

**THOMAS MORLEY AND THE BUSINESS OF MUSIC
IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND**

by

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ABSTRACT

Thomas Morley's family background in Norwich and his later life in London placed him amongst the educated, urban, middle classes. Rising literacy and improving standards of living in English cities helped to develop a society in which amateur music-making became a significant leisure activity, providing a market of consumers for printed recreational music.

His visit to the Low Countries in 1591 allowed him to see at first hand a thriving music printing business. Two years later he set out to achieve an income from his own music, initially by publishing collections of light, English-texted, madrigalian vocal works. He broadened his activities by obtaining a monopoly for printed music in 1598 and then by entering into a partnership with William Barley to print music. Unfortunately Morley died too soon to reap the full financial benefit of what appears to have been a profitable business.

Whilst Morley's personal ambitions were curtailed by his early death, his publishing activities and the model he provided for contemporary composers led to the creation of a substantial body of nearly one hundred and seventy editions and reprints of music suitable for domestic performance, many of which continued to be used for many years.

For David

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I decided to return to academic research after a gap of some years it was clear that it would be impractical to continue my previous work on seventeenth-century Italian instrumental music alongside what was then a full-time job in London. Having in the meantime taken up the viol and the lute and become immersed in the English consort repertory of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was natural to look for a British-based research subject from that period. The seed was sown in a conversation with Professor Colin Timms and Professor John Whenham in Birmingham; the result has been an enjoyable and satisfying project.

Professor Timms' encouraging, enthusiastic and, on occasion, challenging supervision has been invaluable. His thoughtful approach has provided an essential counterbalance to my tendency to assume that what is evident to me will also be so to my readers, and helped me to ensure that my evidence and arguments are well aligned.

It is, perhaps, unusual to single out a publisher for thanks. However, the steady replacement since 2003, by ProQuest LLC, of *Early English Books 1475-1640* (a set of nearly the two thousand reels of microfilmed images of early printed books) with an online resource, *Early English Books Online*, has enabled me to take a much more comprehensive and analytical approach to the examination of the corpus of music published in England around 1600 than I could otherwise have hoped to achieve. There is no substitute for seeing and handling original prints, though, and I have been fortunate to be able to consult the holdings of a number of libraries (listed in the bibliography) in the United Kingdom and abroad. I am most grateful for the help provided by staff everywhere I have visited. Archives have been very important, too, and I would particularly like to thank the archivists of Christ Church

Oxford, Trinity College Cambridge, and the Norfolk Record Office, along with their teams, as well as the staff of the National Archives, Cambridge University Archives, the Guildhall Library and London Metropolitan Archives, and the Manuscript Room at the British Library.

Hilary Marshall, an expert in palaeography, taught me to read and interpret the types of document I have encountered; she also provided translations of key Latin documents to a standard I could not have achieved myself without many hours of effort. David Butterfield, of Christ's College Cambridge, helped by producing an accurate transcription of Thomas Morley's patent for the post of master of the children at Norwich Cathedral.

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A NOTE ON SOURCES AND EDITORIAL POLICY

SOURCES

This study makes extensive use of evidence provided by documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Most of the manuscripts consulted are not sources of music, but state, city, parish and other records. In the text *RISM* sigla are used to indicate the location of these sources, but with the 'GB' prefix omitted for institutions in Britain. The names of the few sites not included in *RISM* are given in full. The sigla used, and a brief description of each class of manuscript, are given in section A of the bibliography. Other abbreviations have been kept to a minimum and are as follows. Full entries may be found in the bibliography.

<i>EEBO</i>	<i>Early English Books Online</i> , www.eebo.chadwyck.com
<i>Grove</i>	<i>Grove Music Online</i> , www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/
<i>RMA</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>RISM</i>	<i>Répertoire international des sources musicales</i>
<i>STC2</i>	Pollard and Redgrave, <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland ... 1475-1640</i>

EDITORIAL POLICY

Spelling, punctuation and capitalisation were not standardised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even in printed sources. Writers of manuscripts adopted a variety of styles of symbol for a particular letter within a single document, and contractions and abbreviations were common. The approach set out below has been used for transcriptions of such documents included in this thesis.

