

Music and Catholic culture in post-Reformation Lancashire: piety, protest, and conversion

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This essay adds to our existing understanding of what it meant to be a member of the English Catholic community during the late Elizabeth and early Stuart period by exploring Catholic musical culture in Lancashire. This was a uniquely Catholic village, which, 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 ‘godly ballad’ associated with the very fabric of a distinctively Protestant Elizabethan and Stuart entertainment culture. By investigating the songs and ballads in two manuscript collections from the Catholic network surrounding the Blundell family this essay will show how Catholics both composed and ‘converted’ existing ballads to voice social, devotional, and political concerns. The ballads performed in Little Crosby highlight a vibrant Catholic community, where musical expression was fundamental. Performance widened the parochial religious divide, whilst enhancing Catholic integration. This essay uncovers the way Catholics used music to voice religious and exhort protest as much as prayer. Finally, by investigating the tunes and melodies preserved in the manuscripts, I demonstrate how priests serving this network used ballads as part of their missionary strategy.

Keywords: music, conversion, performance, ballads, politics

In July 1586 the Jesuit priest Father William Weston (1549/50–1615) arrived at the Lancashire gentleman Richard Bold’s house. Weston described how:

[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

* The author would like to thank the solo-voice ensemble *Les Canards Chantants* for the recordings that accompany this article.

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.¹

This account has captured the imaginations of many historians and musicologists, particularly William Byrd scholars, who have tried to identify when and how often such elaborate musical occasions took place between the Catholic clergy and laity. The resulting scholarship is rich, and suggests that Masses were sung frequently within the embassy chapels, and the royal chapels of the Catholic spouses of England's monarchs.² High Mass within the households of the English Catholic gentry, particularly those of Byrd's patrons and associates such as the Petre family of Essex and the Pastons in Norfolk, was also not unheard of.³ There are a handful of other documented occasions, such as the arrangements made for Lady Magdalene Browne (1538–1608) in her family mansion at Battle in West Sussex where according to her confessor and biographer 'she built a choir for singers and set up a pulpit for the priests, which perhaps is not to be seen in 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'.⁴ Yet this was not widespread, and the performances should be viewed as remarkable for the fact they were commented on in this way. Weston has not described the occasion at Bold's house as a usual one; the events in Lancashire were so striking it was 'as if they were celebrating some great feast. This is mirrored by Browne's biographer, who exclaimed that surely the lavish provision for High Mass in Sussex was 'not to be seen' in the rest of the country. It should be assumed, then, that when a Catholic Mass was performed it was nearly always a Low Mass, unsung, with the words simply spoken.

In this essay I will add to our existing understanding of what it meant to be a member of the English Catholic community during the late Elizabeth and early Stuart period by exploring what I contend to be the more 'usual' forms of Catholic musical expression through a case study of post-Reformation Lancashire. I focus on the Catholic networks surrounding Little Crosby, which was - like the majority of villages, towns and cities in early modern England - filled with the

¹ William Weston, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London, Longmans, 1955), 71.

² Michael Hodgetts, 'Recusant Liturgical Music', *The Clergy Review*, 61 (1976): 151–156.

³ David Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre, and Oxford Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. E. 423', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 29 (1996): 21–46; Hector Sequera, 'House Music for Recusants in Elizabethan England: Performance Practice in the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550–1603)' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010); Kerry McCarthy, 'Byrd's Patrons at Prayer', *Music and Letters*, 89 (2008): 499–509.

⁴ From the contemporary account written in 1627 by Richard Smith, edited by A. C. Southern, *An Elizabethan Recusant House Comprising the Life of the Lady Magdalen Viscountess Montague (1538–1608)* (London: Sands, 1954), 41–2.

singing of ballads.⁵ The seigneurial community of around forty households in the parish of Sefton, a few miles north of Liverpool, was distinctive in the midst of Protestant England, because it was almost entirely Catholic. The leading family were the Blundells, well known to historians of post-Reformation Catholicism for their staunch recusancy, and who lived in the manor house ‘Crosby Hall’ that had dominated the village since the mid-fourteenth century.⁶ Richard Blundell died in 1591/2 whilst imprisoned in Lancaster Castle for harbouring a seminary priest, and his sons William (1560–1638) and Richard were educated at Douai, where Richard was later ordained as a secular priest.⁷

The music and ballads discussed in this essay provide important glimpses of the thriving oral and musical traditions of Little Crosby and the Blundell family. ‘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. By exploring Catholic uses of ballads, I am indebted to the pioneering approach of Alison Shell who in 2007 provided an important contrast to the almost exclusive scholarly treatment of ballads as a ‘Protestant’ phenomenon, where the English Reformation had become associated as the causal factor for a ‘robust tradition of commercial ballads on religious subjects’.⁸ Shell highlighted the significant role that Catholic ballads played in supporting a ‘Catholic oral challenge to the religious status quo’ and explored how oral transmissions provided a forum for debate between Catholics and Protestants.⁹ Despite this, Catholic balladry has remained almost invisible: a 2010 volume on *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain 1500–1800, 1500–1800*, lacked any reference whatsoever to either ‘Catholic’ ballads or indeed to Shell’s work which had already highlighted the neglect.¹⁰ The ‘godly ballad’ still seems associated with the very fabric of a distinctively Protestant Elizabethan and Stuart entertainment culture.¹¹ Ballads ranged in their subject matter and topics, but in the

⁵ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁶ Hereafter, unless indicated by dates in brackets, reference to ‘William Blundell’, ‘William’ or ‘Blundell’ should be assumed to be William Blundell (1560–1638).

⁷ ‘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).

⁸ Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 76.

⁹ Shell, *Oral Culture*, 82.

¹⁰ Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini with Kris McAbee eds. *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010). One contributor to the collection highlighted the need for a ‘catholic perspective’, 72.

¹¹ 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; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge:

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’.¹² 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 the tunes, hums and whistles of the early modern populace, which included both Catholics and Protestants. The average early modern ballad-consumer learnt the verses by rote and sung them to common and often shared melodies, which were then memorised. They emerge for the historian not only in cheap print, but also in commonplace books and manuscript miscellanies. Whilst the majority of Catholic ballads survive in the collections of the educated, this does not make them any less ‘popular’ or any less a ‘ballad’ for as Shell concluded: ‘[w]hether 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’.¹³ By investigating the songs and ballads in two manuscript collections from the Catholic network surrounding the Blundells this essay will show how Catholics both composed and ‘converted’ existing ballads to voice social, devotional, and political concerns.

