lewis Owen, *The unmasking of all popish monks, friers and Jesuits. Or, A treatise of their genealogie, beginnings, proceedings and present state Together with some briefe obseroations of their treasons, murders, fornications, impostures, blasphemies, and sundry other abominable impieties. Written as a caveat or forewarning for Great Britaine to take heed in time of these romish locuts* (London, 1628).

²³ Owen, *The unmasking of all popish monks, friers and Jesuits*, 101. Anthony Wood suggested that Owen had been accepted as a student at the English College in Valladolid although this is not corroborated in the records held at St Alban's.

Wadsworth focussed on the scholars at St Omer and also discussed their use of music:

The Students heare out the relation with admiring and Cap in hand to the memory of *Champion, Garnet, Thomas Becket* and *Moore*. After this until seven and a half, musicke until eight, they recreate themselves together, thence to their studies again untill halfe an houre bee past, so to their Letanies, and to provide themselves to bed.²⁴

Wadsworth's account is more subtle in its hostility, perhaps because he himself had been a student at St Omer's and both of his sisters had become nuns. Wadsworth had been raised a Catholic before he denounced 'popery' and returned to England to offer his services as a spy in 1625, at the age of 21. The level of detail within the work reveals what was deemed interesting to the avid anti-Catholic reader:

anon after dinner to their Church where they sing Vespers and Letanies to our Lady for England's conversion, having written on their Church and Colledge doores in great golden letters, *Iesu, Iesu, converte Angliam, fiat fiat*. These are onely the outsides of their profession: But nowe I will rippe up the very bowels of these treacherous glosing Fathers: First those schollers who are Nobly descended and of rich parentage, they striue to allure by their honeid words, and flattering imbracings, indowing them with picturs, beads, meddal, Agnus dei, whice they haue from *Rome*...And with these is the Prefect of musicke most recreated, reading to them *Ovid, Hor. Catull* and *Propertius*.²⁵

It is interesting that Wadsworth made a note of the nobility of the children (despite his own middling heritage) and how it was not until they had become priests that they were condemned.

²⁴ James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish pilgrime. Or, a new discoverie of Spanish popery, and Iesuiticall strategems...* (London, 1629), 17.

²⁵ Wadsworth, *English Spanish pilgrime*, 19.

The condemnation of missionary priests, and the particular loathing of the Jesuits, is evident from anti-Catholic attitudes held by contemporaries: Priests were political fugitives and when captured by the state they were condemned as traitors. One of the most denigrated aspects of the missionary life was the priests' status without 'place' and it was this displacement that was so offensive, as Julian Yates explained:

From England to the seminary and back again, insinuated into houses, 'obscure places' and harboured by subjects led astray, the Jesuits embodied these spatial aberrations. Their identity is a story of travel, of transformation, of flight and return, of turning. They are an interruption, a toxin, an infection, an invasion: they are an affront to the sovereignty of the state...Merely to have desired to leave England in the first place was, of course, the greatest aberration of all.²⁶

The significance of the lack of 'place' in forming attitudes, particularly towards English Catholics is intriguing as the Reformation attacked the notion of intrinsic sanctity of physical places, and it was not a prominent feature of the attack on women.²⁷

Indeed the communities for women have not been widely acknowledged at all for their involvement in contemporary politics. Due to their gender and their status as religious, historiographically it has been assumed that the convents were innocuous and the nuns' withdrawal from the world rendered them politically inert. Contemporaneously there was also not the same level of hysteria directed at the convents, for the nuns were not expected to return to England and behave treasonably. Yet their displacement also played a critical role in the nuns' characterisation in anti-Catholic literature, as Frances Dolan argued:

²⁶ Yates, 'Parasitic Geographies', 69.

²⁷ For the evolving attitudes of Protestant officials and the laity to physical places and spaces see Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, esp. chs. 2 and 7.

Banished from English soil and confined to Continental convents, she [the nun] becomes unmoored from any attempt to describe her circumstances or experience accurately. Thus unmoored, she operates as a stock figure in a cultural repertoire that says relatively consistent things about women and about Catholics...²⁸

This repertoire was predominantly interested in nuns' sexuality and focussed on alleged sexual transgressions with priests. Ballads circulated on topics such as 'The Lusty Fryer of Flanders' and most notably, the 'Good Sport for Protestants: In a most pleasant Dialogue between an Old Bawdy Priest, and a wanton young Nun'.²⁹ In the literature the nuns were described in sexual terms and even the music they sang, as Thomas Robinson described in his attack on Syon, was 'obscene and scurrilous'.³⁰ Other than their sexual politics, the nuns were not much bothered with by contemporaries, and legislation forbidding English subjects to join or support seminaries and colleges abroad quite specifically did not include convents. Yet in many respects the institutions for women should be viewed in no less political terms. The recent scholarship on religious women has started to rectify this historiographical oversight because at least in part, as Claire Walker has stressed, the institutions for English women were politicised by the women's desire for the restoration of Catholicism in England.

Politics of the everyday: singing for England

Music performed by the nuns and seminarians in the English convents and colleges was political due to the conditions within which they were singing. From their foundation the institutions were only supposed to be temporary, as was their status as exiles, and the nuns and seminarians regularly prayed

²⁸ Frances E. Dolan, 'Why are Nuns Funny?', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70 (2007): 509-535 (at 525).

²⁹ See 'Lusty Fryer of Flanders', *EBBA*, accessed 1 November 2013. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30739> and 'Good Sport for Protestants', *EBBA*, accessed 1 November 2013. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21042>.

³⁰ See above Chapter 1, pp. 39-40; Robinson, *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery*, 13.

for the conversion of England. This was a treasonable and political act as well as a devotional one. During the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a sense of desire to return to England was retained by the communities. Whilst their analysis of the contemporary political situation was often overly optimistic, it nevertheless reveals their engagement with political affairs. For example, the Bridgettine community in Lisbon wrote to the Spanish Infanta during the negotiations of her marriage to Prince Charles in 1623 and argued that they were the most deserving of repatriation:

[M]ore than all other English religious Sisters we are able to say with the devout Mordecai, *who knoweth*, because our case is unique, since not only were we the first exiles for our Holy Catholic Faith, but also the only ones, of all the orders and convents of English nuns, who have continued and persevered in this very hard exile from its first inception till now.³¹

Whilst Christopher Highley has used this letter as evidence for the nuns preservation of a 'heart-felt Englishness', the letter could be read as evidence to the contrary because later in the letter Wiseman also expressed an 'aching loss of native land, families and mother tongue'.³² What constituted the community's 'English' identity had become blurred by other cultural and linguistic factors and although this was lamented, it was still presented as 'lost' rather than preserved.

There is an argument to be made that at times the community did not think of England as their home at all. For when the Bridgettines decided to leave Rouen in 1594, the local Catholics were aggrieved and asked 'if you who fled from your own country for the Catholick Faith go away, alas! what shall we do? Alas! What change is this? Others said you have a fair house &

³¹ Cited in Christopher de Hamel, *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and their Peregrinations after the Reformation* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 1991), 23.

³² Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, 194. My emphasis.

Church, & are well beloved, why will you go?'³³ The community's emphatic response indicated that for Syon, their 'Englishness' was less important than their Catholicism as Father Foster answered:

We left a better house, a better Church & Friends in England, *viz.* old Syon in England, a royal foundation, we came not to France to seek these Commodities, but to serve God in the Catholick Faith & Church & live & die in obedience to the Church of Rome to conclude, We neither fought England, France, nor Earth but Heaven, which is all we now pretend to and You yourselves & all other good Catholicks are bound to do the same, which answer much edified many, that sighing & weeping turned their faces from us to cover their compassion & grief.³⁴

Claire Walker's statement that 'many women saw themselves primarily as members of the English Catholic community, and only secondly as members of the universal Catholic Church' seems inaccurate for the Syon community.³⁵ For this displaced community, their earthly home in this world was unimportant and whilst England was their 'old Syon', it was Heaven that was their Home and all they 'pretend to'.

The nuns' relationship with England was complex but nobody doubted their desire for England's conversion. This is revealed, for example, in Archbishop Hovius' dispensation for the Brussels Benedictines to receive the Eucharist more frequently 'so as to more fervently pray for your friends in England'.³⁶ The daily devotions of the seminarians in the English college in Valladolid were also politicised, for in the afternoons 'all go to the church where they say the Litany of Our Lady for the needs of England'.³⁷ The

³³ *An account of the Travels*, 148.

³⁴ *An account of the Travels*, 148-9.

³⁵ Walker, *Gender and Politics*, 183.

³⁶ Cited in Walker, *Gender and Politics*, 67.

³⁷ Diego de Yepes, *Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra* (Madrid, 1599), accounted Philip II's visit to the English College in 1592 and gives a copy of the distribution of the rule of life and time table of the English College on p.753. This is translated and reprinted in Appendix to Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 235-7.

instructions revealed that 'Once a week, on the days when they have no class, all meet and hold disputations for two hours on controversies against heretics, especially those that are found in England: they do the same on Sunday for an hour and a half, so that every year they revise all these controversies'.³⁸ The boys at St Omer were also prepared for politico-religious dispute in their curriculum, as a letter from Guido Bentivoglio the Papal Nuncio of Flanders to Cardinal Borghese in 1609 revealed:

Four scholars were selected, to whom the Rector proposed an improvised argument upon a sacred subject. Two on each side carried on the discussion from a raised platform in the refectory. Various disputations were held, first in Greek and then in Latin, and with so much ease and freedom on both sides that I was truly astonished. They hold these disputations both at dinner and supper, besides other exercises.³⁹

Knowledge of the controversies and awareness of the political situation in England was not isolated to the seminaries, as it crossed the walls of enclosure. As the contents of Richard Verstegan's *Odes* revealed, the Brussels Benedictines were well enough versed in political polemic to have appreciated the 'Complaint of Church Controversy', which lamented the loss of '[t]he golden world long since is worne away'. The verse likened the contemporary situation to Babel where 'at Babel tower where tongues confusion came...And tongues confusion Church-war hath procured / Lately begun and yet to long endured'.⁴⁰ This had particular poignancy for the English Catholic exiles that may have lost their 'mother tongue', as the Syon community had complained in their letter to the Infanta.

Politicisation also had roots within the institutions themselves as they referred to each other in politicised terms. In a letter dated 24 April 1611, Lady Joanna Berkeley, the first Abbess of the Brussels Benedictines noted:

³⁸ Cited in Appendix to Williams, *St Alban's College Valladolid*, 235-7.

³⁹ *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. 7 pt. 2, 1154.

⁴⁰ Verstegan, *Odes*, 94.

Almost all the parents of these religious have suffered for their constancy in the Catholic Faith, either martyrdom or tortures, a long imprisonment, or heavy and continued exactions, loss of their estates or fortunes; some of them have died from the infection of prisons, or have been obliged to fly their country and live in banishment. Nay, even some of these very religious have been cast into prisons, others dragged to the tribunals of heretics, and thereby exposed to the greatest danger of losing their lives.⁴¹

The English convents were keen to differentiate themselves from the other institutions on the continent: their nuns had come from families blighted by the politics of the Elizabethan and Jacobean governments and this was not forgotten.

As the last chapter noted, martyrs and martyrdom were politically contentious topics and the most common focus for devotion within the institutions. It was not by accident that the exiled religious houses such as Valladolid and Rome commissioned paintings of their executed former members for their chapels, and adorned the walls with frescoes of the ancient martyrs persecuted by the state for their faith. The institutions were also making a political statement by naming themselves after martyrs such as 'St Alban' at the English College in Valladolid, because Alban was the first Christian martyr of Britain, executed c. 304AD. This was also reflected through music, as the priests gathered together to sing a *Te Deum* in the College chapels after they were told about the execution of a Catholic priest. These men were traitors in England, and singing in their memorial certainly as much a political act as a devotional one.⁴² Thomas Bell, the Roman Catholic priest and later Protestant polemicist, described the occasion of Campion's death when the news reached Rome:

⁴¹ Cited in Dom Basil Whelan, *Historic English Convents of Today: The story of the English cloisters in France and Flanders in Penal Times* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1936), 8.

⁴² See Chapter 7 below.

Alphonsus the Jesuite then rector of the English colledge in Rome, caused the Organs to be sounded in the English chappell, & all the students came to the chappell, (of which number myselfe was one.) and then and there hee himselefe putting on his backe a white surplesse, (to signifie forsooth, the puritie of the martyrdom,) and the stole about his necke, sang a collect of martyrs; so after this manner, canonizing Campion the rebell for a saint.⁴³

Bell's comments are significant, for it was music that canonized 'Campion the rebell for a saint'; music had the power to sanctify and added another layer of holiness to the occasion.

Locating England: William Byrd and Jerusalem

Music's ability to sanctify extended to places as much as people during this period, as will be explored in further detail in the final three chapters of this thesis. In the meantime, this chapter will suggest that music had the power to 'locate' people through the embodied act of singing, the promotion of unity through songs, and by imagining sacred places that held particular relevance to exile. This was revealed in William Byrd's compositions from the 1580s, which as Craig Monson demonstrated, frequently echoed Jesuit tracts to 'foster an English Catholic identity and ideology grounded in consensus, to sustain and strengthen communal stability within the households of the English gentry'.⁴⁴ This chapter extends Monson's argument beyond isolated households to suggest that music on exile themes also served to foster a sense of communal stability and identity between Catholics in England and on the continent. The 1580s was a period of heightened persecution against Catholics in the wake and aftermath of the Spanish Armada, and exile imagery recurred frequently in Byrd's compositions based on three biblical prototypes: the Israelites in Egypt,

⁴³ Thomas Bell, *The anatomie of popish tyrannie...* (London, 1603), 97.

⁴⁴ Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics and the Motet', 370-1.

Babylon, and Jerusalem. Joseph Kerman observed that 'Byrd's repeated metaphors of Jerusalem and the Babylonian captivity come almost automatically to the lips of all Catholic writers'.⁴⁵ The pervasiveness of these themes throughout society during this period makes this very likely, but Kerman's next statement that these metaphors belonged to a 'universal minority discourse utilized by, among others, French Huguenots in Byrd's century and American slaves in another', requires some nuance.⁴⁶ Indeed, some of Byrd's general themes which could be read in terms of Catholics' plight, could also be (and apparently were) heard in Protestant terms. As Craig Monson highlighted, Protestant polemicists regularly made Rome to be Babylon, while England or London became Jerusalem. For early seventeenth century English Protestants, the theme of Israel's deliverance became the favourite symbol for the 'deliverance' of England and King James I from the gunpowder plotters.⁴⁷ William Byrd's use of these sacred texts ensured that his music spoke to the distinct religious and political reality of the period, both for majority and minority.

Despite being heard and shared differently, it is nonetheless clear that Byrd's music would have held particular significance for English Catholics because the words he set were mirrored in contemporary Catholic devotional writing about exile. His motet on the Egyptian captivity from the *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1589, made both a political and devotional statement:

O Lord, thou didst swear to our fathers, that their ancestors would have a land flowing with milk and honey. Now O Lord, remember the covenant which thou hast made and deliver us out

⁴⁵ Joseph Kerman, 'Music and Politics: The Case of William Byrd (1540-1623)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 144 (2000): 275-287 (at 279).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Craig Monson, 'Reading between the lines: Catholic and Protestant polemic in Elizabethan and Jacobean Sacred Music' in "*Noyses, sounds and sweet aires*": *Music in Early Modern England*, ed. Jessie Owens (London: University of Washington Press, 2006), 78-89.

of the hand of the Egyptian Pharaoh and out of the slavery of the Egyptians.⁴⁸

This was an adaptation of Exodus 6.6, and Byrd has poignantly phrased this as a plea by adding despair to the text, 'O Lord, remember': the Lord had said that he would free the people, and Byrd's sacred motet begged remembrance of that promise. This imagery was also invoked by English Jesuit priest Henry Garnet in his sorrowful letter to the General of the Society, Claudius Acquaviva in 1588:

All our hopes turned precipitately into sorrow. All things are with us as they were with the Jewish people as they were about to go forth from Egypt...Now with redoubled energy the chiefs and persecutors of Egypt have turned on us all the wrath they have conceived against Moses and Aaron.⁴⁹

The community of Syon also turned to Exodus to express their affliction, which highlighted their endurance of suffering, and was explained in distinctly musical terms:

even our afflicted State was to spiritual Eyes, & Catholick hearts, more glorious, and triumphant, than all external ornaments, & much more sweet in the ears of God than all songs, hymns, & musick which could be made in any external Church, or Choir, exhorting us to thank God for our present affliction, and to beseech him to be with us, as he was with his elected *Moses*, & people of *Israel*, that after this Storm We might sing as he did; *Exodus 15*. When he escaped ~ *Pharoah*, & passed the Red Sea. *Cantemus Domino gloriose, enim magnificatus est; equum & ascensorem dejecit in mare. Fortitudo mea, & Laus mea Dominus, & factus est mihi in salute*. Let us sing unto our Lord for he is gloriously magnified, he hath cast the horse, & the horseman in to

⁴⁸ William Byrd, *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum* (London, 1589), no. 15: *Domine, tu jurasti patribus nostris, daturum te semini eorum, terram fluentem lacte et melle, nunc Domine, memor esto testamenti, quod posuisti patribus nostris, et erue nos de manu Pharoanis, regis Ægypti, ex et servitute Ægyptiorum*.

⁴⁹ Cited in Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics and the Motet', 353.

the Sea. God is my strength, God is my praise, God is become my Saviour...⁵⁰

Henry Garnet, William Byrd and the displaced community of Syon were using the plight of the Egyptians to voice their prayer and protest, and to locate themselves both physically and devotionally alongside their countrymen.

Another devotional and political metaphor regularly used and voiced by English Catholics was the Babylonian captivity. Robert Southwell had complained in his *Epistle of Comfort* in 1587:

For upon the fluddes of *Babylon*, what cause have we, but layinge a syde our myrth and musicke, to sitt & weepe, remembering our absence, out of our heavenly *Sion*: In the vassalage and servilitye of *Egipt*, where we are so dayly oppressed with uncessante afflictions, & filthy workes.⁵¹

Southwell was paraphrasing Psalm 137, 'Super flumina babilonis', which was set to music in a well-known international exchange between William Byrd and Philippe de Monte.⁵² De Monte was a Flemish musician and composer who had stayed in England from 1554 until 1558 with the chapel choir of Philip II, then husband to Mary I. It was during this time that scholars have posited he may have met a young William Byrd but their relationship was not revealed until the 1580s, when de Monte was in Prague. De Monte rearranged the first four verses (1, 3, 4 then 2) of Psalm 137 to music, and sent the composition to William Byrd at the English Chapel Royal:

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion. For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song. How shall we sing the Lord's song in a

⁵⁰ *An account of the Travels*, 154-5.

⁵¹ Robert Southwell, *An epistle of comfort, to the reverend priestes, & to the honorable, Worshipful, & other of the Laye sort restrayned in Durance for the Catholicke Fayth* (Paris, 1587), 42v.

⁵² *Super Flumina Babylonis and Quomodo Cantabimus: Vocal Score*, ed. Sally Dunkley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

strange land? We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.

This could be interpreted as a request to Byrd not to waste his talents in a fettered country and yet Byrd's response was filled with optimism. Byrd arranged verses four to seven of the psalm, and in 'Quomodo cantabimus' his eight-part polyphony soared with the suggestion that his faith stood strong in this Protestant land:

How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy. Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem.

The destruction of Jerusalem was perhaps most common of all the metaphors utilised by Catholics to lament their plight. The loss of their Catholic home, both physically for the exiles, as well as spiritually in Protestant England, had a strong resonance and they were united by the image of the destruction of this holy place. In 1574 the English Catholic exile and prefect of studies at Douai, Richard Bristow, turned to the Jerusalem metaphor to make sense of the trials against Catholics. His *Brief treatise* portrayed English Catholics as God's chosen people destined to 'weepe, sobbe and sigh, to remembre Sion and the Temple of our Mother Jerusalem'⁵³. Bristow reassured Catholics however that, eventually, there would be an end to their 'captivitie' in England, that the country would return to Rome, and God would bring exiles 'home againe to the sweete Angelical sunges and heavenly service of the same'.⁵⁴ Within one of Byrd's unpublished motets was a similar message to his English Catholic audience of a triumphant homecoming, which utilised a biblical quotation on Jerusalem in 'Circumspice Hierusalem':

⁵³ Richard Bristow, *A briefe treatise of diverse plaine and sure wayes to finde out the truth in this doubtful and dangerous time of heresie* (Antwerp, 1576), f.136r.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Look around you, O Jerusalem, to the East, and behold the joyfulness coming to you from God. For behold your sons are coming whom you sent scattered away. They are gathered and come from the East even to the West, the saints rejoicing in your word to the honour of God.⁵⁵

The lines taken from Baruch 4:37 - your sons are coming whom you sent scattered away - held particular relevance for those Catholics whose children were in exile in the seminaries and institutions on the continent. Political statements on the plight of the English based on the fall of Jerusalem are also present in Byrd's *Cantiones Sacrae* from 1589, such as 'Civitas sancti tui'. Here Byrd set the words of a biblical passage from Isaiah 64, and exclaimed 'Civitas sancti tui facta est deserta / Sion deserta facta est / Jerusalem desolata est': 'Your holy city has become a wilderness / Sion has become a wilderness / Jerusalem has been made desolate'.⁵⁶

Arguably the most significant motet within the *Cantiones Sacrae* based on the fall of Jerusalem was 'Vide Domine afflictionem':

Behold, O Lord, our affliction, and forsake us not in a time of adversity. More than Jerusalem, the chosen City, was made desolate, the joy of our heart is turned into grief, and our jollity is turned into bitterness.

But come, O Lord, and tarry not, and call back the exiles into thy city. O Lord, O Peace most holy, give us thy long-desired peace, and have mercy upon thy sighing, weeping people, O Lord our God.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ See William Byrd, *Latin Motets II (from manuscript sources)* ed. Warwick Edwards, The Byrd Edition, IX (London: Stainer & Bell, 2000). *Circumspice, Hierusalem, ad orientem, et vide iucunditatem, a Deo tibi venientem. Ecce enim veniunt filii tui, quos dimisisti dispersos; veniunt collecti, ab oriente usque ad occidentem, in verbo Sancti, gaudentes in honorem Dei.*

⁵⁶ Byrd, *Liber primus*, no. 21.

⁵⁷ Byrd, *Liber primus*, no. 9. *Vide, Domine, afflictionem nostram, et in tempore maligno ne derelinquas nos. Plusquam Hierusalem facta est deserta, Civitas electa, gaudium cordis nostri, conversum est in luctum, et jocunditas nostra in amaritudinem conversa est.*

The imagery in this motet, touching on exile, grief, adversity, and affliction, was personal. Although clearly inspired by Jerusalem imagery, this was not biblical or liturgical; the source is unknown and perhaps Byrd wrote this himself. Byrd would have felt as well as anyone the hardships of exile, both real (his son was a student at Valladolid) and imagined. Patxi Iribarren asserted in his study of migrant musicians that 'music provides...a powerful emotional link to an idea of home that often no longer exists, and can galvanise displaced communities into a collective feeling that underlines identity and belonging'.⁵⁸ Within the motets of William Byrd this collective feeling was certainly given outward expression. As English Catholics sang the songs of Jerusalem and considered their own plight in exile within a Protestant England, their minds and hearts would also have turned to their compatriots on the continent.

Locating England: Jerusalem Ballads

The way that music created an emotional link to an idealised and shared version of 'home' through the metaphor of Jerusalem was expressed beautifully in the work of William Byrd, and was also visible in the popular genre of the ballad. Ballads were verses sung to common tunes that were easily memorable, and gained monumental popularity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries largely due to the advent of cheap print: a standard 'broadside' cost around a halfpenny in 1570 and a penny by 1640.⁵⁹ The ballad phenomenon has largely been viewed as 'Protestant' and indeed, to copy ballads of a distinctly 'Catholic' persuasion was dangerous and their content political as much as devotional.⁶⁰ In 1594 the Catholic gentleman Thomas Hale was indicted before the Essex Assizes for possession of a ballad

Sed veni, Domine, et noli tardare, et revoca dispersos in civitatem tuam. Da nobis, Domine, pacem tuam diu desideratam, Pax sanctissima, et miserere populi tui gementis et flentis, Domine Deus noster.

⁵⁸ Patxi Xabier del Amo Iribarren, 'Anthony Poole (c.1629-1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 2011).

⁵⁹ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and popular piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 11-12.

⁶⁰ The problem with viewing ballads as 'Protestant' and the tension between denominations of 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' will be explored in more detail below in Chapter 5.

that he had copied 'eight years past'. Each of the 20 stanzas lamented the change of religion, as those singing the ballad wept for England:

Weepe, weepe and still I weepe
 For who can chuse but weepe
 To thyncke how England styll
 In synne and heresey doth sleepe.⁶¹

The ballad also commented on the state of the clergy and monastic orders:

The Sacramentes are taken awaye
 The holy order all
 Religious menn do begg astraye
 to ground their howses fall.

The audience and intended ballad singers were 'English' and the composer expressed dismay at how their Catholic country had fallen:

O England once that wert alofte
 In favour highe with God
 Nowe hast thou neede a Jonas
 Oft, to warne the of his rodd.

Reference to Jonas suggested that the balladeer believed that England would soon be 'spat out of the whale' and that all would be forgiven. A sense of national pride prevailed as the balladeer was particularly loyal to his country and praised England's past martial victories:

Thy victoryes, thy force in feilde
 Thy tryumphes in araye
 When crosse was badge when vertue sheild
 When godlye men did praye.

The ballad reminded the singers of the plight of English Catholic women both at home and in exile:

For vergins chaste are shutt in Jayles
 To seas go modest dames

⁶¹ Ballad is transcribed in full in F.G. Emmison ed. *Elizabethan Life: Disorder* (Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1970), 60.

And some are hoysed with the sayles
Of Venus fylthie games.

Despite F.G. Emmison's claims that the ballad was from more than 'eight years past' and composed around 1570 (a claim reiterated by Alison Shell) there is no reason to doubt the dating of c.1586.⁶² During the 1580s the only institution specifically for English women on the continent was the Bridgettine community in Rouen, and from 1580 their plight was gaining awareness. In 1580 a 'Supplication to all charitable and well disposed Catholics in behalf of the religious Virgins and Brethren of Syon...now residing in great distress in Rouen in Normandy' was circulating in England.⁶³ Moreover, between 1580 and 1594 at least eight women were professed and in 1585, news of professions had reached the authorities in England, as a spy report from Thomas Rogers to Francis Walsingham and the Elizabethan government revealed:

Charles Paget, in whose company I travelled from Paris to Rouen, where he is now, with Mr. Tresham and the Bishop of Ross, to see the profession of two Englishmen, and three women of the Order of Sion. I was invited, and intend to be there to hear their discourses.⁶⁴

Both professional composers and musicians such as William Byrd, and the writers of Catholic ballads looked to the continent to remind their audience of their fellow English Catholics abroad. Byrd's Jerusalem metaphors would certainly not have been lost on contemporary Catholics because they also utilised the same imagery: 'Jerusalem my happy home'

⁶² Shell, *Oral Culture*, 209 n.25. It is unclear which schools exactly Emmison was referring to when he asserted that there were schools for women established in Belgium between 1570 and 1578, which he utilised as indication for the earlier dating.

⁶³ A copy of the petition fell into the hands of the English government and is preserved at SP 12/146 f.214.

⁶⁴ SP 15/29/52. Lucy Johnson, Anne Markynfield, Anne Martin, Elizabeth Preston, Elizabeth Skelton, Anne Wharton and Anne and Barbara Wiseman all joined the community between 1580 and 1594. From the Who Were the Nuns? Database, accessed 3 March 2013. wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk.

was the most popular ballad-hymn of the early modern period and an early manuscript copy of the ballad is preserved in British Library Additional MS. 15225. This manuscript, which we shall return to in chapter five, is associated with Lancashire and penned under the pseudonymous initials 'I.B.P', which John Gillow argued stood for 'John Brerely Priest'.⁶⁵ The ballad was to be sung 'to the tune of *Diana*' and was twenty six stanzas long and asked:

Hierusalem, my happie home,
 when shall I come to thee
 When shall my sorrowes haue an end
 thy ioyes when shall I see

Questions such as this from the balladeer were exhortations to the listeners and performers to recover what had been lost. It was a poignant message for both the group singing along, and those listening. The ballad listed the various joys of the old Jerusalem, and the joys that would be returned with its restoration:

O happie harbour of the saintes
 O sweete and pleasant soyle
 In thee noe sorrow may be founde
 noe greefe, noe care, noe toyle.

As in the earlier ballad from Essex by Thomas Hale, this ballad also pleaded for the restoration of Catholicism in England, a goal shared by those in England and on the continent. In so doing the ballad explicitly referred to exile:

Wee that are heere in banishment
 continuallie doe mourne
 We sighe and sobbe, we weepe and weale
 perpetually we groane.

In the final verse there is an exhortation from the singers to return from exile back to Jerusalem:

Hierusalem, my happie home

⁶⁵ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff. 36v-37v.

would god I were in thee
 Would god my woes were at an end,
 thy ioyes that I might see

This hymn was adapted and transcribed in several commonplace books associated with Catholics, and it also gained popularity with English Protestants: the broadside version was re-entered into the Stationer's Register in 1624.⁶⁶ This 'Protestant' version omitted a verse from the BL. Add. MS. 15225 copy that referred to singing the Latin hymn of thanksgiving, *Te Deum* (which held particular relevance for Catholics, as will be explored in chapter seven) and yet it left in all the other references to the saints such as Augustine and Ambrose.⁶⁷

The importance of Jerusalem to beleaguered English Catholics, particularly those Catholics associated with BL Add. MS. 15225, was underlined by the presence of a second ballad within the manuscript on the same subject: 'Jerusalem, thy joys divine'.⁶⁸ This was a twenty-seven stanza description of the heavenly Jerusalem, coupled with the lamentation of its loss and it bore clear similarities to the first text:

Jerusalem, thy ioyes devine
 noe ioyes may be compar'd to them
 Noe people blessed soe as thine
 noe Cittie like hierusalem.
 She looketh vp vnto her state
 from whence she downe by sinne did slyde

⁶⁶ *A transcript of the registers of the company of stationers of London: 1554-1640 A.D.* ed. Edward Arber, 5 vols. (London, 1875-1877), (hereafter SR) Vol. 3, 93. A later broadsheet of this ballad survives in Bodleian Rawlinson MS 566 (167), accessed 1 November 2013. <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/1868>.

⁶⁷ See Appendix 3 for textual comparisons to be discussed in Chapter 5. The way that Jerusalem as a 'Catholic' way of imagining 'home' compared with and developed alongside a distinctively nationalist Protestant and anti-Catholic way of imagining Jerusalem as an 'English' place would be an interesting further study, one which I believe is being undertaken by Dr Lucy Underwood. See also the AHRC funded project 'Imagining Jerusalem, 1099 to the Present day', accessed 1 November 2013. <http://jerusalems.wordpress.com>.

⁶⁸ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.39-42v.

She mournes the more the good she lost
for present ill she doeth abyde.

The ballad also invoked the Saints on several occasions, where in Jerusalem:

The glorious saintes there dwellers bee
in number more then man can thinke
Soe manie in a companie
as loue in likelnesse doth thinke.

The second stanza also evoked imagery that would have struck a particular chord for those familiar with exile:

She longes, from roughe and dangerous seas,
to harbour in the hauen of blisse,
Where safelie ancoreth at her ease
and shore of sweete contentment is.
From bannishment she more and more
desyres to see her cuntry deare;
She sittes and sendes her sighes before;
her ioyes and treasures all be there.

There were also verses that would have held particularly poignancy for women, and reminded the performers of nuns in exile abroad:

Lyke frendes, all partners as in blis
with Christ their lord and maister deare
Lyke spouses, they the brydgroome kis
whoe feasteth them with heauenlie cheere.

Singing about Jerusalem helped counterbalance the present grief of Catholic exile with the future consolations of heavenly citizenship. The ballads exhorted Catholics to not give up:

Seeke thou, my soule, both day and night
this one, which euer shall remaine.

The presence of shared ideas about Jerusalem, which circulated in both popular manuscript miscellanies and printed music, sung by both the

illiterate and literate Catholic alike, demonstrate the way the metaphor galvanised those at home to pray for those in exile.

Singing ballads helped provide a sense of connection with those exiles abroad and this is further demonstrated by the ballad ‘the Blessed conscience’, preserved in a nineteenth-century Lancashire songbook.⁶⁹ This ballad was composed specifically to honour an English Catholic exile, Thomas Hoghton, who had fled England around 1570 and lived in France and the Low Countries until his death in 1580.⁷⁰ The balladeer explained Hoghton’s reasons for exile, voiced in the first person: ‘Like frightened bird, I left my nest / To keep my conscience’. At the same time, the balladeer highlighted Hoghton’s sense of loss for his home nation:

Thus merry England have I left
And cut the raging sea
Whereof the waves have me bereft
Of my so dear country.⁷¹

Such dual commitment was reflected in the few known details of Hoghton’s life in exile. Katy Gibbons asserted that Hoghton ‘did not display much concern for the parochial or monastic provision in the territories that played host to him’.⁷² This seems mistaken as Hoghton seemingly embraced his years in exile: he became close friends with Richard Verstegan, and was involved with the networks of Catholics that supported the ‘economy of

⁶⁹ *Ancient Ballads and Songs of Lancashire* ed. John Harland, 3rd edn. (Manchester: John Heywood, 1882), 32-43.

⁷⁰ See Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 280 n.12. Shell cited the *Oxford Book of Local Verse* to suggest that the author of the ballad was Roger Anderson – Hoghton’s butler. Joseph Gillow and A.O. Meyer posited that Richard Verstegan might be the author of the ballad.

⁷¹ Cited in Shell, *Oral Culture*, 129. Shell utilised the version of the ballad printed in the third edition of *Ancient Ballads and Songs of Lancashire* – first edition was printed 1865. The compiler asserted that the song was taken down by rote from a fiddler and as such the text is likely modified and the degree of alteration, Shell stressed, ‘must remain speculative’, *Oral Culture*, 128.

⁷² Katy Gibbons, “‘When he was in France he was a Papist and when he was in England...he was a Protestant’: Negotiating Religious Identities in the Later Sixteenth Century’ in *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England – Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils*, eds. Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 169-184 (at 182).

song' at the institutions on the continent by donating funds to the scholars at Douai.⁷³ Simultaneously, like the majority of his fellow exiles, Hoghton retained a sense of optimism for the restoration of Catholicism in England, and displayed concern for musical provision in his old local church: in his will he left a bequest of '£100 to pay for two organs, a 'fayr trable' and books of music for the church in Preston'.⁷⁴ However, with England's conversion far from imminent, Thomas's friend William Allen diverted the funds to poor scholars at the English College then at Rheims.

Hoghton's commitment both to Catholicism and to England was shared by many, which included the balladeer who exhorted the listeners and performers to consider Hoghton an exemplar:

All you who now this song shall hear,
 Help me for to bewail
 The wight, who scarcely had his peer,
 Till death did him assail.
 His life a mirror was to all,
 His death without offence;
 'Confessor', then, let us him call,
 O blessed conscience!

Hoghton was a confessor and assigned a heavenly status, imitable and perhaps even venerated. This ballad demonstrates the attitude toward the self-sacrifice involved in exiling oneself for conscience, an attitude advertised in song.

Singing for England

Singing ballads and music about exile helped English Catholics come to terms with their own exile or the exile of others, and through the performances of these songs Catholic voices were given a popular platform.

⁷³ *Miscellanea III* ed. Joseph Gillow, Catholic Record Society Record Series, 3 (1906), 2.

⁷⁴ Cited in Gibbons, 'When he was in France he was a Papist', 182.

Music itself, in its many and various forms, provided a powerful form of expression for exiles. Music from the exiled institutions promoted unity, particularly visible during times of political conflict. The politicisation of the everyday rhythm of the communities also highlighted how 'singing for England' might divide during times of political upheaval. As the chaos from the choir of Brussels revealed, poor performances had disastrous consequences. The nuns and seminarians also had to defend their reputations from outside political attack. The ideological and political implications of exiles and their 'place' took on new forms of expression during the period, as revealed by the music composed by William Byrd, and in ballads sharing the same themes. With musical performances by exiles, about exile, and for exiles, English Catholics were united through a shared understanding of their religious plight. In the next theme of this thesis, the following two chapters will explore how this ingenuity was manifested through the sounds of singing in communities in England. Here forms of musical expression and sociability were no less crucial for fostering Catholic identity.

4 | Neighbours: Being Catholic at the boundaries

What it sounded like to be a Catholic living in England depended very much on where you lived and who your neighbours were. Musical practice and provision varied from family to family and the wealthiest families, as David Price has shown, demonstrated an increasing interest in the pastime throughout this period.¹ The musical lives of wealthy Catholics, such as the Paston, Petre, Kytson and Cornwallis households among others, were as vibrant as elite Protestants. This is revealed in inventories of instruments, bequests in wills, payrolls indicating the employment of musicians and private music tutors, and patronage of both manuscript and printed publications.² Music was at the heart of courtly life, characterised in literature such as Baldassare Castiglione's European best-seller *The Courtier* (1528), translated into English in 1561 by Sir Thomas Hoby.³ Castiglione's attitude was typical of the age and the perfect gentleman should be:

a musicien, and beside his vnderstanding and couing vpon the booke [being able to read music], have skill in lyke maner on sundry instruments. For yf we waie it well, there is no ease of labours and medicines of feeble minds to be founde more honeste and more praise worthye in tyme of leyser then it.⁴

¹ David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), esp. 67-152.

² See appendices to Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 210-225 and Walter Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society, from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953). Also see studies of some influential Elizabethan Protestant and Catholic families in Katherine Butler, 'Image and Influence: The political uses of music at the court of Elizabeth I' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012) and also Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England'.

³ Sir Thomas Hoby was a courtier and translator, resident at Bisham Abbye in Berkshire. He was married to Elizabeth Cooke and had four children, two daughters died young and two sons, Sir Edward Hoby and Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby. The latter was born after his father's death and features later in this chapter.

⁴ Baldassare Castiglione, *The courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio diuided into four bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place, done into English by Thomas Hoby* (London, 1561), [sig. Jii].

Musical literacy was growing rapidly during this period and, supported by the emergence of the middling sort, ownership of highly esteemed instruments was increasingly not limited to the homes of the gentry and aristocracy. As Christopher Marsh highlighted, wealthy yeomen, innkeepers, merchants and joiners might own lutes, virginals and viols.⁵ Nevertheless the majority of the early modern English populace could not read music and most of what was played and heard was performed from memory rather than from the noted music known as 'prick-song'. Indeed, as Marsh has shown, it was even possible for 'professional' musicians (city waits, travelling bands, street fiddlers, and ballad-criers) to make a living without being musically literate.⁶ For the lower classes evidence is scarce, and it is exceptionally unlikely that many owned instruments or were able to read music. Yet, the people sang:

So that many times the boisterous labourers in the fieldes in the heate of the sunne beguyle theyr paine with rude and cartarlyke singing. With this the vnmanerly countreywoman that aryseth before daye oute of her slepe to spinne and carde, defendeth herself and maketh her labour pleasant. This is the most swete pastime after reigne, wind, and tempest vnto the miserable mariners. With this do the wery pilgromes comfort themselves in their troublesome and long viages. And often tymes prisoners in aduersitie, in fetters, and in stockes.⁷

Early modern society was filled with people singing and Castiglione's translator evoked a vivid image of the 'rude and catarlyke' singing and music-making of the poorer sort: catarrh-like; literally a rude, guttural sound, which was far removed from the melodious harmonies of the elite. Importantly, this was no less musical.

⁵ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 182.

⁶ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 71-172.

⁷ Castiglione, *The courtyer*, sig. Jiii.

This chapter will ask what role the rude noise of the lower classes and the emerging melodies of the middling sort played in the lives of the English Catholics that made and heard them. In so doing, this chapter and the next seeks, as Ethan Shagan and his contributors sought in 2005, to re-contextualise 'Catholic experience within the larger narrative of English history', in order to add 'much-needed clarity to scholarly debates over the definition and boundaries of Catholicism'.⁸ This chapter asks how everyday musical experiences defined and differentiated confessional boundaries by focusing on communities of Catholic men and women living in Yorkshire. First, a popular troupe of players, the majority from the small market town of Egton five miles west of Whitby in the North Riding known locally as 'the Simpsons' and second, Richard Shanne and his community in the hamlet of Methley in the West Riding. Studies of individual Catholics or families during this period are rare and, as Judith Pollmann has highlighted, such 'case studies have tended to focus almost exclusively on the experiences of those who were deemed deviant or troublesome'.⁹ This is due to the nature of available source materials predominantly used by historians of Catholicism such as recusancy rolls, visitation records and state papers. This will certainly form part of what follows but by adopting an alternative methodological approach through the study of music, will shed new light on what it meant to be a Catholic.

The Simpsons Players: escaping the margins

The Simpsons were a popular troupe of around fifteen male players, led by the recusant Catholic shoemakers Robert and Christopher Simpson, who travelled around Jacobean Yorkshire. Yorkshire is well-known to scholars as a populous area for Catholics and the upland north-east has been

⁸ Ethan Shagan ed. *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation": religious politics and identity in early modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 15.

⁹ Judith Pollmann, 'Being a Catholic in Early Modern Europe' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, eds. Bamji, Janssen and Laven, 165-182 (at 167).

characterised as one of the 'dark corners of the land'.¹⁰ Despite acknowledging the receptiveness of these northern communities to missionary priests from the continent, Yorkshire Catholics, and English Catholics more generally, have been dismissed as reactive, characterised as a 'sect', clustered in 'enclaves' and without political or cultural influence.¹¹ Whilst the political influence of English Catholics has largely been reinstated by the work of Michael Questier, Catholic cultural achievements remain overlooked.¹² Hugh Aveling went so far as to dismiss entirely so-called Catholic 'apologists' that 'have always done their best to prove that recusants provided most of the glory of the Elizabethan age', citing the example of William Byrd.¹³ Aveling concluded this was 'special pleading' because 'Catholic numbers were actually small' and incorporated Byrd's contribution into the dominant Protestantising historiography. Aveling alleged he was a 'conformist and most of his religious compositions were for the Anglican liturgy'.¹⁴ Whilst thankfully much recent scholarship has revealed William Byrd's important contribution to the devotional lives of English Catholics, Aveling's conclusion that 'on the whole, the creative achievements of...English Catholics are much what we should expect of a small nonconformist community of people originally bred in the mainstream of a developing and vigorous national society' has seemed hard to shake.¹⁵

Despite the historical commonplace of the 'death of merry England' discussed by Ronald Hutton and Patrick Collinson and the assertion that touring flourished in the Tudor period and declined in the Stuart, the reality

¹⁰ Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 94.

¹¹ Questier, *Catholicism and Community* reacted specifically against such characterisations of the Catholic nobility, such as H.S. Reinmuth, 'Lord William Howard (1563-1640) and his Catholic Associations', *Recusant History* 12 (1973-4): 226-34. The political influence of the lower orders remains to be as widely acknowledged and the cultural influence of the nobility and lower orders thus far neglected in terms of musical accomplishment.

¹² Questier, *Catholicism and Community*.

¹³ J.C.H Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London: Blond and Briggs, 1976), 72.

¹⁴ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, 72-73.

¹⁵ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, 73.

was much more complex.¹⁶ As recent scholarship has shown, there was no straightforward rise and fall in the number of travelling players nor an uncomplicated growth in hostility.¹⁷ The fate of the Simpsons provides another case in point, particularly the performances during their 1609 Christmas tour, which included the predominantly recusant household of Sir John Yorke in Gouthwaite, Nidderdale, on Candlemas, 2 February.¹⁸ It was this occasion that has ensured posterity for the Simpsons as the details were preserved in the 1611 arraignment at the Star Chamber of their host and the depositions of some of the players.¹⁹ Scholars have been interested in this event for two reasons in particular: firstly the performance of a seditious 'interlude' (which we will return to shortly) and secondly for the repertoire they offered their host: *St Christopher*, *the Three Shirleys*, *Pericles* and *King Lere*. *St Christopher* has remained unknown to scholars, but the others identified as the collaborative *Travels of the Three English Brothers*, on this occasion dubbed *The Three Shirleys* (1607), Shakespeare's (co-written with George Wilkins) *Pericles* (1609) and his *King Lere* (1608).²⁰

Characterising Yorkshire Catholic households during this period, Hugh Aveling divided religious behaviour into five categories: folkloric, illiterate, barely-literate, meditative and contemplative.²¹ Egton's Catholics

¹⁶ Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Patrick Collinson, 'The Sherman's Tree and the Preacher: the Strange Death of Merry England in Shrewsbury and Beyond' in *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*, eds. Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 205-220. Cf. Patrick Collinson, 'Merry England on the Ropes: The Contested Culture of the Early Modern English Town' in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 131-147.

¹⁷ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 71-106. See also for example Siobhan Keenan, 'Patronage, Puritanism and Playing: Travelling Players in Elizabethan and Stuart Maldon, Essex', *Theatre Notebook*, 58 (2004): 48-70.

¹⁸ At this moment in time Sir John Yorke was still attending the services of the established church, although his wife and servants were recusants.

¹⁹ See esp. deposition of Thomas Pant, STAC 8 19/10 ff.5-6.

²⁰ Siobhan Keenan, 'The Simpsons Players of Jacobean Yorkshire and the Professional Stage', *Theatre Notebook*, 67 (2013): 16-35 (at 22-23). Keenan suggests that *King Lere* could also plausibly be the anonymous *True Chronicle History of King Leir* (1605).

²¹ J.C.H. Aveling, 'Catholic Households in Yorkshire, 1580-1603', *Northern History*, 16 (1980): 85-101.

were categorised as 'folkloric', ritualistic and illiterate. In his brief gloss of the players he exclaimed that – with the exception of one of their members, Nicholas Postgate who later entered Douai as a priest – the players were 'hardly educated men'.²² However as the repertoire of the players indicated, this analysis is too simplistic and it is clear that the performances demanded an advanced level of literacy of at least some of the members, alongside considerable skill and performance ability with regard to stage direction, lighting and sound. Music and sound-effects were central to the Simpsons' performances, and they included musicians among their number as well as actors, typical of professional touring troupes.²³ Indeed the level of musical skill acquired by the troupe provides an interesting snapshot into the abilities of the lower orders during this period: one leader's son, also Christopher (1604-1669), went on to become 'the most important', musician, theorist, composer and viol-player of the later seventeenth century.²⁴ Simpson junior presumably had a musical upbringing and learned to master the viol while living with his mother Dorothy in Egton. Junior would no doubt have joined his father for his tours until sometime after 1616 when they disbanded.²⁵

Simpson junior may well have formed part of what was known as the 'noise', the apprentices and young boys that took the female and children's parts and moreover, provided the musical accompaniment. As well as viols, drums and trumpets formed the majority of the musical repertoire, which

²² J.C.H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558-1790* (London: Chapman, 1966), 290.

²³ Siobhan Keenan, *Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 17.

²⁴ For brief introduction to Simpson and extensive footnotes for further information see Christopher D. S. Field, 'Simpson, Christopher' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 28 November 2013.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/2584>.

²⁵ The last evidence of Simpsons players come in the Quarter Sessions for Helmsley when they were indicted under the vagrancy laws for the final time as 'common players of interludes' see G.W. Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the early seventeenth century', *North Yorkshire Record Office Publications*, Offprint from 7:3 (1976): 95-130 (at 104).

were also sounded to advertise the troupe's arrival into the various villages, hamlets, and gentry estates. Such sounds travelled widely and would have generated excitement and irritation in equal measure, depending on who was listening.²⁶ Such skills, as theatre scholar Siobhan Keenan argued, highlighted how the troupe were 'a group of men keen to escape the margins in theatrical terms' and she stressed how 'to find an acting company in the north of England staging plays only recently published and derived from the London theatre world is noteworthy'.²⁷ Moreover, she concluded, the repertoire of the Simpsons Players raises 'some fascinating questions about the circulation of knowledge about plays and play texts outside of early modern London'.²⁸

The troupe also sparked the interest of the historian G.W. Boddy, who revealed that the majority of the players were recusants or non-communicating church-papists.²⁹ Boddy also noted which of their hosts on their tours were Catholic or suspected of Catholic sympathies, and literary scholar Phebe Jensen's subsequent analysis stressed how the Simpsons repertoire held 'obvious or arguable appeals to a Catholic audience'.³⁰ *The Three Shirleys* included a visit to the Pope and stressed the importance of dying for the faith. *Pericles* has been interpreted as a saint's play, and in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, all the 'good characters' are 'suffering from exile, banishment, disinheritance and persecution'.³¹ The Catholics in the troupe were certainly engaged with broader contemporary theatrical culture, not stuck in remote catholic 'enclaves' and certainly not isolated from the latest trends. Moreover, as well as challenging the theatrical margins, the players

²⁶ For the case for and against travelling players and musicians see Marsh, *Music and Society*, 71-106.