Transcription of Text

The aim in transcribing texts is to make them intelligible without losing the original language. Contractions and abbreviations have been expanded, with the added letters shown in *italic* script. Words or letters that have been added editorially to aid understanding are placed in square brackets []. Letters and abbreviations in superscript have been expanded and incorporated into the text without the use of superscript. Two obsolete symbols are found frequently. The thorn (ȝ) is transcribed as ‘th’, so that ‘ȝt’ becomes ‘th[a]t’. The symbol often used for the plural or genitive of a noun (ſ) has been replaced throughout by ‘es’. The interchangeable use of ‘u’ and ‘v’ and also ‘i’ and ‘j’ has been modernised. Original spelling, capitalisation (which is often not clear) and punctuation have been retained. No attempt has been made at an accurate reproduction of the layout of a document.

Names

Geographical place names are shown in transcriptions with the original spelling, but are referred to in the thesis text by the modern English equivalent. Personal names are shown as written in transcriptions but have been standardised in the main text. The usual modern spelling has been adopted for first names, whilst for family names the version preferred by standard references works such as *Grove Music Online* or the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* is used, if this exists. Failing that, either the usual modern equivalent or the version seen most frequently in original sources has been employed. The abbreviation ‘Mr’, which now represents ‘Mister’ would be expanded to ‘Master’ in the late sixteenth century. In both cases it indicates a degree of respect for the individual and has been left in its contracted form in transcriptions and in the main text.

Numbers and Money

Numbers in transcriptions are shown exactly as they appear, often in Roman numerals. Where the structure is complex the modern Arabic equivalent is shown in square brackets immediately afterwards. References to such numbers in the dissertation text or in tables illustrating particular points have been modernised.

The monetary system in use was the pound (£), made up of 20 shillings (s), each of which comprised 12 pence (d). A mark was two-thirds of a pound, or 13s 4d, and a noble one-third of a pound, or 6s 8d. Amounts were not automatically expressed in the highest possible denominator, so that it is common to find references to 40s rather than £2, or 20d rather than 1s 8d. Such references have been left as originally expressed. Within the main thesis text, monetary amounts such as £2 are generally shown as £2 0s 0d for the sake of clarity. Because the purchasing power of the pound has changed so much since the late sixteenth century, the decision was made not to provide conversions of amounts in ‘£ s d’ to our current pound, made up of one hundred pence.

Dates

Until 1752 in England the year began on Lady Day (25 March) rather than 1 January. For this study, all dates have been converted to our current, new style (NS) years, so that a date originally given as 22 February 1575, for example, is shown as 22 February 1576. A further complication is that, from 1582, Catholic Europe adopted a new (Gregorian) calendar introduced by Pope Gregory XIII, which was aligned to the solar year but was ten days ahead of the Julian calendar that England continued to use until 1752. This has relevance only in Chapter 2, which draws on material from correspondence between Catholic-controlled Flanders and England, some of which has been annotated by the English recipient with both

dates. Fortunately, knowing for certain which calendar is in use is not critical for this study, and therefore the date used by the writer has been retained.

Many official English documents use regnal rather than calendar years. These run from the date on which the monarch came to the throne: thus for Elizabeth I regnal years run from 17 November to 16 November. There are also other administrative years which do not align with the calendar year. In transcriptions, these are quoted in their original form, but elsewhere they are converted to the modern equivalent. Where a precise conversion is not possible, a range, such as 1575-6, is given.

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the efforts of the Elizabethan musician Thomas Morley to establish an independent living as a composer, arranger and editor of music, publisher and printer, efforts which also had a fortuitous impact on music publishing in England.

Employment opportunities for musicians in the sixteenth century were limited to performing and teaching, either in one of the large religious establishments – the cathedrals and the Chapel Royal – or as a court or household musician. Some large towns and cities also maintained small groups of instrumentalists, or waits, for civic occasions. A performer might also be required to compose or arrange music, but this was viewed as part of his job. Although musicians mixed with the wealthy and well-educated, they were essentially servants and artisans and were paid accordingly.

In continental Europe composers attempted to improve their status and sometimes their income by publishing their works. By the middle of the sixteenth century the publication of printed music was well established in a number of cities, including Venice, Paris, Antwerp and Nuremberg, but not in London, even though it was an important centre for printing books. Several factors may have contributed to this: a lack of potential customers for printed music in England; the way in which music printing was controlled in London; and possibly a lack of entrepreneurial drive amongst potential music publishers.