Recent historians, such as James Kelly and Michael Questier, have started to pay attention to the ways in which English Catholics engaged with the political landscape of early modern England.¹⁴ Both argued how loyalty to the crown and adherence to the Roman creed were not mutually exclusive and that there were various ways Catholics could exert political influence whilst practicing their faith.¹⁵ Moreover, recent literary critics such as Shell and Gerard Kilroy have demonstrated how oral culture, and manuscript circulation played a vital role in creating solidarity and forging Catholic communal bonds.¹⁶ This has firmly overturned generalised conceptions of Catholics as inert, and without political or cultural

Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹² Watt, *Cheap Print*, 88.

¹³ Shell, *Oral Culture*, 89.

¹⁴ 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 Peter Marshall and Geoffrey Scott eds. *Catholic Gentry in English Society: The Throckmortons of Coughton from Reformation to Emancipation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

¹⁵ 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: Scolar Press, 1979) in Questier, ‘Catholic Loyalty in Early Stuart England’, *English Historical Review* 113 (2008): 1132–1165.

¹⁶ Shell, *Oral Culture*; Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

influence. Such developments mean that we can no longer speak of post-Reformation English Catholic culture in monolithic terms, and consequently we have learnt a great deal about the manifold experiences of, and creative responses to, persecution.¹⁷ Building upon this important work, I consider how this creativity manifested itself in ‘musical’ experience—an extension of, but significantly distinct from, ‘oral’ experience in that I consider the effects of performance, and offer a close analysis of the meanings of melodic choices. I also use the term ‘music’ flexibly, and with a broad definition in mind to include all non-spoken, melodic utterances—rather than restricting consideration to the consciously ‘artistic’ or to ‘skilled’ composers and musicians.

The songs that are uncovered in this essay expose a festive, communal and vibrant Catholic community where musical expression was fundamental. Performance of the musical narratives served to widen the parochial religious divide, whilst enhancing Catholic integration. The music provides a vivid snapshot into the religious lives of the Blundells and their Catholic neighbours. The manuscripts preserve a variety of devotional songs that held particular relevance to the community, which can tell us a great deal about how piety was performed during this period. The music also voiced the religious politics of this community, as several pieces were pointedly subversive, and demonstrates how music enabled Catholics to exhort forms of protest as much as prayers. By investigating the tunes and melodies preserved in the manuscripts, and significantly their ‘conversion’ and adaptation, I also show how priests serving this network used ballads and songs as part of their missionary strategy. Music was a vital form of ‘spiritual’ conversion, used to strengthen the faith of the beleaguered Catholic laity.¹⁸ Rather than elaborate liturgical music, it is the neglected ballads and songs highlighted in this essay that can tell us most about English Catholic experience and musical practices, what it might have ‘sounded like’ to be Catholic, and how devotional identities were formed and fashioned during this period.

Sources

Around 1580 William Blundell started to write in what later became the Blundell family miscellany, the *Great Hodge Podge*.¹⁹ As the title

¹⁷ To cite just one example see Ronald Corthell et al, eds., *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

¹⁸ As distinct from ‘inter-faith’ conversion: there is currently no extant evidence to suggest that Catholics were using ballads to convert Protestants, except for Lewis Owen’s remarks – see n.108.

¹⁹ Lancashire Record Office, DDBL, acc 6121, Box 4, *Great Hodge Podge*. (Hereafter *Great Hodge Podge*). 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

suggests, this contains a random selection of material: songs and ballads both with and without musical notation; brief histories of the Blundell family; accounts; letters; and poems, spread over nearly three hundred pages. The *Great Hodge Podge* quickly became an important document for the family; Blundell's hand is found alongside his grandson's and namesake, William (1620–1698) and their eighteenth-century descendants'.²⁰ The elder William's contributions to the *Great Hodge Podge* were explored most notably by Margaret Sena who reacted against scholarly characterisations of the Blundell family as introspective and isolated.²¹ Instead Sena demonstrated William's political activism and highly engaged role in nationwide networks of 'Catholic dissent'.²² This is reflected in the twenty songs that were transcribed by Blundell and his contemporaries, who were possibly other members of his immediate family. As will become clear, the handwriting within the manuscript demonstrates that the musical and textual transcriptions were a contemporaneously collaborative effort.²³

The second source I draw from in this essay 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* lacks musical notation.²⁴ 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.²⁵ The majority of the ballads and songs in BL. Add. MS. 15225 were printed by Hyder Rollins in 1920.²⁶ Rollins grouped the songs together with ballads of similar theme from various other manuscripts, and offered

Crosby, Lancashire' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, 2011). This includes a chapter on 'music and orality', which explores five of the songs Blundell composed, but offers quite a different analysis and draws largely different conclusions to those presented here.

²⁰ 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).

²¹ 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).

²² 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.

²³ 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*.

²⁴ The two other items in the miscellany are 'A Sick Man's Salve' – a prose recipe and the medieval poem a 'Parliament of Devils'.

²⁵ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.31–33.

²⁶ Hyder Rollins ed. *Old English Ballads, 1553–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).

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 ballad by 'I.B.P'.²⁷ Rollins did not elaborate on his assertion, as he did 'not feel competent to judge the probability of this suggestion'.²⁸ 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* (2007) Shell described the manuscript as the 'most important' surviving collections of Catholic verse songs.²⁹ Yet the manuscript has remained anonymous, and its full context unexplored.

Considering the evidence provided by the contents of the manuscript, it is my contention that it was compiled by James Anderton (1557–1613) and later members of the Anderton family. The handwriting in BL. Add. MS. 15225, hereafter *Lancashire MS*, is a single cursive secretary hand, it is mature, confident and therefore most likely that of an experienced scribe. James Anderton was a prolific author and religious controversialist, and the 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 may have supported the circulation of music, and it is evident that books and materials were exchanged freely between the families. William Blundell's grandson, William, 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'.³⁰ The titles make explicit 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 in the *Great Hodge Podge* 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'.³¹ Moreover, within the *Lancashire MS* is a copy of a 'song made by I: B: P: To the tune of Diana', the song was 'Jerusalem

²⁷ Incorrectly transcribed as 'F.B.P.' in Rollins, *Old English Ballads*, 164.