²⁷ Keenan, 'The Simpsons Players', 18, 23.

²⁸ Keenan, 'The Simpsons Players', 30.

²⁹ Boddy, 'Players of Interludes', 95-130.

³⁰ Phebe Jensen, 'Recusancy, festivity and community: the Simpsons at Gowlthwaite Hall' in *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, eds. Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 101-120 (at 116).

³¹ Keenan, 'The Simpsons Players', 24.

also challenge the current general historiographical understanding of confessional margins, for it is important to note that not all of the players were recusants or indicted for refusing communion at Easter, and neither were all of their hosts.

The interlude: mediating the boundaries

The Simpsons' players advertisement in Gouthwaite on Candlemas in 1609 was effective, for the performance that evening at the house of Sir John Yorke attracted over 'fowerscore or a hundreth persons'. Some spectators were turned away, and one woman was said to have been injured in the press of people wishing to attend.³² Sir John Yorke had chosen *St Christopher* for the players to perform and on this occasion, in the midst of the morality play, the players inserted an interlude: a short, musical, noisy and humorous addition to the printed text. The interlude was deemed seditious by one shocked eye-witness who reported the incident to the local authorities. Warrants were subsequently and repeatedly issued for the arrests of the players and the resulting lengthy, drawn out legal battles in the Star Chamber among the various offending parties over the next few years have provided a comprehensive picture of the performance, and the details of the offensive adaptation to the *St Christopher* play.³³

The star of *St Christopher* was a wild man named Raphabus who in pursuit of power dedicated himself to the service of the devil, Lucifer. Whilst serving Lucifer, Raphabus met a hermit in the woods and he attempted to make Raphabus see the error of his ways by obstructing their path with a large golden cross. In his fear of the cross, Lucifer asked Raphabus to go first, which resulted in Raphabus' realisation that his all-powerful master was not quite as all-powerful as he had thought. Raphabus consequently abandoned the devil in favour of the Cross and Christ crucified. The hermit gave

³² STAC 8 19/10.

³³ See n.19 and n.32 above and deposition of William Symonds, STAC 18 19/10 f.1.

Raphabus a penance to cleanse him and subsequently converted him to Christianity. Finally, an angel appeared and renamed him Christopher – meaning ‘bearer of Christ’.³⁴

Whilst literary scholars have explored the potentially offensive details of this scene for the most Puritanical of Protestants (in particular the golden cross) the details of this official play were not at issue in the Star Chamber and are in fact presented as relatively harmless.³⁵ The depositions of various witnesses from the audience at Gouthwaite Hall highlight that what was at issue was the insertion of an additional character, an English minister, to the scene: apparently lost in the woods, the minister stumbled upon Raphabus and the hermit worshipping Christ on the Cross. Offended by this the minister embarked upon a noisy disputation with the hermit. The hermit by this point had revealed himself to be a Catholic priest, and the priest and minister argued over whether the cross should be worshipped and ultimately whether the established Church of England, or the doctrine of the Church of Rome were superior. After disputing for a while, which involved mocking the English minister with ‘words and other foolish and ridiculous gestures’, the priest triumphed.³⁶ The particular moment of triumph came after the minister asserted it was by his book (the bible he carried) that he had authority, which prompted his immediate strike down with lightning and thundering. ‘And with great noyse’ the devil ‘compassed the minister about’ and carried him off the stage to hell, whilst the priest was taken by the hand by an Angel to heaven.³⁷

The performance was well received by Sir John Yorke and his family, and the witnesses ‘greatly laughed and rejoiced’, applauding

³⁴ STAC 18 19/10, ff.5-6.

³⁵ See for example Paul Whitfield White, *Drama and Religion in English Provincial Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 153

³⁶ STAC 18 19/10, f.1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

enthusiastically.³⁸ The addition to the *St Christopher* play was enhanced most dramatically with the noise of thundering (provided by the rumbling of the drums) which ensured that this part of the play was more memorable, and the story of the interlude spread throughout the area: '[T]he people went after making a meryment and a sporte at it'. *St Christopher* was requested several times afterwards, and was performed in a variety of different households.³⁹ Their subsequent performances were not all the same however, for although the players had defined themselves on the occasion at Gouthwaite as 'Catholic', or at least those that were comfortable with a Catholic priest attacking ministers of the established Church, on later occasions a witness noted that:

When they plaide...at any protestant house they...would leave out all that part of the said Acte which concerned the counterfeiting of the said disputation [between the] popishe priest and English minister, and would and could neverthelesse when the owners of the house were popishelie affected, play and acte the same.⁴⁰

Depending on the religious persuasion of the household, the players would improvise on the text of the plays in order to suit their audience. There was a 'Catholic' version with the noisy, musical interlude, and a 'Protestant' version without it.

Although there were warrants for their arrests, the players continued to tour and were sheltered by various houses of gentry and yeomen. On their way back to Egton, the Simpsons performed the Catholic version of *St Christopher* at the house of Sir Thomas Danby of Masham. Here witnesses recorded the same performance with 'the yellow cross and the bible, devils and flashes of fire' and how when the English minister was carried off by the

³⁸ Cited in Boddy, 'Players of Interludes', 105.

³⁹ See Keenan, 'The Simpsons Players', 28.

⁴⁰ STAC 8/34/4.

devil 'all the people greatlie laughed'.⁴¹ Another stop on the tour was the house of Sir Richard Cholmley who was later accused of patronising the players by Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby, a charge he vehemently denied:

in despite of the sayd Sir Thomas his warrante...did not only suffer but...did give leave and lycence unto the sayd players to play divers stage playes...Conteyninge in them much poperie.⁴²

The players avoided arrest and the Simpsons maintained popularity within the region, regardless of their confession: Protestants, Catholics, recusants and non-recusants alike.

Scholars such as Hugh Aveling and G.W. Boddy remained baffled by this and concluded that perhaps the Simpsons and their community were 'unique'.⁴³ Whilst recently Bill Sheils extended their analyses to ask 'in what did this uniqueness consist?' the Egton community were still presented as an anomaly.⁴⁴ However, the way skills such as music and drama might transcend social boundaries was recently argued by Christopher Marsh. Marsh highlighted that musicians in society seemed to have a somewhat 'paradoxical' position and cited the example of military musicians who were often 'singled out for clemency following capture by enemy forces overseas'.⁴⁵ Marsh argued that musicians 'enjoyed a special kind of status' and mediated between "'high" and "low" society more extensively and continuously than any other kind of group'.⁴⁶ Whilst demonstrating how music could transcend the social divide, Marsh's rousing suggestion might also be extended to religion as evidenced in the ability of the Simpsons to adapt themselves to their audience.

⁴¹ Cited in Boddy, 'Players of Interludes', 107-8.

⁴² STAC 8 12/11, f.2.

⁴³ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, 348; Boddy, 'Players of Interludes', 110-111.

⁴⁴ W.J. Sheils, 'Catholics and their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry 1590-1780', *Northern History*, 34-5 (1998-9): 109-133 (at 112).

⁴⁵ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 162.

⁴⁶ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 161-162.

Music: defining the boundaries

Suggesting how music and theatrical performance might mediate between Protestants and Catholics, should not lead to the suggestion that the confessional boundaries were somehow blurred or became unimportant. The interlude was an explicitly confessional expression of dissatisfaction with the status quo, and this was expressed in the testimonies of the audience. It had the power to confessionalise, as some who had seen the interlude emphasised to those that had not:

[I]f they had seen the play as it was plaid at Gowthwaite, they would never care for the newe law or for goinge to churche more.⁴⁷

The interlude highlighted the creativity of the recusant leaders of the Simpsons, as the troupe was making an explicit political statement through its performance. This certainly supports Ethan Shagan's argument that 'Catholics were just as adept as their Protestant neighbours at the "performance" of political action in public settings'.⁴⁸ Such assertions from the lower orders is relatively unheard of, as scholars such as Michael Questier have mainly revealed how elite Protestants and Catholics joined each other's debates and imitated each other's political genres, such as 'evil counsel' discourse.⁴⁹ Accordingly, the political agency of the lower orders of the Catholic laity demands further attention from scholars; this musical interlude reveals how those lower down the social hierarchy were also not so politically inert and fully capable of creative forms of subversion.

The behaviour of the Simpsons Players also supports the broader assertions of Counter-Reformation scholars who have shown that 'resistance and opposition were more than John Bossy's "obstacles" to reform; they were a source of creativity that contributed to the reshaping of Catholicism

⁴⁷ Cited in Boddy, 'Players of Interludes', 106.

⁴⁸ Shagan ed. *Catholics and the Protestant Nation*, 16

⁴⁹ Michael Questier, 'Elizabeth and the Catholics' in *Catholics and the Protestant Nation*, ed. Shagan, 69-94.

during the period'.⁵⁰ A noisy interlude was the perfect way to creatively fashion such a response: Jonathan Willis has demonstrated how music was one of the ways in which the (re-)imagining of Protestant religious communities could be accomplished after the Reformation. For music, and indeed any noise, was a form of social energy with the ability to 'appropriate, reconfigure or transgress boundaries'. As Willis also identified, music strengthened communities, but it could also strengthen minorities at the expense of the wider community.⁵¹ The ability of music to define Catholic confessional boundaries was revealed in earlier elements of a feud between two of the leading local gentry: Sir Richard Cholmley (1580-1631), accused of patronising the players, and Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby (1566-1640), younger son of the translator of *The Courtier*. Hoby was also the gentleman responsible for showering the area with warrants, threatening the players with arrests, continually complaining that other Justices were protecting them, and protesting his outrage that such reprobates had free run of the country with their 'popishe playes'.⁵² The altercation between the two men had an earlier, musically-charged history: in 1603 a complaint was brought to the Court of Star Chamber against Cholmley.⁵³ Three years previously in August 1600, Cholmley and his neighbours (including the Catholic recusant William Eure) had been invited to the Hobys for supper after a hunting party. However, when Sir Thomas and his wife were saying prayers and singing psalms, Cholmley and some of his fellow guests used the opportunity to differentiate themselves confessionally through music by mocking their psalm-singing with 'ribald laughter and singing strange tunes which he was sure were not psalms' and according to Lady Hoby's diary,

⁵⁰ Mary Laven, 'Introduction' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, eds. Bamji, Janssen and Laven, 1-14 (at 6).

⁵¹ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 210-11.

⁵² Cited in Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, 290.

⁵³ Cited in Boddy, 'Players of Interludes', 98.

Cholmley and Eure were later fined £100 each 'for ther riott comitted and unsivill behaviour'.⁵⁴

This joke caused a permanent rift between the pair and from this point, in Cholmley's own words Hoby was 'a troublesome, vexatious neighbour'.⁵⁵ As the incident at the Hobys reveals, where for some, as Jonathan Willis highlighted, 'singing the Psalms was literally a profession of faith, as well as an aural symbol of the triumph of Protestantism...' to Cholmley's ears this was nothing less than an act of acoustic desecration.⁵⁶ Such aural defiance and musical resistance by Catholics is visible in other areas, as will be revealed later in this thesis, particularly in Lancashire, where at Winwick one man attempted to drown out the vernacular psalmody 'by singing Latin psalms at the top of his voice'.⁵⁷ Similar accusations were levelled at the Simpsons' Gouthwaite host as 'divers of the said Sir John Yorkes servants and tenants wolde sometymes on the Sabaoth day have a piper with theme, nere to the church yarde. And there with their piping and revelling wolde make such a noyse in time of praier, as the mynyster colde not well be harde'.⁵⁸

High levels of musical skill and acting ability might mediate between Catholics and Protestants in the interest of a good performance, and it is clear that the minority of Catholics living among the Protestant majority could, and did, engage explicitly with broader contemporary musical culture. The Simpsons were happy to change their religious behaviour depending on the confessional situation, and yet these performances were also a significant way to voice opposition. Music had the ability to define the

⁵⁴ *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605*, ed. Dorothy M. Meads (London: Routledge, 1930), 197.

⁵⁵ Cited in Boddy, 'Players of Interludes', 97.

⁵⁶ Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 277.

⁵⁷ Cited in Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 219.

⁵⁸ Cited in Christopher Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale, 1565-1634* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1939), 18.

boundaries between the performers and the audience, as the seditious interlude resulted in those that heard it being forced to record a confessional response. This was a political expression from a group of Catholics who have previously been viewed as inert. The performance defined the boundaries between what was deemed acceptable, and what was not, and as a result, Catholics and Protestants heard things differently. This difference could be explicit and intentional, through the composition of a 'Catholic' interlude, or more subtle and implicit, through the interpretation of certain sounds as 'unsivill', 'strange' and as 'noyse'.

Richard Shanne: Defying the boundaries

For the historian to be able to identify the differences in Catholic and Protestant reactions to sounds and perhaps as a result, of differences in musical taste, it seems necessary to identify the particular religious persuasion of the individuals under the historical microscope. In this regard, scholarship on post-Reformation Catholicism is rich; much has rested on the historians' ability to count and identify those individuals judged 'Catholic'. Such judgments have predominantly been based on an individual's refusal to attend their parish church, i.e. their recusancy. In 1975 John Bossy's study was focussed on 'recusant' Catholics, and he argued that the experience of being Catholic should be understood as one of isolation and separation from the broader communities in which they lived. In many ways the concept of separation is valid when asking how Catholics might differ from their Protestant peers. However recent scholarship, as epitomised in Adam Morton and Nadine Lewycky's 2012 volume on cross-confessional relationships in post-Reformation England, has questioned such an approach and the evidence from the Simpsons certainly underlines how Catholics were certainly not as cut-off as previously imagined.

Such scholarship has moved beyond the idea of Catholic separation by presenting a more inclusive picture of the English Catholic community,

where ‘conformists’ and ‘church papists’ should be viewed not as cowards in fear of the repercussions but as individuals making a calculated devotional choice.⁵⁹ These choices varied depending on time and place and therefore an individual might be a church papist or a recusant at a variety of stages throughout their life.⁶⁰ Importantly for the historian investigating lived experience of religious belief, this does not make them any less Catholic and especially when viewed among their Protestant peers. In *Getting Along*, Alexandra Walsham’s essay asked how the Reformation had affected communal bonds of neighbourliness and concluded:

[T]he gradual advance and eventual institutionalisation of religious pluralism in English society was accompanied by a mental as well as physical demarcation of the boundaries between religion and other dimensions of religious experience. This gave impetus to the process by which distinctive and self-conscious confessional identities were forged, even as it helped to engender forms of fellowship and sociability that transcended those divisions.⁶¹

Walsham highlighted the example of the gentry and the peers, such as the Petres of Essex, who continued to maintain ‘time-honoured traditions of generous hospitality and charity’ with their Protestant and Catholic neighbours alike.⁶² Extending the example raised by the sociability of the Simpsons players, this chapter will highlight how the process of forging self-conscious confessional identities could be manifested through music. This is revealed in the commonplace book of the landowning yeoman Richard Shanne (1561-1627), which reveals a vivid snapshot into the devotional lives

⁵⁹ Cf. Michael Mullett’s study of Catholic ‘recusants’ in *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558-1829* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998) and in 2007 Christopher Haigh delineated all Catholic experience under the umbrella term of the ‘papist’ in *The Plain Man’s Pathway to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England, 1570-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁶⁰ See Gibbons, ‘When he was in France he was a Papist’, 169-184 and Michael Questier, *Conversion, politics and religion in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁶¹ Alexandra Walsham, ‘Supping with Satan’s Disciples: Spiritual and Secular Sociability in Post-Reformation England’ in *Getting Along*, eds. Lewycky and Morton, 29-56 (at 55).

⁶² Walsham, ‘Supping with Satan’s Disciples’, 50.

of a family that apparently defy many of the boundaries that confessional labels such as 'recusant' or 'church-papist' imply.⁶³

Instead this chapter argues that labels frequently and uncritically projected onto historic individuals are ultimately unhelpful. For example, characterising the church throughout Elizabeth I's reign Christopher Haigh argued that the opponents of Puritans, those who defended traditional ceremonies such as church ales and rush-bearings, should not be called 'the ungodly'. Instead, Haigh suggested, such individuals might be spoken of as 'parish anglicans', "'anglicans'", because of their stress on the Prayer Book... and "parish" because of their emphasis on the harmony and vitality of the village unit, at play and at worship'.⁶⁴ These 'parish anglicans' 'had not been moved by the evangelistic fervour of the Protestant Reformation – indeed...they were not Protestants at all. But...they were no longer Catholics.' Haigh argued that although 'theirs was a residual religion, and they were the spiritual leftovers of Elizabethan England, they should not be dismissed as 'mere conformists', for in their defence of ceremonies and festivities they formed a factor to be reckoned with'.⁶⁵

Despite the problematic nature of such a label, at first it might seem that such a description would suit Richard Shanne, who compiled his commonplace book (hereafter the Shanne MS) between c.1585-c.1624 and recorded an idyllic picture both of family life. He noted the first words of his son Thomas in 1590 ('abba') alongside the traditional festivities of Methley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which included a performance in a barn during 'whit-sonne weeke', Monday 20 – Thursday 23 May 1614, of a 'verie

⁶³ BL. Add. MS. 38599 (hereafter Shanne MS). This MS is made up of 154 leaves, about 16cm by 22cm in size and would have been easily carried around and passed between its users among the family.

⁶⁴ Christopher Haigh, 'The Church of England, Catholics and the People' in *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. Haigh (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984), 195-220 (at 218-9).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

fyne Historie or Stage Plaie called “Cannimore and Lionley””.⁶⁶ Methley was dominated by its parish church and the core of the settlement was at Mickeltown to the north-east, where Shanne lived and to the north-west was the moated manor that housed the leading gentry family, the Saviles. Shanne also referred to frequent rush-bearings in the parish, one particularly impressing Shanne for the inclusion of (what to the historian remain mysterious), a ‘great company of verie fayre Pitopps as we call them, most richlie bewtefied with Slaves and other silkes’.⁶⁷ Yet, rather than a ‘parish Anglican’, Shanne has been referred to repeatedly by scholars such as Alexandra Walsham as a ‘confirmed recusant’ and as Roman Catholic.⁶⁸ Such conclusions have been drawn from the four words at the end of Thomas Shanne’s short entry in the Shanne MS, which recorded the death of his father of a ‘consuming consumption’, followed by the statement that ‘he dyed a Roman Catholike’.⁶⁹ Richard Shanne was labelled by his son, has been labelled by the few historians that have noticed him, and yet he lived a life that seemingly defies such confessional stereotypes.

This chapter suggests instead that we must listen to the voice of Richard Shanne himself and the record of his own religious experience. For when the contents of the manuscript are analysed, alongside the wider records of the parish, there is no tangible evidence to suggest that Richard Shanne was a recusant or perhaps even a Catholic at all. As literary critic Deborah Shugar has recently argued, too much ink has been spilt on ‘outing Elizabethan authors from their prayer closets’.⁷⁰ Shuger investigated the devotional behaviour of Sir John Harington (1560-1612) and some of her

⁶⁶ The text for this play is not extant and but its occasion has drawn the attention of literary critics keen to characterise the nature of English parish drama during this period.

⁶⁷ Angela McShane in private communication suggested that these might be ‘pit tops’ – well-coverings, although their relevance still remains uncertain.

⁶⁸ Walsham, ‘Supping with Satan’s Disciples’, 51. Also see Phebe Jensen, “‘Honest mirth & merriment’’: Christmas and Catholicism in Early Modern England’ in *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism*, 213-244.

⁶⁹ BL. Add. MS. 38599, f.88.

⁷⁰ Deborah Shugar, ‘A Protesting Catholic Puritan in Elizabethan England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009): 587-630 (at 587).

argument rested on the fact that the very absence of any singular confessional marker must have significance. As a result, much of the current religious historiography of the period is distorted, and as Peter Marshall has also recently stressed, it is 'important to remember that there can have been no such thing as a single, coherent, "non-puritan identity" in Elizabethan and early Stuart England'.⁷¹ The same must be said of 'Catholic' identity and in the following case-study this approach will be extended to Richard Shanne.

For the majority of his life Richard Shanne did not merely conform to the Church of England (and thus the labels 'conformist' or 'church-papist' are unhelpful) but was fervently committed to his parish of St Oswald's. From the Shanne MS a detailed picture of his personal involvement emerges; he provided an extensive account of the seating arrangements of his friends, family and neighbours and kept a meticulous record of his family's baptisms, marriages and burials at the parish.⁷² If we believe his son Thomas, and that Richard Shanne died a 'Roman Catholike', there is not a great deal of evidence to suggest this for most of his life. From investigation into the rest of his family it seems that his father, William (d.1592) had been the 'clarke at Methley'.⁷³ The parish clerk's duty 'was to assist the minister and make responses in reading prayers, baptising, marrying, burying and other divine offices, setting the psalms etc. Though his office be but a lay-office'.⁷⁴ William Shanne was literate and maintained the parish register of baptisms, marriages and burials, and he was musical as his responsibilities also included leading the music and singing of the congregation. The same can be

⁷¹ Marshall, 'The Naming of Protestant England', 121. See also David L. Smith, 'Catholic, Anglican or Puritan? Edward Sackville, Fourth Earl of Dorset, and the Ambiguities of Religion in Early Stuart England' in *Religion, Literature and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688*, eds. Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 115-137.

⁷² BL. Add. MS. 38599, ff.22-34v; ff. 87-88v.

⁷³ *The Registers of the parish church of Methley in the county of York, from 1560-1812*, ed. George Denison Lumb (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1903), 65.

⁷⁴ Joseph Shaw, *Parish Law* (London, 1733), 43. Cited in John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714* (Pearson: Harlow, 2006), 258.

said for his son, for after his father's death, and certainly by 1616, Richard Shanne also became the parish clerk: in the marriage record of Richard's son Thomas to Prothesia Hollings, the parish register referred to 'Thomas Shan' as son of 'Richard Shan, *clarke*'.⁷⁵

Richard Shanne was an enthusiastic member of his community, was loyal to his monarch who he referred to repeatedly in the commonplace book, and expressed great sadness upon the death of Queen Anne.⁷⁶ He also held affection for the Pope and noted his death as Pope rather than the more common 'Bishop of Rome' among Protestants.⁷⁷ Shanne's biography from his son also revealed that he was an avid reader, fascinated with Jerusalem, and read Catholic authors such as Luis de Granada.⁷⁸ Yet this in itself should not be viewed as a confessional marker, for Protestants were similarly devoted to Jerusalem, and De Granada's works had been translated into English and were popular among Protestants as well as Catholics.⁷⁹ Such lack of confessional markers also extended to the music within the Shanne MS: fifteen songs transcribed near the end of the manuscript under the heading 'Certain pretie songs hereafter following drawn together by Richard Shanne 1611'.⁸⁰ Thirteen of the songs are in his hand (two his son Thomas) and slight shifts in Richard's handwriting and dates for some of the music indicate that he likely transcribed these up to c.1624 when his entries to the Shanne MS stop.⁸¹ The music reveals an unusual snapshot into the abilities and

⁷⁵ My emphasis. *Registers of the parish church of Methley*, 46.

⁷⁶ BL. Add. MS. 38599, f.49.

⁷⁷ BL. Add. MS. 38599, f.52v.

⁷⁸ BL. Add. MS. 38599, f.84.

⁷⁹ See Peter Lake 'Protestant Appropriations: From Pamphlet to Pulpit and Back Again' in *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*, with Michael Questier (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 335-376.

⁸⁰ BL. Add. MS. 38599, f.133

⁸¹ Hyder Rollins argued that all of the music was transcribed in 1624 and yet there is no reason to suggest that Shanne was not being truthful when he initially penned 1611, just that he continued to add to the MS. after this date.

devotional tastes of a middling family in the north of England during this period.⁸²

Modern transcriptions of the music and text within the Shanne MS have been reproduced in an appendix to this thesis, which the reader should refer to now (Appendix 1).⁸³ Richard Shanne's musical experience was framed around the religious experiences of the established church, as his arrangement of the psalm 'Judge and Revenge my cause, O lord' revealed.⁸⁴ As well as devotional music, Shanne was especially fond of ballads and his setting of the popular ballad 'Young Palmus', demonstrates some reasonable skill in composition, as he sets two bass parts for the melody, which embellished the common tune of Shackley Hay.⁸⁵ This setting also indicates that the household either owned or had access to instruments, for the second bass part was 'not to be sung with the dittie': it was an instrumental accompaniment. Shanne preserved nine ballads in total: 'Young Palmus'; 'two pretie songs of landlorde and tenante';⁸⁶ 'Venus that fair lovely queen' which he set in four parts;⁸⁷ 'Troy Town';⁸⁸ and a ballad attributed to Thomas Lord Vaux (1509-1556), which was sung by the Gravediggers in *Hamlet* Act V Scene I 'I loath that I did love'.⁸⁹ The setting of 'A Pretie Songe in Commendation of the Springe, called the Queene of Love' also reveals the fluidity of words and music when it came to ballad tunes, as Shanne

⁸² BL. Add. MS. 38599, ff.133-154

⁸³ Hyder Rollins' discussion in 1923 of the ballads within the Shanne MS is also a useful introduction, but Rollins has also referred to the commonplace book uncritically as 'Roman Catholic' and 'recusant' in its composition. I also hope that when this becomes a book project I can commission recordings of the music within my thesis myself, to complement the transcriptions. My thanks to Jo Wainwright for providing the modern editions of the music within Appendix 1.

⁸⁴ Appendix 1, pp. 313-314.

⁸⁵ Appendix 1, pp. 312-313. 'A most excellent Song of the love of young Palmus, and faire Sheldra', *EBBA*, accessed 29 January 2014.

<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30295/image>.

⁸⁶ Appendix 1, p.315.

⁸⁷ Appendix 1, pp.305-308.

⁸⁸ Appendix 1, pp.309-310.

⁸⁹ Appendix 1, pp.302-303.

highlighted 'Yf the verses will not agree with the tune, ye make breake a sembreefe into two minnems, or otherwise as ye thinke good'.⁹⁰

The instructional nature of the manuscript, indicating its use and circulation among his family, is also present in the first song, 'O Christes Crosse', which was a setting drawn from the most common didactic phrase used in the education of children since the medieval period.⁹¹ According to John Alcock, bishop of Ely, in 1490, the first thing a child learnt in school was "'Christ's cross, be my speed", and so beginneth the ABC'.⁹² The phrase was not unique to children and during the medieval period was also said by adults when making the sign of the cross. In this piece, Shanne was clearly making a jest at his inability to learn fast enough, for 'this was yt first lesson that I did learne, wch haith cost me twenteth stripes & seaven', and compared himself to a stockfish (a fish beaten before cooking). It is likely that Shanne passed on such musical training to his son, Thomas and the final two ballads, 'Times Alteration' and 'As I lay musing all alone' are in his hand.⁹³

The final four songs in the Shanne MS have recently been utilised by Phebe Jensen, who drew attention to the carols transcribed within the commonplace book: the 'Christmas caroll...maid by Sir Richard Shanne, priest' and 'we happie hirds men'.⁹⁴ Jensen argued that these carols had ideological meaning not by their inherent message, but by their context: their composition by a priest, their proximity to more obviously polemical songs such as 'Jerusalem my happie home' and the 'songe bewailinge the tyme of Christmas' and their apparent use in the communal household celebrations of a family defining itself against the Protestant mainstream.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Appendix 1, pp.313-312.

⁹¹ Appendix 1, p.299.

⁹² Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 253.

⁹³ Appendix 1, pp.317-321.

⁹⁴ Appendix 1, pp.303-305.

⁹⁵ Jensen, 'Honest mirth & merriment', 226-7.

Unfortunately these assertions are flawed: firstly ‘Richard Shanne, priest’ was most likely our Richard Shanne’s great-uncle, who died in 1561 and was a minister at Methley parish, returned as ‘incumbent’ of the ‘Chauntrij Lady in the Paroche Church of Methley’ in 1546.⁹⁶ Secondly, ‘Jerusalem my happie home’ was an extremely popular ballad;⁹⁷ it circulated widely among both Protestants and Catholics during this period and significantly, was entered into the Stationer’s Register on December 14, 1624 for wide-spread publication.⁹⁸ Ballads on Jerusalem were popular amongst Protestants for, as Alison Shell has emphasised, ‘heaven is an aspiration shared by any Christian, and all Christians are obliged to think of themselves as exiles on earth’. This resulted in many ballads of probably Catholic authorship being able to ‘seep into the mainstream with very little alteration’.⁹⁹ The verses transcribed in the Shanne MS are identical to those in the print version (see Appendix 3) and the tune Shanne transcribed most likely provides the source for the popular tune ‘O man in desperation’, seen on countless Protestant religious broadsides during this period.¹⁰⁰ Rather than defining himself against the Protestant mainstream, Shanne’s ambiguity in matters of religion extended to his tastes in ballads that appealed to both Protestants and Catholics alike.

⁹⁶ *Registers of the parish church of Methley*, 63.

⁹⁷ Appendix 1, pp.299-302.

⁹⁸ Entered SR 14 Dec. 1624, Vol. 3, 93.

⁹⁹ See Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 200. See more in Chapter 5 below.

¹⁰⁰ Examples of ballads set to the tune ‘O man in desperation’: ‘The confession of a paenitent Sinner’ ([c.1601-1640]), *EBBA*, accessed 17 December 2013.

<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30330/image>; ‘A new ballad intituled, a bell-man for England, which night and day doth stand, to ring in all mens hearing. Gods vengeance is at hand’ ([c.1620]), *EBBA*, accessed 17 December 2013. Entered SR 6 Dec. 1586, Vol. 2, 461; ‘A rare Example of a vertuous Maid in Paris, Who was by her own Mother procured to be put in Prison, thinking therby to compel to her to Popery, but she continued to the end, and finished her life in the Fire’ ([c.1674-1679]). Printed on same sheet as the account of Ann Askew’s execution, I am a Woman Poor and Blind, which was re-entered into the SR 14 Dec. 1624, Vol. 3, 93. See *EBBA*, accessed 17 December 2013. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31906/image> and <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20648/image>.

It is worth pausing here then to consider the question of what ‘Catholic music’ is, for this currently remains undefined in the historiography. Whilst ‘recusant verse’ or rather, ‘Catholic verse’ has received some reconsideration from scholars such as Alison Shell, stemming from the ambiguous definition provided by ‘recusant’ verse anthologist Louise Imogen Guiney, there remains a lack of clarity over what should or should not be dubbed a ‘Catholic’ song.¹⁰¹ Identifying a ‘Catholic verse’, Shell identified four provisional categories, ‘to be taken as overlapping and discreet’ which can be modified and extended to ‘Catholic’ music. The first category is uncompromising ‘Catholic’ ‘liturgical’ music that was not (or at least, *should* not be) performed by Protestants; this music is easily recognisable, for example Byrd’s *Gradualia*. The second category is non-liturgical devotional music, which deserves the definition of ‘Catholic’ because it is known to have been composed by a Catholic and can be interpreted in relation to a political or biographical event. For example the motets of Sir Richard Dering that we encountered in the first chapter, such as the *Cantica Sacra* (1618) can be defined as ‘Catholic’ as they were dedicated to a nun, and composed whilst Dering was working within a Catholic monastery. Yet, simply because they were in Latin should not indicate any confessional marker for their audience: his Latin motets remained popular throughout the seventeenth century amongst Protestants and Catholics alike; on Saturday 22 November 1662, the diarist Samuel Pepys recorded receiving Dering’s ‘Latin songs’ from his late publisher Playford.¹⁰² In contrast, this category of non-liturgical devotional music also includes songs that were composed to make an explicitly ‘Catholic’ statement, such as the ‘Songe bewailinge the tyme of Christmas’ from the Shanne MS which we will return to shortly.

¹⁰¹ Alison Shell, ‘What is a Catholic poem? Explicitness and censorship in Tudor and Stuart religious verse’ in *Literature and Censorship in Renaissance England*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2001), 95-111 and to Shell’s article, some of the structure of what follows is thoroughly indebted; Louise Imogen Guiney ed. *Recusant Poets* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1938).

¹⁰² *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Henry B. Wheatley (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893). Full text online, accessed 6 May 2014. <http://www.pepysdiary.com/>.

The third category is non-liturgical 'secular' music that does not touch on areas of confessional difference, but was composed within a distinctively Catholic context or is found in the company of more obviously Catholic music. Moreover, this music only becomes 'Catholic' through its performance by a Catholic; but this is not to say that the insight into the devotional lives of Catholics gleaned from this music is made any less valid by the its performance and popularity amongst Protestants.¹⁰³ In the final category is music of Catholic origin that could be and apparently was transferred into the Protestant mainstream, often without any rewriting. The music within this category is particularly interesting when there emerges 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' versions of the same song, and the conclusions that can subsequently be drawn over what was deemed 'appropriate'. These categories must be viewed as fluid and in what follows we will see how music from the second and third categories often found its way to the fourth.

Identifying the 'Catholic music' within the Shanne MS, Phebe Jensen claimed Shanne's transcription of the 'songe bewailinge the tyme of Christmas' was 'Catholic'.¹⁰⁴ This is valid, but Jensen did not realise that this was also a ballad popular with Protestants, sung to the tune of 'Now the Spring is come'.¹⁰⁵ The original ballad had eight stanzas, whereas Shanne's had seven, and six were identical to the printed broadside. Therefore the difference between the two versions contains the key to Shanne's Catholicism. The original broadside explained how Christmas festivities were in decline in the countryside and therefore the personified Christmas was 'forst to leave, and come to London'. The stanza Shanne removed was the one in the printed text that directly attacked leading figures in the countryside for their neglect of Christmas and in turn, their lack of charity:

¹⁰³ This is exemplified in music such as 'Jerusalem my happie home', see Appendix 3.

¹⁰⁴ Appendix 1, pp.316-317. Jensen, 'Honest mirth & merriment', 225-227.

¹⁰⁵ 'Christmas Lamentation. For the losse of his Acquaintance, showing how he is forst to leave the Country, and come to London. To the tune of, Now the Spring is come', *EBBA*, accessed 29 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30037/image>.

For charity from the Country is fled
 And in her place hath left nought but need, Welladay.
 And Corne is grown so high a price,
 It makes poore men cry with weeping eyes,
 Welladay.
 Welladay.
 Welladay.
 Where should I stay.¹⁰⁶

The verse Shanne adapted was the fourth in the original broadside that identified various individuals responsible for this decline, which praised the Courtier for not seeing Christmas forlorn in the face of the protests of 'Country men':

Come to the Country man, he will protest,
 Will protest, will protest, will protest,
 and of Bull Beefe lost.
 And for the Citizen hee is so hot,
 Is so hot, is so hot, is so hot,
 he will burne the rost.
 The Courtier he good deeds will not scorne.
 Nor will he see poore Christmas forlorne.
 Wellay day.
 Since none of these good deeds will doe,
 Christmas had best turne Courtier too...

In Shanne's version the finger of blame is pointed elsewhere in a strikingly confessional response:

Go to the protestant, hele p[ro]test, hele protest, hele protest.
 he will protest and bouldlie boaste,
 And to the puritine, he is so hote, he is so hote, he is so hote,
 he is so hote he will burne the Roast,

¹⁰⁶ Whilst it is possible that Shanne composed the ballad, which then entered in modified version into the mainstream, it is more likely to have been the other way around.

The Catholike good deede will not scorne,
Nor will not see poore Christmas for lorne.

Wella day.

Since Holines no good deedes will do,
Protestante had best turn papiste too.

Wella day, wella day, wella day, where should I stay.

At some point in the latter half of his life Shanne had evidently become exasperated with the status quo, and he preserved this extra verse in a vehemently self-conscious protest against what he felt was the decline of the traditional festivities in his community. In an entry from 1617, the Shanne MS provides some indication of what this confessional trigger might have been:

The walkes about our towne of Methley which in ancient tyme was called crosse weeke walkes, and nowe the rogation weeke walkes, weere left unwalked this yeare, which before had beene used for a thousand yeares.

The cause was this.

A yong headed fellowe laitie maid minister called James Tomsonne

being...under parsony horne [the rector Thomas Horne]. This James Tomsony did informe the forsaid Mr Horne that there was great abuse used in our walkes, for sayd he, the people doth go about for nothing other but for bread & drinkes, and doth much abuse both them selves and the Cerimonie, *meaning our Singing of the litanie and other psalmes, which we songe in our walkes to the glorie of god, in the sweet meadowes and fields, and so the [parson - Horne] comanded that we should not go about.*¹⁰⁷

James Thomson became a minister of Methley whilst Thomas Horne was rector of the parish. This minister was clearly of more Puritan ilk and had

¹⁰⁷ My emphasis. BL. Add. MS. 38599, f.78.

advised the Protestant rector of the abuse in the ceremonies, which were directed specifically at the music in the annual rogation week walks. It is clear that after this incident Shanne either withdrew his support for his parish church, or was replaced, for in 1618 William Burton is recorded in the registers as parish clerk, as the entry for his wife's burial on 3 June stated 'Marye Burton, wyf of Wm. Burton, parish clerk'.¹⁰⁸

Shanne's response to the attack on the festive music of his community was appropriately musical, and this song of protest demonstrated a keen awareness of the use of labels in the period: Shanne attacked the 'Puritans' and declared how 'Protestants' should become 'Papists' too. The ballad text itself was explicitly oral and would have circulated widely among his community; the repetitions and use of 'walladay' was an adoption of recognisable oral indicators established in popular balladry. It was also utilised by William Blundell in a similarly polemical ballad, which will be explored in chapter five. As Bruce Smith has argued, 'welladay' had a particular 'meditative' function because it was a sound rather than a word.¹⁰⁹ This oral technique was used to imitate the sound of wailing or crying and notably, 'welladay' was also a well-known song tune often used in execution-ballads during the period. For example the 'lamentable dittie' composed upon the death of the earl of Essex, beheaded in the Tower of London' in 1601 and Sir Walter Raleigh's 'lamentation: Who was beheaded in the old Pallace at Westminster the 29 of October. 1618'.¹¹⁰

Something about this incident may also have profoundly affected Richard Shanne's eldest son. After Richard's death, and Thomas' posthumous fashioning of him as a 'Roman Catholic', Thomas was indicted

¹⁰⁸ *Registers of the parish church of Methley*, 73.

¹⁰⁹ Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 191. Also see Chapter 5.

¹¹⁰ 'A Lamentable dittie composed upon the death of Robert Lord Devereux late Earle of Essex', *EBBA*, accessed 29 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32221/image>; 'Sir Walter Raleigh his lamentation', *EBBA*, accessed 9 March 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20046/image>.

with his wife in the archdiocesan records in 1636 as a non-communicant, and as recusant in 1633.¹¹¹ There are hints from the Shanne MS that the Hungate and Watergate branches of the family (south-west of the centre of Methley) were recusants because they are conspicuous by their absence in the lists of parish seating arrangements in the Shanne MS.¹¹² This is confirmed in the archdiocesan records: in 1623 Thomas Shanne from Hungate refused communion; in 1627 four Watergate and Hungate Shannes were listed as recusants, and in 1629 Thomas (Hungate) and Robert Shanne (Watergate) and their families were again listed as recusants. Notably, they were indicted after Richard Shanne's term as clerk had ended.¹¹³ Furthermore, it is clear that Richard's son Thomas and his wife Prothasia had firmly distanced themselves from the parish church by 1631, for when Prothasia died the parish records noted she was buried on Christmas Day, 1631 'in the night, *but not by a minister*'.¹¹⁴ The Shanne MS revealed that Prothasia had died in childbirth and both she and the baby were buried 'under a stone at the foote of her father-in-law Richard Shanne at the lady quaere ende'.¹¹⁵ To have been buried inside the church indicated that someone at the parish had allowed them in, which might well support the arguments of scholars since Bossy that have stressed the integration of Catholics into their communities. As Alexandra Walsham has argued, there was often a 'decisive degree of cooperation'.¹¹⁶ Yet as Peter Marshall observed, rather than viewing the desire of Catholics to secure interment in parochial churchyards as a case-study in 'anti-confessionalising impulses', this might in fact illustrate how burial choices underline as well as undermine the differences between

¹¹¹ Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (York), (hereafter BI) The Archbishop of York's Visitation Court Book, V. 1633 / CB 1, f.178v.

¹¹² BL. Add. MS. 38599, f.65.

¹¹³ BI. Archbishop of York's Visitation Court Book, V. 1636 CB, f.143.

¹¹⁴ My emphasis. *Registers of the parish church of Methley*, 79.

¹¹⁵ BL. Add. MS. 38599, f.88v.

¹¹⁶ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press [The Royal Historical Society], 1993) 94.

Catholics and Protestants.¹¹⁷ The choice to bury Prothasia and her child at night, but in the same place, confirms Marshall's argument that churchyards and Catholic burial became a microcosm of the large issues of confessional negotiation. The larger issues clearly exemplified by the ambiguous religious identity of Richard Shanne: it was much more complex than simply 'getting along' or not.

In 2009 Patrick Collinson identified a significant gap in our knowledge of post-Reformation English Catholicism:

We know, especially from Bossy, what the private, indeed illegal religion of aristocratic Catholic families consisted of, in the sometimes precarious safety of their own homes and chapels. What we know less about is how non-recusant Catholics ordered their attendance at the parish church: how frequently, and with what kind of disposition. Was their attendance a political and social gesture devoid of any religious significance?¹¹⁸

Richard Shanne is an interesting case-study that starts to answer some of these questions. Shanne's attendance at his parish church was certainly not devoid of religious significance, and he certainly had social relationships with his neighbours. Music was present in the majority of these links; he led the congregational singing at church and ensured the most popular songs that he and his neighbours enjoyed were transcribed for posterity into his commonplace book. This was certainly not a family that, as Jensen suggested, 'defined themselves against the religious mainstream', for throughout the majority of Richard's life the Shannes were firmly integrated within their community.¹¹⁹ It was not until festive traditions were attacked that the process of building a recognisable confessional identity occurred, and Shanne voiced this in the most appropriate way: through a popular

¹¹⁷ Peter Marshall, 'Confessionalisation and Community in the Burial of English Catholics, c.1570-1700' in *Getting Along*, 57-76 (at 75).

¹¹⁸ Patrick Collinson, 'The politics of religion and the religion of politics', *Historical Research*, 82 (2009): 74-92 (at 87).

¹¹⁹ Jensen, 'Honest mirth & merriment', 227.

musical form enjoyed by Catholics and Protestants alike. The music in the Shanne MS does not betray any discernible difference in 'taste' and indeed as we shall see in the next chapter, Catholics purposefully used ballads to engage with the religious and political landscape of early modern England in the process of forging individual and communal identities. The lack of confessional marker up to this point makes his son Thomas' recusancy all the more curious. Sadly, the sources are silent about Thomas' fate and there is no record of his burial in the parish register.

5 | Networks: Maintaining the Catholic Margins

In asking how English Catholics forged their individual and communal identities during this period, this chapter will turn to Little Crosby, Lancashire: a seigneurial community of around forty households within the parish of Sefton, a few miles north of Liverpool. This chapter focuses on William Blundell (1560-1638), head of the family who lived in the manor house 'Crosby Hall' that had dominated the village since the mid-fourteenth century.¹ The Blundells are well known to historians of post-Reformation Catholicism for their staunch recusancy: William's father had died whilst imprisoned for harbouring a seminary priest; William and his brother Richard were educated at Douai, and Richard was later ordained there as a secular priest.² Focussing on this explicitly recusant family provides a stark contrast to the conformity of the Shannes of Methley, and in so doing this thesis will corroborate Michael Questier's assertion that the English Catholic community must be viewed as extremely 'variegated'.³ Moreover by focusing on the sounds originating from a single parish and taking a localised approach, as Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton have argued, this thesis supports the current scholarly endeavour to 'alter the metanarrative of the Reformation'.⁴

The soundscape of the village of Little Crosby, like the majority of villages, towns and cities in early modern England, was filled with the singing of ballads. Ballads have almost exclusively been treated in scholarship as a 'Protestant' phenomenon and the English Reformation associated as the causal factor for a 'robust tradition of commercial ballads

¹ Hereafter, unless indicated by dates in brackets, reference to 'William Blundell', 'William' or 'Blundell' should be assumed to be William Blundell (1560-1638).

² 'Diarium Secundum' in *Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws*, ed. Thomas Francis Knox (London: David Nutt, 1878), 97-266 (at 229, 239).

³ Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, 17, 58.

⁴ Lewycky and Morton eds. *Getting Along?*, 10.

on religious subjects'.⁵ The 'godly ballad' is associated with the very fabric of a distinctively Protestant Elizabethan and Stuart entertainment culture.⁶ Ballads ranged in their subject-matter and topics, but in the case of religious politics and polemic, any discussion of 'Catholicism' has occurred almost exclusively in the context of 'anti-Catholicism' as scholars have argued that polemical ballads were 'vehicles for nationalistic Protestantism and its corollary, anti-Catholicism'.⁷ On the surface this seems understandable, for to print a 'Catholic' ballad risked great punishment and due to censorship restrictions there were very few printed 'Catholic' ballads. Tessa Watt, for example, in her seminal study of the genre only mentioned the few Catholic ballads printed during Mary's short reign.⁸ If the dominant scholarship is to be accepted, ballads were *about* Catholics, not *by* them.

Yet ballads were a distinctly aural phenomenon and circulated in tunes, hums and whistles of the early modern populace, which included both Catholics and Protestants alike. The average early modern ballad-consumer learnt the verses by rote and sung them to common and often shared melodies, which were then memorised. Ballads were not solely circulated in print, as we saw in the last chapter, they were also transcribed into commonplace books and formed part of early modern manuscript culture. This chapter focuses particularly on the songs and ballads preserved in two manuscript collections: the first is referred to by its authors as the *Great Hodge Podge* and was the Blundell family commonplace book.⁹ As the

⁵ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 76.

⁶ See Christopher Marsh, 'The sound of print in early modern England: the broadside ballad as song' in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, eds. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 171-190; Marsh, *Music and Society*, 225-337; Watt, *Cheap Print* and Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁷ Watt, *Cheap Print*, 88.

⁸ Watt, *Cheap Print*, 86.

⁹ For a literary analysis of the entirety of the *Great Hodge Podge* see Julie van Vuuren, 'The manuscript culture of an English recusant Catholic community in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: a study of The great hodge podge and the Blundell family of Little Crosby, Lancashire' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 2011). This includes a

title suggests this contains a random selection of material: songs, ballads, and brief histories of the Blundell family, accounts, letters and poems, spread over nearly three hundred folios.¹⁰ Its earliest contributor was William Blundell and later entries were made by his grandson and namesake, William (1620-1698) and their eighteenth-century descendants.¹¹ The *Great Hodge Podge* has been utilised for this period most notably by Margaret Sena who reacted against scholarly characterisations of the Blundell family as introspective and isolated.¹² Sena demonstrated instead William's political activism and highly engaged role in nationwide networks of 'Catholic dissent'.¹³ Extending Sena's analysis, this chapter will focus on the twenty neglected songs that were transcribed by Blundell and his contemporaries, who were possibly other members of his immediate family. This chapter reveals how, unacknowledged by previous scholars, the handwriting within the manuscript demonstrates that the musical and textual transcriptions were a contemporaneously collaborative effort.¹⁴

The second source for the current analysis is a manuscript ballad collection preserved in the British Library, Additional MS. 15225, a small (approximately 15cm by 20cm), sixty folio, anonymous miscellany purchased by the British Museum in 1844 from Benjamin Heywood Bright. It contains 33 verses that were almost certainly sung, but unlike the *Great Hodge Podge*

chapter on 'music and orality' which explores five of the songs Blundell composed, and offers quite a different analysis and draws largely different conclusions to what follows.

¹⁰ Lancashire Record Office, DDBL, acc 6121, Box 4, *Great Hodge Podge*. (Hereafter *Great Hodge Podge*).