After the accession to the throne of Elizabeth I and the reintroduction of the Reformed church, there was little opportunity for the sale of liturgical music, although the production of psalters with simple musical settings for use at home was high. The main opportunity for

publishing printed music was therefore secular polyphony for domestic recreation. Venice had both an ecclesiastical market and a large export market for secular music, whilst Antwerp supplied a heavily urbanised local region and a wider North European hinterland. Unlike the Low Countries England remained a largely rural country throughout the sixteenth century, with few towns of any size apart from London; the majority of the population lived in small rural communities, engaged in agriculture and allied activities. The prerequisites for a market for mass-produced music – literacy, disposable income, some leisure time, and the sort of interaction with other people that might engender cultural aspiration and provide opportunities for social music-making – were largely absent in the country outside the houses of the aristocracy and the gentry. As long as ‘serious’ domestic music-making in England remained the province of wealthy households, music could easily be copied and circulated in manuscript within tightly-knit social circles. Concentrated urban populations of less well-connected citizens were required in order to make it worthwhile printing five hundred or a thousand copies of a set of songs.

The lack of a strong demand for music publishing in England was exacerbated by the granting of a royal monopoly for the printing of music in parts to two composers, Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, in 1575. This was probably intended by the Queen as a reward for their services at the Chapel Royal: it is unlikely that the two men sought a business opportunity of this kind, and they were disappointed when their first venture cost them more than they made from it. Thereafter, they lost interest and made no further effort to publish music or to encourage others to do so. It took another twelve years before the printer Thomas East was able to rekindle Byrd’s interest in publication. With East’s involvement, a steady trickle of works began to appear, but the further development of the business required the vision and drive of Thomas Morley.

In 1593 Morley published his first volume of 'English madrigals', the *Canzonets ... to Three Voyces*, introducing light music in the Italian style, with English text, to the English market. His music was not difficult, the texts were not intellectually demanding and the pieces were fashionably Italian. This and a rapid succession of further publications in a similar vein proved to be the catalyst for a relative explosion of music publishing in London that lasted for twenty-five years.

Why this happened when it did and why it was Thomas Morley who was able to achieve it are the questions that prompt this dissertation. In order to understand how Morley's family background and the events of his life may have equipped him to develop the music printing business in London, biographical investigation was required (and undertaken). Morley lived for much of his life in England's two largest cities: London and Norwich. Unlike most cities, London grew enormously during the sixteenth century, so that by the 1590s it was able to provide the urban mass required to support the sale of printed music. Probate inventories, which provide a rich source of information about people's lives, have been used to consider the extent to which urban tradesmen, craftsmen and their families might have been potential customers for recreational music. Because inventories do not survive for London, those for Norwich have been used instead.

Previous commentators have expressed varying views on the financial viability of music publishing around 1600, but have not supported their views with evidence. For this study, primary sources have been used to attempt to assess the commercial aspects of the business and to produce an (albeit speculative) picture of the money that Morley might have made as a monopolist, publisher and printer. Morley's role in stimulating the publication of a corpus of music suitable for domestic use has been considered, and the nature of this body of music analysed. Finally, its popularity has been assessed by looking at the number of reprints

and new editions that were produced and by examining surviving copies for evidence of ownership and use.

CHAPTER 1 – THOMAS MORLEY AND THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASS

‘But what businesse hath driven you to this end of the towne?’

asks Master Gnorimus.

‘My errand is to you, to make my self your scholler. And seeing I have found you at such convenient leisure, I am determined not to depart till I have one lesson in Musicke’

replies Philomathes, after suffering extreme embarrassment at a social gathering the previous evening:

Among the rest of the guesstes, by chaunce, master *Aphron* came thether also, who falling to discourse of Musicke, was in an argument so quickly taken up & hotly pursued by *Eudoxus* and *Calergus*, two kinsmen of *Sophobolus*, as in his owne art he was overthrowne. But he still sticking in his opinion, the two gentlemen requested mee to examine his reasons, and confute them. But I refusing & pretending ignorance, the whole companie condemned mee of discourtesie, being fully perswaded, that I had beene as skilfull in that art, as they tooke mee to be learned in others. But supper being ended, the Musicke bookes, according to the custome being brought to the table: the mistresse of the house presented mee with a part, earnestly requesting mee to sing. But when after manie excuses, I protested unfainedly that I could not: everie one began to wonder. Yea, some whispered to others, demanding how I was brought up...¹