²⁸ Rollins, *Old English Ballads*, xxx.

²⁹ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 196 and *Oral Culture*, 116.

³⁰ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.65v. William Blundell (1620–1698) was related to the Anderton family through his mother Jane Bradshaigh. See transcription of this catalogue in Arthur J. Hawkes, 'The Birchley Hall Secret Press', *Library* 7 (1926): 137–183 (at 151).

³¹ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.65v.

my happy home' and it is almost certain that it was composed by James Anderton who regularly used the pseudonym I.B.P in many other publications where it was accepted as standing for James Brerely Priest.³²

It has been assumed by scholars that the earliest version of this hymn was from an anonymous publication in 1601, *The Song of Mary*, which contained a nineteen-stanza 'description of the heavenly Jerusalem'.³³ However, a search of EEBO has uncovered a hitherto unrealised, earlier, most likely original edition of the hymn in thirteen stanzas in *A looking glass of mortalitie* from 1599 and which, significantly, was penned by 'I.B'.³⁴ It might tentatively be suggested that the author of the *looking glass* was also James Anderton. Moreover, it is clear from the contents of the *Lancashire MS*, and the similarities in genre, purpose and intent, that the compiler was without doubt a member of Blundell's circle. This essay will therefore consider the neglected contents of the manuscript for the first time with its original context of Little Crosby, and Blundell's network, in mind.

The Blundells of Little Crosby

The Blundells were a musical family; this is evident from the *Great Hodge Podge* 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'.³⁵ Whilst unfortunately no inventory for the period of William Blundell's life is extant, it is likely that the family owned instruments, and almost certainly they had a pair of virginals as a report to the government complained:

Mrs Houghton of Lea hathe kepte sithence the deathe of her husbande 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 virginals.³⁶

³² BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.36v–37v. 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>.

³³ [Anon.], *The Song of Mary* (London, 1601), 30–37.

³⁴ I.B., *A looking glass of mortalitie* (London, 1599).

³⁵ 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'.

³⁶ 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), 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.³⁷ 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.³⁸

The most detailed report of Little Crosby came from the apostate Thomas Bell to the government in 1592, and describes a highly 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 with one longe solemnitye...³⁹

Crosby Hall was often the venue for these clandestine gatherings and Bell described William as ‘worse then his Father in everie such respecte & his m[o]ther as culpable as her sonne’ and explained 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 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’.⁴⁰ Music seems to have been particularly important for Nicholas whose diary is filled with references to musical entertainments and social gatherings.⁴¹

As well as being a musical family, the Blundells should also be understood as active members of a musical community because 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 items wear made by William Blundell of little Crosbie Esqyre, and are in all Eighteen’.⁴² It is likely then that this section of the

³⁷ 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.

³⁸ SP 12/274 f.37.

³⁹ Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster (hereafter AAW), Series A, vol.4, no.38.

⁴⁰ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.179.

⁴¹ *Great Diurnal*, ed. Tyrer, Vol.1, 153, 182, 228, 240.

⁴² *Great Hodge Podge*, f.144.



Figure 1. Lancashire Record Office, DDBL acc 6121, Box 4, f.129v. By permission of Lancashire Record Office.

manuscript was a ‘songbook’ used frequently, and the numbers provided easy reference for the pieces to be quickly copied and performed. The collaboration in the songbook is evident from the variety of hands present in the musical and textual transcriptions, and underlines the familial and communal nature of musical culture during this period.

In early modern homes, vocal music provided inclusive entertainment and although the majority of the Blundell songs have not been composed with separate parts indicated, there might have been instrumental accompaniment. Improvisation was a critical feature of musical practice in the period, and some of the music may have had separate groups singing different parts or multiple individuals singing different verses. This can be seen in the song ‘O gasping grieffe’ in the *Great Hodge Podge*, which is written in the first person and from the perspective of the Virgin Mary lamenting the crucifixion of Jesus.⁴³ See supplementary audio file 1 available at:

⁴³ The following recordings are not intended to imitate, recreate or reconstruct past sounds, but are imaginative interpretations by Robin and Graham Bier of *Les Canards Chantants*.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/bch.2015.18>. ‘O gasping grief’, Lancashire Record Office, DDBL, acc 6121, Box 4, *Great Hodge Podge* (hereafter *Great Hodge Podge*), f.129v. Words: William Blundell. Music: Thomas Woodcroft.

The text is written in two distinctive hands; one hand transcribed verses 1–6 and the second transcribed verses 7–11. The song’s narrative almost certainly implies female performance, and accompanying the verses is a repeated ‘ah ha’ melody, which soars up and down the vocal scale (see Fig. 1).

This accompaniment could easily have been performed by a chorus of mixed voices to emphasise Mary’s wails. As a footnote to the piece, Blundell also explained that he had written the words but not the tune. The tune was made ‘long afore (as it was reported), by one Thomas Woodcroft, otherwise called commonly, long Tom, a Lancashire man’. Blundell’s hand ends there.

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 ‘long Tom’, which emphasised how the tune was passed to Blundell despite the passage of time. 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 Queen Elizabeth’. The second named song contributor in the *Great Hodge Podge* was ‘William Lacie’, who we shall return to later. The remaining six musical compositions were therefore by Blundell, indicated for the most part by his initials, or signing of his name.⁴⁴ In the *Great Hodge Podge* two clear hands are also present in the transcription of the musical notation. In the majority of pieces the first hand starts, and the second hand later takes over and makes corrections. Such as the ‘Dittie’ below (see Fig. 2) where one hand copied the first stave, before the second took over, and then in the fourth line the first hand returned for the notation above ‘yea & utter’ and continued until end of piece. 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 on several subjects, which indicates the variety of different occasions for performance. Some of the ballads may have been performed in large groups, perhaps on feast-days or after the clandestine

All music and words composed by William Blundell (1560–1638) except where indicated. Spelling for titles have been modernised.

⁴⁴ Musical notation: *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.126v, 130, 135v, 136, 140, 141, 142, 144v.