¹¹ For more on Blundell's grandson and namesake see Geoff Baker, *Reading and Politics in early modern England: The mental world of a seventeenth-century Catholic gentleman* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

¹² Describing Little Crosby as an 'enclave', see D.R. Woolf, 'Little Crosby and the horizons of early modern historical culture' in *The historical imagination in early modern Britain: history, rhetoric and fiction, 1500-1800*, eds. Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 93-132 (at 112).

¹³ Margaret Sena, 'William Blundell and the networks of Catholic dissent in post-Reformation England' in *Communities in early modern England: Networks, place, rhetoric*, eds. Alexandra Shepherd and Phil Withington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 54-75.

¹⁴ I have excluded here the poems and verses that were unlikely to have been sung to a melody, but that does not mean that they were not read aloud and significantly this makes them no less oral. See Shell, *Oral Culture*.

lacks musical notation.¹⁵ It was presumed to have been compiled by a Catholic with Lancastrian associations due in particular to the presence of a ballad describing the execution of four Catholic priests in the county.¹⁶ The majority of the ballads and songs in BL. Add. MS. 15225 were printed by Hyder Rollins in 1920.¹⁷ Rollins grouped the songs together with ballads of similar theme from various other manuscripts, and offered little analysis of the book's contents. Rollins also reiterated the unsubstantiated suggestion made by John Hungerford Pollen that the compiler of the manuscript might have been 'John Brerely' (at the time thought to be the pseudonym for Jesuit priest Lawrence Anderton) due to the preservation of 'a song made by J.B.P', 'Hierusalem my happie home'.¹⁸ The initials are now known to be the alias of James Anderton as used in his other pseudonymous publications.¹⁹ Rollins did not elaborate on his assertion, he did 'not feel competent to judge the probability of this suggestion', and the manuscript was subsequently neglected by scholars until the turn of the century and the work of Alison Shell. In both *Catholicism and Controversy* (1999) and *Oral Culture and Catholicism* (2007) Shell described the manuscript as the 'most important' surviving collections of Catholic verse songs.²⁰ Yet she still did not consider the collection in its entirety and selected just a handful of songs preserved in the manuscript to support her analyses. Moreover, the manuscript remained anonymous and its context unexplored.

¹⁵ The two other items in the commonplace book are 'A Sick Man's Salve' – a prose recipe and the medieval poem a 'Parliament of Devils'.

¹⁶ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.31-33.

¹⁷ Hyder Rollins ed. *Old English Ballads, 1553-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).

¹⁸ Rollins, *Old English Ballads*, 164.

¹⁹ Incorrectly transcribed as 'F.B.P.' see Rollins ed. *Old English Ballads*, 164. After some confusion, 'I.B' or 'I.B.P' is now known quite comprehensively to have been the pseudonym of James Anderton, as opposed to his cousin, the Jesuit priest Lawrence Anderton. See Michael Mullett, 'Anderton, James (1557-1613)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, accessed 15 January 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/510> and 'Anderton, Lawrence (1575-1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, accessed 15 January 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/511>.

²⁰ Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 196 and *Oral Culture*, 116.

Considering the evidence provided by the contents of the manuscript, it is my contention that it was most likely compiled by James Anderton (1557-1613). The handwriting in BL. Add. MS. 15225, hereafter *Lancashire MS*, is a single cursive secretary hand, it is mature, confident and therefore most likely an experienced scribe.²¹ James Anderton was a prolific author and religious controversialist, and eldest son of the lawyer and magistrate Christopher Anderton. The family were wealthy, influential Catholics and ran a clandestine press at their home in Birchley Hall about fifteen miles east of Little Crosby in Billinge. The Blundells' close relationship with the family would certainly have supported the circulation of any music he composed. Moreover it is evident that books and materials were exchanged freely between the families: William Blundell's grandson, William (1620-1698) preserved in the *Great Hodge Podge* a copy of a 'list of the workes my uncle Rog[er] An[derton] which was sent me by his son C[hristopher] Anderton, AD 1647'.²²

The titles reveal that a wide variety of Catholic polemical and devotional literature was delivered to Little Crosby. The works have clear links to the themes Blundell preserved in his ballads and to those in the *Lancashire MS*. Titles included 'Puritanisme the Mother, Sinn the daughter [1633]' and the 'Miscellanea' [1640], which was a treatise conducive 'to the study of English Controversies in Fayth and Religion' and dedicated to the 'yonger sort of Catholike Priests, and other students in the English Seminaries beyond the Seas'.²³ As what follows will reveal, it is clear from the contents of the *Lancashire MS*, and the similarities in genre, purpose and intent, that, if not by James Anderton, the compiler was without doubt a member of Blundell's circle. This chapter will therefore analyse the neglected

²¹ Appendix 2, p.325.

²² *Great Hodge Podge*, f.65v. William Blundell (1620-1698) was related to the Anderton family through his mother Jane Bradshaigh.

²³ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.65v.

contents of the manuscript for the first time with its original context of Little Crosby, and Blundell's network, in mind.

The ballads preserved in the *Lancashire MS* and the *Great Hodge Podge* provides important glimpses of the thriving oral tradition of Little Crosby and the Catholic networks surrounding the Blundell family. Such 'oral' tradition had a particular resonance with Catholicism, which emphasised the stability of the unwritten tradition of the Church in the face of Protestantism's privilege of Scripture. Yet Catholic balladry has remained invisible. Despite Shell's exceptional work that highlighted this neglect, a 2010 volume on *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain 1500-1800*, lacked any reference whatsoever to either 'Catholic' ballads or indeed to Shell's work. Although one contributor to the collection highlighted the need for a 'catholic perspective', they have failed to provide one.²⁴ Shell's work highlighted the role that Catholic ballads played in supporting a 'Catholic oral challenge to the religious status quo' and how oral transmissions provided a forum for debate between Catholics and Protestants. Whilst the majority of Catholic ballads survive in manuscript collections of the educated, this does not make them any less 'popular' or any less a 'ballad' for as Shell concluded: 'Whether or not a particular ballad was written for the masses in the first instance, the genre itself would have ensured that it spoke to the masses'.²⁵

Building upon Shell's work, this chapter will show how the network of Catholics surrounding the Blundells used ballads to voice social, devotional, and political concerns, and express their feelings towards their fellow English Catholics. First and foremost the songs reveal a festive, communal and vibrant Catholic community where musical expression was fundamental. Performance of the music within the manuscripts served to

²⁴ Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini with Kris McAbee eds. *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 72.

²⁵ Shell, *Oral Culture*, 89.

widen the parochial religious divide, whilst enhancing Catholic integration. The music provides a vivid snapshot into the interior religious lives of the Blundells and their Catholic neighbours, as the manuscripts preserve a variety of devotional songs that held particular relevance to the community. The music also voiced the religious politics of this community, as several pieces were pointedly subversive and demonstrates that music enabled Catholics to exhort protest as much as prayer. Finally, by investigating the tunes and melodies preserved in the manuscripts, this chapter will reveal how priests serving the Catholic network facilitated by the Blundells used ballads and songs as part of their missionary strategy to evangelise the laity.

The Catholics of Little Crosby: The sound of the community

The Blundells were a musical family; this is evident from the commonplace books and is corroborated in other records they have left behind. For example a book in the Blundell archives containing both medical and edible ‘recipes’, has been bound with what appears to be a late sixteenth-century instrumental setting in score of the psalm ‘O god my harte is readie’.²⁶ Whilst unfortunately no inventory for the period of William Blundell’s life is extant, it is therefore likely the family owned instruments, and almost certainly a pair of virginals as a report to the government revealed:

Mrs Houghton of Lea hathe kepte sithence the deathe of her husbände [Thomas Hoghton who we met in chapter three] one Richarde Blundell brother to Williem Blundell of Crosbie...who is an obstinate papiste well acquainted w[ith] a number of seminaries and he teacheth her children to singe and plaie upon the virginalls.²⁷

²⁶ Lancashire Record Office, DDBL acc 6212 box 3. This is almost certainly the ‘Catholic’ version of the psalm 107 from the Douay-Rheims bible. The ‘Protestant’ version is psalm 108 in the King James Bible and begins ‘O god, my heart is fixed’.

²⁷ SP 12/243 f.158. Nicholas Blundell (1667-1737) also owned a bass viol see *Nicholas Blundell’s Great Diurnal*, ed. Frank Tyrer, 3 Vols. (Liverpool: The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1969), Vol. 3, 204.

Alongside his role as music teacher, it is likely that the secular priest Richard provided the family with the sacraments. Little Crosby was a missionary centre, and reports to the government repeatedly complained about the presence of seminary priests in the area.²⁸ As the Bishop of Chester complained to Secretary Robert Cecil in 1600:

That part of the country...is full of seminary priests and gentlemen recusants that harbour them, of whom Edw. Ealeston, of Ealeston, Wm. Blundell of Crosby, Hen. Lathom, of Mosborow, and Hen. Travis, of Hardshowe are the chief; they countenance all lewd practices and despise authority; until they be bridled and brought in by strong hand, there is no hope of reformation in these parts.²⁹

The most detailed report of Little Crosby came from the apostate Thomas Bell, whose description of the ability of music to canonise Edmund Campion we read in chapter three, and who we will meet again in chapter six when he is reported singing a high mass.³⁰ Bell's report on Little Crosby to the government in 1592 reveals a highly communal, social and participatory community, where at a designated estate:

manie tymes by 10: or 12 Priestes, the greater parte being Seminaries have mett together in one house on one day, saying many masses wth one longe solemnitye...³¹

Crosby Hall was often the meeting place for these clandestine gatherings and Bell described William as 'worse then his Father in everie such respecte & his m-ther as culpable as her sonne' and revealed that '[a]ll Seminaries have had concourse unto that house in tyme past, & at this present day'. It is quite possible that these clandestine performances involved music to support the liturgy and their devotions, and although this chapter only focuses on

²⁸ PC 2/17 f.811; PC 2/19 f.248; Calendar of the MSS of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Hatfield House ed. R. A. Roberts, vol. 4: 1590-1594 London, 240.

²⁹ SP 12/274 f.37.

³⁰ See Chapter 6, p. 208 below.

³¹ Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster (hereafter AAW), Series A, vol.4, no.38.

William Blundell, it is clear that music remained important to the family and their community in Little Crosby throughout the generations. Blundell's grandson the 'cavalier' recorded his favourite ballads into the *Great Hodge Podge*, as did Nicholas Blundell (1669-1737) who recorded the 'joyful songe for the birth of Prince Charles'.³² Music seems to have been particularly important for Nicholas whose diary is filled with references to musical entertainments and social gatherings.³³

As well as being a musical family, the Blundells should also be understood as active members of a musical community because the songs transcribed into the *Great Hodge Podge* and the ballads of the *Lancashire MS* did not exist in a vacuum. Music was fluid and dynamic; it influenced both listeners and performers, and it is likely that the performances of the music within the *Hodge Podge* were heard beyond Blundell's immediate household. Music by William Blundell can be found at the beginning, middle and end of the *Great Hodge Podge*, and the collection of songs in the middle of the *Hodge Podge* have been numbered and compiled with a postscript: 'These next afore written Ballads or ritems wear made by William Blundell of little Crosbie Esquyre, and are in all Eighteen'.³⁴ It is likely then that this section of the manuscript was a 'songbook' used most frequently and the numbers provided easy reference for the pieces to be quickly copied and performed. This is also evidenced by the fact that all of the music is written in the C clef, which meant the music could be easily transposed for lower or higher voices.

The collaboration in the songbook is evident from the variety of hands present in the musical and textual transcriptions, which reveals the familial and communal nature of musical culture during this period. Appendix 2 provides examples of the three separate hands: hand 1 is Blundell's and both his italic and cursive secretary hands are present in the manuscript. Hands 2

³² *Great Hodge Podge*, f.179.

³³ *Great Diurnal*, ed. Tyrer, Vol.1, 153, 182, 228, 240.

³⁴ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.144.

and 3 are unknown; perhaps the hand of his son Nicholas before he died in 1631, or his daughter Margaret before her profession at St Monica's, Louvain in 1615. In early modern homes, vocal music provided inclusive entertainment and although the Blundell songs have not been composed with separate parts indicated, some of the music may have had separate groups singing different parts or different individuals singing different verses. For example, the song 'O gasping grieffe' in the *Great Hodge Podge* is written in two distinctive hands: hand 2 transcribed verses 1-6, which were written from the perspective of the Virgin Mary lamenting the crucifixion of Jesus. This almost certainly implies female vocal performance, and verse 6 ended 'thow wast my chylde disfigured so, thow mother could thee scarcely know'.³⁵ Verses 7 - 11 were then composed from the perspective of the singers and listeners, and transcribed in Hand 1, which perhaps also indicates a shift in the performers; the final stanza ended: 'to thee I do commend my sowle, And yeeldinge uppe thy ghoste, thowe went... from hellishe roast, thy frende, but not the damnde & lost'.³⁶

As a footnote to the piece, Blundell also explained that 'By Wil: Blu: this form Dittie was made but not the tune. [F]or it was made longe afore (as it was reported), by one Thomas Woodcroft, otherwise called commonly, longe Tom, a lanaksheere man'. Blundell's hand ends there, and out of the eight pieces of music with notation extant (correlated to the written text specifically for performance) two of the tunes were composed by others. The first 'as it was reported', was 'longe Tom', which emphasised how the tune was passed to Blundell despite the passage of time. Moreover, the composer of the tune was important: it had been 'reported'. This 'Tom' remains unidentifiable, despite the helpful later note in a different hand explaining that Tom was 'once one of the guards of Q. Elizabeth'.³⁷ The second named song contributor in the *Great Hodge Podge* was 'William Lacie', who we shall

³⁵ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.130v.

³⁶ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.130v.

³⁷ Possibly Hand 2.

return to later in this chapter. The remaining six musical compositions were therefore by Blundell, indicated for the most part by the initials 'W.BI'.³⁸ The presence of multiple scribes and composers within the manuscript underlines the community aspect of the songbook, where tunes were shared and the musical transcription and composition explicitly collaborative.

The *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS* contain a diverse range of music and musical genres, which indicates the variety of different occasions for performance. Some of the ballads were likely performed before a large audience, perhaps after the masses described by Thomas Bell or on feast-days. Later, on 2 May 1703, Nicholas Blundell recorded in his diary following the traditional May Day festival: 'The young people of this town had musick at night and a Bone Fire'.³⁹ A century earlier, Christmas festivities were very important to the Blundells and their community, as five ballads suitable for performance during the season were transcribed in the *Great Hodge Podge*, and one in the *Lancashire MS*.⁴⁰ Singing at Christmas was described elsewhere in the county in the 1620s by the Benedictine missionary priest Ambrose Barlow who described the celebrations he witnessed during his mission in the county:

They so truly united in Charity, rejoyced (coming from severall places) to meet one another in that holy exercise, they spent the night modestly and devoutly, sometimes in prayer before the altar, otherwhiles singing devout songs by the fireside in an other roome where they had an other fire, that their singing might not disturbe those that would be praying in the chappell.⁴¹

Moreover, as Phebe Jensen has argued, for recusant Catholics 'in the absence of an established church, popular religious practices associated with

³⁸ Musical notation: *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.126v, 130, 135v, 136, 140, 141, 142, 144v.

³⁹ *The Great Diurnal*, Vol. 3, 253.

⁴⁰ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.126v, 129, 155v, 156, 275. BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.47v.

⁴¹ *The Apostolical Life of Ambrose Barlow, O.S.B. edited from the original MS. in the Manchester University Library*, ed. W. E. Rhodes (Manchester, 1908), 8.

Christmas seem to have taken on greater theological and polemical meaning as the seventeenth century progressed'.⁴²

Unlike Shanne's 'Song bewailing the time of Christmas' that we saw in the last chapter, there was nothing polemical about the carols Blundell preserved, neither was the carol in the *Lancashire MS*. The carols in the *Great Hodge Podge* provided songs for several occasions during the festal season, the first 'Gods mother happie childbirthe past' was a carol for 'o[u]r bl: ladies purification', the feast of Candlemas occurring 40 days after Christmas.⁴³ The second 'When Jesus was in Bethlem Borne' was 'a carroll for the day of Epiphanie', January 6.⁴⁴ The third and fourth carols, 'An ould Christmas Carol' and 'A carolle' were either pre-Reformation carols ('ould' as the title suggested) or at least composed to imitate the medieval tradition, and would have been suitable for performance at any point during the Christmas period. 'An ould Christmas carol' described the circumstances surrounding the Immaculate Conception: 'Thus was conceived without any blame / & alsoe borne without any paine'.⁴⁵ The second, was an adaptation of the extremely popular medieval carol 'Marvel not Joseph': 'Mervaille not Joseph though Mary be with Child /she hath conceived very man & yet she undefylde'.⁴⁶ These were regular topics for carols during the early modern period and several broadsides survive on similar themes, such as 'The Angel Gabriel, his Salutation to the Virgin Mary', to the tune of 'The blazing Torch'.⁴⁷ The final carol in the *Great Hodge Podge* was credited to 'Mr William Lacye', as his 'song (or carrol) in person of ye sheppheards' provided another Christmas subject for performance: the appearance of the Angel Gabriel to the shepherds to announce the birth of Jesus.⁴⁸ The identity of

⁴² Jensen, 'Honest mirth & merriment', 232-233.

⁴³ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.126-127.

⁴⁴ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.129-129v.

⁴⁵ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.155v.

⁴⁶ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.156.

⁴⁷ 'The Angel Gabriel', *EBBA*, accessed 30 January 2014.

<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32616/xml>.

⁴⁸ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.275-6.

'William Lacye' is impossible to know for certain, but this might have been William Lacey b.1531 in Yorkshire, who after the death of his wife (the widowed mother of Joseph Cresswell, S.J.) received a dispensation to become a priest in 1581 and was ordained at the English College, Douai (then at Rheims). He was later arrested with the apostate Thomas Bell, after the pair had performed mass in York castle prison and was executed on 22 August 1582.⁴⁹ Alternatively, this 'Lacye' may have lived near to the Blundells, as Bell's report to the government described the activities of one 'Lacie' who 'hath lodged manie a Seminarian...all came thither to masse' and notably, these priests 'hath manie tymes brought bookes...from beyond the seas'.⁵⁰ Lacie then sold these 'for gaines in England, namely Breviaries, Missalles, &c' and Bell also cited high demand for the works of William Allen, particularly his 'execution of justice'.⁵¹

The textual network of Little Crosby, where books were circulated and sold to the Blundells and beyond, most likely facilitated the wider circulation of songs indicated in the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS*. For example, some of the carols were later the inspiration for printed ballads published as broadsides. This indicated both the wider audience for the ballads travelling from and through Little Crosby, and the ballad-genre's inherent fluidity. The 'ould Christmas carol' is clearly related to the broadside 'A [mos]t Excellent Ballad of Joseph the Carpenter, and the sacred Virgin Mary':

William Lacie in the Great Hodge Podge:

It was a man of age truly
 he married a maid w[hi]ch haight⁵² Mary
 A purer virgin did never man see
 than he chose for his deare, his deare'

⁴⁹ See Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: Vol. 1, Elizabethan, 1558-1603* (Ware: St Edmund's College, 1969), 202.

⁵⁰ AAW, A 4 no.38, 446-447.

⁵¹ AAW, A 4 no.38, 447.

⁵² "Hight" is from the Middle English 'to be named, be called'.

A virgin pure this was no naye
 to whom St Gabriel thus did saye
 Thou shalt conceive a Babbie this day
 the w[hi]ch shalbe o[u]r deare, o[u]r deare'

Printed Broadside c.1678:

Joseph an aged man truly
 Did marry a Virgin fair and free
 A purer Virgin did no man see
 then he chose for his dear his dear.
 This Virgin was pure, there was no nay,
 The Angel *Gabriel* to her did say.
 Thou shalt conceive a boy this day
 the which shall be our dear our dear.⁵³

This particular broadside publication contained two ballads, and the second included text that appears inspired from William Lacie's carol. This further underlines the way that Catholic manuscript publication influenced mainstream publications.

William Lacie:

In Bethelme field while all alone
 with a sadd full-harte with manie a [illegible] grone
 In which night in dreadfull shade
 about my flocke my round I made
 Behoulding twinkling of an eye
 what did I hear? What did I spye?
 Alle-ulla-luia - alleluia alleluia alleuila.

Broadside:

As I lay musing all alone,
 I heard a voice that did loud cry
 Come give account now every one

⁵³ 'A [mos]t Excellent Ballad of Joseph the Carpenter', *EBBA*, accessed 30 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20650/xml>.

even in the twinkling of an eye.⁵⁴

Although the five carols in the *Great Hodge Podge* were not transcribed with any indication of the tune they were sung to, they are in ballad-metre and were most likely sung to ballad tunes that the verses inherently suggested. This is one of the problems of oral sources for the modern historian - what was presumably obvious to the early modern ballad-consumer is nearly impossible to know today. Often all that we have left are clues such as William Lacie's repetitive 'Alleluia' refrain at the end of each stanza and the rhetorical questions in the verse.

The ballads and songs Blundell and Anderton preserved both informed wider culture, and are evidence of the way their network engaged with music popular beyond Catholic circles, as the presence of works by William Byrd in the *Lancashire MS* testify. A carol 'for Christmas day' 'Reioyce reioyce, with hart and voice' was first published in 1589 in William Byrd's *Songs of sundrie natures* (London, 1589-1610), nos.35 & 24 (22 in 1610).⁵⁵ Added to the presence of 'My mynd to mee a kingdom is', which first appeared in print in 1588 in Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs*, their transcription in the *Lancashire MS* might suggest that the Anderton family owned some of Byrd's publications. It is also possible that Blundell and Anderton may even have met the infamous recusant composer, for as we saw in the introduction to this thesis Byrd was in Lancashire in 1586 at the house of Richard Bold.⁵⁶ Whilst Godfrey Anstruther erroneously suggested that this 'Richard Bold' might have been 'John Bolt', later organist for St Monica's, this was almost certainly the same 'Richard Bould' whose activities were reported by Thomas Bell, alongside William Blundell, as a known recusant who 'hath as I take it been sometymes acquainted with seminarie priests'.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.47v.

⁵⁶ Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, 71 and see Introduction above, p.5.

⁵⁷ AAW, A 4 no.38, 453

The *Lancashire MS* and the *Great Hodge Podge* also contains material of a more broadly moralising and secular nature. That 13 out of the 33 songs preserved in the *Lancashire MS* were some of the most immensely popular ballads of the age further underlines the network's connection with popular culture, and their engagement with wider current affairs. This serves to counter the temptation to view Catholics in a solely separatist context.⁵⁸ One particular song is quite striking for it reveals Anderton's contribution to (presuming it is his own ballad), or at least the network's engagement with, the debate over the appropriate place of music in church. This perhaps should not be surprising as Anderton was a prolific religious controversialist, and credited with 'The Protestants Apologie', 'The Lyturgie of the Mass', 'The Reformed Protestant' and 'Luther's Life'. The 'Songe in praise of music' in the *Lancashire MS* was thirteen stanzas long and lamented:

Sweete musique mournes and hath done longe...
 these fortie yeares and almost five -
 God knowes it hath the greater wronge
 by puritanes that are alive
 those hautie, proude, disdainfull myndes
 Much fault agaynst poor musique findes.

A hot topic for theologians, music's place within the church also engaged a more popular audience and debates disseminated within English tracts such as John Case's *The Praise of Musicke* (1586).⁵⁹ Similar discussions occurred within popular broadside ballads, an aspect of the debate neglected in the majority of the literature touching on this subject.⁶⁰ This was not the first

⁵⁸ BL. Add. MS. 15225, 'Against Nigardie and riches', ff.7v-8v; 'Duke of Buckingham', ff.13-15; 'A doleful daunce', ff.15-16; 'Give place ye leadies & begone', f.16v; 'A pleasant ballad of the just man Job', ff.16v-17; 'I might have lived merrily', ff.18-18v; 'Ould Tobie, cald his loving sonne', ff.19-20; 'The thoughts of man doe daylie change', f.38; 'Seek wisdome cheefly to obtain', ff.38v-39; 'O man that runneth here thy race', ff.43v-44v; 'A dittie most excelent for everie man to reade', ff.56-58; 'All you that with good ale doe hould', ff.58v-60v. *Great Hodge Podge*, 'The worldlings farewell', ff.160-161v,

⁵⁹ [John Case], *The Praise of Musicke* (Oxford, 1586).

⁶⁰ Cf. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*, 39-48 and Austern, 'Tis Nature's Voice', 30-67.

ballad composed in defence of music and similar accusations were confronted early in Elizabeth's reign in Thomas Brice's ballad, 'Against filthy writing, and such like delighting', which was registered in 1561-62 and denigrated those defenders of music with the lines:

We are not foes to musicke wee, a mis your man doth take vs
 so frendes to thinges corrupt and vile, you all shall neuer make vs
 If you denie them such to bee, I stand to proue it I,
 If you confesse (defend them not) why then doo you reply?
 But such they bee I will mainteine, which yet you bothe defend
 And iudge them fooles, that them mislike, would God you might
 amend⁶¹

Other popular ballads included Richard Edwards' 'In commendation of Musick', which was originally printed as a broadside and later preserved in the *Paradise of Dainty Devises*.⁶² William Byrd also waded into the fray in 1589, and in collaboration with Thomas Watson their broadside advertised the defence of music recently penned by John Case:

Let others prayse what seemes them best
 I like his lines above the rest, above the rest, above the rest
 whose pen hath painted Musickes prayse, hath painted, hath
 painted
 he soundly blames the senceles foole,
 & Barbarous Scithyan, of our dayes our dayes,
 and barbarous Scithyan of our dayes, of our daies.⁶³

The ballad in the *Lancashire MS* also fiercely defended music, particularly within the church:

In Churches, alsoe, we may knowe,
 our ancient fathers did alowe

⁶¹ Thomas Brice, *Against filthy writing, and such like delighting* (London, 1561-2).

⁶² Richard Edwards, *Paradise of Dainty Devises* (London, 1576).

⁶³ William Byrd and Thomas Watson, *A Gratification unto Master John Case for his learned booke, lately made in the praise of Musicke* (London, 1589).

The vse of songe cum Organo
 which from the Church is taken nowe,
 In skilfull partes where man and Child
 Did praise our lord with voyces myld.

It is intriguing that Catholics would take the time to defend Church music, considering they themselves were only sporadically attending the Church of England, if at all. Blundell was certainly a staunch recusant and whilst James Anderton occasionally conformed (he held crown office between 1590 and 1607/8 as a protonotary), he was cited as a recusant on several occasions.⁶⁴ Evidently this was an issue that united musically-minded Protestants and Catholics alike.

The devotional lives of the Catholics of Little Crosby: musical prayer

The devotional stance of Catholics in England is a contentious topic for historians; whether the English Catholic community should be viewed as something 'new' and 'post-Tridentine' as advocated by John Bossy, or inextricably tied with the pre-Reformation church as furthered by Haigh, continues to divide historians to this day.⁶⁵ It is not my intention to rehash these debates here, for it seems clear that the reality was complex and would have depended to a great extent on the particular community in question and their access to a seminary priest. The music in the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS* reveals a piety profoundly influenced by post-Tridentine spiritual practice, but simultaneously nostalgic for the medieval, Catholic past. This nostalgia is explicit in Blundell's most famous ditty in the *Great Hodge Podge*, 'The tyme hath been':

The tyme hath been wee hadd one faith
 and trode aright one ancient path
 The thym is now that each man may

⁶⁴ See Mullett, 'Anderton, James (1557-1613)'.

⁶⁵ See Introduction, p.14, n.44.

See new Religions coynd each day⁶⁶

The end of each heartfelt plea to a bygone age ended with the prayer and refrain:

Sweet jesu wth thy mother myld
 Sweet virgin mother with thy child
 Angells and saints of each degree
 Redresse our contryes miserie

This nostalgic prayer was preserved alongside songs that conveyed the influence of the Ignatian ‘Spiritual Exercises’ that were conducted by Jesuits (both for themselves and for the laity). This, as Louis Martz has demonstrated in his analysis of early modern devotional poetry, required the ‘vivid imagination of a scene by means of memory and the senses’, ‘methodological analysis of the subject by reason; and colloquy with God’.⁶⁷

The first ballad in the ‘songbook’ of the *Great Hodge Podge*, ‘In meditation as I sate’ conveys an individual meditation in which the singer’s reflection facilitates a dialogue with Christ. On the surface, this ballad would have been acceptable in the context of both Protestant and Catholic performances and contained nothing inherently confessional. It was evidently popular, and whilst the first verse and the accompanying music were written by Blundell, the subsequent verses have been added later, along with the indication that the ballad should be sung to the tune ‘oh hone’. Based on the ballad-database compiled by the research project at the University of California, Santa Barbara, ‘Oh hone’ was not the tune that was transcribed within the *Great Hodge Podge*.⁶⁸ In fact the metre of ‘In meditation

⁶⁶ *Great Hodge Podge*, f. 137v. Also see Sena, ‘William Blundell’, 63. Sena also makes the suggestion that traces of this ballad are visible in ‘A Proper New Ballad Intitled the Faeryes Farewell’ written by Bishop Richard Corbett.

⁶⁷ Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century, Second Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 25. See also *On giving the Spiritual Exercises: The early Jesuit Manuscript Directories and the Official Directory of 1599*, trans. Martin E. Palmer (Saint Louis, Missouri: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996).

⁶⁸ See ‘The Lamenting Lady’s farewell to the World’, *EBBA*, accessed 30 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31264/recording>.

as I sate' appears incompatible with that tune and further testifies to the instability of both ballad tune and text over time. It is possible that there was an earlier Irish 'oh hone' melody that is now lost, but during William's life it was certainly sung to the tune he composed. The popularity of Blundell's ballad is also testified by the transmission of the song throughout wider Catholic networks around the country. Blundell's first verse in the *Great Hodge Podge* is the first surviving record of the song, which appeared in later Catholic miscellanies of the mid-seventeenth century.⁶⁹ Variants of the ballad are found in the Staffordshire gentrywoman Constance Aston Fowler's commonplace book, and a manuscript associated with the community of Wootten Wawen in Warwickshire.⁷⁰ The differences between the three verses indicate more than simply scribal errors, but how oral transmission might affect variations in transcription:

The Great Hodge Podge:

In meditation as I sate,
 Thinkinge uppon my soules estate
 Behoulding with attentive eye,
 Christs picture which then stood me by
 Mee thought his speeches I did heare,
 Thus uttered in myne Inwarde eare,
 Howe much have I lov'd thee,
 why shall I lose thee.
 Since, I have bought thee deare.

Constance Aston Fowler:

In meditation where I sate
 Thinkinge of my soules estate
 Beholdinge with Attentive eye
 Christ his picture stood me by
 Me thought christs speeches I did here

⁶⁹ See Cedric C. Brown, 'Recusant Community and Jesuit Mission in Parliament Days: Bodleian MS Eng. poet. b.5', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 33 (2003): 290-315.

⁷⁰ Huntington MS. 904 and Bodl. MS. Eng. poet. b.5.

Thus uttered in my Inward eare
 O how much do I love thee
 Why should I lose thee
 Sith I have bought thee so deere.

Wootten Wawen:

In meditation where I sate
 thinking on my soules estate
 beholding with attentive eye
 Christ his picture y[tha]t stood me by
 me thought Christs speeches I did here
 this uttered in my Inwarde eare
 O how much do I love thee
 why should I lose thee
 sith I have bought thee so Deare.

Considering the postscript in the *Great Hodge Podge* that the ballads were 'made' by Blundell, this strongly suggests that he was the original author for at least the first verse.⁷¹ The transmission was most likely facilitated by the networks of seminary priests travelling through Little Crosby. As Helen Hackett has recently revealed, the second unidentified hand in the Fowler MS matches the Wootten Wawen MS and indicated the same (most likely Jesuit) priest had annotated both manuscripts.⁷²

The engagement and application of the senses was fundamental to Ignatian spirituality, and the Jesuit activation of this form of devotion within Blundell is evident in the stanza where the vision of Christ's picture prompts the imagination and the singer's 'inward ear' to hear the voice of Christ. Simultaneously their 'outward ear' and those of any listeners would have

⁷¹ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.144.

⁷² Helen Hackett, 'Women and Catholic Manuscript Networks in Seventeenth-Century England: New Research on Constance Aston Fowler's Miscellany of Sacred and Secular Verse*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012): 1094-1124. Also see Brown, 'Recusant Community and Jesuit Mission'.

been delighted by the song's gentle melody.⁷³ Similar invocations of Christ are found in another song in the *Lancashire MS* that contained no explicitly confessional markers: The 'Jolie Sheppard' on the first folios of the collection could have easily been read as an allegory for either the Catholic or Protestant Church.⁷⁴ It may also have been similar to the 'jollie sheppard' that was entered into the Stationers Register on 15 August 1586 as Hyder Rollins has suggested.⁷⁵ The ballad uses the metaphor of Christ as shepherd and the listeners are repeatedly called as 'witnesses' to Christ's crucifixion. In what would have enhanced the oral memorability of the ballad, the phrase 'to witnes' is repeated sixteen times in the space of four verses, 13-16:

To witnes cale his goeing downe
to hell, through great his might
To witnes calle his assendinge up
to heaven in glorie bright

The final two verses also repeat the same four lines at the beginning of the stanza, which underlined their importance:

O come away, O come away
this shepard cales and cryes
Take up your crosse and follow me
and doe this worled dispise.

Despite the largely neutral religious message of the majority of the ballad, the repeated call to 'take up your crosse and follow me' had particular relevance to the Catholics in Little Crosby, as variations of the command occur throughout both of the manuscripts.

⁷³ For more on the Jesuits and the senses see for example Philip Endean, 'The Ignatian Prayer of the Senses', *Heythrop Journal*, 31 (1990): 391-418; for the appeal to the senses in Jesuit culture, sciences and the arts see John O'Malley et al eds. *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1999) and O'Malley et al eds. *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2006) and Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002) and for wider discussions on the relationship between religion and the senses see Wietse de Boer and Christine Gottler eds. *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) and Macdonald, Murphy and Swann eds. *Sensing the Sacred in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*.

⁷⁴ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.1-2.

⁷⁵ Rollins, *Old English Ballads*, 102.

During this period, to take up the cross and follow Christ was understood quite literally as Christ's command to die for the faith. The increasing presence of seminary priests in the area, particularly Jesuits, during the early decades of the seventeenth century, and their imprisonment and regular execution (fifteen were executed at Lancaster alone 1586 - 1643) would certainly have served to underline this particular commandment. Devotion to the Passion of Christ as an imaginative locus where the soul meditated on the mysteries of sin and forgiveness, the meaning of redemption, and God's love, had become the predominant focus for piety since the late medieval period, as Eamon Duffy has shown.⁷⁶ Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this devotion continued to flourish and for post-Reformation English Catholics, Passion piety provided a site for individual communion with and imitation of Christ. How poetry and literature could encourage affective response to Christ has been explored by scholars such as Louis Martz and Sarah Covington, and it is clear that such imaginative representations can be extended to music and ballad-singing.⁷⁷

In the *Lancashire MS* similar exhortations to follow the cross were coupled with Ignatian modes of imaginative and meditative devotion, such as 'Behold our saviour crucified', where the opening stanza advised the singers and listeners:

Behould our saviour crucifide
and beare it well in mynd
Which will suppressse all sinfull pryde
and make us groe more kynd
O let us strive to flee from sinne
and righteous courses hould

⁷⁶ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (2nd edn. London: Yale University Press, 2005), 234-237.

⁷⁷ Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation*; Sarah Covington, *Wounds, Flesh, and Metaphor in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

And take our crosse and followe hime
as he hath said we should.⁷⁸

The visible witness of Christ was also vividly expressed in ‘Oh gasping grief’ from the *Great Hodge Podge*, an explicitly Catholic song due to the focus upon the Virgin Mary and specifically her lament at the crucifixion.⁷⁹ The Virgin Mary’s Compassion was the most prevalent cultural symbol of mourning prior to the Reformation and as Eamon Duffy has shown, every church in England had a figure of the pietà, or ‘Our Lady of Sorrows’. This figure later became the focus of the most vitriolic assaults by reformers after the eradication of the doctrine of Purgatory.⁸⁰ Recreation of the crucifixion scene in the female voice was a popular form of devotion amongst Catholic women during this period, and it was also recreated in Constance Aston Fowler’s commonplace book.⁸¹ Blundell’s song conveys the vindictive persecution Christ suffered and the first stanza is full of oral expression; the melody soars up and down the vocal scale to emphasise Mary’s wails:

Ahha, ahha, ahha, ahha, ahha, ahha,
ahha, ahha, ahha, ahha, ahha, ahha,
O gaspinge grieffe, for me to see,
Myne owne sonne Jesus, nail’d to a tree,
ahha ahha ahha ahha, O Simeon, Simeon, ahha, ahha,
Now do I think on the sworde of grieffe
thou didst forshon, should pierce my hart
Alack for woe, O Jesu Kinge of blisse,
What kyndnes moved thee to this,
To dye for those that did amisse.

In the Ignatian mode, the singer imagines herself as Mary and it is through her eyes that the crucifixion scene is vividly echoed. Both the vocal experience and the visual imagination are frequently evoked with the

⁷⁸ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.20-22v.

⁷⁹ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.129v.

⁸⁰ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 260.

⁸¹ Deborah Aldrich-Watson, *The Verse Miscellany of Constance Aston Fowler* (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society, 2000), 32.

repetitive use of 'O' alongside the emphasis placed on the sight and witness of Christ's passion:

O garden of Gethsemanee,
 My hart was breaketh to thinke on thee,
 Ahha, ahha, ahha, that bloodie sweatinge
 Ahha, ahha, ahha, of my dear darlinge,
 there saw'st, when Peter, James & Jhon,
 Opprest with grieffe, did sleepe eche one,
 My my mynde runnes most on thee,
 Next to the mount of Calvarie,
 Whearas I saw my dear sonne dye.

Mary's narrative in this song strongly suggests female vocal performance and would have held particular relevance for William Blundell's daughter Margaret, who later became a nun. It is not unlikely that the next three generations of nuns from the Blundell family also performed the song.⁸²

The devotional instruction of children through music was a pedagogic method used by Blundell. In the *Great Hodge Podge*, the 'Ballad of the benefit God hath bestowed upon us' was a memorable song in defence of the seven sacraments, which ended with a catechism listing them.⁸³ Later in the manuscript there is also a versification of the Ten Commandments, and both would have been perfect to instruct children of some of the central tenets in the Catholic faith.⁸⁴ Another didactic song from the *Great Hodge Podge* is 'O god thou art my creator', which would have served as a suitable song to instruct children in Catholic prayer.⁸⁵ Seven stanzas have been set to a pleasant and easily memorable tune, which implored:

O good god thou art my creator
 my redeemer, my sanctificator

⁸² See family tree compiled by the Who Were the Nuns? Project, accessed 22 January 2014. <http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/ftrees/Blundellcro.pdf>.

⁸³ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.131-131v.

⁸⁴ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.138v-139.

⁸⁵ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.135v-136.

whole my selfe thou thwyse I do owe thee

O let love limite mee ever to thee.

The song invoked the Virgin Mary, the orders of Angels and the saints to 'helpe a wretche that longes to come to you' and in a final emulation of Christ the singers proclaimed:

I believe as you have believed

I desyre to live as you lived

since I loath which also you loathed,

make mee please that lorde whom youe loved

Similar simple verses suitable for children's devotional education are also present in the *Lancashire MS*, such as 'A word once said, Adam was made'. The song summarised the life of Christ and each short stanza ended with the question to engage the young listeners: 'but who can tell me how?'.⁸⁶

The importance of making the sign of the cross, which seems to have been a topic of contention amongst reformers in England, was also manifested musically in another example of an instructional song in the *Lancashire MS*.⁸⁷ The 'song of the cross' justified the use of the gesture within verses calling on the church fathers and exclaimed that the whole of Christendom 'alsoe doth vs charge / and warne both more and lesse / And teach our Children with this signe / them daylie for to blesse'. The ballad rejected contemporary criticisms of both the gesture and the symbol:

Yet some will say, to have the crosse

at all it is not fit

Because therewith Idolatrie

the people doe commit.

Thinke they that man whome god hath made

heere ruler of the rest

In sence and reason nothinge doth

⁸⁶ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.10-10v.

⁸⁷ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.27v-29v.

excell the brutish beast?'.

With a similar polemic tone, 'You that present are take of us some pitie' in the *Great Hodge Podge* provides the final example of the didactic element to the manuscripts.⁸⁸ Throughout the music in the *Great Hodge Podge*, two clear hands (A and B) are present in the transcription of the musical notation.⁸⁹ In the majority of pieces, where the first hand starts, the second hand later takes over and makes corrections. Such as the 'Dittie' below, [see Fig. 1] where Hand A copied the first stave, before Hand B took over, and then in the fourth line Hand A returned above 'yea & utter' and continued until end of piece.

⁸⁸ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.141-141v.

⁸⁹ See Appendix 2

This followinge Dittie was made vnto the great p[ro]phan
made in S[er]ton p[ar]tly especially by Gascon Philo[so]ph
C[er]ke, a nether p[ar]son of S[er]ton & Deane of C[er]ke. 141.

Yous tell of out as take of vs some p[ar]tis, vnto in
 lookfull w[or]d p[ar]tly in songe, moune
 w[or]t vs a w[or]d vnto tell e[ar]t by Dittie made to
 moane our felts of s[er]uicid wronge, they p[ar]tly
 take out f[ro]mde vnto now f[ro]mde out ende, vnto e[ar]t
 ob[er]vator, for our Confessio take, they p[ar]tly e[ar]t
 those meane they p[ar]tly of knowe, vnto f[ro]mde of p[ar]tly
 newe f[ro]mde f[ro]mde vnto, f[ro]mde to p[ar]tly de e[ar]t;
 vnto f[ro]mde f[ro]mde f[ro]mde, vnto vnto lost laboure;
 vnto f[ro]mde vnto vnto of vnto,

[Fig.1: *The Great Hodge Podge*, f.141]

The evident collaboration on all of the music in the *Great Hodge Podge*, from carols and devotional music to didactic ballads and polemical music, firmly underscores the shared compilation of the manuscripts.

The political lives of the Catholics of Little Crosby: musical protest

The most popular genre of devotional song for the Blundell network was one that voiced protest as much as prayer, as the two songs above have started to reveal. This is further exemplified in 'O blessed god o saviour sweet' from the *Lancashire MS*, which on the surface appears a simple prayer:

O blesed god o saviour sweet
 O jesu look on mee
 O Christ my kinge refuse me not
 though late I come to thee.⁹⁰

Yet it continues with a more confessionally explicit invocation of the saints and martyrs:

O come Angelles; come Archangelles;
 come saintes and soules divine;
 Come, marters and Confessors eike
 your aide to me assigne.

It ends with a spirited assertion of the Catholic faith, which underlined how the singer would do anything for Christ, in an example of the lengths man should go to 'take up the cross':

Then I would bouldlie dare to say
 that neither racke nor Coard
 Nor any tormentes in the world
 debarre me from my lord.

The explicitly Catholic association with devotion to Christ's cross was also used as a means to attack Protestantism, as seen in a verse from one of the two unambiguous attacks on Luther preserved in the *Great Hodge Podge*.⁹¹ In 'Luther w[i]th his Bonnie Las', Blundell has composed a militant, almost march-like melody in order to chastise Luther. The seven verses ring with criticisms, often in a mocking personification of Luther's followers, 'wee neede no more to fast and praye / our almes deeds wee may leave awaye'

⁹⁰ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.11v-13.

⁹¹ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.3v and 140-140v.

and focussed on the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, whilst making slights on Luther's character and his alleged indiscretions with 'Bonnie Katie'.⁹² The last line of the stanza also made plain that Luther and his followers were 'not with Christs crosse well bleste'.

The political songs within the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS* demonstrate that music was fundamental as a form of pious protest, particularly when attacking polemical foes. The 'songe of the puritan' in the *Lancashire MS*, a sarcastic rhyme over eight stanzas and which included an attack on the Puritan religious household.⁹³ Such a household was synonymous with certain unseemly and hypocritical Puritan women:

Then there is *Rachell, maude, Doll, Jane, and Grace,*
kate starched with a ruffe half an inch longe;
 And mistris *mince-pepin* with her mumpinge face,
Peg that hates musique, yet she loves prick songe;
 And prittie *malle* that loves the place so well,
 she will not leave meetinge until her bellie swell.

Within anti-Catholic polemic, women were repeatedly utilised as a focus of attack by opponents. As the work of Frances Dolan and Arthur Marotti has most notably revealed, Catholic women were often associated with deviances such as sexual promiscuity, and portrayed as vulnerable to the influence of wily priests.⁹⁴ This was mirrored in this ballad from the *Lancashire MS*, where the author has used the female radical Protestant as means to criticise the dangers of the faith in general. This trait also featured in the song 'Alacke Walladay' in the *Great Hodge Podge* where Blundell attacked women singing during the services of the Church of England,

⁹² Katherine von Bora was a nun who later became Martin Luther's wife after she contacted him, along with other nuns dissatisfied with the monastic life, and was interested in the emerging reform movement.

⁹³ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.29v-30v.

⁹⁴ See Marotti ed. *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism*, esp. 1-34 and Dolan *Whores of Babylon*, esp. 1-44.

providing the marginal annotation for the biblical verse that ordered women to remain silent in church: 1 Corinthians 34.⁹⁵

The 'songe of the puritan' also included reference to the Protestant attack on Christ's cross, a theme which evidently provided the community comfort as much as complaint:

If Puritans plucke downe our house of prayer
 oppresse the crosse whereon our saviour dyed;
 If puritans preach nothinge but dispaire
 and noe good recreation can abyde
 And if they thus will frame a new religion
 beleeeve me, I will be no puritane.⁹⁶

A similar tone is used in Blundell's second attack on Luther in the *Great Hodge Podge* in 'The Invention of the New Gospell'.⁹⁷ Blundell indicated this was to be sung to the extremely popular ballad-tune 'Shall I wrastle in despayre'.⁹⁸ Blundell adopted the metre of the original ballad from c.1618 'A new song for a Young mans opinion, of the difference between good and bad women', by using rhyming couplets and a rhetorical question in the second line:

Good and bad women:

Shall I wrestling in dispaire
 Dye because a womens faire?
 Shall my cheekes looke rale with care,
 Cause anothers rosie are.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.136v.

⁹⁶ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.29v-30v.

⁹⁷ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.3v.

⁹⁸ For tune of 'Shall I wrastle' see *EBBA*, accessed 22 January 2014. Also used in a multitude of comic, moralising ballads against various other vices such as: 'The unfortunate Gallant gull'd at London' c.1623, *EBBA*, accessed 22 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20089/image>.

⁹⁹ 'A new song for a Young mans opinion', *EBBA*, accessed 22 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20104/xml>.

Invention of the New Gospell

Shall I tell yow by what slighte
 the new ghospell came to lighte?
 w[hi]ch before nowe did appear
 in o[u]r world & wyde hemispheere

By utilising the same tune Blundell was adding to the satire of the song; as Christopher Marsh has discussed, music had a significant impact on verbal effect and ballad tunes developed associations with particular themes.¹⁰⁰ By denoting the tune, balladeers were able to provide immediately recognisable markers to how a verse should be received if the text was purposefully satirical, sarcastic or ambiguous. As well as reinforcing the meaning, music might also subvert it and Marsh also suggested that a tune could apply satirical nuances when laid inappropriately over conflicting lyrics.¹⁰¹ Blundell embraced this technique by utilising the tune of 'Shall I wrastle', a popular comical love song that highlighted the foolishness of unrequited love, and applied this tune to the libel against Luther.

Blundell's use of melody to manipulate the response of his intended audience is also visible in 'Alacke Walladay', and 'You that present are take of us some pitie', which had mournful tunes to complement the laments contained in the lyrics.¹⁰² Both were sorrowful complaints against the local growth of Puritanism in and its direct impact on the community of Little Crosby and the wider Catholic Church. 'Alacke Walladay' was almost certainly performed within the local community as its lyrics are full of signals that suggested group performance:

Alacke walladay, walladay, walladay,
 Alacke & walladay, Lord for thy pitie,
 Alacke & walladay, lay wee our mirth away,

¹⁰⁰ Marsh, 'The Sound of Print', 179.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.136-137, 141-141v.