Thus Thomas Morley in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* paints a picture of an educated, urban society in which music is both a source of entertainment and a topic for discussion, and in which musical knowledge is increasingly seen as a necessary accomplishment of an educated person. To fully appreciate Morley’s choice of names for the characters in his self-help music manual, his readers would have needed some

¹ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: [Morley], 1597), 1-2.

familiarity with Latin and Greek. *Philomathes* ('lover of knowledge') has gone to dinner at the house of *Sophobolus* ('a concentration of wisdom'); the guests who argue over musical matters are *Aphron* ('mindless'), *Eudoxus* ('good opinion') and *Calergus* ('hothead'²); *Philomathes'* fellow scholar through the course of the book is *Polymathes* ('knows about many things'), who indeed does think he knows it all. Morley grew up and worked amongst the educated middle classes of England's two largest cities, London and Norwich, and this experience probably helped him, in the 1590s, to identify and exploit a potential market for printed music.

THOMAS MORLEY'S FAMILY

Identifying Thomas's Family

In the 1960s, Watkins Shaw discovered a record, dated 1574, promising the post of master of the children at Norwich Cathedral to Thomas Morley, son of Francis Morley, a brewer in the city.³ He investigated this further, and it is now generally accepted that Thomas Morley - composer, publisher and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal - was born in Norwich around 1557, the son of Francis Morley, a resident of the parish of St Michael Coslany, and grandson of William Morley, a calendrer (cloth finisher), who had died in 1554.⁴ Shaw was unable to demonstrate the links between William, Francis and Thomas Morley to his satisfaction, not least because there is no baptismal record for a Thomas Morley in the parish records, which for the parish of St Michael Coslany date from 1558. Michael Foster, in his 1986 doctoral thesis on Morley's vocal music,⁵ drew attention to the existence of a heralds'

² It has not been possible to find a definitive translation of 'Calergus', but this interpretation fits the root of the word and the context.

³ Watkins Shaw, 'Thomas Morley of Norwich', *Musical Times*, 106 (1965), 669.

⁴ Philip Brett, 'Thomas Morley', *Grove Music Online* [online reference work], (Oxford University Press, 2007-2010) www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19147 ; accessed 10 December 2009.

⁵ Michael Foster, 'The Vocal Music of Thomas Morley (c1557-c1602): A Critical and Stylistic Study', Ph.D. diss. (University of Southampton, 1986), 24.

visitation report for Norfolk, which includes a pedigree of what appears to be the same Morley family.⁶ The heralds were officials of the College of Arms, and the purpose of their visitations or investigations was to ensure that individuals and families only used arms to which they were entitled. Their report for Norfolk, as it survives, is a compilation made in about 1620 from the notes of three separate visitations by three different heralds, in 1563, 1589 and 1613.

At first glance, the link between these records and the father of Thomas Morley seemed tenuous, as there was no evidence that this Francis Morley was a brewer; furthermore, it seemed possible that there was more than one Francis Morley active in Norwich during the second half of the sixteenth century. The parish records show a Francis Morley in St Michael Coslany producing a family of seven children between 1560 and 1572. Foster demonstrated that the St Michael Coslany family matched seven of the children listed in the heralds' visitation, leaving three older siblings, George, Thomas and John, and two younger ones, Richard and Elizabeth.⁷ There is a baptism of a John Morley (with no father's name) at St Michael Coslany in 1559, but George and Thomas would have predated the parish records. Foster did not look beyond the records of the parish of St Michael Coslany; however, in the parish of St Gregory, there were eight christenings of children of a Francis Morley between 1574 and 1583. The names of the first two of the St Gregory children, Richard and Elizabeth, match the youngest of the children listed in the heralds' visitation. From this new evidence, it seems that the family described in the visitation could have moved, therefore, from St Michael Coslany to St Gregory in around 1573. This is corroborated by a series of muster rolls⁸ for Norwich which enable us to track Francis Morley's household. Musters were held

⁶ Walter Rye (ed.), *The Visitations of Norfolk, 1563, 1589 and 1613*, (London: Harleian Society, 1891), 204.