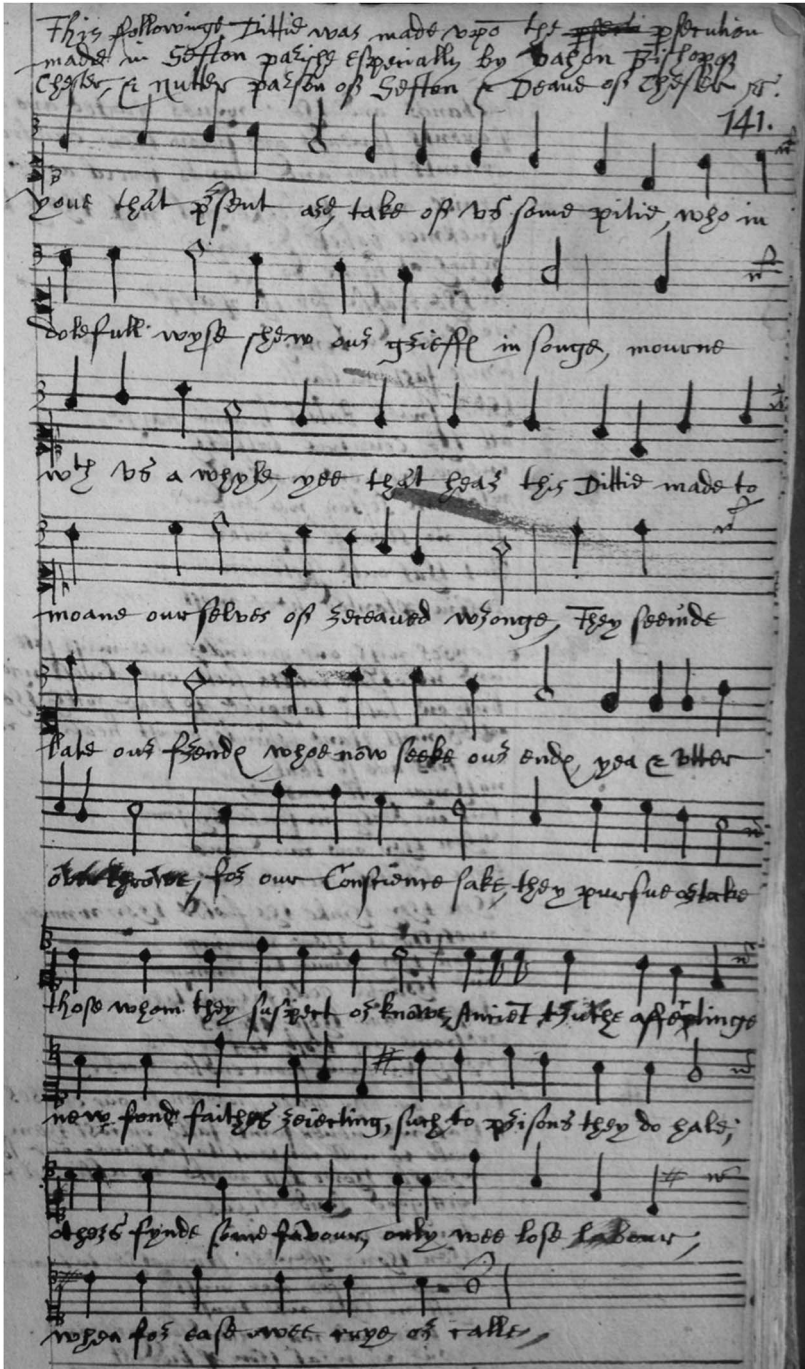


Figure 2. Lancashire Record Office, DDBL acc 6121, Box 4, f.141. By permission of Lancashire Record Office

Masses reported by Bell.⁴⁵ Musical celebrations at Christmas evidently occurred, as five ballads suitable for performance during the season were transcribed into *Hodge Podge*, and there is one in the *Lancashire MS*.⁴⁶ The final carol in the *Great Hodge Podge*, the ‘song (or carrol) in person of ye sheppheards’ was credited to ‘Mr William Lacye’, who may be the ‘Lacie’ from Bell’s report on the activities of the community.⁴⁷ This ‘Lacie lodged many a Seminarian [and] all came thither to masse’. Notably, the priests ‘hath many times brought books from beyond the seas’, and Lacie then sold these ‘for gains in England, namely Breviaries, Missals, etc’ and Bell also cited high demand for the works of William Allen, particularly his ‘execution of justice’.⁴⁸

The textual network of Little Crosby, facilitated by priests and connected by the laity, where books were circulated and sold to the Blundells and beyond, most likely enabled 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 haight⁴⁹ Mary
 A purer virgin did never man see
 than he chose for his deare, his deare
 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.

⁴⁵ Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster (hereafter AAW), Series A, vol.4, no.38.

⁴⁶ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.126v, 129, 155v, 156, 275. BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.47v.

⁴⁷ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.275–6.

⁴⁸ AAW, A 4 no.38, 446–7.

⁴⁹ ‘Hight’ is from the Middle English ‘to be named, be called’.

Thou shalt conceive a boy this day
the which shall be our dear our dear.⁵⁰

This particular broadside publication contained two ballads, and the second ‘even in the Twinkling of an Eye’ included text that appears inspired from William Lacie’s carol transcribed in the *Great Hodge Podge*. This underlines the way that Catholic manuscript publication influenced mainstream publications.

William Lacie:

In Bethelam 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
even in the twinkling of an eye.⁵¹

Although the five carols in the *Great Hodge Podge* were not transcribed with any indication of the tune to which they were sung, 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 *Lancashire MS* and the *Great Hodge Podge* also contains material of a more broadly moralising and secular nature. That thirteen out of the thirty-three songs preserved in the *Lancashire MS* were some of the most immensely popular ballads of the age underlines the network’s connection with popular culture, and their engagement with wider current affairs. This, and what follows, further rejects any lingering temptation to view Catholics in a solely separatist context.⁵²

⁵⁰ ‘A [mos]t Excellent Ballad of Joseph the Carpenter’, *EBBA*, accessed 30 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20650/xml>.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² 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,

Piety

The devotional stance of Catholics in England is a contentious topic; whether the English Catholic community should be viewed as something ‘new’ and ‘Tridentine’ as advocated by Bossy, or inextricably tied with the pre-Reformation church as furthered by Christopher Haigh, continues to divide historians.⁵³ The music in the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS* demonstrates a piety profoundly influenced by Tridentine spiritual practice, but simultaneously nostalgic for the medieval, Catholic past.⁵⁴ This nostalgia is explicit in Blundell’s ditty in the *Great Hodge Podge*, ‘The tyme hath been’:⁵⁵

The tyme hath been wee hadd one faith
and trode aright one ancient path
The thym is now that each man may
See new Religions coynd eich day

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’.⁵⁶

cald his loving sonne’, ff.19–20; ‘The thoughts of man doe daylie change’, f.38; ‘Seek wisdom chiefly 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.