Let us go watch & pray in towne & citie!¹⁰³

As we saw in the Shanne manuscript, Blundell was adopting popular ballad techniques; ‘alacke’ and ‘walladay’ are onomatopoeic words, and were often found in execution-ballads.¹⁰⁴ The words imitated the act of crying and wailing and this was supported by the doleful tune. Written in plural, the song implicitly suggests the chorus of sorrowful voices, and from the outset the song invited listeners to perform by starting with the sound of wailing, ‘alacke, walladay’, before the words. The community were therefore initially drawn to the song by sound alone, before the lyrics then allowed the singers to express their mutual dissatisfaction. The collective voice pleaded with the implicit sympathetic listeners, which in turn were instructed by the song to participate.

This participation is indicated by the extreme simplicity of the song: ‘Walladay walladay’ is repeated at the end of the opening line of each stanza, and structurally each verse is identical. The first three lines of each of the fifteen stanzas starts with the same repetitive lyrical arrangement, the second line of each verse always ends with the prayer ‘Lord for thy pitie’, and the last line always returns to the location of the attack: ‘in towne & citie’. This allowed those listening to join in easily with the repetitive elements of the song, even if they were unfamiliar with the verse sequence. Moreover, the audience for this song was explicitly rural, not from ‘towne & citie’ as the song geographically mapped the religious and political landscape of Lancashire.¹⁰⁵ The singers are portrayed as witnesses of the spread of heresy in the towns:

It is a great shame to see walladay walladay
 It is a great shame to see, Lorde for thy pitie
 It is a great shame to see, each state & each degree

¹⁰³ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.136.

¹⁰⁴ See above Chapter 4, p.147.

¹⁰⁵ For more on the religio-politic landscape of Lancashire see Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*.

Flee from your veritie in towne & citie.

The simplistic rhyming structure and the accessible lyrics indicate the wide social appeal of the song. When this was coupled with the tune's melody, this song would have been transmitted easily between, and understood by, all members of the local community and beyond.

The plural pronoun was also purposefully utilised in 'You that present take of us some pitie' in the *Great Hodge Podge* (see Fig. 1), providing further oral indicators of group performance. The local element in this song was also explicit, as this 'dittie was made upon the persecution made in Sefton parish especially by Vahon Bishop of Chester, & Nutter parson of Sefton & Deane of Chester'.¹⁰⁶

You that present are take of us some pitie
 Who in doleful wyse show our grieffe in songe,
 Mourne with us a whyle You that hear this dittie
 Made to moan ourselves of received wrong
 They seemed late our friend
 Whoo now seeke our ende
 Yea & utter overthrow
 for our conscience sake,
 They pursue of late
 Those whom they suspect or
 know Ancient truthe affectinge
 New found faiths rejecting,
 Such to prisons they do halle,
 There fynde hard favour
 only wee lose labour
 When for dase wee raise our calles

The singers purposefully engaged the audience, 'You that are present', which emphasised the physical proximity between the singers and listeners

¹⁰⁶ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.141v.

and gave them a specific role: to take 'pitie' and then to 'mourne with us' once they have heard the 'dittie'.

After the first verse united the singers with the audience, the song then listed the sufferings of the individuals within the community:

Husbands and their wives parted are a sunder
 Parents severed are from their children deare
 Servants men and mayds forced are a number
 Service newe to seeke, God, not they know wheare.
 Suckinge babes to crye
 Which at home do lye
 In the cradle for the pappe
 Mothers do bewayle
 Lyinge fast in jayle
 Their sweet babies heavie happe,
 All the countrie talketh
 Everie way out walketh
 What in sefton we endure,
 For us strange opinion
 But that ould Religion
 Austin planted here most sure

This list, as Margaret Sena has highlighted, 'conveyed a distinct sense of the shared experience' of the community as the verse was representative of the entire community of Catholics where 'in Sefton we endure'.¹⁰⁷ Yet it also provides an indication of the social make up and implied performers of the song, which included 'servants men and mayds' and indicates potential performance by all members of the household. Moreover, the song itself was an expression against actual events, and a response to specific incidents of persecution in the parish. Between 1597 and 1604 the bishopric of Chester was held by Richard Vaughan (c.1553-1607) who in these years became

¹⁰⁷ Sena, 'William Blundell', 59.

'preoccupied with the suppression of Catholicism' and wrote repeatedly to Cecil and the government about the problems of recusancy in Lancashire.¹⁰⁸ John Nutter was dean of Chester from 1589 until his death until 1602, which means that the song was composed in response to events that had occurred between 1597 and 1602. It was a time-bound complaint that would have reminded future performers of the sufferings previously endured, and would have added to the historical memory of the community. An indication of the community's complaints of loss of lands and persecution can be found in the third verse:

Houses with our growndes wee must sett to others
 And in other roosts seeke our dwellinge place
 But our babes to yonge to take with their mother
 Needs most stay behind; o most healine case!
 Our foes are so bent
 Nothing will content
 But our death in sowle by sinne,
 When they one can drawe
 From Christ sacred lawe
 Then they thinke the fielde they winne,
 Wretched is their winninge
 When they winne by sinninge
 And thearby gods favour lose,
 Happie are those losses
 Welcome are those crosses
 Where us save from endles woes

The final stanza, in marked contrast to the other three, was composed in the form of a prayer.

Jesu by thy grace sweeten so our crosses

¹⁰⁸ Brett Usher, 'Vaughan, Richard (c.1553-1607)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, accessed 30 January 2014. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28139>.

That we never faint, falle or cast them downe.
 Make us well content to sustaine our losses
 Whearby thoue last workd us a blissful crowne
 Yett good Lorde Jesus,
 Lay reward on us,
 Then thoue geevest strength to beare:
 Beare we for wee must
 Yet in thee wee trust
 To beare all with gladsome thynne
 Geeve us what thy biddest
 And bidde what thou pleaseth
 frelie wee our selves resyde
 In thy church protect us
 When wee sinne correct us
 Not our owne wee are but thyne.

This stanza employs many of the similar appeals in Blundell's songs, with an invocation of Jesus for strength in adversity, also using the language of the cross of Christ that thus far seems to be a hallmark of Blundell's lyrical style. Moreover, whilst the tune itself is mournfully melodic, the message from the community is that they will bear these gladly as the melody soars optimistically with the plea to 'good Lord Jesus, lay reward on us'.

The tune to 'Wee Catholikes tormented sore' in the *Great Hodge Podge*, is another example of the way Blundell used melody to emphasise lyrics.¹⁰⁹ Unlike the previous two songs, the melody to this ballad is buoyant, almost triumphant, and rather than a lament the song should be viewed as an outright assault on the Protestant status quo:

Wee Catholikes tormented sore
 With heresies fowl wailing tonge
 With prisons, tortures, loss of goodes,

¹⁰⁹ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.142v.

Of lande, yea lives, even theeves amonge,
do crave with haste purchased with grieffe,
of thee (sweet Jesu) some relieffe.

The second stanza was full of determined consolation, and an assertion of Catholic righteousness in the midst of the heresies of Protestantism:

We crave Relieffe in this distresse
We seeke some ease of this annoye
yet are wee well content with all
So thee in end wee may enioye
Ourselves so that wee do Resygne
Relieve us Lorde our cause is thyne

The song was a clear recognition of social upheaval and religious fracture, but the melody and the lyrics presented the strength of Catholicism. Such upheaval and inversion was also evident in another ballad preserved in the *Lancashire MS*, where the world had been turned upside down:¹¹⁰

Winter could into Summer hoate
well changed now may bee
For things as strange do come to pass
as we now plainly see:
England priestes which honoured hath
so many hundred years
Doth hang them up as traitors now,
Which causeth many teares.

The plural pronoun employed again here, and which was utilised repeatedly throughout the protest songs preserved and composed by the Blundells and his network, reveal that it was protest as much as prayer that preoccupied the household and their wider community. The protest songs within the commonplace books reveal evidence of a politicised community, using music to express complaint and enhance their faith.

¹¹⁰ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.33v.35.

Serving the Catholics of Little Crosby and beyond: evangelical strategy

Protest ballads are evidence of the creative ways that English Catholics, and recusants such as Blundell, represented their suffering as members of a persecuted community. Moreover, as Anne Dillon has shown, this was a community where ‘martyrdom and the act of recusancy became reflections of the same image’.¹¹¹ This is particularly explicit in several ballads in the collections that make repeated reference to torture and martyrdom, such as ‘Calvary mount is my delight’ in the *Lancashire MS*.¹¹² This song is in the first person and the singer proclaims a fervent desire to witness the place of Christ’s martyrdom:

O that I might a pilgrime go
that sacred mount to see
O that I might some service doe
where Christ died once for me.

The ballad used meditation upon Christ’s crucifixion to make a Protestant attack, this time on Calvin, and made a pointed statement against the pursuivants in England who he believed were hunting Catholic recusants and priests:

Nor all the helpe that they would have
from *Calvin’s* cursed crue
There would I make my tombe and grave
and never wish for new
Noe pursuiant I would esteeme
nor craftie catchpole feare;
Of gaile nor gailer nothinge deeme,
if I might harbour there.

The ballad’s most haunting political statement, however, is in the fervent desire for martyrdom, as the penultimate verse exemplified:

O London, let my quarters stand

¹¹¹ Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, 370.

¹¹² BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.2v.

upon thy gates to drye
 And let them beare the world in hand
 I did for treason dye
 Let cro[w]es and kytes my carkas eate
 let ravens their portion hau[e],
 Least afterwards my frendes intreate
 to lay my corpes in grave.

The vivid image evoked here alluded to Psalm 78:2, *Posuerunt morticina seruorum tuorum*, which was exceptionally popular amongst English Catholics during this period. 'They have given the dead bodies of thy servants to be meat for the fowls of the air: the flesh of thy saints for the beasts of the earth.' As Craig Monson has argued, William Allen must have had this text in mind when he described the executions in his martyrdom narrative, *A briefe historie of the glorious martyrdome of xii. reverend priests* (1582): 'yea even their bodies...though hanging on ports, pinnacles, poles & gibbets, though torne of beasts and birdes: yet rest in peace'.¹¹³

Print and manuscript martyrdom narratives such as Allen's were widely circulating among the laity in England, and certainly in Lancashire as Thomas Bell testified the community were particularly fond of Allen's writing. It is likely then that the transmission of the music within the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS* was also facilitated by the networks of countless itinerant priests that Little Crosby played host to over the years. Blundell was a leading figure in the area and his house became a site for devotion. He even allocated a plot of land at Crosby Hall that became known as the 'Harkirke', which acted as a burial ground for the local laity refused interment at their own parish.¹¹⁴ Blundell also buried five secular and Jesuit priests there during his lifetime, which included graduates from the

¹¹³ Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics, and the Motet', 358.

¹¹⁴ Lancashire Record Office, DDBL acc 6121 – Box 1, *Catholic Burial Register*.

seminaries at Valladolid, Rome and Douai.¹¹⁵ James Anderton was also closely associated with Jesuit priests, notably his cousin Lawrence Anderton who graduated from the English College in Seville at some point in late 1602 or early in 1603.¹¹⁶

Within the *Lancashire MS* is a copy of a 'song made by I: B: P: To the tune of Diana', the song was 'Jerusalem my happy home' and it is almost certain that this song was composed by James Anderton, who regularly used the pseudonym I.B.P, which stood for James Brerely Priest.¹¹⁷ It has been assumed by scholars that the earliest version of this hymn was from the anonymous publication in 1601 *The Song of Mary*, which contained the nineteen stanza 'description of the heavenly Jerusalem'.¹¹⁸ However, a search of Early English Books Online has revealed a hitherto unrealised, earlier and most likely original edition of the hymn preserved in the *A looking glass of mortalitie* published in 1599 and which, significantly, was penned by 'I.B.'.¹¹⁹ It might tentatively be suggested that the author of the *looking glass* was James Anderton. A comparison between the texts of all of the versions of this hymn has been provided in Appendix 3, which highlights the fascinating links and variations between the texts indicative at least in part of oral transmission. A key point of difference between the version of Jerusalem in the *Lancashire MS* and the *Shanne MS* from the previous chapter is the tune. Whilst scholars have assumed that the tune Shanne preserved in his commonplace book was the tune for 'O man in desperation' (as Shanne's text and the printed version are almost identical), this does not appear to be the tune that Anderton (or a later contributor, see Appendix 2 for slight variation

¹¹⁵ John Birtwisle - *Catholic Burial Register*, no. 40 see Anstruther, *Seminary Priests Vol. 1*, 36; John Layton - *Catholic Burial Register*, no. 69 see Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: Vol. 2: Early Stuarts, 1603-1659* (Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1975), 186 and Richard Holme, alias Lawrence Smith - *Catholic Burial Register*, no. 106 see Anstruther, *Seminary Priests Vol. 2*, 160.

¹¹⁶ Mullett, 'Anderton, Lawrence (1575-1643).

¹¹⁷ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.36v-37v.

¹¹⁸ [Anon.], *The Song of Mary* (London, 1601), 30-37.

¹¹⁹ I.B., *A looking glass of mortalitie* (London, 1599).

in handwriting style for this annotation) had in mind for his version of the song.¹²⁰ The tune of 'Diana' is now lost, but it is possible that it was the same as 'Roger' because a later ballad with the first line 'Diana and her darlings dear' was set to this tune, and the verses fit well to this tune.¹²¹

It is significant that there are not many differences between the printed versions of the hymn in *The Song of Mary*, the broadside, and the manuscript copies. Whilst for the Blundells and Andertons, who closely followed Ignatian forms of spiritual practice, the appeal to the senses in 'Jerusalem' would have been evocative, this was not censored for publication. Another sensory ballad on the heavenly Jerusalem in the *Lancashire MS* that was also published in the *The Song of Mary*, was 'Therusalem, thy joyes devine', which like the previous ballad was an Augustinian exposition on the joys of heaven, where earth was held up as a hellish exile currently inhabited by the ballad-singers.¹²² This second ballad was even more sensorial, appealing to smell: 'The swelling, Odoriferous balme / most sweetely there doth sweate and droppe', and sound, which was enhanced by the ballad itself: the 'Triumphant marters, you may heare / recount their dangers, which doe cease'. The circulation of these ballads in the manuscripts of Catholics and the Protestant mainstream highlights how in depictions of heaven, as in hell, as Peter Marshall has shown, Catholic texts were recyclable.¹²³

Ballads attributed to priests have also been preserved in the *Lancashire MS* and the *Great Hodge Podge*, furthering the evidence of musical networks of song exchange and collaboration that surrounded Blundell and Little Crosby. In the *Lancashire MS*, is a ballad 'True Christian hart cease to lament',

¹²⁰ The compilers of the *EBBA* database have utilised Shanne's tune for all the ballads set to 'O man in desperation'.

¹²¹ 'An excellent New Sonnet on the Goddess Diana', *EBBA*, accessed 30 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32458/xml>.

¹²² It is a distinct possibility that the *Song of Mary* also came from this Lancastrian network.

¹²³ Peter Marshall, 'The Reformation of Hell? Protestant and Catholic Infernalisms in England c.1560-1640', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61 (2010): 279-298.

and on the page is the attribution: 'Mr Thewlis writ him self to the tune of <blank>'.¹²⁴ John Thewlis was born at Up Holland c.1568, four miles south of Birchley Hall, and fifteen miles east of Little Crosby. He was ordained at Rome in 1590 and ministered in Lancashire until his arrest and incarceration in Lancaster Castle. Whilst the tune to his ballad is now lost, each verse ended with the repetition of a 'joyful' or 'happy rising', which suggests a light and buoyant melody to add to the ballad's inherent joyfulness despite the subject matter. Unlike the doleful songs on the crucifixion or on the subject of Catholic persecution, 'True Christian hart cease to lament' was composed to uplift the Catholic community in times of adversity.¹²⁵ The twenty stanza song exclaimed how singing would cause joy despite England's spiritual demise. In the face of adversity, it was most likely during his imprisonment that Thewlis composed his ballad, which he appeared to address to his fellow prisoners:

O yea poore prisoners, dread not death
 though you have donne amisse
 But pray to god with faithfull hartes
 to bring you unto blisse
 Confesse your sins with contreete hartes
 unto our heavenlie king
 For he is mercifull indeed
 Christ send us happie rising.

As well as consoling his fellow prisoners, composing the ballad also seems to have served as a form of self-consolation for Thewlis, as he resigned himself to his fate. He utilised familiar imagery from the genre of martyr-ballads, as we saw in 'Calvary mount':

Noe heardle hard nor hempen rope
 canne make me once afraid
 Noe tyrantes knife against my life

¹²⁴ BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.22v.

¹²⁵ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.23-25v.

shall make me dismaide
 Though flesh and bones be broken and torne
 my soule, I trust, will singe
 Amongst the glorious companie
 with Christ, our heavenlie kinge.

Blundell also preserved a martyr-ballad in the *Great Hodge Podge* 'made by a virtuous & learned priest called Mr Malton, whose true name was <blank>'. The identity of this priest has proved impossible to identify, but the subject is known: the ballad was composed 'in honour & memorie of one Mr Robert Anderton, preeste & marter'.¹²⁶ This Robert Anderton (1560-1586) was the eldest son of Thomas Anderton of Chorley, and brother to the Jesuit Lawrence Anderton, and thus both were cousins to the 'Jerusalem' composer James Anderton. Priests were often the only point of contact for Catholics desiring news of their co-religionists and, in line with the popular genre of news-ballads, the ballad proved an appropriate way to spread the news of Anderton's plight.¹²⁷ The ballad provided a detailed picture of the events leading up to his capture and execution: 'And sayled through the surgenge seas / to...the Ile of Wighte'; 'From thence hee wente the Judge before / To winche the next daye / To plead his Justice there / His maister Christ him sent'. The ballad then provided an account of his trial and gory demise, and typical of the martyr-narrative genre, included a transcription of his last words, when 'in spiritte hee spake this whole':

The hurdle cannot me dismaye
 nor feares of fyer tormente
 Loe hatefull hangmans knife to see
 with joy I am contente.
 Come hangeman come & make me sure

¹²⁶ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.145-145v.

¹²⁷ The desire for news was fervent in this period, and there is no reason to believe that Catholics did not share in this enthusiasm. See Adam Fox, 'Rumour, News and Popular Political Opinion in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 40 (1997): 597-620.

thou spends thy tyme in wast
 With bloody hands pull out my harte
 of mee good leave thou hast...
 In Christ his cause to end my liffe
 it is my whole desyer...
 To live with saints & angells bright
 sure comforte Christ doth send

Martyr-ballads were written on the deaths of numerous English Catholic priests during this period and were vital expressions of faith: the solidarity of the community expressed as they sang the news together in memorial. After John Thewlis' execution in 1616, a martyr-ballad was also composed in his honour and there is a copy in the *Lancashire MS*.¹²⁸ The 'songe of the death of Mr Thewlis' contained the standard description of events and his important last words:

thanke you for your loves -
 your good will all I see -
 But I must take this Cross
 that Christ hath lefte for me

The ballad emphasised how he too had died the perfect death:

O christ that suffered death
 thy spouse for to defend
 lyke constancie till death
 and in heaven be our end.

The *Lancashire MS* contained one final martyr-ballad, and 'the songe of foure preistes that suffered death in Lancaster' also provided a triumphant account of Catholic defiance in the face of persecution:

In measure of our feight,
 reward we beare a-way
 Then let vs stand vpright

¹²⁸ BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.25v.

stronglie in our aray
 And never be dismaide
 with anie adversitie
 Sith Christ, our lord, hath said:
 take my Crosse followe mee.

Both of these martyr-ballads used simple rhyming couplets, were four lines to a verse, and the manuscript indicates that they were sung to the same tune of 'Daintie come thou to me'. The four priests of Lancaster had been executed between 1600 and 1601 but as John Thewlis was executed in 1616, three years after the death of James Anderton, it seems unlikely that James composed either of the two stylistically similar ballads. Both emphasised the way that the priests had followed the cross of Christ, and it is my contention that these may have been composed by William Blundell due to the links between the families, and Blundell's obvious talent for ballad composition as evidenced in the *Hodge Podge*. Blundell may have composed the ballads as a means of advertising the plight of the executions that he most likely had witnessed personally.¹²⁹ The martyr-ballads circulating within the Blundell network would have functioned as sacred texts for use in the personal and communal devotions of his community. They were bearers of history and continuity, and served as emblems of religious identity and allegiance. Both Blundell and the missionary priests used ballads to broadcast Catholic devotion across the social spectrum, and this mutual strategy revealed how Catholics identified closely with the evangelising efforts of the missionary priests.

In considering the evangelical strategies of missionary priests on the continent, T. Frank Kennedy has argued that part of the Jesuit missionary success 'was in the method of borrowing and redefining in very practical

¹²⁹ Public executions were well-attended during this period, with crowds for the London executions often numbering into the thousands.

ways the very apostolic initiatives of earlier traditions'.¹³⁰ Most notably, it was in their adaptation of the *'lauda'* tradition, the principal genre of non-liturgical religious song in late medieval Italy, that 'assumed a life of its own' after Trent when the priests used music in the teaching of Christian doctrine.¹³¹ Extremely influential in this regard was Diego Ledesma's *Modo per insegnar* of 1573, the first known work of what later became a long list of catechetical manuals that dealt explicitly with singing the catechism.¹³² Yet whilst the way that priests used music to evangelise the laity on the continent and in the New World has recently been widely acknowledged by scholars, how this was manifested in England has so far remained unexplored.¹³³

In England, priests identified that ballads were uniquely suited to their purpose and were therefore incorporated into a musical missionary strategy. They were utilised to spread news of martyrs for the faith and to promote Catholicism. That ballads formed a critical part of Catholic evangelism drew the attention of some Protestants during this period, and Lewis Owen denounced an Augustinian friar in the 1628, for making converts among 'balladmakers' and 'players'.¹³⁴ Yet, by familiarising themselves with the balladmongers, the mouthpieces for the ears of the community, the priests were consolidating strategy. The priests were learning the tunes of the most popular songs in order to utilise them and

¹³⁰ T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., 'Some Unusual Genres of Sacred Music in the Early Modern Period: The Catechism as a Musical Event in the Late Renaissance – Jesuits and 'Our Way of Proceeding' in *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.*, eds. Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (London: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

¹³¹ Blake Wilson, 'Lauda (lt. 'praise'; pl, laude [laudi]', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 24 January 2013.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43313>.

¹³² Giacomo Ledesma, *Modo per insegnar la Dottrina Cristiana*[...] (Rome, 1573).

¹³³ See summary provided by T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., 'Music and the Jesuit Mission in the New World', *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 39 (2007): 1-24.

¹³⁴ Lewis Owen, *The Unmasking of all popish monks, friers and Iesuits* (London, 1628), 35.

disseminate Catholic adaptations to their melodies.¹³⁵ This was a strategy advocated by Ledesma, who in the *Modo per insegnar* addressed the issue of borrowing tunes from profane repertory and refashioning them with spiritual texts, as well as collecting sacred tunes.¹³⁶ This was also a strategy that had been attempted by the ‘godlier’ sorts of Protestants in the earlier years of Elizabeth’s reign, but this had proved ineffective and, as Christopher Marsh explained, the practice was abandoned around 1580.¹³⁷

For Catholics however, the technique was firmly embraced and a ballad in both the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS* reveals the effectiveness of this strategy.¹³⁸ The ballad ‘Jesu come thou to me’ had clear relevance to Catholics during this period, where the opening line ‘Jesus my loving spouse’ is suggestive of its composition by a priest:

Jesus my loving spouse
 eternall deitie
 P[er]fect guide of my soule
 Way to eternitie
 Strengthen me with thy grace
 From thee Ile never flee
 Let them all say what they will
 Jesu come thou to me

This was a direct adaption of the ballad, or ‘new Northern Jigge, called, Daintie come thou to me’, where the opening stanza echoed:

Wilt thou forsake mee thus,
 and leave me in misery?
 And I gave my hand to thee
 onley with thee to die:

¹³⁵ This technique of recycling melodies with different texts is known as ‘contrafactum’, see: Roger Falck and Martin Picker, ‘Contrafactum’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 30 April 2014.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06361>.

¹³⁶ Cited in Kennedy, ‘Music and the Jesuit mission’, 18.

¹³⁷ Marsh, ‘Sound of Print’, 184.

¹³⁸ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.274-275 and BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.7-7v.

Cast no care to thy heart,
 from thee I will not flee,
 Let them say what they will,
 Dainty come thou to me.¹³⁹

Whilst the tune is now lost, the Catholic composer of 'Jesu come thou to me' was purposefully adapting a joyful, secular ballad to enhance Catholic devotion.¹⁴⁰ It was to uplift in times of hardship, which might include exile, or for those like the Blundells travel overseas for education, and the ballad prayed to Jesus for their safe passage and to strengthen the singer at home:

Some passe through surginge seas
 In Daylie jeopdie
 Hazarding & life and limme
 To bee inricht thereby
 In toyle at home therefore
 I by possessing thee
 Have all they have & more
 Jesu come thou to me

The text in the *Great Hodge Podge* was not in Blundell's hand, and based on the presence of text composed in 1631 in the same hand in the *Hodge Podge*, was likely transcribed around then.¹⁴¹ Moreover another much later annotator has recorded that it was an 'excellent ballet', indicating its continued use in Little Crosby throughout the years. The relevance of this ballad to Catholic women, particularly future nuns that were also to become Christ's 'spouse' is evident, and one woman from the Blundell household was certainly moved by the song, as they poignantly adapted the final verse:

¹³⁹ 'A new Northern Jigge, called Daintie come thou to me', *EBBA*, accessed 30 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30140/xml>.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Watt, *Cheap Print*, 104-5. Watt cited Rollins (see n.124) but mistakenly asserted that 'Jesu come thou to me' was an example of a Protestant 'godly' adaptation. Indeed, unlike the Catholic songs we have seen in this chapter, Watt explains how for Protestants, 'love songs and dialogues with Christ did not endure.' This was, Watt claims, because the 'invention of non-scriptural speeches for God or Christ was a dubious exercise for Protestants, with their emphasis on biblical authority and the clearing away of superfluous apocrypha'.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix 2.

'Ffor thee my soule was made / ~~nought else conforteth mee~~ **shee** longes to come to thee'.¹⁴²

In a country where the presence of seminary priests on English soil was a capital offence, music could evangelise through networks of oral communication where missionaries were unable to tread. By replacing 'Dainty come thou to me' with 'Jesu come thou to me', the priests provided Catholics with a covert way to practice their faith and enhance their devotions. As the Catholic listeners heard the tune of 'Dainty come thou to me' in the marketplace or on the lips of Protestant ballad-singers, the melody would trigger the new subliminal devotional message. For Blundell, the transformation of this association was so effective he ensured the two martyr-ballads he composed should also be sung to the tune of 'Dainty'.

Maintaining the Margins

The music in the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS* demonstrates the important familial and community functions of the books compiled by William Blundell, his successors, and the network that surrounded them, which included families such as the Andertons. The songs bound groups of people together in musical appreciation and performance. Blundell, Anderton and the community used music to emphasise social and religious bonds, and to frame polemical attacks. They adopted trends in popular music to reinforce, or subvert the lyrical meaning of songs; devotional music and songs on suffering were given tunes that echoed tones of consolation, and polemically charged assaults on Protestantism used music that satirised. This chapter has revealed how the network's experiences were memorialised within a genre of sorrowful song loaded with appeals to God. Moreover, the transmission of music by missionary priests and the ballads they composed indicate hitherto unrecognised modes of Catholic evangelism in England with the adaptation of 'Jesu come thou to me' from 'Dainty come thou to

¹⁴² My emphasis.

me'. The commonplace books reveal a vivid communal Catholic musical culture, and one which as the next three chapters will show was not unique to Lancashire.

6 | The Prison Modified: Musical Translation

During the reign of Elizabeth approximately 285 Catholic priests were imprisoned. Of these 124 were executed, although not always as soon as they were captured, and the majority spent what was left of their lives in jail.¹ The number of Catholic lay prisoners during the Elizabethan and early Stuart period is difficult to estimate, although it has been suggested that in 1596 there were 90 prisoners for religion within the London prisons, and by 1615 records indicate there were over 60 in the Newgate alone.² Consequently prisons throughout the country increasingly became focal points for English Catholics, and as Lisa McClain suggested for those in London: 'Ironically, the Protestant-controlled locations in which it was hoped that Catholic spirit and opportunities for worship could be quashed - the prisons - were the sites where English Catholics gathered most prevalently to appropriate sacred space'.³ McClain revealed how in prisons - priests conducted the sacraments, performed masses, heard confession, and catechised souls, which transformed the jails into Catholic spaces. This chapter will extend McClain's analysis to ask how the appropriation of space occurred through the production and performance of music.

Scholars such as Alexandra Walsham have argued that, in order to carry through the policies and messages of the Council of Trent to the beleaguered Catholic laity, the culture of print may have acted as 'imperfect proxy and deputy' for those without regular access to priests.⁴ The next three chapters will reveal how music too acted as 'imperfect proxy' and enabled Catholics to appropriate Protestant spaces as sites of Catholic devotion. This

¹ Marshall, *Reformation England*, 198. About half of all missionary priests that arrived in Elizabethan England were arrested.

² Cited in E.D. Pendry ed. *Elizabethan Prisons and Prison Scenes*, 2 Vols. (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1974), Vol. 1, 15.

³ McClain, *Lest we be damned*, 386.

⁴ Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print", *Past & Present*, 168 (2000): 72-123 (at 121).

chapter will ask what it was like to be a Catholic in prison in England during this period, and how prisons and prisoners became central to musical forms of Catholic consolation. By focussing in particular on the prison experiences of the first convicted recusant to suffer praemunire, Francis Tregian (1548-1608) and his son and namesake, hereafter Tregian junior (c.1574-1617) this chapter will also challenge the broader historiography of crime and punishment during this period. Overshadowed by Michel Foucault's 'carceral system' (a commentary on post-eighteenth century models of discipline) viewed as a response to a 'civilising process' amongst society, many have chosen to view the early modern penal system as 'ordered', where the individual was relentlessly oppressed by the overriding power of the state.⁵ In recent years such Foucauldian readings of punishment have been questioned by scholars such as Thomas Laqueur, Peter Lake and Michael Questier who have built a more capacious picture of the politics of imprisonment.⁶ In actuality, prisons in England bore little resemblance to the complete and austere institutions theorised by Foucault and by exploring the ways that Catholics creatively utilised music for devotion, this chapter will underline the necessity for a more nuanced picture of imprisonment during this period.

'[R]ather a chapel for superstitious service than a prison or gaol'

In trying to build a picture of Catholic life in prison the historian is at once faced with the problem of evidence, which is scant at best. Prisons in England during the period were decentralised and fundamentally disordered; the majority were devolved and managed by private individuals

⁵ See David Rothman and Norval Morris eds. *The Oxford History of the Prison: the Practice of Punishment in Western Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) and Michael R. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1979).

⁶ Thomas Laqueur, 'Crowds, Carnival and the State in English Executions, 1604-1868' in *The First Modern Society: Essays in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, eds. Lee Beier et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 305-356; Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 153 (1996): 64-107.

and therefore official records were not kept. Moreover many of the London prisons were destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666 and again in the Gordon Riots of 1780. There were around fifty different prisons scattered around the country during the period, from private castles designated specifically to incarcerate recusants, such as Ely and Wisbech in Cambridgeshire, to the prisons in London, which housed felons (vagabonds and debtors, amongst others) alongside recusants, such as the Marshalsea, Newgate, the Fleet, the Clink and of course, the Tower.⁷ Early modern prisons were usually used to hold those awaiting trial or punishment and subsequently where the prisoners were held largely depended on where they had been, or were to be indicted.

Catholic prisoners were most commonly moved to London to await their fate. In 1577, Francis Tregian (1548-1608) of Probus, Cornwall, was the first layman to suffer praemunire following his arrest for harbouring the Catholic priest, Cuthbert Mayne. He spent the next twenty-six years in prison, the first three as a 'close prisoner' (intended to be solitary confinement although it is clear this was not always adhered to) in Launceston, Cornwall and the Queen's Bench, Southwark, before he was moved to the Fleet Prison in 1580.⁸ The warden of the Fleet during this period was Alexander Harris and it is clear that the more people were willing to pay, the more preferable the conditions. Harris certainly took advantage of the growing numbers of wealthy Catholic prisoners such as Tregian, for between 1596 and 1604 new chambers were built at a cost of £900.⁹ In the 1610s Harris estimated that the number of lodgings in the prison had increased five-fold since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign to

⁷ McGrath and Rowe, 'The Imprisonment of Catholics', 420. See also Geoffrey de C. Parmiter, 'The Imprisonment of Papists in Private Castles', *Recusant History*, 19 (1988): 16-38.

⁸ For Lord Vaux's 'close' imprisonment also in the Fleet for several months between August 1581 and April 1583, during which time a priest was smuggled in to perform mass, see Jessie Childs, *God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England* (London: The Bodley Head, 2014), 79-89.

⁹ *The Oeconomy of the Fleet: Or Apologetical Answer of Alexander Harris Unto Nine Articles Set Forth Against Him by the Prisoners*, ed. Augustus Jessopp (London: Camden Society, 1879).

accommodate the growing number.¹⁰ Francis Tregian enjoyed many freedoms in the prison: he had his own servant, John Philips, and his wife Mary was allowed to live with him and bore him a total of eighteen children during her lifetime.

It would seem there were few restrictions placed upon the Tregians and they were evidently able to cultivate relationships with their fellow Catholic prisoners and co-religionists beyond the prison walls. As a report to Bishop Aylmer described:

As one Dr. Fryer, a physician, who cometh and hath come often under colour to see Mrs Trugeon, who is sick; which doctor is accounted a notable Papist: and one Mr. Rocheford, an Irish gentleman of Gray's-Inn or Lincoln's-Inn. Both which, with others whom we know not, come now to Mrs Trugeon, since this restraint, who is at liberty, and one of the notablest Papists of all the house. The which Mrs Trugeon doth so lodge, as all the hours of the night he may go into the garden, and give intelligence to all the Papists in the house, at his pleasure, of any news that is brought in.¹¹

From 1582 the Tregians had their own private quarters and several Catholics were continually in and out of their cell, facilitated by Mary who, with their children, was allowed to come and go as she pleased. Tregian was evidently one of the most important individuals within the Fleet and acted as a point of contact for several Catholics both within and outside of the prison. As the letter to Bishop Aylmer testified, Tregian regularly met with other priests and laymen, and as the spy Benjamin Beard reported, his wife and one of his daughters also maintained court connections: 'I understand Mrs Tregion, Mrs Charnock and Mrs Sibill Tregion will be heere att Court at this day'.¹²

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Historical Collection of the life and acts of John Aylmer, Lord Bishop of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. John Strype (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821), 27.

¹² SP 12/248/118, f.185r.

Francis Tregian's networks in the Fleet are very intriguing. He may have known the family of William Byrd, due to Beard's report that Tregian met 'with one Bird Brother to Bird of the Chappell' on 28 May 1594.¹³ Moreover, from an incident described in the Star Chamber records revealed by John Harley in a recent analysis of Byrd's networks, it seems plausible that Tregian knew William Byrd personally.¹⁴ In 1597 some of Tregian's fellow prisoners, Philip Smyth, who was married to William Byrd's sister Martha, and Robert Fisher, made a complaint against George Reynell, the warden of the Fleet. They alleged that he exacted fees bearing the forged signatures of commissioners. Smyth and several others, including Robert Broughe, 'a maker of organs, virginalls & other Instruments of Musicke' and another of Byrd's brothers-in-law (married to his sister Barbara) gave written evidence.¹⁵ Francis Tregian also gave evidence alongside William Byrd and his brother John. John Byrd had been imprisoned in the Fleet for several months from 1581-1582 and Philip Smyth was in the Fleet from sometime before the complaint in 1597 until his death in 1604. During this time it is clear that William Byrd must have frequented the prison whilst Tregian was incarcerated or else he would not have been asked to give evidence.¹⁶ Alongside these possible musical networks, Tregian also cultivated an intellectual circle within the prison, which included fellow Cornish Catholics such as Nicholas Roscarrock (c.1548-1634), author of the *Lives of the English Saints*, which is the only extant sixteenth- or seventeenth-century compilation of the lives of the saints of Cornwall and Devon.¹⁷

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 177-8.

¹⁵ Harley, *The World of William Byrd*, 95.

¹⁶ Cited in Harley, *The World of William Byrd*, 177.

¹⁷ *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon*, ed. Nicholas Orme (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1992). It is not known when exactly Roscarrock compiled this volume of work during his lifetime, and it remained in manuscript until this publication.

It was these freedoms that provided the most anxiety for the state and, as Peter Lake and Michael Questier have emphasised, Catholic activities in prison were the ‘most consistently reported aspect of Catholic life’.¹⁸ Official records within the State Papers indicated that at times the prisons were completely out of control.¹⁹ Prisons were frequently referred to as religious spaces within sources from both sides of the confessional divide. Newgate was regularly referred to as a ‘popish chapel’ where visitors were freely received and priests were escorted out to perform their offices in town.²⁰ Another source from 1612 also claimed that Newgate was ‘rather a chapel for superstitious service than a prison or gaol’, and in 1582 Thomas Nicholas, wrote a pamphlet entitled the ‘Monastical life in the Abbey of the Marshalsea’.²¹ After their transformation to monasteries and chapels, Catholics received the sacraments and at times, were even married.²² Prisons were equated with the continental seminaries as the Bishop of London wrote to the Lord Treasurer and complained:

But this I find among them and specially in the Marshalsea, that those wretched priests, which by her Majesty’s lenity live there, as it were in a *college of caitiffs*, do commonly say mass within the prison, and entice the youth of London unto them (to my great grief) and, as far as I can learn, do daily reconcile them.²³

¹⁸ Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, 188.

¹⁹ For evidence of bribery see J.C.H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558-1791* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1970), 60-5; S. McConville, *A History of English Prison Administration Vol. 1* (London: Routledge, 1981), 12-13. Also see incidence of recusants operating Hampshire prison that in Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat*, 196.

²⁰ SP 14/135/51

²¹ STAC 8/16/17 (1612). The intriguing pamphlet appears no longer to be extant, but it is referred to in *H.M.C. Salisbury MSS*, Vol. 2, 534-535 (1582), where the printer asks Cecil’s permission to print it:

‘The bearer hereof is the printer that printed the little treatise of “Caesar and Pompeius,” which I presented to the right honourable Lady Anne, Countess of Oxford; and he it is that hath spent some money to print that little pamphlet which I sent to your Honour at Windsor, touching the “Monastical life in the Abbey of Marshalsea.” The thing will terrify all the papists in England. If it seem convenient to your Honour it may please you to permit him to have the printing thereof.’

²² *HMC Salisbury MSS*, Vol. 10, 280 (the testimony of Francis Taylor who had been married in Newgate by a priest). For more marriages see *Acts of the privy council of England*, eds. J.R. Dasent et al. (London, 1890 - 1907), 1619-1621, 153.

²³ My emphasis. Cited in Pendry ed., *Elizabethan Prisons*, Vol. 2, 270.

Catholic children were not just sent to the London prisons: in September 1599 all the sons of the English gentry were removed from the prison in Wisbech Castle, Cambridgeshire, and the two investigating officials confirmed that Wisbech was serving as a 'seminary to corrupt youth'.²⁴ Such evangelising efforts also extended to the laity, and prisons were ripe sites for conversion, as an anonymous letter to Bishop Aylmer complained about the activities of the Tregian junior's parents in the Fleet:

It may please your Lordship to understand that the Thymbletharps, Mr Farly, and Mr. Thomson, have been converted by Dr. Halsey and Trugeon.²⁵

Prisons, then, should be viewed as a microcosm for the world where Catholics practised their religion openly, sent their children for education and, significantly for the current analysis, transformed their cells with music to sites of devotion.

Evidence for musical performances emerge from spy-reports and in the descriptions of the activities of priests.²⁶ From this it is clear that prison-performances were highly charged occasions: in 1582, Thomas Bell the zealous northern seminarist (and later apostate) marched into the prison at York Castle with three other priests and various York Catholics. Bell was already known to the prisoners and had entered the prison daily to hear confessions and to preach. This time, with reinforcements, Bell 'sang high mass there with deacon, subdeacon and music'.²⁷ There is a wealth of evidence describing the regular performance of masses within prisons, and while most were performed for the benefit of the prisoners some also attracted outsiders.²⁸ These were clearly not incidents in isolation, for in 1613

²⁴ *Historical collection of...John Aylmer*, 27.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ For more on the spy-networks of Elizabethan England see: John Bossy, *Under the Molehill: An Elizabethan Spy Story* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) and John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011).

²⁷ Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: Vol. 1*, 30.

²⁸ For example: In October 1588 account of Catholics hearing mass in the Tower of London and being sustained financially by Philip Howard, earl of Arundel [SP 12/209/3, and SP

efforts were made by the state to separate lay and clerical prisoners in order to deny the laity from the evangelising efforts of the priests, and current Catholics the sacraments, through a purge of the Clink and Newgate.²⁹

It is clear that many of these subversive occasions included music and sung chants, as an informer's report to Sir Robert Cecil revealed of the activities in the Clink prison: on 20 August 1601 'mass was said (as no day fails), by one of three priests, prisoners in the Clynk, alternis vicibus [alternately] for all comers in the forenoon, and *dirges in the afternoon*'.³⁰ A dirge is a song of mourning and often performed at funerals, or less commonly in the general commemoration of the dead. The account revealed that every afternoon in the Clink prison, Catholics utilised music to sanctify the space of their imprisonment and enhance their prayers in communal performance to commemorate their departed co-religionists

'[H]is heart being brimful of divine consolations on these occasions'

In 1593 the Catholic priest William Davies was imprisoned in Beaumaris Castle, Anglesey and there with four companions he 'formed a kind of religious community in the prison':

They all rose at four in the morning and then employed one hour in mental prayer; they recited together the hours of the divine office, and Mr. Davies every day said mass to them with great devotion and many tears, which though he strove to conceal, he was not able, his heart being brimful of divine consolations on these occasions. After Mass and thanksgiving they sung together

12/217/61]. Fifty were taken at mass in the Marshalsea in 1600 [SP 12/274 /54, 402] and thirty in Newgate in 1607 [SP 12/274/50, 398].

²⁹ See Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Prisons, Priests and people' in *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (London: UCL Press, 1998), 195-234 (at 203).

³⁰ My emphasis. Cecil Papers 87/144, Calendar Ref: Vol. 11, 363.

the anthem, *O Sacrum Convivium*, and then applied themselves to reading and studying, and Mr. Davies to his prayer.³¹

Music played a vital role in their consolatory process: *O Sacrum Convivium* is a Latin prose text specifically composed to honour the Blessed Sacrament, an antiphon from the feast of Corpus Christi, which countered the heresies that questioned the real presence. This was particularly relevant in the context of Protestant England:

O sacred banquet!
 in which Christ is received,
 the memory of his Passion is renewed,
 the mind is filled with grace,
 and a pledge of future glory to us is given.
 Alleluia.

In the daily performance of this sacred music after mass, their prayers and devotions were compounded, and there they spent 'the last six months after Mr. Davies' return to Beaumaris, with so much comfort to their souls that they seemed to be *rather in heaven than in a prison*'.³² Imprisoned missionary priest John Gerard also used similar language to describe his move to the Clink from the Counter, when he asserted: 'my new prison was so much better than the old one. All the prisoners found it so, and I, in particular, for there were more Catholics confined there. No longer now could they prevent me from receiving the Sacraments'. Moreover though 'I was locked up, I look on this change to the Clink as *a translation from Purgatory to Paradise*'.³³

Transforming imprisonment into a positive devotional experience was actively encouraged in advice literature to Catholics. For the increasing numbers of English Catholic prisoners during this period such consolation was vital, and as John O'Malley has argued the role of consolation as part of

³¹ *Memoirs of Missionary Priests, ...and of other Catholics, ...that have suffered death in England, on religious accounts, from...1577 to 1684*, ed. Richard Challoner (London, 1741), 193-4.

³² *Ibid.* My emphasis.

³³ My emphasis. Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, 78.

Catholic spirituality in this period 'can hardly be overestimated'.³⁴ As the numbers of English Catholics imprisoned for the faith increased, so did the need for consolatory devotion and literature. As Sarah Covington has highlighted, whilst this tradition was self-consciously backward-looking to the late medieval *ars moriendi* tradition, which culminated in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola - the use of consolation literature in England 'must be viewed in the context of a vibrant post-Tridentine spirituality', which was 'readapted to meet the specific challenges of Protestant hostility'.³⁵ In England imprisonment became an important imaginative locus for both Catholics and Protestants and there was a quantifiable obsession with prisons within early modern literature and drama.³⁶ As Rebecca Beale has counted, of the 300 extant plays performed in London between 1578 and 1616, only 20 do not make direct reference to prisons.³⁷ For Catholics this was even more vivid, and the literature they composed made regular reference to their imprisoned co-religionists. Typical are tracts such as the 'Great and Long Sufferings for the Catholic Faith of Mr. Francis Tregian', which was composed anonymously in 1593 and circulated widely both before and after his death.³⁸ Prisoners were also commemorated alongside martyrs, as long lists naming all of those persecuted, imprisoned, and martyred for the Catholic faith reveal, such as the one preserved in a Catholic manuscript volume at the Bodleian library.³⁹

Literature to the persecuted was also composed by priests such as Robert Southwell who advised 'the reuerend priests, & to the honorable, worshipful, & other of the laye sort restrayned in durance for the Catholicke

³⁴ John O'Malley, *Religious culture in the sixteenth century: preaching rhetoric, spirituality and reform* (Burlington, VT: Variorum, 1993), 5.

³⁵ Sarah Covington, 'Consolation on Golgotha: Comforters and Sustainers of Dying Priests in England, 1580-1625', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60 (2009): 270-293 (at 271-272).

³⁶ See Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

³⁷ From Rebecca Beale's unpublished PhD thesis, cited in Ruth Ahnert, 'The Prison in Early Modern Drama', *Literature Compass*, 9 (2012): 34-47 (at 34).

³⁸ Reprinted in *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, Vol. 1, 61-142.

³⁹ Bodl. MS. Eng. Th. B. 2, ff.582-588. More on these volumes in Chapter 8.

fayth' in his *Epistle of Comfort* (1587) to take control of their own imprisonment. He emphasised how honourable it was to be imprisoned for the faith: 'And a thousande tymes happye are you, whose prisons are proofes, whose cheynes are pledges of your future immortallitye'.⁴⁰ Similar imagery was utilised in music and ballads composed on imprisonment, as the ballads in chapter five from the Blundell and Lancashire collections revealed. Southwell also utilised the image of a caged bird:

'which is, that in the cage they not onlye singe their naturall note, both sweetlyer and oftener, than abroade, but learne also diuerse other, farre more pleasant, and delightsome... And when might you so freelye range emongest the quires of Angels, as when you are sequestred from the distractions of vaine companye?'⁴¹

The ability of music to console Catholic prisoners, and enable them to 'not onlye singe' but to lift their prayers to heaven 'emongest the quires of Angels', was widely recognised during this period. As the preface to 'The Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowful Soule' (1613) from Sir William Leighton asserted, those performing music 'may reape profit and consolation by singing'.⁴² Robert Burton also emphasised how music was a remedy:

a 'roaring-meg against Melancholy, to ereare and reviuue the languishing Soule, affecting not only the eares, but the very arteries, the vitall & animall spirits,...And this it will effect in the most dull, seuere, and sorowfull Soules...it doth extenuate feares and furies, appeaseseth cruelty, awakeneth heaiunesse, and to such as are watchfull, it causeth quiet rest, it takes away splene and hatred, and cures all irksomnesse and heavinesse of the Soule...In a word it is so powerful a thing, that it ravisheth the Soule, and carries it beyond it selfe, helpes, eleuates, extends it...[music could] make a melancholy man merry, & him that was merry,

⁴⁰ Southwell, *An epistle of comfort*, 99.

⁴¹ Southwell, *An epistle of comfort*, 101.

⁴² William Leighton, *The teares of lamentations of a sorrowful soule* (London, 1613), f.1v.

much merrier than before, a louer more inamored, a Religious man more divine'.⁴³

This knowledge meant that priests often encouraged their fellow prisoners to sing songs and ballads, like John Thewlis had done when he composed a ballad during his imprisonment as we saw in chapter five. The ballad was a form of self-consolation, and simultaneously aimed to console his fellow prisoners and those performing it.