⁷ Foster, 'Thomas Morley', 24-26.

⁸ *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/1ff.

periodically to enable those men who would be called upon to fight in the event of war or invasion to practise using their weapons. Freemen of the city were required to provide men to fight, and weapons (or the funds for purchasing them); the records list both the freemen and their representatives, by administrative ward. The 1557 and 1569 musters show Francis Morley in St Michael Coslany,⁹ but in 1573 he appears first in St Michael Coslany and then in St Gregory, where he is listed regularly until 1588.¹⁰ This matches perfectly with the baptismal records of the children. As the alignment of the parish and muster records and the heralds' pedigree is so good, it seems likely that these records do all relate to the same Francis Morley, who, from the heralds' evidence, was the son of William Morley, a calendrer. From the evidence of the heralds' visitation, too, Francis Morley had a son, Thomas, of about the right age to have been Thomas Morley, musician.

There is still the question of whether this Francis Morley was a brewer. Again, initially, it seemed unlikely. William Morley, his father, made a will, which was proved on 16 April 1554, in which he left the tools of his trade, including 'leades, Fattes, Calendringe staves, Serplers with such other leke as be meate and necessarie to worke with' to his eldest son, Francis.¹¹ He was clearly expecting Francis to continue in the calendring business, although his will contains a hint that he might not do so:

... I give and Bequeath to Frauncies my sonne ... Condisonallie, that the saied Frauncies shall paie or cause to be paied to myn Executors the somme of vi score poundes [£120] of good and lawfull moneye of Englande ... And allso to content and paie all such debtes as I am chardged with and debtor unto other menne, to be paied and dischargd in such wurkmanship as belongeth to myn occupacion or ellis I will my saied Messuage and Landes be soulede be [sic] myn Executors to the performance of this my Testament and last will.¹²

⁹ *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/2, ff. 79v, 123r.

¹⁰ *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/2, ff. 198v, 229r; Case 13a/3, ff. 21v; Case 13a/4, ff. 5r, 8v, 12v, 34v, 43r, 55v, 83r, 91v, 108v, 128r, 188r.

¹¹ *Nwr*, NCC Will Register, Walpole 9.

¹² *Nwr*, NCC Will Register, Walpole 9.

On the first day of the same month, ‘Franciscus Morley, filius William Morley (nuper civis Norwici; dyer)’ [Francis Morley, son of William Morley (late of the city of Norwich, dyer)] was admitted a freeman of the city of Norwich as a calendrer.¹³ Both the father’s and the son’s professions thus appear to be wrong; however, the rules for admission to the freedom of the city allowed the son of a freeman to be admitted in his father’s profession whether or not he was employed in it.¹⁴ Additionally, it was not unknown for men to change trades, particularly in response to the depression in the textile trade.¹⁵ A search of the Norwich city records for references to a Francis Morley engaged in calendring reveals only one record, although there are other calendrers named. This isolated reference is also for 1554, the year in which William Morley died and Francis became a freeman. That year, a Francis Morley took on an apprentice and, on the apprentice’s indenture, Francis is described as a calendrer.¹⁶ On the other hand, it is possible to trace the career of Francis Morley, brewer of beer from 1560 until his death in 1591 and, as there are only records of one Francis in the city until he had a son himself called Francis, it is almost certain that he was the son of William Morley, a calendrer, who started out as a dyer. The important thing, though, is that the Francis Morley who appears in so many of the city records was a brewer and therefore the father of Thomas who was promised the position at the cathedral.

Thomas Morley’s Family Background

Francis Morley’s father, William, received the freedom of Norwich, as a dyer, in 1521-22 (regnal year 13 Henry VIII), having been apprenticed to one William Roone.¹⁷ At some point he must have switched from dyeing cloth to finishing it. William played a part in

¹³ Percy Millican (ed.), *Register of Norwich Freemen 1548-1713* (Norwich: Norwich Corporation, 1934), 27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xiv.

¹⁵ John Pound, *Tudor and Stuart Norwich* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1988), 54-55.

¹⁶ Winifred Rising and Percy Millican (eds.), *An Index of Indentures of Norwich Apprentices Enrolled with the Norwich Assembly Henry VII – George II* (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1959), 96.