⁵³ See Bossy, *English Catholic Community* and resulting debate with 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

⁵⁴ I have chosen to use the term ‘Tridentine’ to describe the religious practices affected by the spiritual renewal of Catholicism after the meetings of the Council of Trent from 1545–1563. The term should be understood ‘less as an abstract noun...but rather as a concrete verb’. See Simon Ditchfield, ‘Tridentine Catholicism’ in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, eds. Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 15–31 (at 19).

⁵⁵ *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 Intituled the Faeryes Farewell’ written by Bishop Richard Corbett.

⁵⁶ 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

This is evident in the first ballad in the ‘songbook’ of the *Great Hodge Podge*, and ‘In meditation as I sate’ (see supplementary audio file 2, ‘In meditation as I sat’, *Great Hodge Podge*, f.125v.) 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 certainly popular; 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’.⁵⁷ Blundell’s ballad also circulated within wider Catholic networks around the country, and later versions of the song appeared in other seventeenth-century Catholic miscellanies from communities in Staffordshire and Warwickshire. Both of these manuscripts are now known to be associated with the Jesuit William Southern, alias Smith, thanks to very recent scholarship from Helen Hackett and Cedric Brown.⁵⁸ Their research provides further evidence of the ways that ballads and songs were circulating via priests among the laity.

What makes ‘In meditation as I sat’ ‘Catholic’, I suggest, is not merely its composition by a Catholic but the song’s intention and ability to engage the senses, which was fundamental to Ignatian spirituality. 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 been delighted by the song’s gentle melody.⁵⁹

Similar invocations of Christ are found in another song in the *Lancashire MS* that contained no explicitly confessional markers; the

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).

⁵⁷ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.144.

⁵⁸ Huntington MS. 904 and Bodl. MS. Eng. poet. b.5. 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, and 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.

⁵⁹ 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 Robin Macdonald, Emilie K. M. Murphy and Elizabeth Swann eds. *Sensing the Sacred: Religion and the Senses in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Ashgate, Forthcoming).

'Jolie Sheppard' could have easily been read as an allegory for either the Catholic or Protestant Church.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ The ballad uses the metaphor of Christ as shepherd, and the listeners are repeatedly called as 'witnesses' to Christ's crucifixion. The phrase 'to witnes' is repeated sixteen times in the space of four verses, 13–16, which enhanced the oral memorability of the ballad:

To witnes cale his goeinge 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 worlded 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 frequently throughout both of the manuscripts. During this period, to take up the cross and follow Christ was understood as Christ's command to die for the faith. The increasing presence of Jesuits and seminary priests in the area during the early decades of the seventeenth century, some of whom subsequently suffered imprisonment and execution, 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.⁶² 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. Scholars such as Louis Martz and Sarah Covington have explored how poetry and literature could encourage affective response to Christ, and it is clear that such imaginative representations extended to music and ballad-singing.⁶³ In the

⁶⁰ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.1–2.

⁶¹ Rollins, *Old English Ballads*, 102.

⁶² Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (2nd edn. London: Yale University Press, 2005), 234–237.

⁶³ Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation*; Sarah Covington, *Wounds, Flesh, and Metaphor in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

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
 And take our crosse and followe hime
 as he hath said we should.⁶⁴

The visible witness of Christ was also vividly expressed in ‘Oh gasping grief’ from the *Great Hodge Podge*, an explicitly Catholic song with the focus upon the Virgin Mary and specifically her lament at the crucifixion.⁶⁵ The Virgin Mary’s Compassion was the most prevalent cultural symbol of mourning prior to the Reformation when 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.⁶⁶ Recreation of the crucifixion scene in the female voice was a popular form of devotion amongst Catholic women during this period, and was present in other contemporary female-compiled miscellanies.⁶⁷ Blundell’s song conveys the vindictive persecution that Christ suffered and the first stanza, combined with the ‘ahha, ahha’ accompaniment, is loaded with oral expression. See supplementary audio file 1.

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 for show, 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.

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

⁶⁴ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.20–22v.

⁶⁵ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.129v.

⁶⁶ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 260.

⁶⁷ Deborah Aldrich-Watson ed., *The Verse Miscellany of Constance Aston Fowler* (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society, 2000), 32.

visual imagination are frequently evoked with the 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 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 this 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.⁶⁸

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, and ended with a catechism listing them.⁶⁹ Later in the manuscript there is also a versification of the Ten Commandments, and both would have been ideal resources to use in teaching children some of the central tenets of the Catholic faith.⁷⁰ Another didactic song from the *Great Hodge Podge* is ‘O good god thou art my creator’, which would have served as a memorable song with which to instruct children in Catholic prayer.⁷¹ See supplementary audio file 3. ‘O good god thou art my creator’, *Great Hodge Podge*, f.135v.

Seven stanzas have been set to a pleasant and easily memorable tune, and invoked the Virgin Mary, the orders of Angels and the saints to ‘helpe a wretche that longes to come to you’. 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

⁶⁸ See family tree compiled by the Who Were the Nuns? Project, accessed 22 January 2014. <http://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/ftrees/Blundellcro.pdf>.

⁶⁹ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.131–131v.

⁷⁰ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.138v–139.

⁷¹ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.135v–136.

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?'⁷²

The importance of making the sign of the cross, which was a topic of contention between Catholics and reformers in England, was also manifested musically in another example of an educational song in the *Lancashire MS*.⁷³ 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.

The presence of songs for children, combined with the collaboration in 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 and use of the manuscripts within Catholic families.

Protest

The most popular genre of devotional song for the Blundell network was one that voiced protest as much as prayer. This is 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.⁷⁴

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.

⁷² BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.10–10v.

⁷³ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.27v–29v.

⁷⁴ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.11v–13.