Francis Tregian was also something of an amateur poet, influenced by the ballad tradition and well aware of the ability of these forms of oral culture to console. There are two verses extant that he penned for his wife whilst he was in the Fleet, which included an exhortation for her to pray in his absence so that her 'doleful mynde' is 'restored to mirthe':

What should sende I know not well,
 But sure I am of this,
 The doleful mynde restored to mirthe,
 By perfecte prayer is:
 Lett prayer bee yoare practise, wife,
 Lett prayer bee youre playe,
 Lett prayer bee youre staple of truste,
 Lett prayer bee youre staye:
 Lett prayer bee youre castell stronge,
 Lett prayer bee youre force,
 Lett prayer bee your place of rest,
 Lette prayer bee youre porte.⁴⁴

The second was entitled 'A prayer in prison', which was similar in its repetitive, ballad-like articulation and called on God for comfort and consolation. As the opening lines exclaimed:

O Ever livinge Lorde of Lordes,

⁴³ Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621), 373.

⁴⁴ Francis Tregian, 'A letter from prison to his wife' in *Recusant Poets*, ed. Guiney, 196.

O myghty Kinge of Kinges
 O solace of the sorowfull,
 O glasse, who gladnesse bringes:
 O puisant prince o passinge power,
 O regente of all rule,
 My guyde, my garde expell from mee
 All foolishe feare and dule:⁴⁵

Similar forms of literary production have led scholars such as Molly Murray to assert that perhaps we should view the early modern prison as a 'site of culture', similar to the court and the university as 'a place of significant textual, and literary production'.⁴⁶ Such literary production also included the transcription of music, as the Catholic prisoner Francis Tregian junior copied part-books of predominantly secular Italian music, specifically for performance whilst incarcerated in the Fleet prison from c.1614-1617.⁴⁷

The legacy of Francis Tregian Junior

Before exploring Tregian junior's extraordinary musical legacy, it is first necessary to gloss some of the earlier details of his life prior to his imprisonment. Tregian junior moved to the continent in 1586, aged around 12 and was first educated at Eu, before moving to Douai (then at Rheims) to complete his education. There he was evidently a high performing student because in 1591 he was chosen to welcome the vice-papal legate to France, Claudio Rangoni, the Bishop of Piacenza, with a Latin oration when he visited the college in August of that year. In 1592 he graduated from Rheims and went straight to Rome, where he is noted in the Pilgrim Book of the English College as having stayed for eight days.⁴⁸ Tregian junior was then employed in the household of William Allen for two years until the latter's

⁴⁵ Francis Tregian, 'A Prayer in Prison' in *Recusant Poets*, ed. Guiney, 196.

⁴⁶ Molly Murray, 'Measured Sentences: Forming Literature in the Early Modern Prison', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79 (2009): 147-167 (at 150).

⁴⁷ Oxford Christ Church Mus. MSS. 510 - 514. (Hereafter Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514.)

⁴⁸ *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 6, 565.

death on 15 October 1594. His scholarship was again noted upon in a list of Allen's household:

Francis Tregian, servant for two years, a fine noble, aged twenty, a layman of most lively intelligence; learned in philosophy, music and the latin language.⁴⁹

This musical prowess (and perhaps his father's connections from his base in the Fleet) may have helped ensure his position serving at the court of the Archduke Albert in Brussels, alongside fellow English Catholic exile, Peter Philips (former student of William Byrd) who joined the Archduke's household in 1597.⁵⁰ Tregian junior had returned to England by 1606 and attempted to restore his family's fortunes by taking a loan to repurchase Golden Manor. The first document signed in his hand is dated 1 December 1606 and Ruby Reid Thompson has revealed a complex web of transactions regarding the reclaiming of his family's Cornish lands between 1607 and 1613.⁵¹ During this period Tregian junior began to be cited as a recusant and the crippling recusancy fines added to the loan repayments, resulted in his eventual indictment and imprisonment for debt.⁵² Whilst the exact date of his incarceration is unclear, he was almost certainly imprisoned by 1614, when in an appeal to the King, Tregian junior was declared to be a 'popish recusant as his father was'.⁵³

The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (hereafter FVB), Egerton 3665 (hereafter Tregian's Anthology) and Drexel 4302 (hereafter the Sambrooke

⁴⁹ 'Francesco Tregiano, camarero, servitore di due anni, molto nobile, di 20 anni, secolare do ingenio felicissimo dotto in filosofia, in musica et nella lingua latina'. *The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen (1532 – 1594)*, ed. Thomas Francis Knox (London: David Nutt, 1887), 376

⁵⁰ For more on Peter Philips life and oeuvre see David J. Smith and Rachele Taylor eds. *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips's 450th Anniversary* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

⁵¹ Ruby Reid Thompson, 'Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist: A Legend and an Alternative View', *Music & Letters*, 82 (2001): 1-31 (at 12-14).

⁵² Not recusancy, as was previously assumed. Cf. Elizabeth Cole, 'Seven Problems of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 79 (1952-53): 51-64.

⁵³ Cited in Pearl Boyan and George Lamb, *Francis Tregian: Cornish recusant* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 114.

Book) are three anthologies traditionally held to have been collected and transcribed by Francis Tregian junior whilst in the Fleet prison.⁵⁴ In 2001 Reid Thompson challenged over a century's worth of scholarship to argue that this could not have been the work of one man by drawing attention to what she deemed were inconsistencies in the transcriptions. Thompson's claims rested on her analysis of the scribal hands of the musical notation in order to argue that Tregian was not scribe, or at least not sole scribe.⁵⁵ Thompson failed to appreciate, however, the depth of Elizabeth Cole's evidence fifty years previously, which demonstrated that the handwriting of the words set in the vocal scores (Tregian's Anthology and the Sambrooke Book) were in the same hand as Tregian's correspondences regarding the repurchasing of the family properties, held in the Truro archives.⁵⁶ Moreover, as David Smith responded, Thompson did not place enough importance on the contents of the anthologies themselves and what the music reveals about their compilation. Smith demonstrated that the contents of the score-books and what we know about Francis Tregian directly correlate.⁵⁷ Pamela Willetts supported Smith's conclusions and further highlighted the wider context of Tregian's life in order to convincingly argue how the works within the anthologies accord with what is known of his residence and journeys. She also reiterated the number of direct references within the manuscripts to the Tregian family and emphasised that the latest known date of any source is 1615, prior to Tregian junior's death in 1617.⁵⁸ This scholarship, combined with what follows, demonstrates that it is beyond reasonable doubt that Tregian junior was the scribe, and that the presence of other hands in the anthologies only serves to underline the inherent collaborative nature of musical transcription in this period, as we

⁵⁴ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Music MS. 86, British Library Egerton MS. 3665 and New York Public Library MS. Drexel 4302.

⁵⁵ Thompson, 'Francis Tregian the Younger'.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Cole, 'In Search of Francis Tregian', *Music & Letters*, 33 (1952): 28-32.

⁵⁷ David J. Smith, 'A Legend? Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist', *The Musical Times*, 143 (2002): 7-16.

⁵⁸ Pamela Willetts, 'Oportet Meliora Tempora non Exectare sed Facere. The Arduous Life of Francis Tregian, The Younger', *Recusant History*, 28 (2007): 378 - 396.

saw in the *Great Hodge Podge* in the previous chapter, and as we shall see again in chapter eight.

Drawing a line under this debate means that the anthologies can be studied with the context of the Fleet prison in mind. This was where at least some of the transcription must have taken place, although likely not all of it, due to the dating of some of the work within the anthologies. FVB is the primary source of keyboard music from the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period in England. It takes its name from Viscount Fitzwilliam who bequeathed the collection to Cambridge University in 1816, where it remains to this day in the Fitzwilliam Museum. There are over three hundred pieces of music dating from approximately 1562 to 1612 by composers such as John Bull, Giles Farnaby, Jan Sweelinck, William Byrd and Peter Phillips, as well as many others. Whilst Elizabeth Cole proposed that this was transcribed by Tregian junior for his father's use in the Fleet prison, the dating of many of the pieces and the fact that the elder Tregian was on the continent by 1603 make this very unlikely.⁵⁹ It is probable that Tregian junior compiled this on the continent and added to it on his return to England. The Tregian Anthology and the Sambrooke Book are much larger and have been divided into two anthologies in modern binding, which are now held in the British Library and the New York Public Library respectively. Nevertheless, the consecutive pagination indicates that these were meant to have been kept together, and combined they are an enormous collection of over 1500 madrigals, motets, fantasias, villanelles, pavans and dances, mostly by Italian and English composers from the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. The volumes have been transcribed in score and are methodically organised, grouped under headings such as 'Fantasies a 5' and each piece is numbered and catalogued, with the composer neatly recorded. These included numerous pieces by William Byrd and English Catholic exiles Peter Phillips and Richard Dering, the leading Italian composers of the period such as Luca

⁵⁹ Cole, 'Seven Problems'.

Marenzio, Carlo Gesualdo, Claudio Monteverdi, and the Italian émigrés that took residence the English court, Alfonso Ferrabosco I and II, amongst countless others.

The music within the manuscripts confirms that Tregian had cultivated taste and an in-depth knowledge of the most up-to-date music of the period. This was evidently more than a hobby and certainly more than a mere time-passing exercise for a man bored in the Fleet as some scholars have suggested.⁶⁰ In identifying the motivations behind Francis Tregian junior's decision to transcribe over two thousand pieces of music, musicologists have emphasised his devotion 'to scholarship', classifying the transcriptions as a 'labour of research'.⁶¹ David Smith also drew attention to the multiple annotations surrounding much of the music within the manuscripts and argued that that the repeated informal annotations meant the scorebooks were used primarily for study.⁶² In 1963 Pamela Willetts identified a set of incomplete part-books in the same hand as the scribe of the scorebooks, hereafter 'The Part-books'.⁶³ In her brief article, which described her discovery at the end of a set of seventeenth-century part-books belonging to Dean Aldrich in the Christ Church Library, Oxford, Willetts argued that within the pages (numbered by Tregian from 97 - 140) the same type of textual variants can be viewed between the Anthology and The Part-books. Subsequently it is likely that Tregian copied The Part-books from the score.⁶⁴ In 2007, Willetts returned to the Tregian Anthology to further corroborate this assertion and highlighted a number of triangular symbols and annotations surrounding many of the pieces within the Tregian Anthology. She identified that the contents of The Part-books were amongst the pieces of

⁶⁰ *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, eds. J. A. Fuller Maitland & W. Barclay Squire, 2 Vols. (London & Leipzig, 1894; repr. New York, 1963), Vol. 1, viii.

⁶¹ See for example Anne Cuneo, 'Francis Tregian the Younger: Musician, Collector and Humanist?', *Music & Letters*, 76 (1995): 398-404 (at 399).

⁶² Smith, 'A Legend?', 14.

⁶³ Pamela Willetts, 'Tregian's Part-books', *The Musical Times*, 104 (1964): 334-335.

⁶⁴ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510 - 514.

music marked by the symbols, and revealed that Tregian marked these pieces within his Anthology in order to copy from the scorebooks.⁶⁵

Studying these annotations, Willetts revealed a much more personal side to their author by identifying that the repeated annotation 'nota le parole' (note the words) is only ever found next to texts referring to suffering and despair. After drawing attention to several such examples, Willetts concluded that these reflected the personal suffering of their writer. By extending Willett's analysis and through further close analysis of the pieces within The Part-books, which were annotated in the Tregian Anthology, it is clear that the transcription of this music was more than a simple scholarly exercise. It is my contention that the music was transcribed by Tregian junior to facilitate performance, and that the transcriptions reveal a man impassioned by both music and his religion.

Score-books can be used for various purposes, for performance, scholarship, and for reference. Part-books, on the other hand, are created specifically for performance and there is no other logical use for them. The Part-books therefore demonstrate Tregian's desire to perform the pieces in his Anthology, or at least his desire whilst incarcerated in the Fleet, for others to perform these specific songs. Whereas the Tregian Anthology and Sambrooke Book appear haphazard and cramped (often with several pieces per page and at times including a page-turn in the middle of a song) The Part-books are meticulous with one piece of music to a page. The Part-books are perfect for performance, much smaller than the large scorebooks and would have been held easily in the hands of the performers. All the songs in The Part-books are for five voices and each part-book is for a different voice range. Within Italian courtly performance, the vocal consort would usually have been all men and the highest voice part performed by a falsetto. Increasingly throughout the period, women came to be included in some

⁶⁵ Willetts, 'The Arduous Life of Francis Tregian the Younger'.

specialist groups and during the performance in the Fleet, the highest voice parts may also have been sung by women.⁶⁶ Whilst female prisoners were incarcerated in separate parts of the prison, Tregian junior may well have had female visitors, as his father had done, most likely his sisters and furthermore, the vocal settings were arranged so that it would have been possible to perform without instrumental accompaniment.

It is clear that Tregian junior, like his father, enjoyed relative autonomy whilst imprisoned; for example, he still managed to conduct business dealings there, as can be seen in Thompson's compilation of the numerous contracts and business papers written or signed by him up to 1616.⁶⁷ He also amassed a great library, 'many hundreds' of books, during his years in custody, as revealed in a complaint by the Warden after Tregian junior's death.⁶⁸ Tregian junior, furthermore, had his own private rooms, as did his friend and co-religionist Sir Francis Englefield, who, according to the warden of the Fleet, had three chambers and entertained up to sixty people every day.⁶⁹ Perhaps it was during these entertainments that the music from *The Part-books* was performed.

Performance for Consolation through 'The Part-books'

Tregian junior's part-books contain Italian madrigals, which during this period had both public and private functions. There were 'festive' madrigals, performed by professionals on public occasions and composed most often for specific events, and 'chamber' madrigals, which were used recreationally by amateurs in private.⁷⁰ The latter was most common in the early and middle part of the sixteenth-century but by the turn of the century, scholars have argued that the growing virtuosity of musical style and the

⁶⁶ For more on women in Italian vocal consorts see Michael F. Prizer, 'Performance practices in the Frottola', *Early Music*, 3 (1975): 227-235.

⁶⁷ Cited in Thompson, 'Francis Tregian the Younger', 14.

⁶⁸ *The Oeconomy of the Fleet*, 140-1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ For an introduction to madrigals see Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1949).

'dramatisation' of the madrigal, led the madrigal to evolve from 'a social game for the pleasure of amateur performers into a semi-dramatic concert piece for the pleasure of a separate, passive audience'.⁷¹ According to Anthony Newcomb, this evolution led to the intensely emotional or explicitly dramatic tone of many madrigals from the 1590s and supported a renewed emphasis upon the polyphonic madrigal. This 'intensified the inherent contradictions of the medium (for example the lament of a single lover delivered in a language of heightened emotional realism by five singers simultaneously)'.⁷²

This is exactly the kind of madrigal that has been selected by Tregian junior within The Part-books. The surviving selection of The Part-books begin with a madrigal by Alfonso Fontanelli, followed by five by Marco de Gagliano, two by Lucretio Quintiniani, twenty by Carlo Gesualdo and nineteen by Tomaso Pecci. As Willetts has demonstrated, these were selected from his Anthology, where nearly all have been annotated with 'note the words' in Italian before then being copied.⁷³ The madrigal selection is subsequently very significant, as these were the ones that Tregian specifically intended to be performed within the walls of the Fleet prison. Or at the very least, were selected whilst he was incarcerated for others to perform. It might be, as some scholars have suggested, that these were chosen by someone else that paid Tregian to transcribe the pieces for them and that The Part-books were a professional commission.⁷⁴ This seems unlikely because the influence of Tregian's own imprisonment is evident. Despite the plethora of styles within the scorebooks, Tregian has predominantly selected Petrarchan and Petrarchistic inspired madrigals and melancholy love-songs. This choice must have had a particular motivation

⁷¹ Kurt von Fischer, et al. 'Madrigal' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 31 August 2013.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40075>.

⁷² Anthony Newcomb, 'The madrigal in society, 1570-1600' in 'Madrigal', *Grove Music Online*.

⁷³ Willetts, 'The Arduous Life of Francis Tregian the Younger', 390.

⁷⁴ Cf. Thompson, 'Francis Tregian the Younger'.

and it is my contention it was religious, for a significant proportion of the madrigals contain texts with themes directly relevant to imprisoned Catholics in need of consolation.

This collection might be viewed as a form of musical consolation for many of the madrigals in the part-books contain explicit references to suffering and subsequent comfort. Gagliano's 'O sonno O della quiet'humida' begged: 'Succour now the heart that languishes and has no rest, and comfort these tired and frail limbs'.⁷⁵ Quintianini's 'Dolce esca del mio curo' also lamented: 'bring to my eyes such sweetness that it softens every bitter pain' and Gesualdo's 'Languisc'e moro' is a particularly vivid plea: 'What if I languish and die?... Oh for pity's sake console [me]... just a single tear would bring my suffering to an end'.⁷⁶ A religious reading of The Part-books also reveals metaphors for flaming piety and even the wounds of Christ, such as Pecci's 'Dolce tomento mio':

Oh my sweet tormentor, my dear flame
Here again [I offer you my] heart
Fated tinder of your loving affection
Can you recognise in him
The latest wounds.⁷⁷

Then in his 'Cosi pietosa i colpi rinovella' we hear how: 'The flame which wounds can also nourish'.⁷⁸ Some of the pieces also toy with the idiom of hunting and the ensnarement of the soul, whilst also lamenting blemished purity and on how to overcome sin such as Pecci's 'Quel neo, quel vago neo':

⁷⁵ My sincere thanks here must go to Dr Simon Ditchfield for his assistance with the translations. Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 97. [Soccori al cor'homai, che langue, e posa / Non have, e queste membra stanche e frali].

⁷⁶ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 103. Quintianini: [portate a glio occhi miei tanta dolcezza ch'ogni a cerbo dolor s'addolce in ella] Gesualdo: [Languisc'e moro. Ahi cruda, Ahi cruda. Ahi cruda. Matu fera cagion della mia sorte. Deh per pieta. Deh Deh per pieta consola. D'Una Lagrima sola. onde dica per fin del mio Languire].

⁷⁷ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 132. [Dolce tormento mio, fiamma mia cara / Ecco di nuovo il core / Esca fatale al tuo benigno ardore / Deh riconosci in lui / Le recenti ferite / Del folgorar di que' begli occhi tui].

⁷⁸ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 133. [E'l foco, che k'ancide egli lo pasca].

That beautiful blemish
 Alas even if he detains you
 with lilies and roses he conceals his cruelty
 he conceals the trap to wound you...⁷⁹

The majority of these madrigals make repeated implicit, and explicit, reference to imprisonment and yet to view this collection as an aspect of the Catholic consolatory tradition when the music within it is predominantly secular love songs might strike the modern reader as perverse. Nonetheless, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the translation of secular to sacred was occurring uniquely during this period through music, and nowhere would this covert tactic have been more useful than in prison, where the proximity of Protestants and Catholics would have warranted such strategies. Moreover, as recent scholars such as Isabella van Elferen have realised in the case of Petrarchan influenced German Baroque music, a simplistic distinction between secular and sacred is inadequate when trying to comprehend the phenomenon of love poetry and its musical settings in a religious context during this period.⁸⁰ This stemmed from Petrarch's main protagonist, the object of his desire 'Laura', who was so eminently unattainable as to become almost mystical and 'other-worldly'. The unrequited love evinced by Petrarch was purposeful; he did not desire fulfilment but rather endeavoured for self-reflection, and explored an almost painful type of pleasure that was purposefully ambivalent in the pursuit of worldly joy set against religious guilt.⁸¹ Petrarch's *Canzoniere* had great influence on the Italian madrigalists in Tregian's collections and

⁷⁹ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 135. [Quel vago neo / Lui'l crudel si cela. si cela lui sol tende. le retie l'arcoe e l'alma inpiago].

⁸⁰ Isabella van Elferen, *Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry and Music* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press [Contextual Bach Studies], 2009).

⁸¹ For more on Petrarch and Italian literature and poetry see Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi eds. *Petrarch: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); James Haar, 'Italian Music in the Age of the Counter-Reformation' in *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 100-124 and Peter Brand and Lino Pertile eds. *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. chs. 6, 13, 15 and 16.

furthermore, this very strategy of making Italian love songs sacred was alluded to by contemporaries. As the assault on Catholics in the immensely popular works of the Church of England clergyman Richard Greenham revealed:

Friers inventions: how mens wits bee refined, they can no more
feede on such drie stubble. He feedes daintie eares with choice of
wordes, and uncleane hearts with the unchast and wanton love
songs of Italian Poetrie...*More Papists be made by your mery books of
Italie, then by your earnest bookes of Louvaine.*⁸²

By utilising Italian love songs, Tregian junior was following the advice given to post-Reformation Catholics by writers such as Robert Southwell, to use what was at hand in order to enhance their devotions. Within consolation literature there was an explicit emphasis on transformation and how to turn pain into joy in order to cope with adversity. As Southwell exhorted, 'thincke not of the name of a prison' but to 'finde it a retyringe place fittest to serue God', and he implored Catholics to reconfigure their perception of the space:

Happye therefore are you, if you can reckon your selues
translated out of prison, into a place of preservation.⁸³

To understand Tregian junior's transformation, the selection of the first madrigal in *The Part-books* might be viewed as a key to understanding what follows. In Fontanelli's 'Padre del Ciel', the only devotional madrigal within the *Part-books*, the text announces: 'Holy Father you are my True Lover / Hear my prayers'.⁸⁴ Alongside his musical output, Fontanelli was an Italian aristocrat and courtier, prior to becoming a priest. His life highlights the complexity of secular and sacred, whilst his text clearly emphasises the metaphor of God transformed as True Lover. Exploring lyric poetry such as that seen in Italian madrigals, Maria Rosa Menacò has argued that such

⁸² My emphasis. Richard Greenham ed. Henry Holland, *Workes* (2nd edn. London, 1599), sig A4v.

⁸³ Southwell, *Epistle of Comfort*, 102.

⁸⁴ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 97. [Sana Signor. u che sei Vero Amante Ascolta i preghi miei...]

texts often emerged as a response to exile, and that objects of longing and desire were translated into expressions of homesickness: unrequited love songs thus transformed political anguish into innocuous amorous sentiment.⁸⁵ Fontanelli's text, which identified God as True Lover is key and amorous sentiment was transformed into devotional cries for comfort and consolation.

There are some limitations to this argument; for example reference to death in Italian madrigals has long been associated with metaphors for sex and sexual desire, and would have been recognised as such within their original performance context of intimate gatherings in Italian courtly circles.⁸⁶ However in the post-Reformation English Catholic context, the musical adaptation of secular to sacred was visible elsewhere, as we saw in the last chapter with the translation of 'Dainty come thou to me' to 'Jesu come thou to me'. Reading religion into secular writing, particularly for consolation also has a more general precedent: one of the most popular texts on consolation within this period was Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, which became a demonstrable handbook of solace.⁸⁷ It was often quoted and its spirit pervaded several poems in manuscript written by prisoners, that demonstrated, as Josephine Evetts Secker explained, 'the secular wisdom of

⁸⁵ Maria Rosa Menacò, *Shards of Love: Exile and the Origins of the Lyric* (London: Duke University Press, 1994), esp. ch. 2.

⁸⁶ See Laura Macy, 'Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal', *The Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996): 1-34.

⁸⁷ An invaluable account of the circulation of Boethius' text in Renaissance Italy is Robert Black and Gabriella Pomaro, *Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Education* (Florence: Sismel, 2000). For more on Boethius see Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), ad indicem and more generally James Hankins ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Cf. Anthony Grafton, 'Epilogue: Boethius in the Renaissance' in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 410-413. Cf. Lodi Nauta, 'Magis sit Platonicus quam Aristotelicus: interpretations of Boethius' Platonism in the *Consolatio Philosophiae* from the twelfth to the seventeenth century' in *The Platonic tradition in the Middle Ages*, eds. Stephen Gersh and Maarten Hoenen (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2002), 165-204. The work also greatly influenced Thomas More during his own imprisonment for his conscience under Henry VIII. See concise summary in Lodi Nauta's entry on 'Boethius' in *The Classical Tradition*, eds. A. Grafton et al (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 131-33.

the tradition, though they were written by committed Christians prepared to suffer severe punishments for their faith'.⁸⁸ Consequently, 'Renaissance man was generally quite happy to read Christ into the *Consolation of Philosophy*' and therefore it follows that in the midst of persecution, Catholics may have been inclined to read Christ into love songs as well, as highlighted in Tregian junior's choice of Fontanelli's devotional madrigal.⁸⁹

Much Catholic prison writing often contained explicit reference to transformation, as highlighted above with both John Gerard and William Davies' accounts of their prisons becoming paradises. In order for this conversion to occur, as Alison Shell has highlighted, writers called for repentance and this was most visible in the use of tears, which signified a 'melting heart' and 'profound sensation' that could transform repentance into conversion.⁹⁰ Such metaphorical transformations and the images of weeping, sighing and lamenting are abundant within The Part-books, seen from the outset in Fontanelli's 'Padre del ciel':

Father of Heaven
 I have lost myself
 There is no end to my tears except more tears
 Please grant me
 I beg you
 Holier thoughts and holy tears.⁹¹

In a similar way, Gesualdo's 'Dolcissimo sospiro' could be read as a holy lament, where Love is the Lord: 'Sweetest of sighs, breathed from that mouth

⁸⁸ Josephine Evetts Secker, 'Consolatory Literature of the English Recusants', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 18 (1982), 122-141 (at 123).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Shell, *Catholicism, controversy and the English literary imagination*, esp. 77-92.

⁹¹ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 97. [Padre del Ciel, s'un tempo altrui cercado, ho perduoto me stresso: Che'l fin del pianger mio altro non e che pianto. Deh dami homai, ti prego, con piu sani pensier lagrime sante].

upon which Love showers every sweetness, ah, come and sweeten the bitterness of my pain: behold, I open my heart to you'.⁹²

That the transcription and performance of these madrigals was within the Fleet prison is also testified by inclusion of madrigals that touched on metaphors for imprisonment. Carlo Gesualdo's 'Hai rotto e sciolto' is a succinct example with reference to the 'knots' and chains that bound him:

You have broken and extinguished
 little by little the knots that tie me
 which burn in my heart O blessed love
 which I now feel without pain
 another dart, another flame
 another chain.⁹³

There are also variations in the words of some of the texts in The Part-books, which provide commentary on Tregian junior's incarceration. This is revealed in Marco de Gagliano's 'Questo silentio ch'il di fuggo e'l lume'. In the original printed collection, Gagliano's madrigal text begins: 'Ov'e'l silentio ch'il di fuggo e'l lume?' which translates to 'Where is the silence that flees the day and the light?' However when copying this text within the Fleet prison, Tregian changed the text without the question to announce:

This is the silence that flees the day and the light
 And the gentle dreams that with uncertain step
 are wont to follow you
 Alas, I call you in vain,
 and these dark and icy shadows I entice in vain
 O pillow filled with harshness!
 O nights cruel and hard!⁹⁴

⁹² Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 117. [Dolcissimo sospiro, che esci da quella bocca, ove d'Amor ogni dolcezza fiocca, deh, vieni a raddolcire l'amaro mio dolore: ecco ch'io t'apro il core].

⁹³ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 106. [Hai rotto, e spent'a poco a poco. hai rotto e sciolto e spent'a poco a poco lo stral i lacci e'l foco e'l fuoco che puns'e che lego. che ch'arse nel core O me beato Amore! ch'or sent'e senza pena, Altro dardo, Altra fiamma Altra catena altra catena].

This image recurs in Tregian's choice of Pecci's 'Cosi in gelida' which opens with the line: 'So I dwell in freezing wickedness'.⁹⁵ Tregian may well have been making a direct comment on the prison conditions, in order to lament his situation and to unite those performing in their shared suffering.

Finally, the most common theme throughout The Part-books is that of martyrdom. Many contemporaries saw imprisonment as a type of sustained martyrdom, as the religious controversialist Thomas Hide (1524 - 1597) highlighted in his *Consolatorie Epistle to the Afflicted Catholics* (1579):

I speake unto you, o you worthie confessors, and confessante catholikes, that lie at home in chaines, and feede on the noysome ayres, of unsauerie prisonnes. I speake unto you that haue suffered a long, and lingeringe martyrdom, and stil do suffer painefull fighte not ouercomed. Doubtles you bee daylie crowned, the longer you fighte, the more is your victorie, the greater is your rewarde.⁹⁶

The image of martyrdom emerges in The Part-books through an almost Eucharistic reference to the body and blood of Christ, for example in Gesualdo's 'Che sentir deve il petto':

What do I feel in my languishing breast
shedding rivers of blood from a thousand wounds
you [who] suffer greater pain
it behoves [us] to feel greater piety⁹⁷

Similar themes are visible in Pecci's 'Ahi, che'l mio cor si fuggi':

And my body and blood destroys itself

⁹⁴ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 99. [Questo silentio che'l di fugge e'l lume / E I lievei sogni che ccon non secure / Vestigia di seguirti han per costume / Lasso, che'n van te chiamo e quest'oscure / E gelid'ombre in van lusingo. O piume / D'asprezze colme. O notti acerebe e dute].

⁹⁵ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 126. [Cosi in gelida scelce anco dimora].

⁹⁶ Thomas Hide, *Consolatorie Epistle to the Afflicted Catholics* (Louvain [Greenstreet House, East Ham], 1579).

⁹⁷ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 107. [Che sentir dueil petto mio che langue. Ver sando ogn'hor da mille piaghe e mille da da Per le Vene del cor fiume di sangue. Hai ch'a maggior dolore. con uien pieta maggiore].

Who makes me suffer so
 Move yourself to pity with my martyrdom
 [If I could] swear to you my happiness and I would not die.⁹⁸

With Christ's martyrdom in mind, Gesualdo's 'Sparge la morte al mio Signor' is also imbued with a new intensity:

Death spreads over my Lord's face
 Over its bleak pallor
 The most heartrending shade
 Then he looks at him and is moved to pity
 He groans, sighs and does not dare to wound him more
 But he who sees him shrinking back
 Bows his head, hides his face, and dies.⁹⁹

The image of martyrdom also pervades Gesualdo's 'Baci soavi et cari' which asserted:

Because of you must I learn
 How a soul which is sundered from the body
 Feels not the pain of death
 Thou its owner die.¹⁰⁰

Far removed from the Italian courts they were composed for, Tregian junior translated the texts of Italian madrigals in order to enhance his prayers and that of his fellow Catholic prisoners. God became 'True Lover' as he exhorted their laments, and focussed upon turning pain into joy through meditation and notation of the words of suffering, death and martyrdom to aid consolation. Enhancing our understanding of the culture of imprisonment, this chapter has emphasised how the prisons in early modern

⁹⁸ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 131. [Ahi, che'l mio corsi fuggi. Ah E rest' il corpes sangue si distrugge. Da chi tanto penare. Il diro pur, Ah cruda, Ah cruda; lo riceu'io date, lo ricu'io date. Ah cruda lo riceuio date, per troppo amare. Dhe movit'a pieta del mio martire. Ch'io Viuro lieto e non potro morire e non potro morire].

⁹⁹ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 122. [Sparge la morte al mio Signor nel viso / Tra squallidi pallori / Pietosissimi horrori / Poi lo rimira e ne divien pietosa; / Geme, sospira, e più ferir non osa / Ei, che temer la mira / Inchina il capo, asconde il viso, e spira].

¹⁰⁰ Ch. Ch. Mus. MSS. 510-514, 111. [per voi convien ch'impari / come un'alma rapita / non sente il duol di mort'e pur si more].

England, from Beaumaris and York Castles, to the Clink and Fleet, were significant sites of musical consumption and production. Prisons were complex, multifunctional spaces and for wealthy prisoners like the Tregians, ripe for translation to paradise with musical performance. With the chanting of the liturgy and singing of the office hours, the prison became a monastery and with the performance of a high mass, transformed to a church. Recent scholars have enriched our understanding of the prisons as important loci of textual and literary production. Building upon this cultural understanding, Francis Tregian junior has emerged as a man devoted to scholarship and, moreover, to music, as he transcribed *The Part-books* specifically for performance. In selecting this music, Tregian junior annotated his scores with the directions to 'note the words' and reveals an insight to the devotional and musical lives of incarcerated Catholics. Music played a vital role in reinvigorating the post-Tridentine tradition of consolation, and through the devotional performance of Italian madrigals in *The Part-books*, the prison space was transformed.

7 | Scaffold Singing: Self-fashioning and Appropriation

In the previous chapter we have seen how Catholic prisoners transformed and translated their prison experience through musical production and performance. In this chapter we will turn to a second site of Catholic appropriation: the scaffold. On 1 December 1581, Edmund Campion was taken to Tyburn alongside fellow Jesuit Alexander Briant and secular priest Ralph Sherwin. Upon the scaffold Campion paraphrased 1 Corinthians 4:9 and proclaimed:

We are made a spectacle, or a sight unto God, unto his Angels,
and unto men: verified this day in me, who am here a spectacle
unto my lorde god, a spectacle unto his angels & unto you men.¹

Before Campion could go forward in the text, he was cut off by Sir Francis Knollys and was subsequently questioned about his opinions on the 1570 bull, his loyalty to the pope and his alleged treason. Campion was indicted for conspiracy to raise rebellion, for inviting foreign invasion, and plotting to overthrow and kill the Queen. Campion denied the charges and Thomas Alfield, a witness in the crowd, reported his exclamation that he was “giltlesse & innocent of all treason and conspiracie”. After further interrogation by Lord Charles Howard, Campion went on to pray for “Elizabeth, your queene and my queene”, before ‘he meekely and sweetly yelded his soule unto his Saviour, protesting that he dyed a perfect Catholike’.²

The spectacle of the scaffold and theatre of punishment has received a great deal of attention and revision in recent scholarship. Analysing the last dying speeches of those condemned during the seventeenth century, James Sharpe concluded that the ‘speeches were of obvious advantage to the state and the state church: they legitimised not only the punishment being

¹ Thomas Alfield, *A True Reporte of the Death and Martyrdom of M. Campion...* (London, 1582), ff.8v-9.

² *Ibid.*, f.10v.

suffered by the individual felon, but also the whole structure of secular and religious authority'.³ Moreover, Sharpe declared that '[d]efiance at the gallows was unlikely to be permitted and even less likely to be reported'.⁴ Whilst the state often tried to manipulate the scene, as Francis Knollys had done when he interrupted Campion, scholars have now moved away from such explicitly Foucauldian readings of public executions as totalising state power displays.⁵ Peter Lake and Michael Questier have argued that the social and ideological energies released by the enactment of violence on individuals upon the scaffold should be viewed within the context of a 'whole range of gestures and countergestures, a serious set of exchanges between state, victim and audience, as inherent in this essentially theatrical way of dispatching the felon' because in the struggle for control of the scene, 'the catholic victims of state power were also agents'.⁶ State-sponsored commentary and martyrologists both reported the defiant actions of the condemned: joyfully subverting the authority of the state by using their physical bodies to do more than just face the gallows, but to endure and embrace their deaths. To cite just a few examples, on the scaffold Ann Lyne kissed the gallows, Ralph Sherwin kissed the executioner, and Mark Barkworth embraced the hanging body of Lyne immediately before his own execution.⁷ They faced their impending martyrdom with *inner* strength: a mixture of impudence, silent insubordination and joy at the prospect of their deaths.

Alongside actions, defiance was exacted through words and the last dying speeches of the martyrs regularly undermined the attempts of the authorities to 'legitimise' the punishment. As Edmund Campion had done, whilst many praised the queen they also attacked the legitimacy of their

³ J.A. Sharpe, 'Last Dying Speeches: Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 107 (1985): 144-167 (at 163).

⁴ Sharpe, 'Last Dying Speeches', 164.

⁵ See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

⁶ Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, 230.

⁷ Bodleian MS. Th. Eng. B. 2, 103-117.

punishments by emphasising their innocence, and subsequently the illegitimacy of the cause for which they were being put to death. The spectacle did not end with the death of the martyr because soon after the visual horror, the scaffold scenes became textual and executions were utilised both in state polemic and Catholic propaganda.⁸ The public and well-attended nature of executions ensured that both Catholics and Protestants were required to make accurate reports although their objectives were quite different. Protestants publicised the executions of martyrs in order to legitimate the charge of treason and underline the authority of the state. For Catholics, the narratives served to popularise the plight of persecuted English Catholics throughout Europe, as Cardinal William Allen lamented: 'if al the world could see with their eyes, as we doe feele; al the Princes Christian would take compassion, and accompt our complaints most just and necessary'.⁹ For Catholics in England, as Anne Dillon demonstrated, these martyrdom narratives formed 'didactic texts which set out the essential truths of Tridentine Catholic belief to an increasingly isolated community'.¹⁰

The events surrounding the interrogation and death of Edmund Campion in 1581 resulted in a cultural outpouring on an unprecedented scale. The Edmund Campion 'affair' as it has been dubbed by scholars, fuelled a public confrontation across the confessional divide in manuscript and print, verse and prose.¹¹ The multiple interpretations of Campion's death and conflicting appropriations of the event further underline the complexity of the scaffold. For, as will be touched upon in what follows, through reference to one another, duelling literature served to highlight that each was just a single interpretation of the event and inadvertently directed their audience to their opponents. The ideological battle which fashioned

⁸ Anne Dillon, 'Spectaculum facti sumus Deo': The scaffold as text' in *The Construction of Martyrdom*, 72-113.

⁹ Cited in Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, 83.

¹⁰ Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, 107.

¹¹ See for example Thomas McCoog, S.J., 'Construing martyrdom in the English Catholic community, 1582-1602' in *Catholics and the Protestant Nation*, ed. Shagan, 95-127.

executed Catholics as either traitors or martyrs continued in polemic and propaganda that, as Alison Shell has highlighted, was not bound within literary culture but also extended to the oral. This chapter adds to the existing body of work on the actions of condemned Catholics and explores how persecution space could be appropriated and transformed. By investigating the role music played within the theatre of punishment, this chapter also reveals how music itself was a martyrdom narrative and part of the broader culture of martyrdom. Musical martyrdom-narratives were not only made by composers and martyrologists, but were fashioned by the martyrs themselves, which subverted the authority of the state, turning persecution space sacred.

‘O Lord, what a spectacle hast thou made unto me?’

Stephen Greenblatt has argued that in the sixteenth century there occurred an ‘increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process’.¹² Scholars have since developed Greenblatt’s thesis, and this chapter will also argue that identities were not constructed in this period through language alone.¹³ The following exploration of martyrological self-fashioning and the actions of the condemned will modify Greenblatt’s conception of self-fashioning as inextricable from power when viewed as an unbreakable system of containment. This chapter will also reject the idea that such fashioning had to occur in a system that positions subordinate groups as effects of the dominants.¹⁴ This is evidenced first and foremost by Edmund Campion, who was memorialised by his Catholic martyrologists within the conventional language of Christian martyrdom, and ensured the historical events were transposed into a suprahistorical narrative that connected Christ, the early Christian martyrs and the

¹² Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), 1-2.

¹³ Cf. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning*, 9: ‘Self-fashioning is always, though not exclusively, in language’.

¹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*: ‘Self-fashioning... involves submission to an absolute power or authority situated at least partially outside the self - God, a sacred book, an institution such as church, court, colonial or military administration.’

individual as exemplary.¹⁵ However, Campion himself and others condemned for religion during this period also knew that they had to perform the role of 'the martyr'. Catholics approached the scaffold, as Sarah Covington emphasised, as 'the ultimate stage, allowing them to witness their faith before others and to fashion themselves in ways that circumvented the authorities' control'.¹⁶

Whilst it is now commonplace amongst historians of early modern Europe to talk of the scaffold as a theatre of death, the words chosen by Campion make plain that he was also conscious of the part he had to play. By explicating 1 Corinthians 4:9 Campion was utilising a text with a longstanding place within martyrological discourse, and which was associated with early Christians, such as Origen.¹⁷ It is clear that Campion and his fellow priests and martyrs were extremely mindful of the previous martyr-saints, as the letter written to imprisoned priest John Nelson advised: 'for his greater comfort and the more to animate him against the terrors of death... read and meditate upon the lives and deaths of martyrs, as they are set down in the service according to the use of Rome'. Heeding the advice, Nelson read 'with what alacrity and joy of mind many thousand martyrs had suffered exquisite torments for Christ's sake', how 'they never complained or shrunk thereat... and that he took such comfort thereof, that he doubted nothing but that he should find and feel the grace of God's consolation in the midst of his agony'.¹⁸ On 30 November 1581 Campion's scaffold companion Ralph Sherwin wrote to his uncle, John Woodward, a priest living in Rouen:

This very morning, which is the festival day of St. Andrew, I was advertised by superior authority, that tomorrow I was to end the course of this life, God grant I may do it, to the imitation of this

¹⁵ See first printed narrative by Alfield, *A True Reporte*.

¹⁶ Sarah Covington, *The Trail of Martyrdom* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), 180.

¹⁷ Susannah Brietz Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 25.

¹⁸ William Allen, *A briefe historie of the glorious martyrdom of xii. reverent priests Briefe Historie* (1582), 153.

noble Apostle and servant of God, and that with joy I may say
rising of the hurdle: *Salva sancta crux etc.*¹⁹

William Allen also explicitly linked male and female martyrs to English men and women, 'to whom God giveth even now the spirit of constancy, by the examples of St Sebastian, St Vincent, St Maurice with the whole legion of Thebes... to say nothing of them, nor of St Catherine, St Margaret, St Agnes, St Lucy, and the like mirrors for our devout maidens and widows to behold'.²⁰ Mindful of the saints prior to their self-fashioning upon the scaffold, the priests were conscious of their obligation to their fellow Catholics in that a martyr's death was not a private matter, they were not alone and were expected to die a true death. The priests relinquished their claims to individuality and united themselves in their last actions on earth with the martyred saints that they would join in heaven.

The priests also patterned themselves upon their immediate predecessors and Campion's use of 1 Corinthians 4:9 was replicated by later Catholics on the scaffold. On 30 May 1582, Thomas Cottam turned back to look at his fellow priest Laurence Richardson, who was in the process of being quartered, and said '*O Lord, what a spectacle hast thou made unto me?* the which he repeated twice or thrise'.²¹ On 4 March 1590, Christopher Bayles mounted the scaffold and addressed the crowd: "'You have come" he said "to see a man dying, a common spectacle, and that man a priest, a common spectacle too"'.²² Harking back to the last words of Campion, these priests were placing themselves within a novel tradition, which had arisen with the new types of martyrs, and simultaneously addressed the old. By fashioning themselves upon Jesuit proto-martyr Edmund Campion, the priests were

¹⁹ Allen, *A briefe historie*, 84.

²⁰ William Allen, *An Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution of the two English Colleges* (1581), 116.

²¹ Allen, *A briefe historie*, 125. Emphasis in original.

²² Letter of Robert Southwell, March 1590, cited in Christopher Devlin, *Life of Robert Southwell* (London: Longmans, 1956), 213.

staking claim to the truth of their deaths for the Catholic faith, alongside the truth of the deaths of their fellow martyred priests.

This self-fashioning did not begin upon the scaffold. In her investigation of Catholic oral culture, Alison Shell highlighted the ballad preserved by William Blundell in the *Great Hodge Podge* on the martyrdom of Robert Anderton on 25 April 1586:²³

When that his Judgment passed was
 hee spoke these words most sweete
O holy lord of Saboth god
with whom I nowe shall meete.
 And senge this verse; *no honour lord*
no honour give to us
*But to thy sacred name shewe it*²⁴

Shell drew attention to the important distinction in the ballad between those words which were spoken and those which were sung, and highlighted how ‘the action of singing when sentenced to death is most important of all; Anderton anticipates heaven in his disclaimer of personal glory, raising himself into an angelic register where prayer is all song’.²⁵ Whilst Shell is unclear whether this is anecdotal evidence or literary construction, when added to the contemporary report penned by Paolo Bombino, *Vita et martyrum Edmundi Campiani* (Antwerp, 1618), of the events surrounding the trial and execution of Edmund Campion, the ballad takes on a renewed significance.²⁶ As Gerard Kilroy highlighted, Bombino described how after the Lord Chief-Justice had read the sentence of death to Campion and his fellow prisoners, whereas all the other prisoners wailed that they were true and faithful subjects to the Queen, Campion suppressed his affection and sung ‘that sacred hymn of praise’: ‘*Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum*

²³ See Chapter 5 above, pp.174-5.

²⁴ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.145v.

²⁵ Shell, *Oral Culture*, 124-125.

²⁶ A revised and expanded edition was published in Mantua in 1620.

confitemur'.²⁷ After hearing the judgment passed against him, Campion sang a hymn of thanksgiving (see Fig.1).



(Fig. 1)

'Te Deum Laudamus'

The *Te Deum* was sung at the end of Matins on all days when the Gloria was said at Mass; it had its own distinctive plain-chant melody derived from the Gregorian Chant which, as John Aplin revealed, also survived in vernacular settings for the Church of England until at least the Civil War, which might have made it familiar to Protestants and Catholic listeners alike.²⁸ The *Te Deum* chant was also used (and is still used, see Fig. 1) in thanksgiving for a special blessing, such as the election of a Pope, the consecration of a bishop, in religious professions and upon the canonisation of Saints. Moreover after Campion's death, from 1581 within the English seminaries, such as the Venerable English College in Rome and St Alban's College in Valladolid, whenever news came to Rome that a priest had died in England, the college gathered to sing a *Te Deum*. For this performance the priests were surrounded with images of the violence of schismatic England, as the Colleges had commissioned frescoes of images of Christian martyrdoms from St. Alban to the first Henrician martyrs to serve as constant reminders of the martyr-saints. From 1580, Durante Alberti's Holy Trinity altarpiece (see Fig. 2), more commonly known as the Martyr's Picture, was hung in the chapel at Rome, a vivid articulation of the meaning of martyrdom for the

²⁷ 'laudesque occinit sacro illo hymno'. Paolo Bombino, *Vita et martyrum Edmundi Campiani* (Mantua, 1620), 274-275. See Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 24.

²⁸ John Aplin, 'The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music: Some Early Te Deum Settings', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32 (1979): 247-275.

faith.²⁹ In the image Christ's blood falls onto a dim map of England - underneath an angel holds up the defiant motto: 'I have come to bring fire to the earth', and immediately below the figure of Christ is a gateway with the figures of the martyrs St. Edmund and St. Thomas Becket. On the ground at their feet lie the disregarded attributes of royal or ecclesiastical dignity. Below Christ are the Flaminian gate and the beginning of the road north from Rome back to England, and the martyrdom that awaited them on the mission. The English martyrs pointed the way and the students beholding the picture might well have considered how in time their blood might be unified with the blood of Christ. As they stood surrounded with the depictions of English bloodshed, the devotion aroused by the images was also enhanced by singing of the *Te Deum*. To this day on 1 December, 'Martyrs Day', and the anniversary of Edmund Campion's execution and his feast, the seminarians still sing a *Te Deum* at the altar in memory of the college martyrs, as can be seen in Fig. 2 from 1 December 2012, the 650th anniversary of the foundation of the Venerable English College in Rome.³⁰

²⁹ See Carol M. Richardson, 'Durante Alberti, the *Martyrs' Picture* and the Venerable English College Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 73 (2005): 223-63.

³⁰ My thanks to Father Peter Harris for highlighting that Valladolid also shared this tradition of the singing of the *Te Deum* and that this was not isolated to the English College in Rome.



(Fig. 2 © Ryan.Day/catholicnews.org.uk)

Such performances were neither confined to the continent and nor were they unique to the arraignments of Campion and Anderton. From subsequent accounts of the arraignments of other missionary priests, it is clear that the singing of the *Te Deum* and other godly songs after sentencing was a common occurrence. In August 1582, Richard Kirkman begged the judge at his arraignment following his arrest for singing the high mass with Thomas Bell at York Castle:

to consider his unworthiness of so great a favour [the sentence of execution]. The judge warmly answered him, That his wickedness had well deserved that kind of death. *It must then be so*, said Mr. Kirkeman, *and I must be honoured with so sublime a dignity. Good*

*God! How unworthy am I of it! But since it is Thy holy will, Thy holy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; and with that he began with a loud voice that hymn of joy and thanksgiving, Te deum laudamus.*³¹

On 7 February 1583 George Haydock and several other priests were charged with treason, and as 'the Judge gave sentence of death...the priests sounge *Te Deum* and such like godly verses'.³² Alongside Haydock was John Munden, who 'with the rest of the holy men, joined in reciting the hymn *Te Deum laudamus* with a serene and cheerful countenance; and so great was the inward joy he conceived in his soul upon this occasion that he could not help discovering it in his voice, in his face, and in the whole outward man'.³³ The priests were anticipating the joys of heaven where all prayer is sung, and as well as communal moments of song, the prayers were expressions of individual inner joy. In 1595, William Freeman sung a *Te Deum* upon hearing the sentence pronounced against him and in 1601 Mark Barkworth also expressed his inner joy in song, and 'with a joyful and smiling countenance, and making the sign of the cross, began a hymn of joy, and then gave thanks to the judge'.³⁴

Realising songs were as subversive as they were devotional the authorities often attempted to cut the priests off and to reassert the authority of the state in the midst of their melodic defiance: in 1593 when William Davies and his four companions were also found guilty of their respective indictments; 'instead of being any ways dismayed, Mr. Davies began with a joyful voice the hymn *Te Deum*, and his companions joined with him in the thanksgiving, till the officers of justice prohibited them to proceed'.³⁵ At the trial of Thomas Maxfield, executed on 1 July 1616, after the jury pronounced him guilty of high treason, he was not allowed to sing and 'straitwayes [was]

³¹ Emphasis in original. Cited in *Memoires of Missionary Priests*, 68-70.

³² Cited in *Unpublished documents relating to English martyrs, 1584-1603*, Catholic Record Society Record Series, 5 (1908), 60.

³³ Cited in *Memoires of Missionary Priests*, 99-100.

³⁴ Cited in *Memoires of Missionary Priests*, 228; 255.

³⁵ Cited in *Memoires of Missionary Priests*, 192.

lead back to the prison, loaded with fetters & so strictly kept that it was lawfull for none to speake with him'. However, it was here in the prison that he ensured the *Te Deum* was sung and where 'he procured thanksgiving for this benefit received, & Te Deum to be sung by his fellow captiues'.³⁶

By performing the *Te Deum* at their arraignments and/or within the seminaries on the continent, priests and would-be martyrs looked backwards through meditation upon the images and narratives of early Christian martyrs. They were also vividly rooted in the present and united in song with the recently deceased missionary priests. Many of these priests would also have looked forwards to when they themselves might sing the *Te Deum* at their own arraignments and in anticipation of their own martyrdom, as the Jesuit rector of the English College in Rome wrote to William Allen in June 1579:

within the college, so great is the enthusiasm of all the students as they prepare themselves for that combat in England, and so daily pant for tortures and death for the Catholic faith, that it would seem to be impossible that God would not powerfully assist such a devout and such a holy desire.³⁷

In a tradition which was popularised with the death of Edmund Campion, by singing the *Te Deum* spaces were transformed as priests cast their minds to their fellow martyrs and forwards to their own futures on the mission. These devotional performances were politicised in the hostile spaces of their arraignments, as Catholic resistance mobilised around this musical performance which affirmed their status as martyrs, and pledged their allegiance to each other: united in songs of thanksgiving.

³⁶ *Miscellanea III*, 37.

³⁷ Cited in Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in early modern Europe* (London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 104.

'They go along quite jollily... singing songs'

After the execution of John Boste on 24 July 1594, Christopher Robinson (executed himself in 1598) wrote a graphic letter to Richard Dudley describing the martyrdom he had witnessed. Robinson reported that when the judgment was pronounced Boste 'sung with joyfull heart & cheerfull countenance the first verse of the hymn which the Church of God singeth in times of great and exceeding joy "*Te Deum laudamus te Dominum confitemur* – We praise thee O God, we confess thee our Lord".' Robinson then described how 'Mr Engram' (John Ingram) who happened to be standing trial alongside him, answered Boste singing the next lines of the hymn "*Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra venaratur*. – Thee, everlasting Father, all the earth doth worship." Whereunto Boost did reply, "*Qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in vitam aeternam custodit eam*. – Who hateth his soul in this world conserveth it unto life everlasting".³⁸ This musical call and response, followed by Boste's adaptation of the traditional *Te Deum* hymn to include the chant from the liturgy of martyrs, taken from John 12:25, underlines the importance of music to the self-fashioning of martyrdom. It is also clear that both priests were adhering to an established and practised tradition: this was not a spontaneous act. Boste was a secular priest ordained at Rheims in March 1581 and had joined the mission to England the following month. Although he had left the college before Campion's execution and the start of the commemorative *Te Deum* tradition in the seminaries, Boste may well have heard of Campion's actions at his trial and execution in the December of that year. Ingram was a Jesuit, ordained at Rome in 1589 and therefore would certainly have sung the *Te Deum* within the chapel to honour his fellow priests and martyrs before heading to Scotland in early 1592. The two men were both captured in 1593, Boste first on 5 July 1593 near Durham, and Ingram later that year on 25 November on the Tyne. They were then together in the Tower, where they were both racked before being sent back to

³⁸ *Miscellanea I*, ed. J. Hungerford Pollen, Catholic Record Society Series, 1 (1905), 87-8.

Durham for their arraignments. It is possible that there, imprisoned in Durham, they organised the details of their final performance together.

Such prison activity was indicated by Orazio Busino, chaplain to the Venetian ambassador, in 1617-1618 when he observed the ritual of public execution in England and gave this account:

They take them five and twenty at a time, every month, besides sudden and extraordinary executions in the course of the week on a large cart like a high scaffold. *They go along quite jollily, holding their sprigs of rosemary and singing songs*, accompanied by their friends and a multitude of people. On reaching the gallows one of the party acts as a spokesman, saying fifty words or so. Then the music, *which they had learned at leisure in the prisons*, being repeated, the execution hastens the business, and beginning at one end, fastens each man's halter to the gibbet.³⁹

Whilst Busino's remarks do not apply exclusively to the execution of priests, his account of musical self-fashioning is nonetheless significant, as those preparing to die 'go along quite jollily... singing songs... which they had learned at leisure in the prisons'. At the beginning of Ralph Sherwin's final performance, standing trial alongside Edmund Campion in 1581, he listened to the judgement and then to Campion's song of joy, *Te Deum*. Sherwin's response was also musical as he 'took up the song *Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et Isetemur in ilia...* whereby the multitudes in the hall were visibly astonished and affected'.⁴⁰ Campion and Sherwin fashioned themselves through musical performances of *Te Deum* and *Haec est dies* and

³⁹ My emphasis. Orazio Busino 'Venice: February 1618, 1-14' *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 15: 1617-1619*.

⁴⁰ My emphasis. Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion: A Biography* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1867), 309. Simpson, although not citing his sources, is likely to have gleaned this information from Bombino's account of the trial. The full text of Campion and Sherwin's songs of joy is as follows: Campianus grates Deo, laudesque occinit sacro illo hymno: *Te Deum laudaemus, te Dominum confitemur. non dissimilis Sheruini vox laeto cum oris in caelum suspectu: Haec dies, inquit, quam fecit Dominus exultemus, & latemur in ea.*

this musical self-fashioning did not end at the trial, for on the scaffold their fellow priests also confronted death with the same spirit of musical defiance.

There are extant accounts of several priests singing upon the scaffold, such as the Jesuit priest Thomas Garnet, who sang the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* at Tyburn on 23 June 1608. Garnet sang the first two verses but his act of sung subversion was eventually cut short at the last line of the third verse, 'when he came to the words, *sermone ditans guttura*, the cart was drawn away, and he was left hanging, till he had given up his pious soul into the hands of his Creator'.⁴¹ Also at Tyburn, on 27 February 1601:

Mr *Barkworth* and Mr *Filcock* were both drawn together upon the same hurdle from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. When they were put up into the cart, Mr. *Barkworth* with a joyful accent, sung those words of the royal prophet *Haec dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus*; and Mr. *Filcock* went on in the same tone, *Et laetemur in ea*.⁴²

Mark Barkworth, a Benedictine, and Roger Filcock, a Jesuit, were united in song upon the scaffold. Not just any song, however, but the song sung by secular priest Ralph Sherwin at his arraignment with Jesuit Edmund Campion. Most likely having prepared for this moment prior to their executions in the Newgate prison, Barkworth and Filcock modelled their final moments on the scaffold upon the martyrdoms of Campion and Sherwin.

Singing was not a feature of executions limited to English Catholics during this period and martyrs of various confessions used musical performance to resist the authority of the state. John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (first printed in 1563 and going through nine folio editions by 1684) gave accounts of the hundreds of Protestant executions that occurred both in England and across Europe. Like the English Catholic priests, several

⁴¹ *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, 298.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 255-6.

of these martyrs are described singing songs of joy at their arraignments and executions. The subversive potential of such singing was also acknowledged by the European Catholic authorities as demonstrated when Foxe described the martyrdom of Philip Cene, an apothecary at Dijon, in 1557: 'As this Philip went to his death singing psalmes, the Fryer standing by, stopped hys mouthe with his hande'.⁴³ Utilising music in this way was also a feature of Anabaptist martyrdom and martyrology: in the *Martyrs Mirror*, the 1660 documentation of the Anabaptist Christmas martyrs by Thieleman J. van Braght, there are also several accounts of martyrs singing whilst being burnt at the stake. These include the story of Hans Blietel, apprehended at Ried in Bavaria in 1545:

This lover of God also sang in the fire; in which he lived for some time, praising God by his singing, and praying for all men who were worthy, that God would enlighten them.⁴⁴

Musical appropriation of the scaffold scene in England was also attempted by Protestants, as revealed during the Benedictine priest John Roberts' last dying speech on 10 December 1610 at Tyburn. The Protestant minister retaliated by organising the felons in another cart to drown Roberts' words by 'singing hymns made up from the Psalms according to the fashion of Geneva'.⁴⁵ The utilisation of music across the religious divides underlines what was clearly a shared opinion of the time: music had the power to subvert, and with song the martyr reclaimed some control of the scene from the state.

Through musical performance the priests ensured that despite their status as victims, they had agency over their final performance and moreover, their appropriation by martyrologists. Considering martyrdom-

⁴³ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable...* (London, 1583), 916.

⁴⁴ Thieleman J. van Braght, *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians Who Baptized Only Upon Confession of Faith, and Who suffered and Died for the Testimony of Jesus, Their Saviour, From the Time of Christ to the Year A.D. 1660*, trans. Joseph F. Sohm (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1982), 877.

⁴⁵ Cited in Lake and Questier, 'Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric', 87.

narratives, scholars such as Alison Shell have explored the representation of martyrs within narrative accounts and the practice of confessorship.⁴⁶ It is clear that the martyrs themselves were active agents in this fashioning as the musical performances were critical to how they would be remembered. Despite Tessa Watt's assertion that the martyrs 'became no more than cardboard cut-outs' and fitting a 'mould' within the narratives, this was due at least in part to the martyrs' desire to be part of this mould and established tradition.⁴⁷ Recognising the need to relinquish their individuality and cultivating the image of martyrdom, through music the martyrs lifted themselves up to the heavenly registers in which all prayer is sung. By using music, gestures and words borrowed from Catholic religious ceremony and devotional practice, the condemned transformed the execution space. They created a religious and devotional aura for the occasion, whilst simultaneously politicising the space by singing, chanting and speaking in Latin. The priests inscribed themselves within the martyr-tradition and reminded those listening that what had gone before would come again as they sanctified themselves and the scaffold with song.

Within hostile sources the power of music to sanctify was acknowledged. As we read in chapter three, when Edmund Campion was executed, 'Agazzari, the Rector of the English College caused the organ to be sounded and all the students to come to the chapel, and then and there...sang a collect of martyrs, so after this manner canonising Campion the rebel as a saint'.⁴⁸ With the performance to commemorate his death within the English College, Edmund Campion was sanctified. The music also helped sanctify sites of execution which were utilised by Catholics as sites of pilgrimage. In

⁴⁶ Shell, *Oral Culture*, 114-148. 'Confessor' in this context being 'one who avows his religion in the face of danger, and adheres to it under persecution and torture, but does not suffer martyrdom'. See 'confessor', n. in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 18 December 2013. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/38793>.

⁴⁷ Cf. Watt, *Cheap Print*, 96.

⁴⁸ Thomas Bell, *The Anatomie of Popish Tyrannie* (London, 1603), 97.

1624 the Englishman and Protestant convert John Gee described pilgrimages made by London Catholics to honour their new saints:

It was ancient, to visit *memorias martyrum*; and so, the sending of disciples to visit Tyburn, maketh a deep impression in their minds, of the saintship of some that have there paid their debt to our laws. We know, martyr and persecutor are correlations: and so, in this action of pretended humiliation, there is intended an increase of the Romanists' hatred against the Church and State of England, as persecuting, and guilty of the blood of those whom they adore. Thus every step in such pilgrimage, makes those penitents to walk further from us: nay, in every stripe [from self-flagellation] voluntarily received in such a processional journey, the confessor enjoineth this performance, thinks he scourgeth the Protestants.⁴⁹

Despite Gee's account, such visible action was dangerous for Catholics. For example Margaret Clitherow made regular pilgrimages to honour the executed priests at the Knavesmire in York, but she always ensured she went at night to avoid detection.⁵⁰ Similarly, other English Catholics also turned to alternative, more covert ways to honour their new martyr-saints: through the composition of musical martyrdom-narratives that exemplified both prayer and protest for performance in their households.

Campion is a Champion

After execution, the complex theatre of punishment continued with a struggle for narrative control over the memories of the victims, as stories about the martyrdoms, and accounts of their final moments rapidly disseminated throughout society in manuscript, print and 'cheap print', such as broadside ballads. Musical martyrology was not aimed exclusively at a definable social group and martyr-ballads often circulated alongside other

⁴⁹ John Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare* (London, 1624), 90.

⁵⁰ J. Mush, 'A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs. Margaret Clitherow' in *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, Vol. 3, 331-440

martyrdom narratives through Catholic family circles and networks in England. This, as Arthur Marotti has highlighted, explains the authors of such accounts usually being related to their subjects, for example the account of James Duckett's martyrdom was penned by his son.⁵¹ As Nancy Pollard Brown uncovered, such manuscripts also circulated more widely within distinctive Catholic underground networks that stretched from city to country.⁵² There is more work to be done on Catholic bibliophiles and print and manuscript dissemination but, as the case-study in chapter five of the *Blundells of Little Crosby* highlights, the dearth of surviving evidence is further testament to the fact that ballads, first and foremost, were designed to circulate orally by singing the texts to well-known tunes.⁵³

Ballads on Edmund Campion began circulating prior to his death, for around November 1581 the State Papers recorded three 'Verses concerning Edmund Campion'.⁵⁴ Unlike the verses penned after his execution, Campion was alive to hear these particular ballads because one line within the second verse in the state papers read 'his life is reddye to yeld'. Despite the tunes now being lost, it is evident that they would have been memorable, such as this verse with the heroic pun on his name:

Campion is a champion
 Him once to overcumme
 The rest be well drest
 The sooner to mumme

⁵¹ Arthur F. Marotti, 'Manuscript Transmission and the Catholic Martyrdom Account in Early Modern England' in *Print, Manuscript & Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England*, eds. Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2000), 172-199 (at 175).

⁵² Nancy Pollard Brown, 'Paperchase: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England', *English Manuscript Studies*, 1 (1989): 120-143.

⁵³ Invaluable progress in this field will be made thanks largely to the efforts of The University of California, Santa Barbara and their *English Broadside Ballad Archive*, accessed 29 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu>.

⁵⁴ SP 12/150 f.137 (Nov? 1581).

Despite their official suppression, this ballad was evidently memorable and widespread, for twenty years later, in the *Lancashire MS*, a reference to the verse is found in 'A songe of four priests that suffered death at Lancaster':

O god, of thy great might strengthen our frailtie soe
 stoutlie to stand in feight against our infernall foe!
 Thy Campe in Order standes, where many a Champion bould.
 In their victorious handes eternal Tryumph hould.

The capitalisation of *Campe in Order* and *Champion*, is a pun on 'Campion' and 'Champion', a reference both to the ballad and also a pun on Campion's name itself, where the word 'champion' was also spelt as 'campion' in the period. Punning and jokes surrounding the 'power of names' were not uncommon within ballads, and this line served as a vivid reminder for the singers of the death of their Champion, Edmund Campion, by uniting him with the four martyrs.

Ballads on Catholic martyrdom were also penned by those on the other side of the confessional divide and as Adam Fox demonstrated, throughout the period ballads were an effective means of communicating political messages.⁵⁵ In 1570, John Felton was executed for treason; he was indicted for nailing a copy of the papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth to the door of the bishop of London's palace, and this led to a ballad on his 'end and confession'.⁵⁶ This was the eyewitness account of William How: 'for why these eares of mine did here, and iyes while that his breath', which was to satisfy 'Eche man desiers to have reporte, of newes both strange and rare: And covits for to know those thinges, whereby they may be ware'. To act 'for good example of all such, that they might take the feare, for to beware of suche like facte, as well in worde as deede'. The report described Felton's last dying speech:

⁵⁵ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. 'Ballads and Libels', 299-334.

⁵⁶ 'The end and confession of John Felton who suffred in Paules Churcheyard in London', *EBBA*, accessed 29 January 2014.
<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32268/image>.

I here protest before you all
 this present dieyng day
 That I was never Traytour sure
 nor Treason to my Queene
 Did never do, nor never thought
 that ever hath been seene.
 And for the facte wherefore I die,
 I can it not denie:
 But at the Gate where as the Bull
 was hanged, there was I

This ballad was a straightforward warning, transmitting the information of the treason despite Felton's protestation to the contrary, and his confession to posting the bull, before finishing:

Beware you Papists all beware,
 be true unto your Queene:
 Let not your Traiterous hartes be bent
 as here tofore hath been.

In times of tension such as this, in the years 1569-1571 and the aftermath of the Northern Rising and Elizabeth's excommunication, the majority of ballads entered into the Stationer's Register were anti-Catholic, such as the second ballad extant on John Felton: Steven Peele's 'A letter to Rome to declare to ye Pope, John Felton his freend is hangd in a rope', to the tune of 'Row well ye Mariners'.⁵⁷ Peele taunted the Pope and subsequently any and all of the Catholic audience, with news of Felton's gruesome execution:

Ryng all the belles in Rome
 To doe his sinful soule some good,
 Let that be doen right soone

⁵⁷ 'A letter to Rome to declare to ye Pope, John Felton his freend is hangd in a rope', *EBBA*, accessed 29 January 2014.
<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32412/image>.

Because he hath shed his blood,
 His quarters stand not all together
 But ye mai hap to ring them thether

Peele and the ballad's consumers were singing their anti-Catholicism and news of this execution. Ballading, then, was political and as Bruce Smith highlighted, 'implicit in both the sense of the verb *to ballad* is the idea of taking an event or a person and performing it: giving it a voice, giving it a body, appropriating it by *becoming* it'.⁵⁸ Through the appropriation of the priests, Protestants were making a defiant political statement and so were Catholic ballads on the same subject, which were as subversive as they were devotional.

Why do I use my paper, inke and pen?

In the composition of Catholic music that exemplified both resistance and devotion there is no figure more exemplary than the foremost composer of the age, William Byrd. In the vast attention paid by scholars to his 'political' Latin motets of the 1580s, Byrd is well-known for taking texts as he wanted. As we saw in chapter three, and as Joseph Kerman suggested, metaphors such as the plight of Jerusalem, the Babylonian and Egyptian captivity, liberation and the coming of God within his music, reflected the plight of persecuted English Catholics.⁵⁹ Kerman conceded that the hypothesis of a hidden meaning for these texts, however, was not one that could be easily proved, despite Byrd's remarkable words in the introduction to his *Gradualia* in 1605:⁶⁰

There is a certain hidden power, as I learnt by experience, in the thoughts underlying the words themselves; so that, as one meditates upon the sacred words and constantly and seriously

⁵⁸ Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 188.

⁵⁹ Joseph Kerman, 'The Elizabethan Motet: A Study of Texts for Music', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 9 (1962): 273-308.

⁶⁰ Kerman, 'The Elizabethan Motet: A Study of Texts for Music', 292.

considers them, the right notes, in some inexplicable manner, suggest themselves quite spontaneously.⁶¹

Building upon this, Craig Monson endeavoured to prove Kerman's hypotheses by demonstrating that many of Byrd's motets were taken from recusant books and pamphlets.⁶² For example, Byrd's setting of verses 1-2 of Ps. 50, 'Miserere mei, Deus', printed in the 1591 *Cantiones sacrae*, whilst not singled out by Kerman as 'political' (as several composers of differing confessional persuasions had also set various versions of this penitential psalm) would have carried a special meaning for English Catholics as these were among the words most commonly spoken on the scaffold.⁶³

Byrd's engagement with martyrological culture was nowhere as explicit as his setting of 'Why do I use my paper inke and pen' and the song's text derived from a martyr-ballad on the trial and execution of Edmund Campion.⁶⁴ Standing close to the scaffold as Campion's body was being butchered, Henry Walpole noticed a drop of blood spurt onto his coat and was so profoundly shaken from all that he had witnessed he promptly converted to Catholicism.⁶⁵ Grieving the martyrdom he composed the anguished thirty-stanza poem, which circulated widely in manuscript and was also printed at the end of Thomas Alfield's *A true reporte of the death & martyrdom of M. Campion Iesuite* of 1582.⁶⁶ The text was a product of a secret press that had been set up in East Smithfield during Campion's mission and the publication caused much scandal (see Fig. 3). The main printer, Richard Verstegan, fled abroad and left a Cambridge don, Stephen Vallenger, to become the victim of the Elizabethan establishment's determination to prosecute, despite there being no evidence to suggest that Vallenger was the

⁶¹ William Byrd, Preface to *Gradualia*, I (London, 1605). Cited in Philip Brett ed. *Gradualia I: The Marian Masses, Byrd Edition 5* (London, 1989), xxxvi.

⁶² Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics, and the Motet', 348-74.

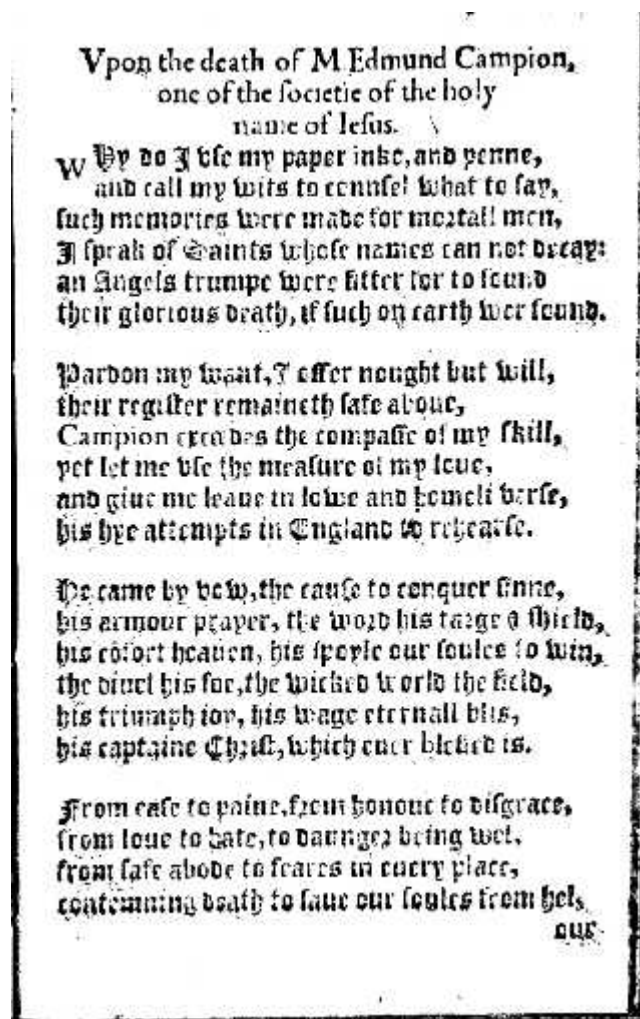
⁶³ Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics, and the Motet', 362.

⁶⁴ William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonnets and Songs* (1588), no. 33. For modern edition see Philip Brett ed. *English madrigals, Vol. 14* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1963).

⁶⁵ According to a long Jesuit tradition.

⁶⁶ For circulation of the text of Walpole's poem, see Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, 59-88.

printer, publisher, poet or otherwise. Nevertheless, Vallenger's infamy was sealed as he was made to 'stand on the Pillory one day in the Pallace at Westminster & one other day in Cheapside & to leese at each place one of his ears to remayne as a perpetuall marke of his lewd dealings'.⁶⁷ The poem's author, Henry Walpole, became a Jesuit missionary and was later captured and executed for treason in 1595. Subsequently 'Why do I use' became all the more associated with the most extreme acts of Elizabethan violence and the poem did not appear again in print until 1908.



[Fig. 3, Thomas Alfield, *A True Reporte....*, f.18]

⁶⁷ Jeremy L. Smith, 'Byrd's "Why do I use" in Context' (Unpublished Conference Paper, *Domestic Music in Recusant Circles in Elizabethan and Jacobean Times Symposium*, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, 26 November 2011). My thanks to Jeremy for allowing me to cite from his unpublished conference paper. This work will be extended in a forthcoming monograph on Byrd's songs.

Engaging with the martyr-ballad tradition, William Byrd's arrangement of Walpole's 'Why do I use' was printed in five separate editions of his *Psalmes, Sonets and songs*, ranging from 1588 to c.1610 (see Fig. 4). Byrd's first verse was identical to Walpole's and his strophic setting would have made it straightforward to sing the rest of Walpole's inflammatory verses to the tune.⁶⁸ This did not go unnoticed. Another future Jesuit, Thomas Fitzherbert, remarked that 'one of the sonnets [on Campion's death] was presently set forth in music by the best musician in England, which I have often seen and heard'.⁶⁹ In attempting to reconcile how Byrd could have published such an explicitly Catholic piece of music apparently without repercussion, scholars have been quick to emphasise that the stanzas Byrd set were 'innocuous' and that 'nothing in the lyrics themselves...suggests a politicized meaning'.⁷⁰ The music has also not received very favourable review: Joseph Kerman has described it as 'mildly climactic' and when Bruce Horner enquired the opinion of one group of undergraduate music students, they dismissed it completely and described it as a 'boring, tediously slow piece of pious blather'.⁷¹ Considering the vast attention scholars have paid to the text selections of William Byrd, it is astonishing that this setting has been so easily disregarded. This poem, as Gerard Kilroy has demonstrated, was circulating widely in manuscript amongst circles containing both recusants and those that adhered to the established church.⁷² The controversial print edition had also provoked a response in the public sphere in the form of Anthony Munday's *A Breefe*

⁶⁸ 'Strophic' is to describe a text that repeats the same rhyme structure.

⁶⁹ Cited in P. Caraman ed. *The Other Face: Catholic Life under Elizabeth I* (London: Longmans, 1960), 282.

⁷⁰ Bruce Horner, 'On the Study of Music as Material Social Practice', *The Journal of Musicology*, 16.1 (1998): 159-199 (at 196); Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 44.

⁷¹ Joseph Kerman, 'Write all these down': notes on a Byrd song' in *Byrd Studies*, eds. Alan Brown and Richard Turbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 112-128 (at 122); Horner, 'On the Study of Music', 196.

⁷² Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, 59-88.

Answer... of 1582.⁷³ In his retaliation, Munday replicated exactly Walpole's first two lines and thus he also helped to publicise the original verses.

XXXIII. The first saying part. MEDIVS.

Hy do I vse :||: my paper inck & pen, and call my
wits to counsel what to say, such memories were made for mortall men, I
speak of Saints, whose names cannot decaye, an Angels trump, an Angels
trump, were fitter for to found, their glorious death, :||: if such on earth were
found, an Angels trump, :||: were fitter for to found, their glorious death,
their glorious death, if such on earth were found, if such on earth were found.

¶ That if there of such were once on earth perished, 3
the histories of ancient times record,
whose confidence great tyrants rage finished,
through paines death professing Christ their Lord
as his Apostles perfect martyrs here,
with many more that blessed Martyrs were.

Whose patience rare & most conuigent minds,
with firm assurance perperuall shall endure,
by whose examples we may rightly finde,
of holie life and death a pattern pure:
that we therefore their vertues may embrace,
pay we to Christ to guide vs with his grace.

[Fig. 4, William Byrd, 'Why do I use', No. 33 in
Psalmes, Sonets and songs (1588)]

By setting Walpole's first verse, in 'Why do I use' William Byrd was making a very public, politicised statement about the death of Edmund Campion and subsequently, the content of the second two 'innocuous' stanzas is very important in order to understand the message Byrd was conveying. The content of the verses is even more significant when it is realised that these were not stanzas simply 'selected' from Walpole's poem, as has seemingly been presumed by scholars: they are brand new. Whilst it is

⁷³ Anthony Munday, *A Breefe Answer Made unto two Seditious pamphlets* (London, 1582).

possible that William Byrd had someone else compose the second and third verses, it is just as likely that he composed this narrative himself. Encompassing both prayer and polemic, Byrd's words, like many martyr-ballads, were explicitly written to arouse devotion as well as placing the subject within the martyr tradition, as the verses related the recent martyrs to saints in heaven. Byrd quoted Walpole in his melodious statement: 'I speak of saints, whose names cannot decaye' and whose 'glorious death, if such on earth were found'. Byrd then invoked the traditional martyr-saints in his own second verse, 'that store of such were once on earth pursu'd, the histories of auncient times record'. Byrd's music also acted as a prayer to those saints whom had died 'professing Christ their Lord' and 'with many mo blessed Martirs were'. And like the other ballads in the tradition, Byrd's last verse implored those performing and listening to the music to actively emulate the martyrs, 'whose patience rare and most courageous mind, with fame renowned perpetual shall endure' and 'by whose examples we may rightly find, Of holy life and death a pattern pure. That we therefore their virtues may embrace. Pray we to Christ to guide us with his grace'. These sentiments, with their overt attachment to the life and martyrdom of Edmund Campion, and explicit engagement with an existing Catholic martyr-tradition, can hardly be referred to as 'innocuous'.

Targeting a wide spectrum of society, ballads on martyrdom were particularly popular and verses such as 'Why do I use' demonstrate how Byrd was very aware of the tradition within which he was working. As well as ensuring the report of the martyrdom was accurate, emphasised usually claims the author had witnessed the execution personally, the composers were also aware of their need to enhance Catholic devotion with their ballad. Byrd's text bears striking similarities with many others in the tradition such as the Jesuit Thomas Pounce's 'What yron hart that wo'd not melt in greefe'. Pounce's nine stanza verse was also composed on the death of Campion and

was printed after 'Why do I use' in Thomas Alfield's narrative.⁷⁴ This ballad punned on Campion's name: 'Nature with tears bewailed her heavy loss, honesty feared herself should shortly die, religion saw her *champion* on the cross...' and as well as accounting the martyrdom in typical terms, the ballad referred specifically to Campion's words upon the scaffold: 'mildness possessed his sweet and cheerful face, a patient spectacle was presented then, in sight of God, of angels, saints, and men'. The final two verses then described how from heaven Campion 'prays and sings in melody for our recure, and calleth us to him, he stands before the throne with harmony, and is a glorious suture for our sin'. Before finally exhorting those performing the verse:

Rejoice, be glad, triumph, sing hymns of joy, *Campion, Sherwin, Brian*, live in bliss, they sue, they seek the ease of our annoy, they pray, they speak, and all effectual is, not like to men on earth as heretofore, but like to saints in heaven, and that is more.

In the verse Campion has been sanctified by music as he sings for the souls of the Catholics he has left behind and, moreover, Pounce encouraged those reading his ballad to 'sing hymns' of thanksgiving and joy, in honour of the martyr. This was likely a direct reference to the *Te Deum* Campion had sung at his arraignment, and the *Haec dies* that Sherwin had sung in response. The martyr-ballad consequently becomes the compounding of the martyr's self-fashioning, as like Byrd, the martyrs' sanctity was perpetuated by relating the martyrs to the existing 'saints in heaven'.

The impact that Byrd's verses in 'Why do I use' had on English Catholics, like the other martyr-ballads in the tradition, was manifold. As Alison Shell has highlighted: 'The practice of making public or semi-public oral statements about Catholic martyrs could have had a threefold effect: commemorating the individuals in question; committing the speaker to follow their example until death; and stimulating zeal in like-minded hearers

⁷⁴ Alfield, *A True Reporte*, ff.21v-23.

and viewers'.⁷⁵ Despite this, scholars have focussed on unearthing hard-to-prove and 'hidden' meaning within Byrd's Latin motets of the 1580s, such as 'Deus venerunt gentes'. This is a setting of Psalm 78 published within *Cantiones Sacrae* in 1589, and the music most often cited by scholars to link the Catholic community's shock at the death of Edmund Campion. This has resulted in the significance of 'Why do I use' being overlooked, most likely due to the fact that, as several other scholars have made plain, when compared to Byrd's other compositions 'Why do I use' 'simply does not pack the punch'.⁷⁶

Musically, it must be admitted, 'Why do I use' is not Byrd's finest: the melody is not particularly awe-inspiring and the verses at times do not really seem to fit the music that well. Subsequently when it is directly compared to masterpieces such as 'Deus venerunt gentes', especially as this is also associated with Edmund Campion, the scholarly neglect might be forgiven. However, Byrd's simple melodic choices in 'Why do I use' may actually also provide further insight. As Alison Shell has highlighted in the choice of balladry for martyr-narratives: 'A poet, while he remains a poet, is only capable of exhorting rather than acting, and must necessarily rank lower than a martyr. This has an impact both on the genre he chooses, and on the reader-response he seeks to elicit. He is at his most honest about the limitations of his calling when he is *most unpolished*'.⁷⁷ With this in mind, and considering William Byrd's usual musical prowess, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that in 'Why do I use' Byrd was purposefully 'unpolished'. By his own admission, the relationship between words and music was of the utmost importance and subsequently, in 'Why do I use' Byrd composed a simple song in order to convey a message of exceptional significance. He did not want to distract his performers and the audience

⁷⁵ Shell, *Oral Culture*, 114.

⁷⁶ Smith, 'Byrd's "Why do I use" in Context'.

⁷⁷ My emphasis. Shell, *Oral Culture*, 121.

from this message with flourish or elaborate polyphonies; this was simple music to honour the martyr, and truly prayer-like in tone.

Ballads composed for martyrs were ideological, rhetorical, devotional and political, and further underscored the complexity of the theatre of punishment during the period. The presence of these musical martyrdom narratives, with their shared devotional ideals and polemical aims, emphasise that martyrs were a paradigm for English Catholics and inspired individual piety in their composition. Moreover with their reception, circulation and performance, such music served to support the construction of communal devotional identities, as is evidenced further in the next, and final, chapter.

8 | The Catholic Household: Performance and Transformation

The most important devotional space for post-Reformation English Catholics was the household and it is widely held by scholars that devout families were the mainstay of post-Reformation Catholicism.¹ The household was a multifaceted institution for Catholics, and could be a focus for devotion and piety whilst simultaneously functioning as a ‘seedbed of subversion’ and site of resistance.² This chapter will reveal how Catholics used music in this space, as households, particularly wealthy ones, became focal points for local Catholics.³ To cite the well-known example of the arrangements made for Lady Magdalene Browne (1538–1608) in her family mansion at Battle in West Sussex:

... she built a chapel in her house (which in such a persecution was to be admired) and there placed a very fair altar of stone, whereto she made an ascent with steps and enclosed it with rails, and, to have everything conformable, she built a choir for singers and set up a pulpit for the priests, which perhaps is not to be seen in all England besides. Here almost every week was a sermon made, and on solemn feasts the sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated with singing and musical instruments, and sometimes also with deacon and subdeacon. And such was the concourse and resort of Catholics, that sometimes there were 120 together, and 60 communicants at a time had the benefit of the Blessed Sacrament. And such was the number of Catholics resident in her

¹ This is not to suggest that Catholicism ‘retreated’ to the households of the aristocracy. See for example Questier, *Catholicism and Community*. For more on religion and the household see John Doran, Charlotte Methuen and Alexandra Walsham eds. *Religion and the Household*, Vol. 50 of *Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2014).

² This now well-known phrase was coined by John Bossy in his discussion of Tridentine Europe and the aftermath of the Council of Trent, ‘The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe’, *Past & Present*, 47 (1970), 51–70 (at 68). See also Alexandra Walsham, ‘Holy Families: The Spiritualisation of the Early Modern Household revisited’ in *Religion and the Household* eds. Doran et al, 124–162.

³ For an example of a poorer household becoming the focus for local Catholics, see Sheils, ‘Catholics and their Neighbours in a Rural Community’.

house and the multitude and note of such as repaired thither, that even the heretics, to the eternal glory of the name of the Lady Magdalen, gave it the title of *Little Rome*.⁴

Whilst the Council of Trent had explicitly banned the celebration of mass in non-ecclesiastical settings, the domestication of the mass after the Reformations in England may, as Alexandra Walsham has suggested, have allowed for the possibility of direct supervision and pastoral care of the laity by the priesthood as advocated by Tridentine leaders.⁵ Furthermore, Walsham contends, it might even have been here 'in the inward-looking households of upper-class recusants... that the early modern Catholic clergy had the best chance of successfully effecting what [John] Bossy describes as the transformation of communal Christians into individual ones'.⁶ However, this chapter suggests that this is an unhelpful polarity, and that in fact post-Reformation Catholic households formed the locus for both individual and communal piety.

Utilising the evidence provided by a rare piece of music discovered within the manuscript pages of a Catholic 'encyclopaedia' known as the Brudenell manuscript from an upper-class Northamptonshire household, this chapter will highlight the important role of martyrdom-narratives in domestic devotion. Within the historiography of early modern Christianity, scholars such as Thomas Freeman, Brad Gregory and Anne Dillon have recently drawn attention to the fundamental role that martyrs (and those understood as martyrs by the Catholic community) played in the formation of devotional identities, and in particular the fraught construction of post-

⁴ From the contemporary account written by Lady Montague's chaplain, Richard Smith, *An Elizabethan Recusant House Comprising the Life of the Lady Magdalen Viscountess Montague (1538-1608)*, trans. Cuthbert Fursdon O.S.B. (1627), ed. A.C. Southern (London: Sands, 1954), 41-2.

⁵ Alexandra Walsham, 'Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation', *Historical Research* 78 (2005): 288-310 (at 297).

⁶ *Ibid.*

Reformation Catholic identity.⁷ Anne Dillon's monograph on post-Reformation English Catholics demonstrated how manuscript and printed martyrdom narratives, such as John Mush's account of the life and martyrdom of Margaret Clitherow in 1586, imparted Tridentine ideals to the beleaguered laity.⁸ Catholics were implored to admire the martyrs as figures of consolation and devotion and also to emulate them, embracing the characteristics of humility, constancy and piety in their daily lives. Moreover, texts such as Mush's *Life* presented recusancy itself as a form of martyrdom. As well as emphasizing the Eucharistic elements of martyrdom by focusing on the martyr's body and blood and the privileged status of the priesthood, these narratives exemplify the complexity of the internal discourse occurring within their community, which enabled them, as Dillon has shown, 'to express and make sense of the events which they had witnessed'.⁹ This chapter will suggest that such focus on martyrs and the related musical narratives served as substitutes for much that the English Catholic community had lost, and reveal that English Catholics shared both determination and ingenuity in piecing together new forms of devotional life.

In particular, this chapter asks how music reaffirmed post-Reformation Catholic identity and builds upon the work of Alison Shell. Reminding scholars that most texts were written to be read aloud, or, in the case of ballads, sung, Shell has provided another facet to our understanding of this discourse in her work on English Catholic oral culture.¹⁰ Shell highlighted the importance of Catholic martyr-ballads in encouraging people

⁷ Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer eds., *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007); Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*; Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*. For a literary perspective, see Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England*.

⁸ Dillon, 'A trewe report of the li[fe] and marterdome of Mrs. Margaret Clitherowe' in *Construction of Martyrdom*, 277–322. For full printed edition of the original manuscript see Mush, 'A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs. Margaret Clitherow'.

⁹ Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, 107.

¹⁰ Shell, *Oral Culture*, 2.

to view martyrs as exemplary figures, and has also explored the complexity of these texts by demonstrating how they could 'blur the distinction not only between audience and congregation, but between earth and heaven, powerfully reminding the listeners that their prayers and praises should be united with those of the saints'.¹¹ This chapter adds to our understanding of this martyr-discourse by examining the role that music and 'musical culture', distinct and yet also inextricably bound to oral and literary culture, played not only in the production but also in the performance of martyrdom narratives in Catholic households.¹²

Lisa McClain, in her investigation of English Catholics between 1559 and 1642, argued that post-Reformation English Catholics were loyal to a church that was 'neither late medieval nor post-Tridentine in character', and traced how Catholic piety evolved through devotions such as the rosary. McClain explored how the individual 'lived experience' of men and women changed after the Reformations and suggested ways, such as the redefinition of religious space, whereby Catholics may have adapted to a religious climate in which the clergy and the sacraments were not readily available.¹³ In order to move away from the marked tendency amongst scholars that use categories such as 'conformity', 'occasional conformity', 'loyalty', 'recusancy' and 'church-papism' as indicators of religious culture and belief, this chapter challenges McClain to argue that post-Reformation English Catholicism was *both* late medieval and post-Tridentine in character. What follows will also simultaneously develop her approach in order to engage with how Catholic 'lived experience' may have been transformed in practice. Through the discussion of how Catholics used music in their devotion this chapter casts new light on the adaptation of Catholic domestic piety in the midst of persecution.

¹¹ Shell, *Oral Culture*, 122.

¹² Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, 109.

¹³ McClain, *Lest we be damned*, esp. chs. 2–4.

Adoramus te Christe: Martyrs at Home

In 2005 the literary critic Gerard Kilroy reintroduced to scholars the Brudenell MS: two large (28 by 42cm) volumes that were sold to the Bodleian Library by the Brudenell family of Deene Park, Northamptonshire, in 1968.¹⁴ The volumes contain over 1800 pages of theological and historical information in defence of Roman Catholicism and it is likely that the transcription of these volumes took place between 1605 and 1608. Furthermore, whilst there are several hands present, almost all of the texts are in the hand of a single scribe.¹⁵ The collections consist of glosses on verses of the New Testament, extracts from theological works of all periods (from the Church fathers to accounts of contemporary events concerning recusants) and they are arranged alphabetically under 93 headings called 'books', such as 'Of Absolution', 'Of the Holy Eucharist' and 'Of Persecution'. The contemporary material within these volumes stretches back to the early 1580s and the interrogations surrounding Jesuit priest, Edmund Campion who was put to death on 1 December 1581 and forward to the execution of Henry Garnet in 1606

The volumes are modelled on an illuminated medieval manuscript and music is found on many of the pages. Old music is used, cut up, drawn on, stuck in and moreover, new music has been composed. At the end of Book 59 of the collection 'Of Martirs', there is a description of the events surrounding the execution of Henry Garnet. Garnet was hung, drawn and quartered in St Paul's Churchyard, London on the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, 3 May 1606. In his last dying speech Garnet adapted the liturgy from the office hours of the day and he proclaimed in Latin: 'We adore thee, O Christ and we Bless thee, because by thy Cross, thou hast redeemed the world. This sign shall appear in heaven, when the Lord shall

¹⁴ Bodleian MS. Th. Eng. B. 1-2. This chapter is an extended version of my article, see Emilie K. M. Murphy, 'Adoramus te Christe': Music and post-Reformation English Catholic domestic piety' in *Religion and the Household*, eds. Doran et al, 242-255.

¹⁵ There is a possibility there are several hands present writing in an almost identical neat secretarial hand.

come to judgment'.¹⁶ On f.137 of the Brudenell MS there is a musical setting of Garnet's last words, 'Adoramus te Christe'. The piece of music (see Fig. 1) bears the name of the composer, 'Thomas Jollett' in two places: a signature at the top of the page and then again written in the neat scribal hand within the composition itself at the end of the bass part. The name also appears on the last leaf of the volume where there is this inscription:

If anyone wishes to know the name of the writer / Let him be
known to all, and called as Thomas Jollet.¹⁷

Overlooking the composition of 'Adoramus te Christe', Gerard Kilroy has suggested that Thomas Jollett was a pseudonym for Thomas Tresham due to the mass of material that focuses on Tresham within the manuscript, the range of theological knowledge the manuscript possesses and subsequently Tresham's access to an immense library.¹⁸ Kilroy suggested that the scribe was Mary, Thomas Tresham's daughter, who had married Thomas Brudenell, later first Lord Cardigan, in the summer of 1605 and that she had endeavoured to meticulously transcribe her father's legacy. Kilroy finally argued that this collection was intended to be buried, 'as had happened to all the other Tresham papers' on 28 November 1605. Kilroy asserted that Mary simply changed her mind and decided to 'hand them on to posterity'.¹⁹ The presence of 'Adoramus te Christe' within these volumes makes nearly all of these hypotheses impossible.

¹⁶ Bodleian MS Th. Eng. B. 2, 135. 'Adoramus te Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per crucem tuam, redimisti mundum. Hoc signum erit in caelo, cum dominus ad iudicandum venerit'

¹⁷ 'Scriptor qualis erat si quis de nomine quaerat / Cunctis noscatur Thomas Jollet sic nominatur'.

¹⁸ Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, 13-14.

¹⁹ Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, 14.



[Fig. 1, 'Adoramus te Christe', attrib. Thomas Jollett, c.1606-1608.

Bodl. MS. Eng. Th. B. 2, 137.]

'Thomas Jollett' composed 'Adoramus te Christe' specifically to honour the death of Henry Garnet in May 1606 and consequently Jollett cannot be a straightforward alias for Thomas Tresham, as he had died in September 1605. The Northamptonshire connection with the manuscript remains, due to its Deene Park provenance, the prevalence of material focussing on Tresham, and the documents pasted into the second volume relating to the recusancy of Mary Brudenell. Nevertheless, Kilroy's conclusion that '[i]n its entirety the book indicates a degree of biblical and patristic knowledge that Sir Thomas Tresham, alone among laymen, is known to have possessed' is surely mistaken.²⁰ Tresham was not 'alone among laymen', as recent scholarship by Nicholas Barker and David Quentin has highlighted.²¹ The library was a collaborative venture, started by Tresham and then from the 1580s (around the time of the first contemporary record within the Brudenell MS) the library had 'a new purpose, to serve as a broad source of reference for a Catholic community now cut off from other libraries, private or institutional'.²²

Thomas Tresham made several arrangements for the care of his library, particularly during the many occasions and cumulative years he spent imprisoned, and there were many contributors. One such contributor and collaborator was Tresham's future-son-in-law, Thomas Brudenell and due to the remarkable number of books within the collection that bear his signature dated either 1599 or 1600, Quentin and Barker have asserted that from at least the turn of the century, Brudenell played an active role in the cultivation of the library.²³ Upon Tresham's death, the library was transferred to Thomas Brudenell at Deene Park and subsequently when the Brudenell MS was compiled, it was Thomas Brudenell that had the main

²⁰ Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, 14.

²¹ Nicolas Barker and David Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham & Thomas Brudenell* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 2006).

²² Barker and Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham & Thomas Brudenell*, 54.

²³ Barker and Quentin, *The Library of Thomas Tresham & Thomas Brudenell*, 55.

access.²⁴ The question remains, who was 'Thomas Jollett'? It is most probable that 'Thomas Jollett' was not a professional musician but an intermediate level amateur, and possibly a gentleman who had received some musical education and instruction.²⁵ Although where he received this education is unclear, as there is no record of any Jollett at Oxford, Cambridge, or the Inns of Court during this period. There is a 'Thomas Jollett' indicted several times for recusancy between 1614 and 1617 in Middlesex, described as both a 'gentleman' and a 'yeoman', but whether this is the same man remains unknown for sure.²⁶ As well as composing 'Adoramus te Christe', where both his name and initials are added to the page, the name 'Thomas Jollett' appears again within a list in the section 'Of Persecution' that details scores of Catholics imprisoned for the faith. Jollett appears in a table of imprisoned laymen. This list included several of Tresham's known servants such as his steward George Levens, and George Vavasour, who along with his brother William and sister Muriel were faithful servants and dependents of the family, as their father, Thomas Vavasour had been a valued servant of Tresham's before his death.²⁷ It is possible that Jollett may have also been a servant of the Tresham's. Finally, on the last page Thomas Jollett declares that they are the 'scriptor' of the manuscript, the 'writer' and thus the 'scribe' of the work, not 'author'. A 'Thomas' does claim some 'authorship' within the collection elsewhere in Book 28 on Fasting: '*Author. Huius Operis. Tho.*', but this could just as easily be 'Thomas Jollett' than Thomas Tresham, or

²⁴ Despite there being no extant documentation as to the exact nature and details of the library's change of ownership, the overwhelming evidence presented by Quentin and Barker make this the most likely date of its transfer.