It ends with a spirited assertion of the Catholic faith, which underlines that 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 can be seen in a verse from one of the two unambiguous attacks on Luther preserved in the *Great Hodge Podge*.⁷⁵ In ‘Luther w[ith] his Bonnie Las’, Blundell has composed a militant, almost march-like melody in order to chastise Luther. See supplementary audio file 4. ‘Luther with his Bonnie Lass’, *Great Hodge Podge*, f.140.

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’, and focused on the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, whilst making slights on Luther’s character and his alleged indiscretions with ‘Bonnie Katie’.⁷⁶ 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. The ‘songe of the puritan’ in the *Lancashire MS* is a sarcastic rhyme over eight stanzas and includes an attack on the Puritan religious household.⁷⁷ Such a household was synonymous with certain unseemly and hypocritical Puritan women, such as ‘mistris *mince-pepin* with her mumpinge face’ and ‘*Peg* that hates musique, yet she loves prick songe’.⁷⁸ Within anti-Catholic polemic, women were repeatedly utilised as a focus of attack by opponents. As Frances Dolan and Arthur Marotti have demonstrated, Catholic women were often associated with deviances such as sexual promiscuity, and portrayed as vulnerable to the influence of wily priests.⁷⁹ This was mirrored in ‘the songe of the puritan’, where the author has used the female radical Protestant as means to criticise the dangers of the reformed faith in general. This trait also featured in the song ‘Alacke Walladay’ in the

⁷⁵ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.3v and 140–140v.

⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.29v–30v.

⁷⁸ BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.30.

⁷⁹ See Arthur Marotti ed. *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (London: Macmillan, 1999), esp. 1–34 and Frances Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (London: Cornell University Press, 1999), esp. 1–44.

Great Hodge Podge, which we shall return to shortly, in which Blundell attacked women singing during the services of the Church of England, providing the marginal annotation for the biblical verse that ordered women to remain silent in church: 1 Corinthians 14: 34–35.⁸⁰

The ‘song of the puritan’ also included reference to the Protestant attack on Christ’s cross, a theme which provided the community with comfort as much as complaint.⁸¹ As these songs demonstrate, musical expression was an effective way for Catholics across the social spectrum to challenge polemical foes. The other of Blundell’s two explicit attacks on Luther in the *Great Hodge Podge*, ‘The Invention of the New Gospell’ was to be sung to the extremely popular ballad-tune ‘Shall I wrastle in despayre’.⁸² 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’, a comical love song that highlighted the foolishness of unrequited love, 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.⁸³

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 hemispeere

By converting the ballad, whilst utilising the same tune, Blundell was adding to the satire of the song. As Christopher Marsh shows, music had a significant impact on verbal effect, and ballad tunes developed associations with particular themes.⁸⁴ 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 could apply satirical nuances when laid inappropriately

⁸⁰ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.136v.

⁸¹ BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.29v–30v.

⁸² *Great Hodge Podge*, f.3v. 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>.

⁸³ ‘A new song for a Young mans opinion’, *EBBA*, accessed 22 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20104/xml>.

⁸⁴ Marsh, ‘The Sound of Print’, 179.



Figure 3. Lancashire Record Office, DDBL acc 6121, Box 4, f.136. By permission of Lancashire Record Office

over conflicting lyrics.⁸⁵ Blundell embraced this technique by utilising the tune of ‘Shall I wrastle’, the tune for a bawdy love song, 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’, which had a mournful tune to complement the lamenting lyrics (see Fig. 3).⁸⁶ It was a sorrowful complaint against the 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 and its lyrics are full of signals that suggested group performance. See supplementary audio file 5. ‘Alacke, Walladay’, *Great Hodge Podge*, f.135.

Alacke walladay, walladay, walladay,
 Alacke & walladay, Lord for thy pitie,
 Alacke & walladay, lay wee our mirth away,
 Let us go watche & pray in towne & citie!⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.136–137, see also and ‘You that present are take of us some pitie’, ff.141–141v.

⁸⁷ *Great Hodge Podge*, f.136.

Blundell was adopting popular ballad techniques; ‘alacke’ and ‘walladay’ are onomatopoeic words, and were often found in execution-ballads.⁸⁸ The words imitated the act of crying and wailing, and written in plural the song implicitly suggests the chorus of sorrowful voices. The song invited those in earshot to perform by starting with the sound of wailing, ‘alacke, walladay’, and the collective voice pleaded with the implicit sympathetic listeners, who 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.⁸⁹ The 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. 2), 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’. See supplementary audio file 6. ‘You that present are take of us some pitie’, *Great Hodge Podge*, f.141. Composed c.1597-c.1602.

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...

The singers purposefully engaged the audience; ‘You that are present’ emphasised the physical proximity between the singers and listeners and gave them a specific role: to take ‘pitie’ and then to ‘mourne with us’ once they have heard the ‘dittie’.

⁸⁸ See for example ‘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>; and ‘Sir Walter Raleigh his lamentation’, *EBBA*, accessed 9 March 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20046/image>.

⁸⁹ For more on the religio-politic landscape of Lancashire see Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*.

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...

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’.⁹⁰ It also provides a description 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 ‘preoccupied with the suppression of Catholicism’ and wrote repeatedly to Cecil and the government about the problems of recusancy in Lancashire.⁹¹ 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 reminded future performers of the sufferings previously endured, and 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’. The verse ends with a more positive inversion of their suffering: ‘Happie are those losses/Welcume 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 and leads on from the sentiments ending the previous verse: ‘Jesu by thy grace sweeten so our crosses/That we never faint, falle or cast them downe/Make us well content to sustaine our losses/Whearby thowe dost worke us a blissful crowne’. This stanza employs many of the similar appeals in Blundell’s songs, with an invocation of Jesus for strength in adversity, it also used the language of the cross of Christ which, thus far, seems to be a hallmark

⁹⁰ Sena, ‘William Blundell’, 59.

⁹¹ 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>.