²⁵ A search of the Registers of the Admissions to the Inns of Courts and the registers of both Cambridge and Oxford Universities has not unearthed any records of a 'Thomas Jollett' attending any of these establishments. See Joseph Foster, *Consolidated alphabet index of admissions to all four inns of court, covering the period to 1800*, 5 vols. (1885), CUL MS. Add. 6696 ['Entries from William Hays to Thomas Nevill'].

²⁶ 'Items from the Gaol Delivery Register: Temp. James I', *Middlesex county records: Volume 2: 1603-25* (1887), 210-229, accessed 29 January 2014. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=66003>. 'Sessions, 1615: 14 July', *County of Middlesex. Calendar to the sessions records: new series, volume 2: 1614-15* (1936), 342-343, accessed 29 January 2014. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=82345>.

²⁷ Bodleian MS. Eng. Th. B. 2, 408; George Blacker Morgan, 'The Vavasours as dependants of the Tresham family' in *The Identification of the writer of the Anonymous Letter to Lord Monteaule in 1605* (London: Simpkin, Marshall etc., 1916), 25-27.

perhaps even Thomas Brudenell. Therefore, although it is possible that Thomas Tresham authored some of the texts within the collection before his death, it is clear that if Jollett was a pseudonym, it is not his.

By ascribing 'authorship' of the manuscript to a single person, Kilroy has overlooked the ambiguities surrounding 'authorship' and 'ownership' in a collection such as this. As the other commonplace books used in this thesis have shown, and as Peter Beal has demonstrated, 'manuscript books, and even their texts, are open, still fluid and living, as it were; their clients encouraged to participate, to be themselves engaged in the process of collecting, even writing, as well as reading'.²⁸ Significantly, although the work seems predominantly in a single hand, one of the few alternative hands within the manuscript is the signature of Thomas Jollett above 'Adoramus te Christe', further undermining the contention that the manuscript was the product of a single person (Thomas Tresham) and a scribe (his daughter).²⁹ Nevertheless, within the Tresham Papers that were buried on 28 November 1605 now in the British Library, there is a volume catalogued in 'Commonplace books', and several of the pages (although many are clearly missing) bear striking similarities to the layout of the Brudenell MS. The pages are in Latin, each with its own heading such as 'Charitas' and underneath are citations from Church Fathers as well as contemporary sources such as 'Venetia 1556 Castell'.³⁰ Tresham also collected some 'Pasages of Scriptures wch may be applied to sondrie pourposes'. These short extracts are in Latin and English, preserved in a small book with ruled lines that are very similar in style to the Brudenell MS, on subjects like 'Heretickes to be avoyded'.³¹ It is subsequently my contention that the idea for the Brudenell MS was born whilst Thomas Tresham was still alive, and

²⁸ Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: manuscripts and their makers in Seventeenth century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 24.

²⁹ My thanks here go to Chris Webb, Keeper of Archives at the Borthwick Institute for highlighting this for me.

³⁰ BL. Add. MS. 39830, ff. 91-153.

³¹ BL. Add. MS. 39830, ff. 143-146.

then the volumes were developed, continued and moreover utilised, along with the library, by Thomas Brudenell and a network that surrounded both the Tresham and later the Brudenell households. Pointing towards the educational intention of these volumes and their subsequent utilisation, there is some intriguing script in the latter pages of the second volume of the Brudenell MS:

Cursed by they yt forsake ther teachers
 When they see them in afflictione
 Such men prefer the world before Christs glory

T.B.³²

It is possible that the initials T.B. stand for Thomas Brudenell, further enhancing his role in the compilation of the manuscript. Subsequently, although 'Thomas Jollett' will continue to be referred to as an individual, that Jollett may have been a pseudonym for a collective effort of a group of people, 'ther teachers', should be kept in mind.

Kilroy's assertion that the Brudenell MS was compiled to be buried is challenged by the didactic nature of the volumes and undermined entirely by the simple fact that the piece of music within this manuscript was meant to be performed. Although there are some known instances of Catholic music being copied for antiquarian reasons, the music within the Brudenell MS certainly does not fall within this category.³³ On the page facing 'Adoramus te Christe' there is another version of the same piece of music that the scribe has crossed out. This version of the music (see Fig. 2) is cramped, only covers half a page and would have been difficult to perform. It was subsequently completely rewritten on the opposite page, explicitly for performance.

³² Bodleian MS. Th. Eng. B.2, 957.

³³ For further information on these antiquarian impulses, see John Milson, 'Sacred songs in the chamber' in *English Choral Practice: 1400-1650* ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161-179.



[Fig. 2, Bodl. MS. Eng. Th. B. 2. 136.]

Domestic performance

'Adoramus te Christe' first and foremost demonstrates the ability of the household to engage in the practice of domestic music-making. Jonathan Willis argued that for post-Reformation Protestants that 'music was at the core of both formal liturgical worship and private devotional life'.³⁴ Without formal liturgical worship, the domestication of music-making and its role in private devotion within Catholic households was even more significant. Considering the Tresham links with the Brudenell MS, it is interesting to note that within the Tresham Papers are some of Lady Tresham's accounts from Michelmas 1588 to July 1589, which include: 'Other necessities, as lute strings, virginall wyer, mendinge of musicall instrumentes, paper and ynke,

³⁴ Jonathan Willis, "A pottel of ayle on whyt-Sunday': Everyday Objects and the Musical Culture of the post-Reformation English Parish Church' in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, eds. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 211-220 (at 212). For more see his monograph: Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism*.

and bookes for the children; bookes for my lady'.³⁵ The Tresham household was evidently musical and, as Flora Dennis concluded from her work on fans and handbells in early modern Italy, '[a]lthough music was immaterial, it nevertheless found many facets of material expression, primarily as musical instruments or in richly illuminated manuscripts'.³⁶ The materiality of music is epitomized by the Brudenell MS, as the volume itself reveals much about the performance context of the music it contains.

For domestic music-making by far the most usual arrangement for performance was the use of part-books, in convenient oblong format and a single book per person. These were printed, or individual parts were copied into separate manuscript books and performers sat or perhaps, as the format allowed, might also have stood around a table to perform. This practice is demonstrated within two sections of the *Unton Memorial Painting* by an unknown artist created to commemorate Sir Henry Unton's funeral in 1596 (see Figs. 3 and 4).



[Fig. 3, Anon., *Unton Memorial Painting*, c.1596 consort of 5 viols]

³⁵ Cited in S. C. Lomas ed. *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Reports on Manuscripts in Various Collections: The Tresham Papers* (Vol. 3, London, 1904), 48.

³⁶ Flora Dennis, 'Resurrecting Forgotten Sound: Fans and Handbells in Early Modern Italy' in *Everyday Objects*, 191–211 (at 192).



[Fig. 4, Anon., *Unton Memorial Painting*, six-part broken consort, c.1596]

Another much less common arrangement for domestic music performance was the 'table-book'.³⁷ This was a format where all of the individual parts were printed (or copied) on the same page and each part would then have faced each performer as they sat around a table. 'Adoramus te Christe' can therefore be placed within this tradition. The first (known) table-book was from France, *La parangon des chansons*, (Jacques Moderne: Lyon, 1538) but the majority of extant sources in this tradition were produced in England.³⁸ The largest and earliest table-book source was the manuscript, 'A BOOKE of In nomines and other solfainge songs of v: vj vij: and viij: parts for voyces or Instruments' which was copied by Clement Woodcock, an English singer, organist and composer, c.1575-1580 and it contains a mixture of secular and devotional music.³⁹ Predominantly when this unusual format was used by composers it was secular music for mixed

³⁷ For more on table-music see John Morehen, Emilie K. M. Murphy and Richard Rastall, 'Table-book', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 29 January 2014. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27341>.

³⁸ Samuel F. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne: Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1969).

³⁹ BL. Add. MS. 31390.

consort, which might include a combination of instruments and voice parts. The earliest English printed source was the first book of lute songs by John Dowland from 1597 (see Fig. 5) and thenceforth there were around 20-30 volumes in table-book format published in the next twenty-five years, nearly all lute repertoire. There are a few later instances, Charles Butler used it in *The Feminine Monarchie* (1634) for example, but the predominant usage of this format was distinctly contemporary to the time of transcription of the Brudenell MS. Thomas Jollett's decision to set Henry Garnet's last words in this way then was very deliberate, particularly as vocal, unaccompanied devotional music in this format was so rare.

V. CANTUS.

An the ex- cuse my wrongs with vertues cloake: Shall I call her
are those cleare fiers which can call in to thooke: shall praise the
good when the poynter kind, No no where shadowes do be lo- dus hand you maif
lines where no hand I find, Colde as in list to words written on land, or no
be should if thy fight be done, With this be thou a- haid fill, being that
bubbles which on the wa- ter swim.

He will right thee more if thou canst not ore come her will thy lose will be thus fridit
e- an.

**Was I to haue that I might not a spire
*Vano those high ayces which the heauens forme,
As they are high so high is my desire,
Like this deny what can granted be.
If he will yeeld to that which reason is,
I his refusal will that lose should be, if,*

*Deare make me happie full by granting this,
Or cure of deloyes if that dye I must.
Better a thousand times to dye
Then so to live till I am tormanted,
Deare but remember it was I
Who for thy sake did dye contented.*

SALV.

BASSVS.

An the ex- cuse my wrongs with vertues cloake: Shall I call her
are those cleare fiers which can call in to thooke: shall praise the
good when the poynter kind, No no where shadowes do be lo- dus hand you maif
lines where no hand I find, Colde as in list to words written on land, or no
be should if thy fight be done, With this be thou a- haid fill, being that
bubbles which on the wa- ter swim.

TENOR.

An the ex- cuse my wrongs, with vertues cloake: Shall I call her good when the poynter kind,
are those cleare fiers which can call in to thooke: shall I praise the heauens where no fruit I find.
No no no where shadowes do the bodies for bodies stand down shall be shall if thy fight thy fight
Colde as in list to words written on land or in bubbles which on the wa- ter wa-
be thou be thus fridit, being that the will right thee more if thou canst not ore come her
will thy lose will be thus fridit more.

C.3.

[Fig. 5, John Dowland, *First book of Book of Aires*, 1597, ff. C1v-2r]

Rarer still is the way that 'Adoramus te Christe' has been arranged. Whilst working within the table-book tradition as the two upper and two lower sets of voice parts have been purposefully turned around, Thomas Jollett's setting is particularly unusual as the two sets face each other. During performance the two sets of voices would have had to read across the other parts to perform, whereas it would have made much more sense if the sets were turned the other way, outwards towards the performers, like the other music in the tradition. As the performers were not near to the music, they would not have been able to sit down to sing, which seems the most usual preference for domestic performance and is especially odd for table-music. For the performance of 'Adoramus te Christe', the singers would have had to stand in order to be able to see their parts clearly. When this performance context is realised, suddenly the significance of this initially awkward layout is striking. The two sets of singers stood facing each other, just as the two choirs would have stood facing each other within the Chancel of a church.⁴⁰

When this is combined with the Northamptonshire context of the manuscript, statements by the recusant Lord William Vaux (1535-1595), a member of the Tresham's circle, gain further significance.⁴¹ In May 1581, Lord Vaux appears as a recusant in the Visitation book of the archdeacon of Northampton, under Harrowden Magna and his excuse for not attending the services of the established church rested on his claims that his house was 'a parish by itself'.⁴² Whilst Vaux was most likely referring to his private chapel, the statement is no less revealing and combined with Thomas McCoog's discovery of a curious cipher list, uncovered by the government in 1609, which highlighted the arrangement of some aspects of the Jesuit mission to England, it seems that Catholics considered households to be

⁴⁰ See for example spatial layout of pre-Reformation monastic choirs and post-Reformation cathedrals.

⁴¹ For more Northamptonshire Catholic networks see forthcoming PhD projects by Katie McKeogh (University of Oxford) and Laura Verner (King's College London/University of Hong Kong).

⁴² Cited in Godfrey Anstruther, O.P., *Vaux of Harrowden: A Recusant Family* (Newport: R.H. Johns, 1953), 113.

'churches'.⁴³ The cipher revealed that in the organization of the Jesuit mission each seminary priest was assigned to a particular 'church'. These churches were 'not defined geographically but according to families' and thus a household was designated as church in a particular area.⁴⁴ In Northamptonshire, the Jesuit John Percy's church was known by the letters A.P. and amongst those under his care was Lord Vaux.

The role music may have played in the transformation of household to church was significant. Thomas Jollett purposefully composed music that would emulate the church choir, and which underlined the fundamental reciprocity between the composer and the performer, the martyr and the confessors, the singers and the audience. Through the performance of this music in a household, the domestic space became sacred: it was transformed both aurally, with the devotional music and text to honour Henry Garnet, and physically with the positioning of the performers. This is in keeping with contemporary literature which exhorted Catholics to use their imaginations in order to consecrate space. In the absence of churches, cathedrals and shrines, Robert Southwell's *A Shorte Rule of a good lyfe* (printed by Henry Garnet's printing press in 1596) directed the English Catholic laity to adapt domestic and natural spaces to spiritual use.⁴⁵ In exercising devotion to the Saints, Southwell directed the English Catholic laity to 'take this course':

I must in every roome of the house where I dwell, imagin in some decent place therof, a throne or chaire of estate, & dedicate the same and the whole roome to some Saint, that whensoever I enter into it, I enter as it were into a chappell or church that is dedicated

⁴³ Thomas McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in England, 1623-1688: An Institutional Study' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1984), 193-4.

⁴⁴ McCoog, 'The Society of Jesus in England', 194.

⁴⁵ Lisa McClain, 'Without Church, Cathedral or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559-1625', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33 (2002): 381-399.

to such a saint, and therefore in minde doe that reverence that is due to them.⁴⁶

Alison Shell asserted that '[t]o the *implied audience*, the text [of 'Adoramus te Christe'] would have operated, like the words of any other devotional motet, as an inspiration for personal reflection, which would have been steered by how much they knew of the reasons for Jollett's choice'.⁴⁷ This choice, Gerard Kilroy argued, must be remembered within the context of 'a recusant community deprived of shrine and sarcophagus,' and thus 'these recusant poems and hymns became a sacred text, a literary *memoria* (or shrine)'.⁴⁸ Such analyses must be extended because in emphasising the literary these scholars have neglected the music itself. The performance was purposefully communal, as the singers stood arranged in emulation of a church choir and turned their households into 'a chappell or church'. The reasons for Jollett's choice are clear, as well as the motivation behind the composition, and it becomes evident that this is not simply *memoria* and there is much more than an 'implied' audience. The added layers of complexity unearthed with 'Adoramus te Christe' transforms the Brudenell MS from a theological artefact and from 'literary *memoria*', to a 'thing' and, to paraphrase Dinah Eastop, a 'thing' that mattered because people *used* it and gave it 'meaning in action'.⁴⁹

Providing a unique snapshot into the devotional lives of one Northamptonshire Catholic household, 'Adoramus te Christe' vividly demonstrates just *how* Catholics may have made domestic space sacred, through musical *memoria* to the recently executed priest, Henry Garnet, and through that veneration of the crucified Christ. Southwell also provided Catholics with suggested rooms that devotion to particular saints might take

⁴⁶ Robert Southwell, *A Short Rule of a Good Life* (S. Omers, 1622), 162.

⁴⁷ My emphasis. Shell, *Oral Culture*, 126.

⁴⁸ Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, 4.

⁴⁹ Dinah Eastop, 'The Conservation of Garments Concealed within Buildings as Material Culture in Action' in *Everyday Objects*, 145.

place, for example 'in the bed chamber, Saints given to short sleepe and watchfulnesse'.⁵⁰ Southwell suggested that Catholics 'may in steede of Saints, place some misterie of Christ life or passion: as the last supper in the dining chamber: and such like'.⁵¹ This reference to the dining room, added to the textual and symbolic Christological devotion within 'Adoramus te Christe', powerfully enhances our understanding of the innovative ways the Catholic laity reimagined the space in their Chancel organisation, around an ordinary dining table.

Musical symbolism: Christ's Passion

As we saw in chapter five, devotion to the Passion of Christ was flourishing amongst Catholics during this period. Such devotion was particularly visible in Northamptonshire, manifested most famously through the architecture of Sir Thomas Tresham. His devotion was proclaimed publically in the elaborate construction of the cruciform Lyveden New Bield (see Fig. 6).⁵² Inside the New Bield, Tresham had multiple symbols carved upon the ground floor to remind visitors of the Crucifixion, such as the scourge, the pillar, the crown of thorns, the money bag of Judas, the nails and IHS. Moreover, rather than being an alternative spelling for 'Build' or 'Building', 'Bield' in this context means 'refuge' and therefore the implication is that this garden lodge was somewhere to retire to escape persecution.⁵³ Whilst the symbolism of the Lodge is explicit, Andrew Eburne has also emphasised how the gardens at Lyveden were designed by Tresham to enhance the significance of Passion devotion.⁵⁴ Eburne demonstrated that the Lodge was

⁵⁰ Southwell, *A Short Rule of a Good Life*, 164.

⁵¹ Southwell, *A Short Rule of a Good Life*, 165.

⁵² Tresham also built a triangular lodge at his main home at Rushton, an architectural declaration of his devotion to the Trinity and the Catholic mass. See Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, 138-140.

⁵³ 'Bield' had several related meanings - it could be a 'Resource, help' or 'A means of help or succour' and moreover, a 'Refuge, shelter' and a 'lodging, dwelling; a den', *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, accessed 29 March 2012. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/18770>.

⁵⁴ Andrew Eburne, 'The Passion of Thomas Tresham: New Light on the Gardens and Lodge at Lyveden', *Garden History*, 36 (2008): 114-134.

intended as the culmination of a visitor's passage through the garden argued that this 'represented a terminus to more than one journey'.⁵⁵ Eburne emphasised the symbolism of the journeys of Christ carrying the cross along the *Via Crucis* or *Via Dolorosa* and also the journey from the Mount of Olives, where Christ was arrested on the eve of his Passion, to Golgotha. Regarding the latter journey, Eburne stressed the intended correspondence between the Passion locations and the various small hills at Lyveden.⁵⁶ After Sir Thomas Tresham's death his wife Dame Muriel moved from Rushton and made Lyveden her home for the rest of her life. The Lodge, although it remained unfinished, would have served to remind Dame Muriel and her visitors (which certainly included her daughter Mary, and son-in-law Sir Thomas Brudenell, who managed Dame Muriel's accounts and affairs until her death) of the devotion of her husband, whilst also serving to celebrate and commemorate Christ's Passion. It may even have been here that 'Adoramus te Christe' was performed.



[Fig. 6, Lyveden New Bield, c.1594 - 1605]

Devotion to the cross and the Passion of Christ was innovatively articulated in music during this period and, as well as in word-settings, was also expressed through musical symbolism. The musicologist Katelijne

⁵⁵ Eburne, 'The Passion of Thomas Tresham', 129.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

note makes the most melodic sense and the lower note is not meant to be performed, it serves a purely symbolic function.⁶⁰ Directly after the words 'hoc signum' are symbols of a cross, which have replaced the word 'crucis' from the liturgical text; this has not been set in the music and was reportedly not spoken by Henry Garnet on the scaffold. This dual symbolism, of the musical notation and the rebus, is what is known as *Augenmusik* or 'eye music': apparent to the eye of the performers but not to the ear. This is most commonly seen in the blackness or whiteness of notes where, for example, settings associated with images of death and darkness might use very black notation.⁶¹ Setting the four notes themselves into the shape of a cross within musical notation is exceptionally unusual; indeed, this may even be a unique instance. This musical symbolism directed the performers to meditate upon the image of the cross. In each voice part the singers arrive at the text 'hoc signum' one after the other, so the meditation is both an individual moment of contemplation and, simultaneously, a communal act of performance. The listeners, whilst not being able to see the rebus of the cross or the notational symbolism themselves, directed by the words 'this sign' would have imagined the cross. Perhaps, like Henry Garnet upon the scaffold, they crossed themselves at this moment in the text.

⁶⁰ In the performance and recording made for the purpose of my PhD research in January 2012, (see CD Track 1) several options were tried – singing both the upper and lower notes together as well as singing just the lower notes. My profound thanks here are due to the members of *Les Canards Chantants*: Soprano, Sarah Holland; Alto, Robin Bier; Tenor, Edward Ingham; and Bass, Graham Bier. From this and the opinions of several musicological scholars (particular thanks are due to Jo Wainwright, Richard Rastall and John Morehen, Kerry McCarthy, Jeremy L. Smith and Katelijne Schiltz for all their helpful comments on this and on table-music more generally) it is clear that the lower note was not meant to be performed.

⁶¹ See examples in Thurston Dart, 'Eye Music', *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 29 March 2012.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09152>.



[Fig. 10, Cross-symbolism in 'Adoramus te Christe'.]

Alexandra Walsham has highlighted how in the context of some English Catholic domestic households missionary priests were able to devote themselves to the creation of doctrinally self-conscious, individualized believers, thoroughly instructed in mental prayer and drawn towards an intimate interiorisation of the Christian life. Their lives revolved around regular reception of the sacrament, careful perusal of devotional literature and regular scrutiny of conscience.⁶² Yet in the priests' absence, Walsham argued that the culture of print may have acted as 'imperfect proxy and

⁶² Walsham, 'Translating Trent'.

deputy' in order to carry through the policies and messages of the Council of Trent to the beleaguered Catholic laity.⁶³ In 'Adoramus te Christe', we see further evidence of how music may also have acted as an 'imperfect proxy', allowing Catholics to identify with the passion of Christ through the last words of Henry Garnet, and provoking performers to meditate upon the symbol of the cross in a devotion that was both communal and individual.

In the absence of priests and thus, the sacraments, Lisa McClain argued that some texts encouraged English Catholics to shift their focus from 'the traditional rituals of the Mass to fulfilling the *functions* for which the sacrament was intended'.⁶⁴ McClain suggest that authors' emphasis upon the two benefits of Mass, God's grace to aid the salvation of souls and to know and identify with Christ, could be spiritually received and imaginatively fulfilled.⁶⁵ Although this author would not be the first to suggest that at certain points in her provocative analysis McClain's theory overstretches some of the evidence, 'Adoramus te Christe' may provide evidence to support this through a musical construction of a connection with Christ.⁶⁶ The musical meditation in 'Adoramus te Christe' was upon the cross-symbolism that emphasised Christ crucified, rather than Christ contained in the host. Moreover, McClain argued how the 'strongest efforts to identify with Christ came by equating Christ's suffering at the crucifixion with English Catholic experiences at executions and burials'.⁶⁷ 'Adoramus te Christe' demonstrates how Catholics identified through music with Christ, by setting Henry Garnet's last words at his execution to music and by using musical notation and symbolism to meditate upon the image of the cross.

⁶³ Walsham, "'Domme Preachers"?", 121.

⁶⁴ McClain, *Lest we be damned*, 109.

⁶⁵ McClain, *Lest we be damned*, 122.

⁶⁶ For one such review see Bill Sheils, 'Lest we be damned...', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 57 (2006): 772-774; McClain, *Lest we be damned*, 122.

⁶⁷ McClain, *Lest we be damned*, 128.

Music and the Politics of (Mental) Pilgrimage

Musical settings of the last words of Catholic priests enabled those unable to make the journey to the scaffolds, to perform a static, mental pilgrimage, which transported those involved to the sites of the martyrdom through the music itself. Those involved in the performance of 'Adoramus te Christe' were expected to keep Garnet specifically in mind, for within the Brudenell MS the relationship between the musical setting, Henry Garnet, and the composer 'Thomas Jollett' (through his decision to set these particular words over and above the other prayers voiced by Garnet upon the scaffold) is explicit. In the Brudenell MS there is a lengthy narrative describing the events surrounding Henry Garnet's trial and execution.⁶⁸ At the very end of the martyrdom narrative is the following description of Garnet:

This reverent ffather thus having ended his life with such humilitie pietie & zeale of religion as aforesaid, yt were not amisse, among his such excellent guifts of nature learning & vertue to declare his exquisite knowledge in the arte of musike, being skillfull on dyvers instruments, especially the Lute & his knowledg therin such as ex tempore he was able to sett any song of v pts or more to the same in most true concordance & musicall harmony: & his voice so rare & delitefull that by reporte of such as knowne yt, ~~his natural voice~~, yt was supposed to be more than the naturall voice of a man, so angelically had he the gifte of delyverye.⁶⁹

As well as the usual tropes commonly seen in martyrdom narratives, which emphasised the martyr's humility, piety and constancy in death, Thomas Jollett highlighted Henry Garnet's musical prowess as a way of holding him above mortal man and as a figure for emulation. His musical skill was equated with the heavenly harmony of the angels and his gifts held as supernatural. Directly after this was 'Adoramus te Christe', Thomas Jollett's

⁶⁸ Bodleian MS. Eng. Th. B. 2, 133-136.

⁶⁹ Bodleian MS. Eng. Th. B. 2, 136.

musical finale and thus his explicit attempt to honour the martyr not only by using his words but in a way absolutely befitting him, a tribute to Garnet's own particular talent.

A few pages before 'Adoramus te Christe' is another four part motet, which also directly followed an eye-witness account of the trials and moreover, the hymn sung upon the scaffold by Fathers Mark Barkworth and Roger Filcock before their executions in 1601: 'Haec est dies' (see Fig. 11). Unlike 'Adoramus te Christe', 'Haec est dies' was not attributed to 'Thomas Jollett', nor was it in table-book format. 'Haec est dies' was laid down upon the page in score and strikingly, it has been attributed twice on the page to 'Mr. Byrd'. Byrd's association with this gallows text however, has been dismissed by scholars such as John Morehen who used a computer program to analyse a database of all the bass parts of Byrd's Latin music to reveal 'a correlation efficient of exactly 0.700...a very low figure indeed'.⁷⁰ A 'trifle four-square', 'texturally unadventurous' and 'somewhat repetitious', this motet has been neglected by scholars and dismissed as the scribe 'confused' by its provenance, due to Byrd's other settings of this text.⁷¹ Byrd first set a 'Haec dies' in six parts in the 1591 *Cantiones Sacrae*, again in three parts in the 1605 *Gradualia* and finally in five parts within the 1607 *Gradualia*. That it may still be attributed to Byrd, however, should not be entirely dismissed because whilst the music itself does not measure up to Byrd's usually high standards, computer analysis as a musicological tool is unreliable and cannot take into consideration all of the variables that are present during composition.⁷² Moreover, as we saw in the last chapter, in setting the last words sung on the scaffold by Catholic martyrs Byrd may have been purposefully unadventurous, as he had been twenty years previously in 'Why do I use'.⁷³

⁷⁰ John Morehen, 'Is Byrd's Haec a Faec?', *Early Music Review*, 24 (1996): 8-9.

⁷¹ Morehen, 'Is Byrd's Haec a Faec?'.

⁷² Moreover, Morehen confided in private correspondence that he has since become 'disillusioned with the whole process of computer-aided analysis'.

⁷³ See above Chapter 7. See also recording of 'Haec est dies', CD Track 2.

Nonetheless, as Monson has emphasised, that it was ascribed to Byrd is significant in itself, as the scribe of the Brudenell MS clearly thought of William Byrd as someone that would set such an explicitly politicised and devotional text to music, and Byrd emerges as man that was well-known to Catholics and someone that through his music could voice their 'prayers, exhortations and protests'.⁷⁴



[Fig. 11, 'Haec est dies', Bodl. MS. Eng. Th. B. 2. 116.]

This setting of 'Haec est dies' is different to Byrd's other settings, which utilised the full text from the Easter liturgy. This particular text, Psalm

⁷⁴ Kerman, 'The Elizabethan Motet', 292; Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* and Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics, and the Motet'. Following their lead see for example: Thomas Munck, 'Religion and Politics at the Time of William Byrd', *The Viol*, 1 (2005-6): 8-11; Rebecca Redman, 'William Byrd the Catholics and the Consort Song: The Hearing Continued', *The Viol*, 5 (2006-7): 24-9 and Jeremy Smith, 'William Byrd's Fall from Grace and his First Solo Publication of 1588: a Shostakovian "Response to Just Criticism"', *Music & Politics*, 1 (2007): 1-29.

117:24, was paraphrased when it was hymned by Barkworth and Filcock. The narrative preceding the motet within the Brudenell MS accounts that:

On ffridaye about vii of the clocke in the morning Father Nayler al[ia]s Fieldcock one of the societie of Jesus wt Father Lambert al[ia]s Barcoth, were drawne on a hurdle towarde tiburne, at what tyme in the waye hitherward Father Barcoth sang this Antheme. *Haec est dies: haec est dies, haec est dies domini, gaudiamus, gaudiamus et laetaemur in ea*, alwayes Father Fieldcock answered. *Et Laetemur in ea.*⁷⁵

Fashioning their martyrdom with a hymn of joy, Barkworth and Filcock's musical journey did not end there and upon the scaffold when Father Barkworth faced his own execution he, 'turning his face to the people round about & desyred all Catholiques to praye for them' and repeated: '*Haec est dies, haec est dies domini gaudiamus gaudiamus et laetemur*'. Finally, in their last moments they sung again: '*Haec est dies: haec est dies, haec est dies domini gaudiamus, gaudiamus et laetemur in ea*'. This is my byrth daie: *gaudiamus gaudiamus et laetemur in ea*'. Like 'Adoramus te Christe', the text set to music were the exact last words of the priests. This was not a matter of a thinly veiled metaphor or passive act of resistance but an explicit setting of the exact words spoken on the gallows and an overtly subversive composition which honoured the martyr's musical subversion upon the scaffold.

The performance of 'Adoramus te Christe' and 'Haec est dies', as well as fulfilling a devotional function, must therefore be viewed in a political context. The subject matter was dangerous and the act of performance was itself subversive: their solidarity expressed as the singers gathered together, united in faith. Through composition, Thomas Jollett, the composer of the 'Haec est dies', and the performers were expressing what Sandeep Kaushik

⁷⁵ Bodleian MS. Eng. Th. B. 2, 115. Emphasis in original.

has termed 'defensive resistance'.⁷⁶ Kaushik identified two types of resistance available to post-Reformation English Catholics in his discussion of Sir Thomas Tresham and the network of Catholics that surrounded him in Northamptonshire: first was 'offensive' resistance, which included calls to the government against recusancy penalties and for Catholics' rights to privately worship as they saw fit. Secondly 'defensive' resistance, which was the utilisation of 'whatever avenues were available to them to insure their self-preservation' and thus the everyday activities of their faith should be included due to the politicized context in which they were conducted.⁷⁷

The investigation of devotional music in domestic contexts has significant ramifications for our understanding of how Catholic piety was adapted for the household after the Reformation. Some scholars have argued that despite the efforts of the Counter-Reformation there was a 'shortage of domestic participation', which reinforced missionaries' pessimism about the possibility of widespread and profound family devotion.⁷⁸ The Brudenell MS demonstrates at least one important exception to this rule, indicating a level of lay piety that is much deeper than many scholars have previously acknowledged. Moreover, this was not an individual piety or literary *memoria*, but demonstrative of a vibrant and didactic approach to the practice of Catholicism. In the midst of persecution, English Catholics took inspiration and solace from recent martyrs and executed priests; 'Adoramus te Christe' and 'Haec est dies' are vivid examples of the important role that music played in the culture of martyrdom and, moreover, the subsequent construction of Catholic devotional identities. Responding to Bossy, Walsham has contended that '[w]hereas in Tridentine Europe household religion was regarded as 'a seed bed of subversion' in England it came to be the very cornerstone of a Catholic community striving to avoid its own

⁷⁶ Sandeep Kaushik, 'Resistance, Loyalty and Recusant Politics: Sir Thomas Tresham and the Elizabethan State', *Midland History*, 21 (1996): 37-72.

⁷⁷ Kaushik, 'Resistance, Loyalty and Recusant Politics', 41.

⁷⁸ See Aveling, 'Catholic Households in Yorkshire, 1580-1603', 101. Aveling was using John Bossy's phrase.

annihilation'.⁷⁹ The role that music played within these households was fundamental, as Catholics found new ways to express their devotion, which combined individual with communal piety, and fidelity to the old ways with the invention of the new. Post-Reformation English Catholics were creative and innovative, and through musical performance active agents in the transformation of their individual experience of faith.

⁷⁹ Walsham, "Domme Preachers"?, 122.

| Conclusion

What did it sound like to be a Catholic in post-Reformation England? The answer, as this thesis has demonstrated, is extremely multifaceted and indeed so was the English Catholic community itself. Despite this, Catholic communities from Valladolid to Lancashire, Rome to Douai, London to Yorkshire, and Northamptonshire to Louvain were united in using music to give shape to forms of devotional, social, and political identity. Music emerges in this thesis as an ever-present part of the lives of Catholic men and women during this period, and provides a wealth of insight into what it meant to be a member of their communities.

Catholics used music, first and foremost, in order to survive. As the opening chapter of this thesis showed, music was of vital importance to the religious men and women on the continent; the rhythm of the liturgy of the divine office provided continuity in their daily lives. Such performances were open to external influence, and the economy of song facilitated networks of contacts between expatriate circles and English Catholics across the channel. Without such contacts, religious communities in exile could not have endured. The importance of musical skills for the survival of the Catholic community in England was stressed most particularly in the Colleges, where it was vital that the seminarians learnt music to evangelise the beleaguered laity. This was vividly manifested in the community surrounding Little Crosby where priests in William Blundell's network adapted the texts of popular ballads to arouse lay devotion. Moreover, in their final living moments priests continued to evangelise through song and as discussed in chapter seven, priests utilised music from the liturgy, such as the *Te Deum*, to transform the theatre of their deaths. The performance of music and chant by priests on the scaffold, which was often rehearsed in prisons, had a profound impact, and inspired the subsequent construction of musical martyrdom-narratives.

This sense of creativity and adaptation is the second defining characteristic of what it meant to be Catholic during this period. Starting on the continent with the adaptation of 'official' decrees and commands, religious men and women exerted their own agency in the ways that they utilised music to enhance their faith. As we saw in the first chapter of this thesis, nuns and seminarians used music for recreation and devotion despite the concerns of their superiors. Exiles also used musical performances to creatively appropriate the foreign cultures around them. This was revealed, for example, through the employment of international musicians, in donations from the indigenous laity, and via unique forms of devotions such as those surrounding the *Vulnerata* at Valladolid. English Catholic exiles used music to express their own perceptions of national identity, and this practice was shared in England through the composition and performance of music on themes of exile. This served to forge a sense of distinctiveness in a world of religious division, and where religious texts and musical forms were shared. As a result, Catholics uniquely interpreted music to locate themselves physically and spiritually amongst their co-religionists both at home and abroad.

The way that Catholics understood how they were using music provides insight into the methods they employed to construct their individual and communal identities during this period. Music had a wide variety of meanings for individuals during this period, and was well-integrated within popular culture. In adapting ballads that were often published in the mainstream, Catholics were appropriating and, in many ways, reacting against, 'Protestant' cultural forms in order to establish their own. This translation meant that Catholics and Protestants might hear things differently. This process could be intentional, for instance in cases where an individual composed a musical interlude or adapted a popular ballad text in order to make a political statement as explored in chapter four. Alternatively,

it could be more subtle, as in cases where the same performance might be heard in different ways by different confessional groups, where Jerusalem might be Catholic England, or a Protestant Heaven, and where an Italian madrigal might be a courtly love song, or translated as a form of consolation to survive imprisonment.

The translation of secular to sacred was expressed vividly by English Catholics during this period by adapting secular songs, and using music to transform spaces. Music had the power to sanctify, as we saw in the seminaries during performances for their martyrs and these tactics were also adopted by Catholics in England. The music performed in prisons and by priests on the scaffold subverted the authority of the state and made spaces of persecution sacred. Compositions such as that from Northamptonshire also demonstrate the impact that these performances had on private devotional practice, as the laity memorialised their martyrs with compositions and musical performances in accordance with renewed spiritual ideals of meditation, contemplation and martyr emulation. Missionary priests were vital for invigorating the experience of faith for Catholic men and women: the Jesuit instruction of the 'Spiritual Exercises' had a clear effect on William Blundell, and in Northamptonshire we find a vivid example of how music was used to answer Robert Southwell's exhortation to transform spaces to spiritual use.

Catholics also used music in various ways to forge their own individual confessional identities, as we saw with Richard Shanne's outburst against what he felt was a Protestant assault on his musical and devotional needs. It was used by the Simpsons players as a form of confessional differentiation, and also by Sir Richard Cholmley in response to Protestant psalm singing. Music was an important form of expression, and individuals such as William Blundell composed songs that articulated their own critique of the status quo and expressed concerns on behalf of their communities.

However individual the motivations for composition might have been, music by its very nature is communal in that it was made to be performed. Such performances might also have transcended social divisions. In the case of Little Crosby, for example, the selection of inclusive ballad forms enhanced the efficacy of compositions that emphasised the shared suffering of the whole community. Several of these occasions involved women, and the incidence of musical performances by women outside of the convents raises some important questions about gender that were beyond the scope of this thesis. Certainly William Blundell had concerns about women singing in church, but it is clear from the annotations and compositions in the *Great Hodge Podge* that women were engaged in the manuscript's compilation and performances in a domestic context. The role of Mary Brudenell in the compilation of the *Brudenell MS* is still to be determined, but it is almost certain that she would have performed the martyr-music from the volume. The same can be said for the female members of the Tregian family and their network in prison, where there might well have been performances of both men and women together for consolation.

Moreover, by preserving their music within commonplace books, Catholics ensured that their own particular devotional expressions, and specific forms of complaint, would not be forgotten. The later annotations and additions to the *Shanne MS*, the *Great Hodge Podge*, and the *Brudenell MS* demonstrate these texts were used in future performances by their Catholic descendants, and that they became part of the historical memory of the community. Moreover, the contemporary dissemination and utilisation of the same pieces of music, such as 'Jerusalem, my happy home', can reveal how relationships between English Catholics, and even to a certain extent with Protestants, were reciprocal. Music provides evidence for the existence of a range of communal relationships, which united exiles and the local laity in performances at the colleges and convents on the continent, as well as the laity in England.

Whilst music has offered a wealth of information for a richer understanding of post-Reformation English Catholic experience, the snapshots provided in this thesis do not claim to constitute a comprehensive picture of the ways in which music was used by all English Catholics during this period. The insight it does bring, however, suggests that additional research would certainly be worthwhile to assess the extent, and perhaps the longevity, of such practices. The chronological scope of this project could be extended, and there are still a host of county archives waiting to be mined. There are also several continental archives for the religious institutions that were not included in this thesis, such as the Poor Clares founded by Mary Ward in 1607 in Gravelines, and the Mary Ward sisters themselves and their community established in St Omer in 1609. In considering exiles, this thesis has started to think about the role of music in forging a sense of national identity for English Catholics during this period. Yet this is another subject that certainly warrants further attention. In particular, there is a need for more research into the contrasting ways that Protestants used music to forge more self-conscious forms of national identity, including and beyond the current attention being paid to anti-Catholic polemic.

The history of the body and the history of the emotions, two flourishing areas of currently scholarly enquiry, have been touched upon in this thesis. Ideas about the body have been shown by scholars to contribute to new medical theories about music's effect in the period. However this work has tended to rely upon normative and didactic texts, primarily available only to the social or spiritual elite, and the scholarship has largely focused on imagined rather than real audiences. In contrast, this thesis has started to draw attention to how such ideas played out in practice, as revealed through the actions of musical bodies, and performative spaces of religious behaviour for post-Reformation English Catholics. Yet there is certainly space for further enquiry, and tangential to the history of the body

is the study of gestures and how certain embodied expressions, such as making the sign of the cross, became confessionalised. This is a significant unanswered question, and as we saw in chapter five in a ballad preserved in the *Lancashire MS*, one which is touched upon in this thesis when ideas about gesture were manifested through song (itself an embodied act). An extension of this project might also include the wealth of new work on the history of emotions. The way music could create 'emotional' links for English Catholics during this period, beyond conceptions of 'place' and 'home' as we saw at the end of the third chapter, would certainly be of interest. The history of the senses, another burgeoning field, has also fed into this thesis in exciting ways and it would be productive to probe further the way that music might evoke a multifaceted sensory response from listeners. Moreover, the sensory methodology employed in this thesis (i.e. investigating sounds) certainly has scope to shed further light on broader trends within other areas of religious and cultural European history during this period.

Despite these necessary limitations, this thesis has sought to challenge much of the current historiography on post-Reformation English Catholics, and confessional relations more generally. It has shown how 'types' of religious belief or confessional 'labels' in this period must be viewed as flexible, and has highlighted how English Catholic culture was not monolithic, but distinctively multifarious. This thesis has emphasised that it is impossible to tell the story of the English Catholic community without considering exiles, and has questioned the notion that English Catholics abroad were fundamentally different from their counterparts in England. In so doing, this thesis has highlighted the methods used to forge communal relationships beyond the institutions on the continent and across the channel. By exploring how Catholics used music, this thesis has rejected the notion that English Catholics were somehow passive or inert, and has instead emphasised their cultural achievements and political agency. Consequently this thesis has started to reinstate the influence of Catholics on cultural forms

previously only considered in the context of Protestantism, such as the performances of travelling players and popular balladry. Most importantly of all, this thesis has demonstrated that music is vital in order to understand the ways English Catholics lived as a minority throughout the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods.

Despite the loss for Catholics of both social and devotional spaces in the aftermath of the reformations in England, this thesis has demonstrated that it was this very dislocation that promoted Catholic survival, by forcing Catholics to become more adaptive. This thesis has aimed to highlight the creativity and innovation of post-Reformation English Catholics, who, often in the absence of priests, were active agents in the transformation of their individual, and communal, experience of faith. In the construction of Catholic music, Catholics found new ways to build new relationships to the divine, as well as with one another.

f.133

Certaine pretie songs
hereafter following drawn together by Richard
Shanne 1611

The musical score consists of five systems of two staves each. The first system is marked 'Triple' and 'Reuitt'. The second system is marked '7'. The third system is marked '14' and contains the instruction: 'This songs is of two parte. ye must singe the plainsonge over and over, until the treble ende'. The fourth system is marked '20'. The music is written in a style typical of early 17th-century manuscript notation, with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat.

O christes crosse be my good speed in grace & vertew for
to proceed, w[hi]ch ra me fa sol la hould fast good sonn sol fa
mi ra w[i]t[h] this was yt[that] first lesson that I did learne, w[hi]ch
haith cost me twenteth stripes & seaven. O crewell creweltie
no stockfish bides such paines as I, my witsse here
can testifie.

[With] me ma fa sol la la soli fa me va...

This song is of two parte. ye must singe the plainsonge
over and over, until the treble ende."

f.133v

The Querister's song of yorke in praise of heaven

The musical score consists of three systems of two staves each. The first system is marked 'This is the tune'. The music is written in a style typical of early 17th-century manuscript notation, with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat.

Jerusalem my happie home
 when shall I come to the
 When shall my sorrows have an end thy Joyes when shall I se
 Where happie herboure is of saintes
 With sweet & pleasant Soyle
 In the no sorrowes ere was found
 No greef, no care, nor toyle

In the dampish mists are seen
 No could nor darksom night
 In the all soules for ever singe
 There god allwaies gives light
 Heaven is the springe where waters flowe
 To quench our heate of sinn
 There is the tree where trueth doth growe
 To lead our lives therein

There Christe is Judge that stintes all strife
 When mens devises fayle
 There is the bread that feedes all life
 That death can not assaile
 The tidings of salvation dere
 Comes to our eares from thence
 The fortresse of our faith is there
 And sheeld of our defence

Jerusalem, Jerusalem
 God graunt once I may see
 Those endless joyes with the O Christ
 Partaker for to be
 Thy walls are mayd of precious stons
 Thy bulwarkes, Diamondes square
 Thy gates are of right orient pearles
 Exceedinge rich and rare

f.134

There luste nor lucre cannot dwell, there envie beares no sway
 In the non hunger, heat, nor could, but pleasure night & daie
 For daie & night to the are one, no darknesse may appeare
 O god in christ to make vs knowne, those lights that are more cleare

Then anie man could ever see, or mortall eye behold
 That ever yet, since Adam first, In blisse he was inrould
 Within the gates of paradise, to have free witt and will
 To do eyther good or evil, which, his mynd was bent untill

When god in Christ Adam beheld, he saide, In love so free
 O man, thou shalt not live alone, a helper Ile give thee
 Then Adam thou didst through one sinn, at counsell of the wife
 Throwe downe thy selfe, & allso vs, from that fayre Citie of life

Till Christ himself from heaven came, to save us all one & all,
 Redeminge vs from death & sinn, as well as great and small.
 Then be not like the hogg that haith, a pearl at his desyre
 And takes more pleasure in the trough, and wallowing in the myre

For Christe saith come all youe that will in heaven me behould
 Where Carbuncles & turrites faire, and streetes are paved with gould
 Their houses all of Ivorie, and windows christall cleere
 And tyles of bright redd gould, O christ that I were there

Within thy gates nothinge can come, that is not verie cleere
 No spiders well nor filthie thinge, in the may once appeare
 The saintes are cround with glorie great, they se god face to face;
 They tryvmph all, & still rejoyce, Most happie is theyr case

U We that are heere in banishment, we sobb, we sigh, we groone;
 We weepe & waile both night & daie, continually we mone
 Our sweet is mixt with bitter gall, our pleasures are but pain
 Our Joyes do Scarslie last one hower, our sorrowes aye remaine

But they that live in such delight, such pleasure & such joye
 As that to them A thowsand yeares, do seeme but as one daie
 Where vineyards & theyr Orchards are, most bewtifull & faire
 Wel furnisht trees of pleasant fruites, most wonderfull & rare

Thy gardens & thy gallant walkes, continually are greene
 There growes such sweet & pleasant flowers, as nowhere else are seene
 That is the nectar & Ambrose, with muske & Civit sweete
 The greatest joyes on earth belowe, are trod under theyr feet

f.134v

Theyr Cinamon & Sugar growes, rheere nard & balme abound
 No tongue can tell, nor harte can thinke, what Joyes in *the* are found
 Quit through thy streets are silver sound, where floud of life doth flow
 Upon whose banks the wood of lyfe, for ever there doth growe.

As allso trees, both more * lesse, which evermore do springe,
 There evermore the Angells sitt, and evermore do singe.
 Where David stands with harp in hande, as maister of the Quire,
 Ten thousand times all those are blist, that might his musick heere.

Godes praises there allwise are sung, with harmonie most sweet
 Ould Simeon & Zacarym have not there songe to seeke
 There magdalen have left hir mone and cheerfully do singe,
 With blessed saints, whose harmony, in heaven sweet do singe.

Ould men & wyves, yonge men & maides, and all that heerse this songe,
 Print well & beare this in your harts, thinke not your tyme to longe
 And do not reed these godlie lines but with A single eye
 Reed not, but fyrst dedsyre godes grace, to understand thereby.

Pray still in faith, with this respect, this heaven for to win,
 That knowledge may bring good effect, to mortifie your sinn
 Then happy you in all your life, what so to youe befallles,
 Yea, double happy shall youe be, when God by death you calls

God still preserve oure royall kinge, Our Queene good lord defend;
 Theyr progenie, good lord I praie, keep aye, wourld without end
 Thus to conclude I ende my songe, wishine health, welth & peace;
 And all that wish the commans good, good lord theyr Joyes increase.
 Finis.

A verie pretie songe of an ould man

I loath that I did love, in youth that I thought sweete
 As tyme requires for my behove methinkes that are not meet
 y luste they do me leave, my fancies all are fledd
 and tract of tyme begins to weave graye haries upon my head

For age with stealing steppes hath caught me with his crutch
 and lustie youth awaie doth leape, as there had been none such
 My muse doth not delite me, as it hath doone before,
 May hande & pen are not in plight, as they have been of yore

f.135

For reason me denies, these youthfull [] toyes
 And daie by daie to me she cries, leave of in tyme these joies
 The wrikles in my browes, the furrowes in my face
 Saith limpinge age will lodge him now, where youth must give him place

The harbinger of death, to me I see him ryde
 The cough, the could, the gasping breath, doth bid me to provide
 a pick ax and a spade, and eke a shrowding sheete,
 a house of claye for to be maie, for such a guest most meet

Me thinke I here the clocke, that toules the carefull bell
 And bidde me leave my wearie worke ere nature me compell

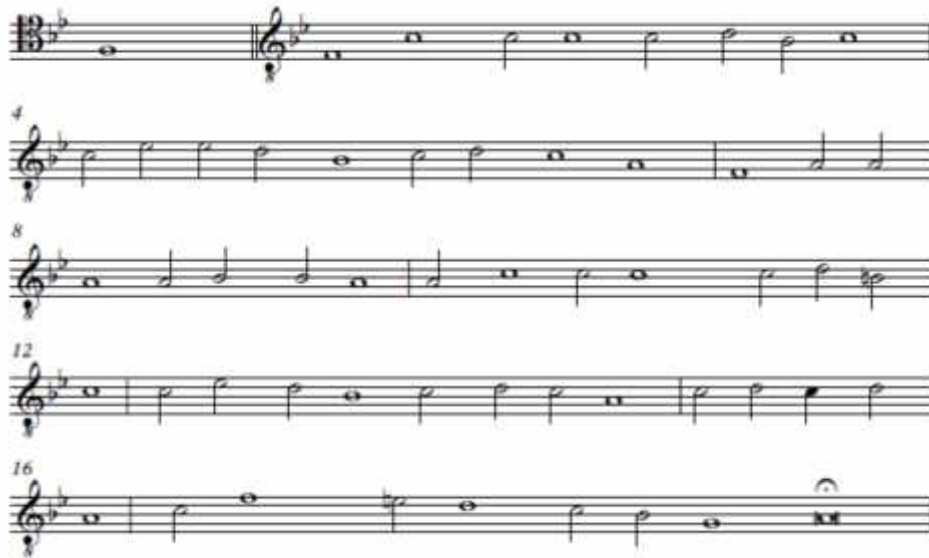
Lo heare the other skull, by whose bauld signes I knowe
That crooked age awaie shall pull, that youthfull yeares did sowe

My keper knitte the knott, whome youth haith taught to scorne
Which now awaie is there forgott, as never had been borne
Which youth I nowe yeelde upp, whos badge I longe did weare
To them I yeelde the wanton cup, that better may it beare

And youth do staie behind, have yowe no other trust
But as of claye were cast by kynd, so shall ye turne to duste

f.135v

A Christmas Carrol, maid by Sir Richard Shanne priest, to be soung at the
saim tyme.



Come love we god, of might is most
The father, sonne, the holie goest
Which mayd man, both more the lesse,
And creat him to his licknesse

Regnante Jam in Ethera

O quanta sunt hec opera

The father sent downe his oneline sonne
Which of A maid, was man becum
In Bethlem, Juide, two beast betweene,
This child was borne, that I of meane

cum pura continentia

O nova stella lumina.

The hirde men came with theyr offering,
Ffor to persent that pretie thinge
They offred theyr giftes, that child vntill,
They were received with full good will
These kynges came from the east cuntrie
Which knewe then, by Astronomie

cum summa Reverentia.

quam grata sunc hec munera.

et balam vaticenia

That then was borne the kynge of blisse
 His mother A maid both was and is, ~~O nova stella lumina~~ O dei mirabilia

To seeke that babe they tooke the waie
 They had good speede in theyr Journey stella micanta par via
 When they came wheere as herod leay
 The starr was hid that ledd the way obtetra regis crimina.

Hee questioned them of theyr cuminge
 What novells he saide, or what tydinges vos fertis?
 They said was borne, both god and man
 We will him worshipp as soveraigne Cum Digna Deo Latria.

f.136

Come heare away herod did saie
 Howe that ye speede in your journey mihi fiat notitia
 I will him worshipp he though[t] not so
 He ment with fravd the for to sloo O ficta Amicitia

They past the towne, they saw ye starre
 Which ledd them till they found the barne Sugentem matris vbera
 They offred him the gould, mirr & Sence,
 He took them with great diligece quam Digna est Infancia

They took theyr leave of that sweete thinge
 And thought to come by herod kynge apperante voce Angelica
 Turne home he saith leave herods will
 He rhinkes with frayd, youe for to kyll percavta homicidia.

They turnd againe full merilie
 Ich one into his owne cuntrie Alacri terra tenera.
 They had heavens blisse at theyr endinge
 The which god grant vs ould and younge In clara poliregia.

f.136v

1 We happie hirds men heere maye singe and eke rejoyce for Angells bright & cleare we sawe and harde A voice	5 When we to Bethlem came we saw as it was saide That child of glorious fame In mannger he was laide
2 Gladd tidinges they vs toulde The kyng of all mankynde. Newe borne & in clothes fould They saie we shall him fynde	6 We shepherds downe did fall And songe with voice on hie The Angells said we shall Singe glorie in excelsie
3 At Bethlem in A stall And eke his mother free Great comforth to vs all Oh blissed maie he be.	7 All haile O christ O kyng All haile O virgins sonne We praie the vs to bringe In heaven with the to woon
4 Nowe let vs with much joie In haist to Bethlem trudge To se that blissed boie That once must be our Judge	8 Where we the father may See with the holie goest Him magnifie all waie, With all the heavvenlie hoste.

f.137 BLANK

f.137v

1 Venus that faire lovelie queene, hey doune doune doune A A
Was sporting in A forest greene, hey doune doune doune A
Where younge Adonise she did see
As he lay sleping sleping sleping by a tree.

2 Swift as though to him she hies hey doune doune doune A A
 Fast she pursewes but still he flies, hey doune, doune doune A A
 O stay stay stay sweet boie quoth shee
 And come sitt doune doune doune, sitt dowe by me

3 Still she wooes him for A kisse, hey doune, doune, doune A A
 Sweet skant not that which plentie is, hey doune doune doune A A
 To speeke quoth she let pittie moove the
 But he said no no no I can not love the

4 Stay quoth she my onelie joye, hey doune doune doune A A
 Then in his armes she caught the boie, hey doune doune doune A A
 In his faire twines she held him fast
 Which mayd him yeeld yeeld yed to love at last.
 f.138

5 Her roobes as fresh as fresh could be, hey doune doune doune A A
 This goddis was tuckt about the knee, hey doune doune doune A A
 Her self in his armes she flunge,
 But he cries, fye fye fye, I am to younge

6 Was ever ladie thus disgrast, hey doune doune doune A A
 Arte thoue A god and be shame faste, hey doune, doune, doune A A
 Then, blushing, downe his head he flunge
 And still cries, fye, fye, fye I am to younge

7 Though he was younge, yet stubbarne harte, hey doune doune doune A A
 From her he flung and so departe, hey doune doune doune A A
 Hir redd Rose cheekes fayre ladie then,
 with sorrowe lookes, lookes, lookes, both paile and won.

8 Well for thy sake, sweet boie, quoth she, hey doune doune doune A A
 Loves god is blynde, and so shall be, hey doune doune doune A A
 Then sight she did with manie a groane
 And still satt wepinge, wepinge, all A lone

Ye may, if ye please, let the triplex singe the dittie by him selfe, and let
 the three other partes all waies take hould at "hey doune" and likewise when
 the last voice begineth, and so to the ende.

ff.137v-138

Musical score for four voices: Triplex, Medius, Tenor, and Bassus. The score is written on four staves. The Triplex staff is in the soprano clef, Medius in the alto clef, Tenor in the tenor clef, and Bassus in the bass clef. The music is in a common time signature and features a complex rhythmic pattern with many eighth and sixteenth notes. A vertical line is drawn through the first measure of each staff, indicating a specific point in the music.

Ye mayst if ye please let the triplex singe the dittie by him selfe...

Musical score for four voices, likely a continuation of the previous piece. The score is written on four staves. The Triplex staff is in the soprano clef, Medius in the alto clef, Tenor in the tenor clef, and Bassus in the bass clef. The music is in a common time signature and features a complex rhythmic pattern with many eighth and sixteenth notes. The score begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat.

The image displays a musical score for three systems, each consisting of four staves. The first system begins at measure 2, the second at measure 11, and the third at measure 15. The notation is written in a medieval style, featuring treble and bass clefs, various note values (minims, crotchets, quavers), and rests. The music is organized into measures by vertical bar lines. The first system (measures 2-10) shows a melodic line in the upper staves and a supporting bass line. The second system (measures 11-14) continues the melodic and bass lines. The third system (measures 15-18) concludes the piece with a final cadence, indicated by a double bar line and a fermata over the final notes.

* *d* in source

f.138v



1. When as Troye towne for ten yeares space
 which to the Greekes in manfull wise
 Our enemies did fast increase
 That to which none could devise
 Where lyes those walles that weere so good
 And corne nowe growes where Troy town stood

2. When Anease that wandringe prince
 The which for lande longe tyme hath fouyght
 At length arived with great joye
 To mightie carthage walles was brought
 Where Dido Quene with Sumtuous feaste
 Did entertaine that wandring gieste

3. And when at meat that they they was satt
 The queene desyred newed to heare
 Other unhappie ten years warres
 Declare to me thou Trojan deare
 Thy heavie hap and chance so badd
 That thou pore wandring knight haith had

4. And then this comelie knight drewe neere
 With wordes demure as he could well
 Oh his unhappie ten yeares warres
 So trewe a taile began to tell
 With wordes so sweet and sighs so deepe
 Which often mayd them all to weepe

f.139

5. And then a thousand fightes he fought
 And everie sigh brought teares amain
 That where he satt the place was wet

So that the queene with ruth therefore
Saith worthie night enough no more

6. The darksome night [a parte] drewe neare
And twinklinge starres in skyes were spredd
Oh he his doolefull taile had tould
And everie one was layd in bedd
Where they full sweetlie tooke theyr rest
All but queen didoes boyling brest
7. The sillie woman never slept
But in his chamber all alone
As one unhappie allwaies wept
And to the walles she mayd his moane
That she should still desyre in vaine
The thinge that she could not obtaine
8. And thus in greefe she spent the night
Till twinklinge starres from skyes went fledd
And Phoebus with his glistnig beames
And mistie Cloud appared Red
Then tydinge came to his anone
That all the Trojan shipps were gone
9. And then the Queene with blodie knife
Did arme her hearte as hard as stone
Yet somethinge loth to loose her life
In wofull wyse she mayd her mone
And rowling on her carefull bedd
with sight and sobbe these wordse she sayd

f.139v

10. I wretched Dido Queen quoth she
I se thine ende apparearthe neare
Ffor he is gone awaie from me
Whose lyfe as then [accepted?] deare
Aye he is gone and passed by,
O harte prepare thy selfe to die
11. As reason saidest thou shouldst forbear
To staie thy hande from bloddie stroke
Yet fortune sayeth thou shouldst not feere
Who fettered thee in Cupids Yooke
Come death saith she and end my smarte
And with her knife she pearst her harte.

f.139v

A Pretie Songe in Commendation
of the Springe, called the Queen of Love.



In the Wanton Season
When birdes on braunches sittinge
Make musicke to the welcome Springe
And Solace to theyr greetinge.
Maie, adored in hir pride
Hir sweetest love laye kyssinge
And with A garland around hir heade
Wherein no flowers weere missinge

Flora fayre untwynes hir haire
yonge tellus brest to cover,
f.140
And Leaves could winter loathed bedd
To meet hir longed lover
In A morne fairest morne
Such as maie haith manie
Furth I walked all Alone
Unknowen or seene of anie

The gaye appareled meadowes
So featlie I past over
They did sprigne vp newe leveries,
Unto myne eyes discover
Till to A christall fountaine
In A vallowe placed
Like to a diamonde sett with goulde
The Earth braves bosome graded.

I Attained where I ganed
Such exchange of pleasure,
Such happie sighte, such rare delighte
As did excell worlde treasure
Where I laie all the daie

Vewinge heavens wonder
 A route of willowe was my pillowe
 Whose braunches I laie under.

At whose Joies Celestiall
 Yonge tellus fell on Skyppinge
 The hirdes of Goates the does & lambs,
 Stood still and lefte theyr trippinge
 The Christall Brooke whose streames by course
 Did never cease theyr runninge
 Suffered the wanton pebbles stones
 To staie and rest theyr cunninge.

The birde like bees upon the trees
 Satt singinge sweete as maie be
 Then did the springe come dauncinge in
 To meet the Sommers Ladie
 f.140v
 The kydd the fawne, within the lawne
 The grove beneth the mountaine
 Stood ever Joyenge at the sight
 Of this faire heavenlie fountaine

Thus admired I retired
 My senses weare well eased
 But to be spedd within hir bedd
 My thoughts weare better pleased.

Yf the verses will not agree with the
 tune, ye may breake a sembreefe
 into two minnems, or otherwise as ye thinke good.

A verie pretie songe of yonge Palmus and Faire Sheldra

Young palmus was a fery man, whome Sheldra faire did love At
 Shackly where her sheepe did graze, she there his thoughts did
 Prove: but he unkyndlie stole awaie, a would not live at Shackley
 Haie fa la la fa la la la. So loude at Shacklay did she crie
 The woods resounde to Shackly hay. fa la la fa la la la la

f.141

Bassus When Palmus was A fery man & c. This is to be soung with the dittie.

Bassus Yonge Palmus was a Fery man. This is to be a Bass, but not to be soung with the dittie. [Instrumental]

Judge and revenge my cause O lord, psalme 106

[From Sternhold and Hopkins psalm 43:

Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord, from them that evil be:

From wicked and deceitful men, O Lord deliver me.

For of my strength thou art the god, why putst thou me thee from?

And why walke I so heavily, oppressed with my foe?

Send out thy light, and eke thy truth, and lead me with thy grace:

Which may conduct me to thy hil, and to thy dwelling place.

Then shal I to the alter go, of God my ioy and chere:

And on my harpe geue thanks to thee, O god my god most dere.

Why art thou then so sad my soule? and fretst thus in my brest?

Stil trust in God, for him to prayse, I hold it alwayes best.

By him I haue deliuerance, against al paines and grieffe:

He is my God, which doth alwayes, at neede send me reliefe.]

Triplex

Medius

Tenor

Bassus

4

7

10

12

f.141v

**Two pretie songs
Of Landlorde and Tenante**

Side note: [Almost all is ment by pore tennantes. Manie is ment by the Landlordes.]

Behould the fall of almost all
And his posteritie
Out at the dore, bethrust the pore,
through manie without pittie
Pore men have spent of dubled rent,
their substance quicke and deade,
And almost all A begging shall
that manie one hath ffedd.
The plowe Asyde is easile spied
the ffarmer fledd and gone,
Where men were bredd, now sheepe be fedd,
And comforth there is none.
This is the ffaull of allmost all,
that somtyme lived, well,
And now is fledd to begg their bread,
As manie doth compell.

The second parte

Now almost all may weepe,
And wringe their hands ech daie
For they must sell their Corne & Shepe,
theire dubled rentes to paie.
The house paide for the rente,
to passe shall come in haste,
When all their goods is gone and spent,
an other shalbe plast.
The plowe Asyde shall lie,
that heretofore did go,
And almost all shall weepe & crie,
that manie vsed them soo.
Now almost all take paines,
to worke both Night and daie,
The landlorde allwaies hath the gaines,
and sweppeth all away.

f.142

A songe bewailinge the tyme of Christmas, so much decayed in England

Christmas is my name
 ffar have I gone, have I gone, have I gone.
 have I gone without regarde,
 Whereas great men, by flockes they be flowen, they be flowen
 they be flowen, they be flowen to London warde.
 Where they in pompe, and pleasure do waste,
 that which Christmas had wont to feast
 Welay daie.

Houses where musicke was wonted to ringe,
 Nothing but Batts, and Ouls now do singe
 Welay daie, wallay daie, wallay daie, where should I stay.

Christmas bread and beefe, is turnd into stons, into stons, into stons
 Into stones and Silken ragge.
 And ladie monie it doth slepe, it doth slepe, it doth sleepe.
 It doth sleepe in mysers bagge.
 Where manie gallante onto abonnde,
 Nought but A dogg and A sheperd is founde,
 Welay day.

Places where Christmas revells did keepe,
 And now becom habitations for sheepe.
 Wallay day, wallay day, Welay day. Where should I stay.

Pan the Shepherds God, doth deface, doth deface, doth deface,
 Doth deface, Ladie Ceres crowne,
 And Tilliges doth decay, doth decay, doth decay.
 Doth decay in everie towne.
 Landlorde their rente so highly Inhaunce.
 That Peares the plowman, barefoote doth daunce.
 Welay day.

Farmers that Christmas would Intertaine
 hath scarselie withall themselves to mantaine
 Welay day, wellay day, wellay day. where should I stay.

f.142v

Go to the protestant, hele ptest, hele protest, hele protest.
 he will protest and bouldlie boaste,
 And to the puritine, he is so hote, he is so hote, he is so hote,
 he is so hote he will burne the Roast,
 The Catholike good deede will not scorne,
 Nor will not see poore Christmas for lorne.
 Welay day.

Since Holines no good deedes will do,

Protestante had best turn papiste too.
Welay day, wellay day, wellay day, where should I stay.

Pride and Luxurie doth devoure, doth devoure, doth devoure,
doth devoure house kepinge quite,
And Beggarie, doth beget, doth begett, doth begett,
doth begett in manie A knight.
Madam for sooth in Cooch she must reele
Although she weare her hoose out at heele
Welay day.

And on her backe were that for her weede,
How woulde both me, and manie other feede.
Welay day, wallay day, wellay day, where should I stay

Breefelye for to ende, here I fynde, here I fynde,
here I fynde such great vacation
That some great houses, do seeme to have, seme to have, seeme to have,
for to have some great purgation.
With purginge pills, such effectes they have shewed.
that out of dores theyr owners they have spewed.

Welay day.
And when Christmas goes by and calles.
Nothing but solitude, and naked walls,
Welay day, wellay day, wellay day. where should I staie.

Philemels cottage are turnd into gould, into gould
Into gould for harboringe Jove
And great mens houses up for to hould, up for to hould
Up for to hould, make great men mone,

f.143
But in the cittie they said they do live
Whaere gould by handfulls away they do give.
Welay day.

And therefore thither I purpose to passe,
Hoping at london to fynde the goulden Asse,
Ile away, Ile away, Ile away, Ile no longer staie.

Times Alteration

or

An old mans rehearsall, what brane daies he knew
A great while agone, when his old cap was newe

When this ould cap was newe
tis since tow hundreth yeares

No mallice then we knewe
 but all thinges plentie were
 All ffrendshipps now decayes
 beleve me this is trewe
 Which was not in those daies
 when this old cap was newe

The nobles of this lande
 were much delighted then
 To have at their commands
 A crue of lustie men
 Which by their coates were knowne
 of Tawney, Red or Blewe
 With crests on their sleeves shoune
 When thi old cap was newe

Now pride hath bannisht all
 unto our lande reproach
 When he whose meanes is small
 maintayned both house and coach
 In steade of an hundred men
 The coach allowes but tow [two?]
 This was not thought on then
 When this old cap was newe

f.143v

Good hospitallitie
 was thought then of manie
 Now pore men starve and dye
 and are not helpeted of any
 ffor charity waveth cold
 And love is found in fewe
 This was not in time of old
 When this old cap was newe

When ever you travel'd then
 you might meete on the way
 Brave knights and gentellmen
 Clad in their countrie gray
 That courteous would appeare
 and kindly welcome you
 No Puirtans then weare
 When this old cap was newe

Our Laydes in those daies
 in civill habitt wente

Broad cloth was then wrth praise
 and gave the best content
 Ffrench fashions then were founde
 fond thoughts none then knewe
 Then moddestie woomen abound
 when this old cap was new

A man might then behould
 as Christmas in each hall
 Good ffier to curbe the could
 and meat for great and small
 The neighbours were friendly bidden
 And all had welcome trewe
 The poore from the gaites were not ~~driven~~ chidden
 When this old cap was new

f.144

Blacke Jackes to everie man
 were fild with wine and beare
 No pewter pot nor kan
 in those daies did appeare
 God cheare in a noblemans house
 was counted a semeley ~~thing~~ showe
 We wanted no brawne nor sowse
 When this old cap was new

Men tooke no such delight
 in cups of silver fine
 None under degree of a knight
 In plate dranke beare or wine
 Now each mechanical man
 Hath a cupboard of plate for ol showe
 which was a rare thing then
 when this old cap was newe

Then bribery was unborne
 No simony men did use
 Christians did usury scorne
 devirs among the jewes
 Then Lawyers to take ffees
 at that time hardly knewe
 For man with man agrees
 When this old cap was new

No captaine then carrowst
 Nor spent poore souldiers pay

They were not so abuse
 as they are at this day
 of seaven daies they make eight
 to keep from themt heir due
 poore souldyers had their right
 when this old cap was newe

f.144v

Which made them forard still
 to go although not prest
 And going with good will
 This fortune were the best
 Our Englishmen in fight
 did forraigne four subdue
 And forst them all to flight
 When this old cap was newe

God save our gracious kinge
 and send him longe to live [~~reign is crossed out, live is in original~~]
 Lord, mischeiefe on them bringe
 that will not their almes give
 But seeke to rob the poore
 of that which is their due
 this was not in time before
 when this old cap was newe.

f.145 **A verie pretie songe**

As I lay musinge all alone
 I hearde a voice that loud did saie
 Come give acount of everie thinge
 even in the twinglike of an eye...
With that I harde a trumpett blow
 and one did call withvoice so hie
 Victorie all thinge both hie and lowe
 even in twinklinge of an eye
Destroy all parke, pallaces and game
 Casles and towers that bene so hie
 to all thinge livinge do thie same
 even in the twinklinge of an eye
The seas and flud shall not endure
 neither the heavens that be so hie
 destroie them all with burninge fyer
 even in the twinkling of an eye
With that I sawe a Cloud downe bent
 and one did stand in it so hie

prepared for to give judgment
even in the twinklinge of an eye
The good of God right hand did stande
they praisinge him most joifully
with psalmes of victorie in their hande
even in the twinklinge of an eye
The evil on his left hande did stande
wailinge themselves most wofully
discending to the fyrie brande
Even in the twinklinge of an eye
Unto the good the Lorde did saye
Speaking these worde most joifully
take you my kingdome that lasteth aye
even in the twinklinge of an eye
Unto the evill the Lord did saie
speaking these wordes most pittifully
go to the fyre that burneth aye
even in the twinklinge of an eye
O lorde for Christ his sake we praie
which shedd his bloud upon a tree
defende we from that fyre alwaies
even in the twinklinge of an eye.

Three distinct hands:

1. Blundell's handwriting examples: (distinctive ds and hs),
Extracted from *Great Hodge Podge*, f.127v; f.134v; f.5v; f.39.

.3.

verses translated out of Latin into English
taken out of Oranado his sermons upon
Christmas day. W.B.L.

Why dost thou (o most blessed Child
mans nature take to thee,
from heauenly pallate banished?
because I love saithes see.

The stuf of these verses is not known, but the same
was put in to English as followeth by W.B.L.

.9.

Oranado ofonde desired of men, a toyler & laboured vaine,
of flatteringe hope in blynde delighted, whose end is most paine,
of false detrauinge beautie but w^{ch} sudde^{ly} hope the stone,
o tyme all worldly thinge doth wast, & altho' euill howe
some thynke vncertaine is e' hysse, some full of wretched paine,
what worldly daunger is

an act to condemn a Religion by a nation of
fident, a Religion so holy & vniuersall at it is, & gates bring
and since since Christs tyme ou' & people w^{ch} could
w^{ch} blood of so many holy martires, & confirmed by the
testimony of so many vndoubted miracles.

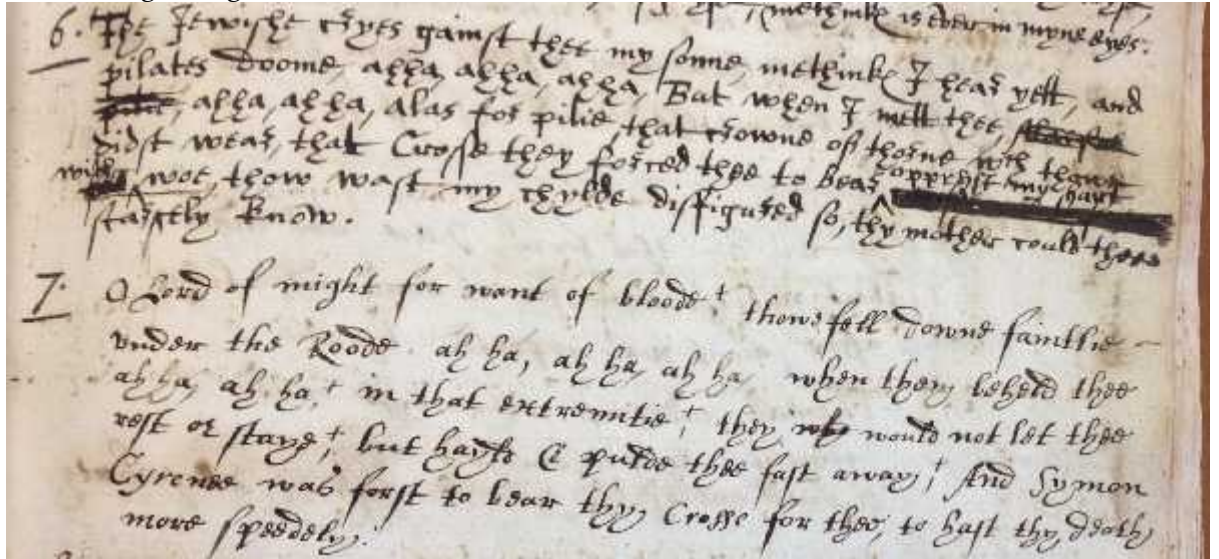
Thus much (Deare G) gave I thought good to send
unto yo' for e' edification of all deuote Catholikes,
satisfaction of all moderate Protestants, & I must defende
of the deuote soules deceased in y^e seruice of God, & the
exercise of this Catholike Religion Vale.

Thus G. at my kind Gsps request I haue written my opinion
-resuming those 2 conclusions & yo' best yo' script, wherein if I shall giue
yo' content & satisfaction I shall be very glad. If otherwise, I shall be
sorry, yett I will please my selfe in that I haue done w^{ch} good will.
And so eu' resting yo' most humble friend & marquaynted,
I cease yo' further trouble.

W. Blundell.
W. H. Popington Esq^r Coln

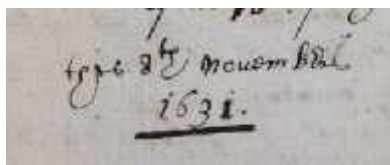
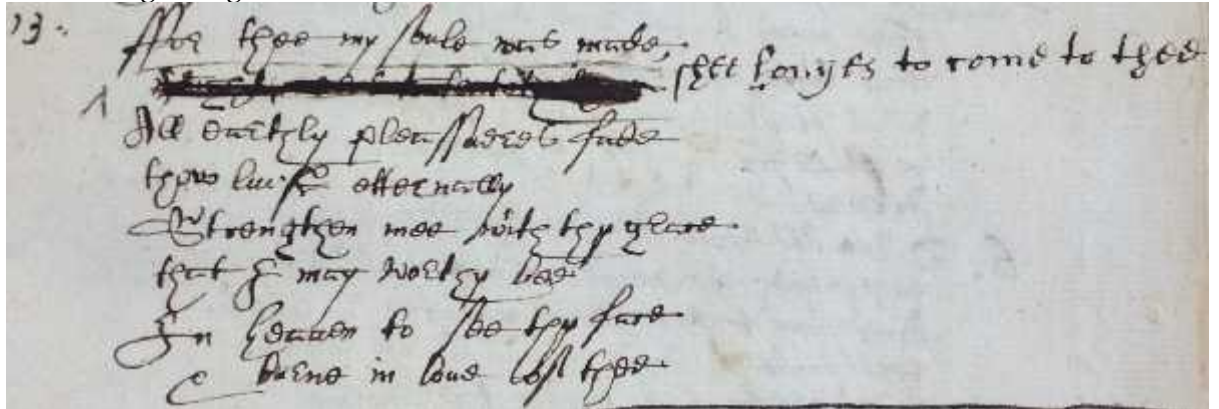
2. Hand 2 (verse 6: distinctive hs and straight ts). Then Blundell's takes over (verse 7)

Great Hodge Podge, f.129v.

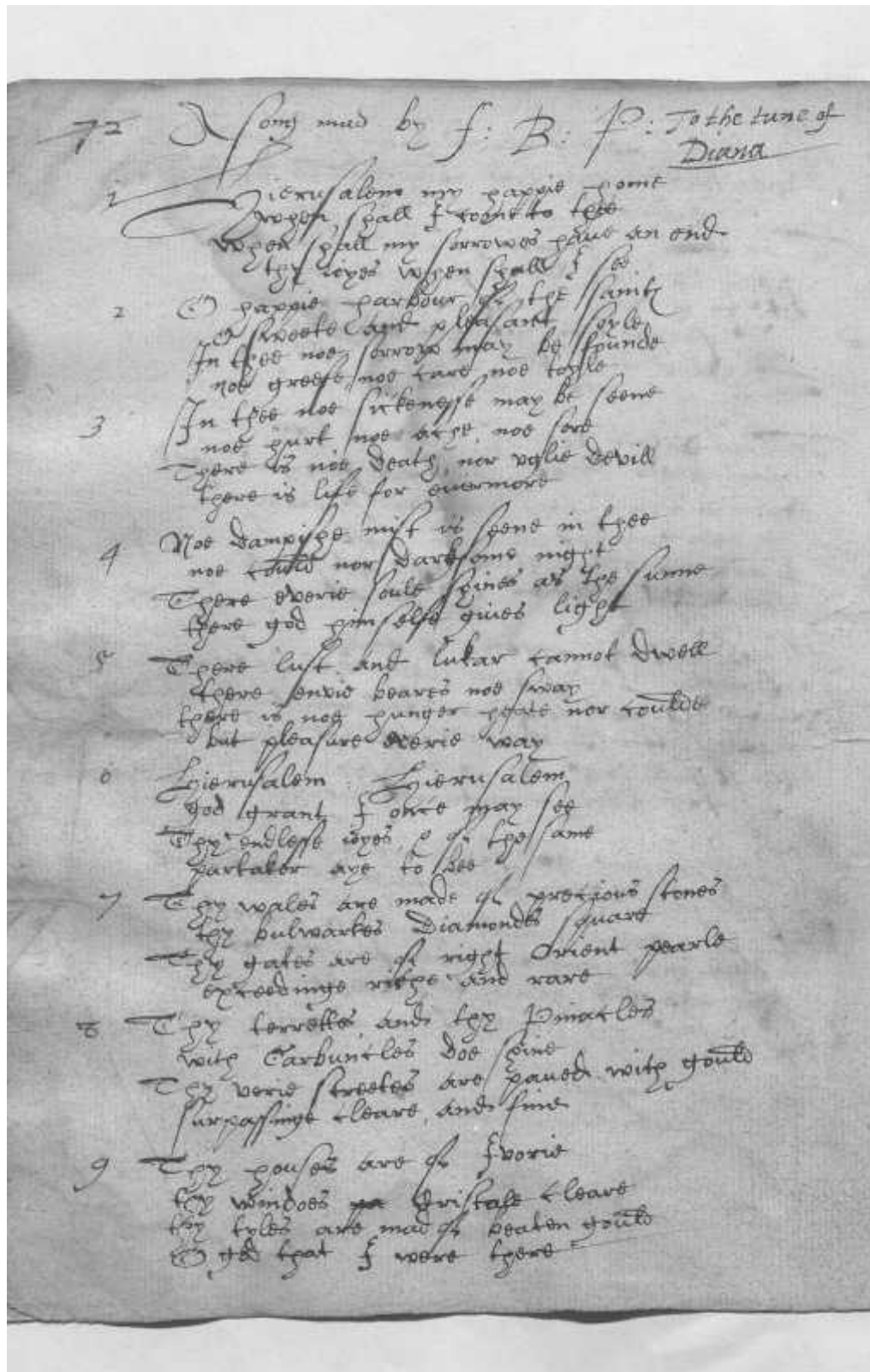


3. Hand 3 after 1631 (with correction)

Great Hodge Podge, f.275



BL. Addit. MS. 15225 or Lancashire MS, f.36v.



I.B. A looking glass of mortalitie (1599)
A song in the praise of the heavenly Jerusalem

1 *Hierusalem* my happie home,
When shall I come to thee
When shall my sorowes haue an end
Thy ioyes when shall I see

2 O happie harbour of the Saints,
O sweet and pleasant soile:
In thee no sorrow may be found,
No grieffe, no care, no toile.

3 In thee no sicknesse may be seene,
No hurt, no ach, no sore:
There is no death, not vgly diuell,
Theres life for euermore.

4 No dampish mist is seene in thee,
No cold, nor darkesome night:
There euerie soule shines like the Sun,
There God himself giues light.

5 There lust and luker cannot dwell,
There enuie beares no sway:
There is no hunger, hear, nor cold,
But pleasure euerie way.

6 Ther's Nectar and Ambrosia made,
Ther's muske and Ciuet sweet:
There many a fine and daintie drugge
Are troden vnder feete.

7 There Cinamon, there Sugar growes,
There Nard and Balme abound:
What tounge can tell, or heart conceiue
The ioyes that there are found?

8 Quite through the streets with siluer sound
The flood of life doth flow,
Vpon whose bankes on euery side
The wood of life doth grow.

9 There trees do euermore beare fruite
And euermore do spring:

There euermore the Angels sit,
And euermore do sing.

10 There Dauid stands with harpe in hand,
As maister of the quire:
Ten thousand times that man were blest
That might his mufike heare.

11 Gods praises there are alwayes song,
With harmonie most sweete:
Old Simeon and Zacharie
Haue not their songs to seeke.

12 There Magdalene hath left her mone,
And cheerefully doth sing
With blessed Saints, whose harmonie
In euery streete doth ring.

13 Hierusalem my happie home,
Would God I were in thee,
Would God my woes were at an end,
Thy ioyes that I may see.

Anon., The Song of Mary (1601)
The description of heavenly Jerusalem

1 Jerusalem my happy home
When shall I come to thee
When shall my sorrows have an end
Thy ioyes when shall I see

2 O happy Citty of the saintes
O sweet and pleasant soyle
In thee no sorrow may be ofund
No grief, no care, no toyle

4 (3) There is no dampe nor foggy mist
No clowde nor darksome night
There, every Saint shines like the sunne
There God himself gives light

3 (4) In thee no sicknes may be found
No hurt, no ache, no sore
In thee there is no dread of death
There's life for ever more

[(5) There is no raine, no sleete, no snow
No filth may there be found
There is no sorrow, nor no care
All joy doth there abound]

1 (6) Jeruslaem my happy home
When shall I come to thee
When shall my sorrowes have no end
Thy joys when shall I see

14 (7) Thy walles are all of precious stones
Thy streets paved with golde
They gates aer eike of precious pearle
Most glorious to beholde

15 (8) Thy pinacles and carbuncles
With diamondes doe shine
Thy houses covered are with gould
Most perfect, pure and fine

16 (9) Thy gardens and they pleasant walkes,
continually are greene
There growes the sweet and fairest flowers
That everest was seene

7 (10) There Sinamon, there Civet weer
There, Balme springs from the ground
No tongue can tell, no heart conveye
The ioyes that there abound

[(11) Thy happy Saints (Jerusalem)
Doe bathe in endlesse blisse
None but those blessed soules can tell
How great thy glory is]

8 (12) Throught thy streest with silver streames
The flood of life doth flower
Upon whose bankes, on every side
The wood of life doth growe

9 (13) Those trees do evermore beare fruite
And evermore doe spring
There evermore the Saintes doe sit
And evermore doe sing

10 (14) There David stands with Harpe in Hand,

As aster of the Quire
Ten thousand tymes that man were blest
That might his musique heare

17 (15) Our Lady sings Magnificat
With tune surpassing sweet
And all the Virgins beare their parts
Sitting about her feete

11 (16) Te deum doth Saint Ambrose sing
Saint Augustine the like
Old Simeon and good Zacharie
Have not their tongues to seeke

12 (17) There Magdalen hath loft her moane
And she likewise doth sing
With happy saints, whose harmony
In every street doth ringe

18 (18) There all do live in such delight
Such pleasure and such play
That thousand thousand years agoe
Doth seem but yesterday

1 (19) Jerusalem my happy home
When shall I come to thee
When shall my sorrowe have an end
The joyes when will I see?

BL. ADD. 15225 (c.1616) *Lancashire MS*
A song mad by I.B.P. to the tune of *Diana*

1 Hierusalem, my happie home
when shall I come to thee
When shall my sorrowes haue an end
thy ioyes when shall I see

2 O happie harbour of the saintes
O sweet and pleasant soyle
In thee noe sorroew may be founde
Nor greefe, noe care, noe toyle

3 In thee no sicknesse may be seene
noe hurt noe ache noe sore
There is noe death nor vglie deville
there is life for euermoer

4 Noe dampish mist is seene in thee
Noe could nor darksome night
There everie soule shines as the sunne,
There god himself gives light.

5 There lust and lukar cannot dwell
There envie bears noe sway
There is no hungar, heate nor could
But pleasure everie way

22 (6) Hierusalem, hierusalem,
God grant I once may see
Thy endless ioyes, and of the same
Partaker aye to bee

14 (7) Thy wales are made of precious stones
Thy bulwarkes, diamondes square
Thy gates are of right Orient pearle
Exceeding rich and rare

15 (8) They terrettes and thy Pinacles
With Carbuncles doe shine;
Thy verie streets are paved with gould
Surpassing cleare and fine.

28 (9) Thy houses are of Ivorie
Thy windowes Cristale clear
Thy tyles are mad of beaten gould
O god that I were there

29 (10) Within thy gates) nothinge doeth come
That is not passing cleane
Noe spiders web, noe durt no dust
Noe filthe may there be seene

13 (11) Ay my sweete home hierusalem
Would god I were in thee
Would god my woes were at an end
The ioyes that I might see

[(12)Thy saints are crown'd with glorie great
They see god face to face
They triumph still, they still rejoyce
Most happie is their case]

31 (13) Wee that are heere in banishment
Continuallie doe mourne
We sigh and sobbe, we weepe and weale
Perpetually we groane

32 (14) Our sweete is mixt with bitter gaule
Our pleasure is but paine
Our ioyes scarce last the lookeing on
Our sorrowes still remaine

18 (15) But there they live in such delight
Such pleasure and such play
As that to them a thousand yeares
Doth some as yeaster-day

33 (16) They Viniards and thy Orchards are
Most beautifull and faire
Full furnished with trees and fruites
Most wonderfull and rare

16 (17) Thy gardens and thy gallant walkes
Continually are greene
There gro[w]es such sweete and pleasant flowers
As noe where else are seene

6 (18) There is nector & Ambrose
There is muske and Civette sweete
There manie a faire and daintie drugge
Are troden vnder feet

7 (19) There cinnamon, there sugar, groes
There nard and balme abound
What tongue can tell or hart conceive
The ioyes that there are found

8 (20) Quyt through the streets with silver sound
The flood of life doe flowe
Upon whose banks on everie syde
The wood of life doth growe

9 (21) There trees for evermore beare fruite
And evermore do springe
There evermore the Angels sit
And evermore doe singe.

10 (22) There David standes with harpe in hand

As mainster of the quire
Tenne thousand times that man were blest
That might this musique heare

17 (23) Our ladie singes magnificat
With tune surpassing sweete
And all the virginns bear their parts
Sitinge above her feete

11 (24) Te Deum doth saint Ambrose sing
Saint Augustine doth the like
Ould Simoen and Zacharie
Have not their songes to seeke

12 (25) There Magdalen hath left her mone
And cheerfullie doth singe
With blessed saintes whose harmonie
In everie street doth ring

13 (26) Hierusalem, my happie home
Would god I were in thee
Would god my woes were at an end
Thy joyes that I might see

BL ADD. 38599 (c.1611-1624) *Shanne MS.*
The Queristers song of yorke in praise of heaven

1 Jerusalem my happie home
when shall I come to the
When shall my sorrows have an end
thy Joyes when shall I se

2 Where happie herboure is of saintes
With sweet & pleasant Soyle
In the no sorrowes ere was found
No greef, no care, nor toyle

4 (3) In the dampish mists are seen
No could nor darksom night
In the all soules for ever singe
There god allwaies gives light

19 (4) Heaven is the springe where waters flowe
To quench our heate of sinn
There is the tree where trueth doth growe
To lead our lives therein

20 (5) There Christe is Judge that stintes all strife
When mens devises fayle
There is the bread that feedes all life
That death can not assaile

21 (6) The tidings of salvation dere
Comes to our eares from thence
The fortresse of our faith is there
And sheeld of our defence

22 (7) Jerusalem, Jerusalem
God graunt once I may see
Those endless joyes, with the, O christ
Partaker for to be

14 (8) Thy walls are mayd of precious stons
Thy bulwarkes, Diamondes square
Thy gates are of right orient pearles
Exceedinge rich and rare

5 (9) There luste nor lucre cannot dwell
There envie beares no sway
In the non hunger, heat, nor could
But pleasure night & daie

22 (10) For daie & night to the are one
No darknesse may appeare
O god in christ to make vs knowne
Those lights that are more cleare

23 (11) Then anie man could ever see
Or mortall eye behold
That ever yet, since Adam first
In blisse he was inrould

24 (12) Within the gates of paradise
To have free witt and will
To do eyther good or evil, which
His mynd was bent untill

25 (13) When god in Christ Adam beheld
He saide, In love so free
O man, thou shalt not live alone
A helper Ile give thee

26 (14) Then Adam thou didst through one sinn
At counsell of the wife
Throwe downe thy selfe, & allso vs
From that fayre Citie of life

27 (15) O Till Christ himself from heaven came
To save us all one & all,
Redeminge vs from death & sinn
As well as great and small.

28 (16) Then be not like the hogg that haith
A pearl at his desyre
And takes more pleasure in the trough
And wallowing in the myre

15 (17) For Christe saith come all youe
that will in heaven me behould
Where Carbuncles & turrites faire
And streetes are paved with gould

28 (18) Their houses all of Ivorie
And windows christall cleere
And tyles of bright redd gould
O christ that I were there

29 (19) Within thy gates nothinge can come
That is not verie cleere
No spiders well nor filthie thinge
In the may once appeare

30 (20) The saintes are cround with glorie great,
They se god face to face;
They tryvmph all, & still rejoyce
Most happie is theyr case

The second parte

31 (21) We that are heere in banishment
We sobb, we sigh, we groone;
We weepe & waile both night & daie
Continually we mone

32 (22) Our sweet is mixt with bitter gall
Our pleasures are but pain
Our Joyes do Scarslie last one hower
Our sorrowes aye remaine

18 (23) But they that live in such delight, such pleasure & such joye
As that to them A thowsand yeares
Do seeme but as one daie

33 (24) Where vineyards & theyr Orchards are
Most bewtifull & faire
Wel furnisht trees of pleasant fruites
Most wonderfull & rare

16 (25) Thy gardens & thy gallant walkes
Continually are greene
There growes such sweet & pleasant flowers
As nowhere else are seene

6 (26) That is the nectar & Ambrose
With muske & Civit sweete
The greatest joyes on earth belowe
Are trod under theyr feet

7 (27) Theyr Cinamon & Sugar growes
There nard & balme abound
No tongue can tell, nor harte can thinke
What Joyes in *the* are found

[(28) God still preserve oure royall kinge,
Our Queene good lord defend;
Theyr progenie, good lord I praie
Keep aye, wourld without end]

(29) Thus to conclude I ende my songe
Wishine health, welth & peace;
And all that wish the commans good
Good lord theyr Joyes increase.
Finis.

1624 [Re?]Entered into Stationer's Register

The true Description of the everlasting joys of Heaven, *To the tune of, O man
in desperation*

1 Jerusalem my happy home
When shall I come to thee
When shall my sorrowes haue an end
Thy joyes when shall I see?

2 Where happy harbour is of saints
With sweet and pleasant soyle

In thee noe sorrowes ever were found
No greef, no care, nor toyle

4 (3) In thee no dampishe mists are seen
No could, nor darksome night
In thee all soules for everlastinge
There god alwaies gyves light

19 (4) Heaven is the springe where waters flowe
To quench our heat of synne
There is the tree where truth doth growe
To lead our lives therein

20 (5) There Christ is judge that stints all strife
When mens devises faile
There is the bread that feeds the life
That death cannot assayle

21 (6) The tidings of salvation deere
Comes to our eares from thence
The fortresse of our fayth is there
And sheild of our defence

22 (7) Jerusalem, Jerusalem
God graunt I once may see
Those endless joyes, with the, O christ
Partaker for to be

14 (8) Thy wales are made of precious stones
Thy bulwarkes, diamonds square
Thy gates are of right Orient pearles
Exceedinge rich and rare

5 (9) There lust, nor lucre cannot dwell
There enuye beares no swaye
In these no hunger, heate nor could
But pleasure night and daye

22 (10) For daye and night to thee are one
Noe darknesse maye appeare
O God in Christ to vs make knowne
Those lights that are more cleere

23 (11) Then any man could ever see
Or mortall eye behold
That ever yet since Adam first

In bliss he was inrolde

24 (12) Within the gates of *Paradise*
To have free witt and will
To dye eyther good or evill, which
His mind was bent vntill

25 (13) When god (in Christ) Adam beheld
He sayd in love so free
O man thou shalt not lyve alone
A helper Ile give thee

26 (14) Then Adam thow didst through on sinne
At counsaile of thy wife
Throw downe thy selfe, and also vs
From that fayre cytye of lyef

27 (15) O Till Christ himselfe from Heaven came
To save vs one and all
Redeeming us from death and sinne
As well as great and small

28 (16) Then be not like the hogge that hath
A pearle at his desire
And takes more pleasure in the trough
And walloinge in the mire

15 (17) For Christe sayth come all yow that
in heaven me behould
Where Carbuncles & Turrits faire
And streets are paved with gould

28 (18) Where howses all of Ivorye
And windowes christall cleere
And tyles of burnisht bryght red gould
O christ that I were there

29 (19) Within in gats nothing can come
That is not veye cleere
No spider's webb, nor filthy thinge
In thee that once appeare

20 (20) They saincts are crowned with glory great
They see god face to face
They triumph all, and still rejoyce
Most happy is their case

31 (21) We that are here in banishment
We sob, we sigh, we groan
We weepe and wail both night and day
Continually we moan

32 (22) Our sweet is mixt with bitter gall
Our pleasures are but pain
Our joys do scarcely last an hour
Our sorows do remain

18 (23) But there they live in delight
Such pleasure and such joy
As that to them a thousand years
Do seem but as one day

33 (24) Their vineyards and their Orchards are
Most beautiful and fair
Well furnish'd Trees of pleasant fruits
Most wonderful and rare

16 (25) Thy Gardens and thy gallant wals
Continually are green
There grow such sweet & pleasant flowers
As no where else is seen.

6 (26) There is that nectar & Ambrose
With Musks and civit sweete
The greatest joys on earth below
Are trod under their feet

7 (27) There Cinnamon and Sugar grows
The Nard and Balm abound
No tongue can tell, nor heart can think,
What joys in them are found

8 (28) Quite thorowly is silver found
Where flood of life doth flow
Upon whose Banks the wood of life
Forever there doth grow

9 (29) As also trees both more and less
Which ever more do spring
There ever more the Angels sit
And evermore do sing

10 (30) There David stands with harp in hand

As Psalter of the Quier
Ten thousand times all those are blest
That might his musick here

11 (31) Gods prayers there are always sung
With harmony most sweet
Old Simeon and Zachary
Have not their songs to seek

12 (32) There Magdalen hath left their moan
And cheerfully doth sing
With blessed saints whose harmony
In heaven street doth ring

[(33) Did men and wives, young men and maids
And all that hear this song,
Print well and bear this in your hearts,
Think not your poor time long.

(34) And do not read these godly lines
But with a single eye:
Read not but first desire Gods grace,
To understand thereby.

(35) Pray still in faith, with this respect
This Heaven for to win,
That knowledge may bring good effect,
To Mortiffie your Sin.

(36) Then happy you in all your life,
What so to you befalls,
Yea, double happy shall you be,
When God by death you calls.

(37) God still preserve our Royal king,
Our Queen likewise defend,
Any many happy joyful days
Good Lord unto them send.]

29 (38) Thus to conclude I end my song,
Wishing health, wealth, and peace:
And all that with the Commons good,
Good Lord their joys increase.

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