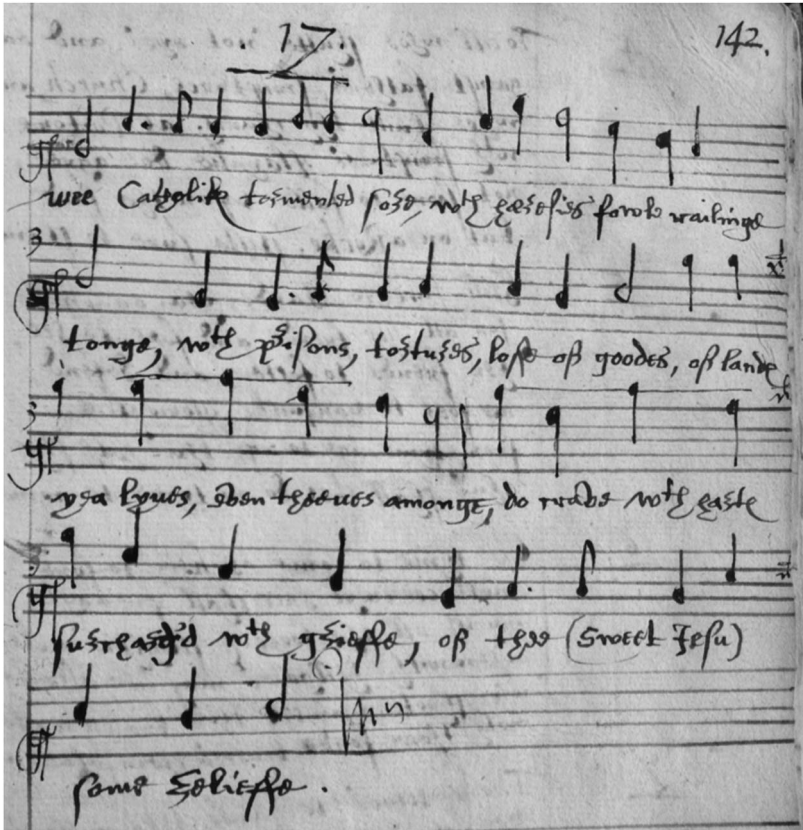


Figure 4. Lancashire Record Office, DDBL acc 6121, Box 4, f.142. By permission of Lancashire Record Office

of Blundell's lyrical style. Moreover, whilst the tune itself is mournfully melodic, the message from the community is that they will bear these hardships 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 (see Fig. 4).⁹² 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. See supplementary audio file 7. 'We Catholics tormented sore', *Great Hodge Podge*, f.142v.

Wee Catholikes tormented sore
 With heresies fowl wailingge tonge
 With prisons, tortures, loss of goodes,

⁹² *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...' The song was a clear recognition of social upheaval and religious fracture, but the melody and the lyrics presented the strength of Catholicism.

The protest songs within the commonplace books are evidence of a politicised community, using music to express complaint and enhance their faith.

Martyrdom

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'.⁹³ 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*.⁹⁴ 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.

⁹³ Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community 1558–1603*, (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002), 370.

⁹⁴ BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.2v.

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
 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 servorum 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'.⁹⁵

Print and manuscript martyr narratives such as Allen's were circulating widely among the laity in England, and certainly in Lancashire, as Thomas Bell testified, the community was particularly fond of Allen's writing. The networks of countless itinerant priests that Little Crosby played host to over the years also facilitated the transmission of the music, like the songs within the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS*. Blundell was a leading figure in the area and his house became a site for devotion. At Crosby Hall he allocated a plot of land, which became known as the 'Harkirke'; it served as a consecrated burial ground for the local Catholic laity refused interment in their own parish.⁹⁶ During his lifetime, Blundell arranged the burials there of five priests, seculars and Jesuits, including graduates from the seminaries at Valladolid, Rome and Douai.⁹⁷ James Anderton too was closely associated with Jesuit priests, notably through his cousin Lawrence Anderton who graduated from the English College in Seville in late 1602 or early in 1603.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ 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), 348–374 (at 358).

⁹⁶ Lancashire Record Office, DDBL, acc 6121, Box 1, *Catholic Burial Register*.

⁹⁷ John Birtwisle - *Catholic Burial Register*, no. 40 see Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, 1:36; John Layton - *Catholic Burial Register*, no. 69 see Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests, 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*, 2:160.

⁹⁸ Mullett, 'Anderton, Lawrence (1575–1643).

The ballads attributed to priests and martyrs, preserved in the *Lancashire MS* and the *Great Hodge Podge*, further the evidence of musical networks of song exchange and collaboration that surrounded Little Crosby. In the *Lancashire MS* is a ballad ‘True Christian hart cease to lament’, and on the page is the attribution: ‘Mr Thewlis writ him self to the tune of <blank>’.⁹⁹ ‘Mr Thewlis’ was the Lancashire priest and martyr John Thewlis (c.1568–1616). Blundell also preserved a martyr-ballad in the *Great Hodge Podge* ‘made by a virtuous & learned priest called Mr Malton...in honour & memorie of one Mr Robert Anderton, preeste & marter’.¹⁰⁰ Robert Anderton (1560–1586) was a member of the same Anderton family, noted above, who had close associations with the Blundells and the *Lancashire MS*. 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.¹⁰¹

Martyr-ballads were written on the deaths of numerous English Catholic priests during this period and were vital expressions of faith. After Thewlis’ execution in 1616, one such was composed in his honour and there is a copy of it in the *Lancashire MS*.¹⁰² The ballad 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

It 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, ‘the songe of foure preistes that suffered death in Lancaster’. It provided a triumphant account of Catholic defiance in the face of persecution:

In measure of our feight,
 reward we beare a-way

⁹⁹ BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.22v.

¹⁰⁰ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.145–145v.

¹⁰¹ 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.

¹⁰² BL. Add. MS. 15225, f.25v.

Then let vs stand vpright
 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, with four lines to a verse, and significantly, the manuscript indicates that they were sung to the same tune of 'Daintie come thou to me', to which we will return shortly. 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 well 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 had witnessed personally.¹⁰³ 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 demonstrated how Catholics identified closely with the seminarians' evangelising efforts.

Conversion

Considering the evangelical strategies of missionary priests on the continent, T. Frank Kennedy has argued that part of the Jesuit missionary success lay in their 'method of borrowing and redefining in very practical ways the very apostolic initiatives of earlier traditions'.¹⁰⁴ 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.¹⁰⁵ Extremely

¹⁰³ Public executions were well attended during this period, with crowds for the London executions often numbering into the thousands.

¹⁰⁴ 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).

¹⁰⁵ Blake Wilson, 'Lauda (It. '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>.

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.¹⁰⁶ Although 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.¹⁰⁷

In England, priests recognised that ballads were uniquely suited to their purpose and incorporated them 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, perhaps even for inter-faith conversion as well as for strengthening the faith of existing Catholics, drew the attention of some Protestants during this period. Lewis Owen denounced an Augustinian friar in the 1628, for making converts among 'balladmakers' and 'players'.¹⁰⁸ Yet, by familiarising themselves with the ballad-mongers, 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 disseminate Catholic adaptations to their melodies.

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.¹⁰⁹ This technique of recycling melodies with different texts is known as 'contrafactum', and was prevalent elsewhere in many different forms during the period.¹¹⁰ For example, the French composer Simon Goulart had several 'contrafacta projects' and 'appropriated familiar (and worldly) sounds for special spiritual purposes'.¹¹¹ Goulart explained in the preface to his *Thresor de musique d'Orlande de Lassus* of 1576 how '[i]n removing certain words and accommodating them...to the Music... I have rendered these chansons for the most part honest and Christian...'¹¹² Using contrafacture as a religio-politic strategy was also observed by Alexander Fisher in his investigation of the popular musical culture of Augsburg in latter half of the sixteenth-century.

¹⁰⁶ Giacomo Ledesma, *Modo per insegnar la Dottrina Cristiana* [...] (Rome, 1573).

¹⁰⁷ 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.

¹⁰⁸ Lewis Owen, *The Unmasking of all popish monks, friars and Iesuits* (London, 1628), 35.

¹⁰⁹ Cited in Kennedy, 'Music and the Jesuit Mission', 18.

¹¹⁰ 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>.

¹¹¹ Richard Freedman, 'Listening to the Psalms among the Huguenots: Simon Goulart as Music Editor' in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, eds. Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 37–60.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 42.

Protestants attacked the Pope, Emperor and Catholic elements in the city government through contrafacta of well-known secular tunes and Lutheran chorales.¹¹³ The ‘godlier’ sorts of Protestants in England had also attempted to refashion secular melodies with sacred texts during the earlier years of Elizabeth’s reign, but this had proved ineffective and the practice was abandoned around 1580.¹¹⁴ For Catholics however, the technique was firmly embraced and the ballad ‘Jesu come thou to me’ in both the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS* demonstrates the effectiveness of this strategy.¹¹⁵ The ballad had clear relevance to Catholics during this period, where the opening line 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:
 Cast no care to thy heart,
 from thee I will not flee,
 Let them say what they will,
 Dainty come thou to me.¹¹⁶

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.¹¹⁷ It was intended to uplift in times of hardship,

¹¹³ Alexander Fisher, ‘Song, Confession, and Criminality: Trial Records as Sources for Popular Musical Culture in Early Modern Europe’, *The Journal of Musicology* 18 (2001): 616–657.

¹¹⁴ Marsh, ‘Sound of Print’, 184.

¹¹⁵ *Great Hodge Podge*, ff.274–275 and BL. Add. MS. 15225, ff.7–7v.

¹¹⁶ ‘A new Northern Jigge, called Daintie come thou to me’, *EBBA*, accessed 30 January 2014. <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30140/xml>.

¹¹⁷ 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 explored here, 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’.

which might include exile, or for those like the Blundells travel overseas for education. 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 relevance of this ballad to Catholic women, particularly future nuns who were to become Christ's 'spouse', is evident. One woman from the Blundell household was certainly moved by the song, as the final verse was poignantly adapted: 'Ffor thee my soul was made / ~~nought else conforteth mee~~ shee longes to come to thee'.¹¹⁸

In a country where the presence of seminary priests on English soil was a capital offence, music could evangelise through networks of oral communication in places where missionaries were unable to go. By replacing 'Dainty come thou to me' with 'Jesu come thou to me', the priests provided Catholics with a covert way to practise 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 the compiler of the *Lancashire MS*, the conversion of this association was so effective they ensured two martyr-ballads should also be sung to the tune of 'Dainty'.

Conclusion

The music in the *Great Hodge Podge* and the *Lancashire MS* demonstrates the way that songs bound groups of people together in musical appreciation and performance. Moreover, while this case study was led by evidence from Lancashire during this period, it is important to stress that the Catholic network involved in compiling these miscellanies was not entirely atypical. As I have argued elsewhere, evidence from a Catholic network in Northamptonshire identifies a similarly innovative approach to adapting music for spiritual needs.¹¹⁹ Blundell and his network used music to emphasise social and religious bonds, and to frame polemical attacks. They translated

¹¹⁸ My emphasis.

¹¹⁹ See 'Adoramus te Christe: Music and Post-Reformation English Catholic Domestic Piety' in *Religion and the Household*, eds. John Doran, Charlotte Methuen, and Alexandra Walsham (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014) 240–253.

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. I have suggested that melody itself might be viewed as a form of spiritual conversion narrative; the transmission of music by missionary priests, and the ballads they composed, indicate hitherto unrecognised modes of Catholic evangelism in England as highlighted by the adaptation of 'Jesu come thou to me' from 'Dainty come thou to me'. Musical culture was therefore vital to the way the post-Reformation English Catholic community constructed their devotional identities in the midst of persecution.¹²⁰

Supplementary material

To view supplementary material for this article, please visit <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/bch.2015.18>

Audio file 1. 'O gasping grief', Lancashire Record Office, DDBL, acc 6121, Box 4, *Great Hodge Podge* (hereafter Great Hodge Podge), f.129v. Words: William Blundell. Music: Thomas Woodcroft.

Audio file 2. 'In meditation as I sat', *Great Hodge Podge*, f.125v.

Audio file 3. 'O good god thou art my creator', *Great Hodge Podge*, f.135v.

Audio file 4. 'Luther with his Bonnie Lass', *Great Hodge Podge*, f.140.

Audio file 5. 'Alacke, Walladay', *Great Hodge Podge*, f.135.

Audio file 6. 'You that present are take of us some pity', *Great Hodge Podge*, f.141. Composed c.1597-c.1602.

Audio file 7. 'We Catholics tormented sore', *Great Hodge Podge*, f.142v.

¹²⁰ My monograph, *The Reformation of the Soundscape: Music and Piety in Early Modern England*, is in preparation.