¹⁷ John l’Estrange, *Calender of the Freemen of Norwich from 1317 to 1603*, ed. Walter Rye (London: Elliot Stock, 1888), 98.

the administration of the city, first as constable of the Coslany Ward in 1525-26 and then as a councillor for the Northern Great Ward in 1537-38, 1544-46 and 1548-51.¹⁸ Norwich was governed under the terms of a series of charters by an assembly of twenty-four aldermen and a council of sixty commoners (or common councillors). The common councillors, of whom William was one, were elected annually to represent the areas in which they lived, and met four times a year to agree matters of policy.

William Morley's will, made on 22 January 1554, provides a good deal of information about him and his family.¹⁹ At that time, he was living in the parish of St Michael Coslany: as well as his principal property (or messuage), he also had a work house where the calendring was carried out, and some land outside the city. In 1554 his two eldest sons, Francis and William, were adults, but there were three further sons, Thomas, Leonard and George, who would receive their inheritance on reaching the age of twenty-one. William also had an unmarried daughter, Joan. His wife, Margaret, and a John Reade were named as executors, and amongst the witnesses to the will was Leonard Sotherton, an alderman and a member of one of the most prominent Norwich families. Throughout the sixteenth century in Norwich, both wealth and power lay in the hands of a small group of merchants, who made up the whole body of aldermen and the richest third of the common councillors. In the latter part of the century the membership of this group was dominated by eleven families, eight of them connected by marriage.²⁰ The Sothertons were one such family. Thus it seems that the Morleys had contact with the influential merchant class in Norwich society, even though William himself never rose above the level of councillor.

¹⁸ Timothy Hawes (ed.), *An Index to Norwich City Officers 1453-1831* (Norwich: Norfolk & Norwich Genealogical Society, 1989), 108.

¹⁹ *Nwr*, NCC Will Register, Walpole 9.

²⁰ Pound, *Norwich*, 80.

Margaret Morley, named in William's will as his wife and executor, must have been his second wife, since the heralds' visitation states that the mother of Francis was Joan Wilkins, daughter of Thomas Wilkins, alderman of Norwich.²¹ There is no reason to believe that the visitation is incorrect. This would make Thomas Wilkins one of Thomas Morley's great-grandparents. Thomas Wilkins was a worsted weaver, who became a freeman in 1504-5.²² His father, also Thomas, was likewise a weaver. Thomas Wilkins was an alderman from 1519 to 1522, when he probably died.²³

Thomas Morley's family on his mother's side appears to have come from the same layer of Norwich society. According to the heralds' visitation, Francis Morley's first wife, and mother of his eldest five children (including Thomas), was Audrey Waters, daughter of John Waters of Norwich.²⁴ This is supported by the record of the burial of Audrey Morley on 30 November 1562, at St Michael Coslany, a date that fits with the baptisms of the children and Francis's subsequent marriage a few months later.

There are no city or probate records for a John Waters, but several for John Walter, or John Walters, who was a mercer, and a freeman from 1526-7.²⁵ He became a constable in 1534, served several terms as a councillor, was elected an alderman in 1548 and served as a sheriff in 1550.²⁶ He died on 26 September 1552. His will is complex.²⁷ He had two wives, both called Elizabeth, and left an heir, Robert, and a second son, Edward (both adults and probably from his first marriage). His two daughters, Elizabeth and Audrey, were unmarried and definitely the children of his first wife. There were also two younger sons, John and Daniel, under the age of twenty-one and, by implication, the offspring of his second marriage.

²¹ Rye, *Visitations of Norfolk*, 204.

²² l'Estrange, *Freemen of Norwich*, 153.

²³ Hawes, *Norwich City Officers*, 166.

²⁴ Rye, *Visitations of Norfolk*, 204.

²⁵ l'Estrange, *Freemen of Norwich*, 144.

²⁶ Hawes, *Norwich City Officers*, xxiii.

²⁷ *Lna*, PROB/11/36.

He left property in several Norwich parishes and in Long Melford, as well as cash legacies totalling around £200 0s 0d. The conditions in the will associated with some of the property eventually led to a dispute in 1566 between Francis Morley, on behalf of his eldest son George, and the widowed Elizabeth, now married (for the third time) to Thomas Winter, a grocer and city dignitary.

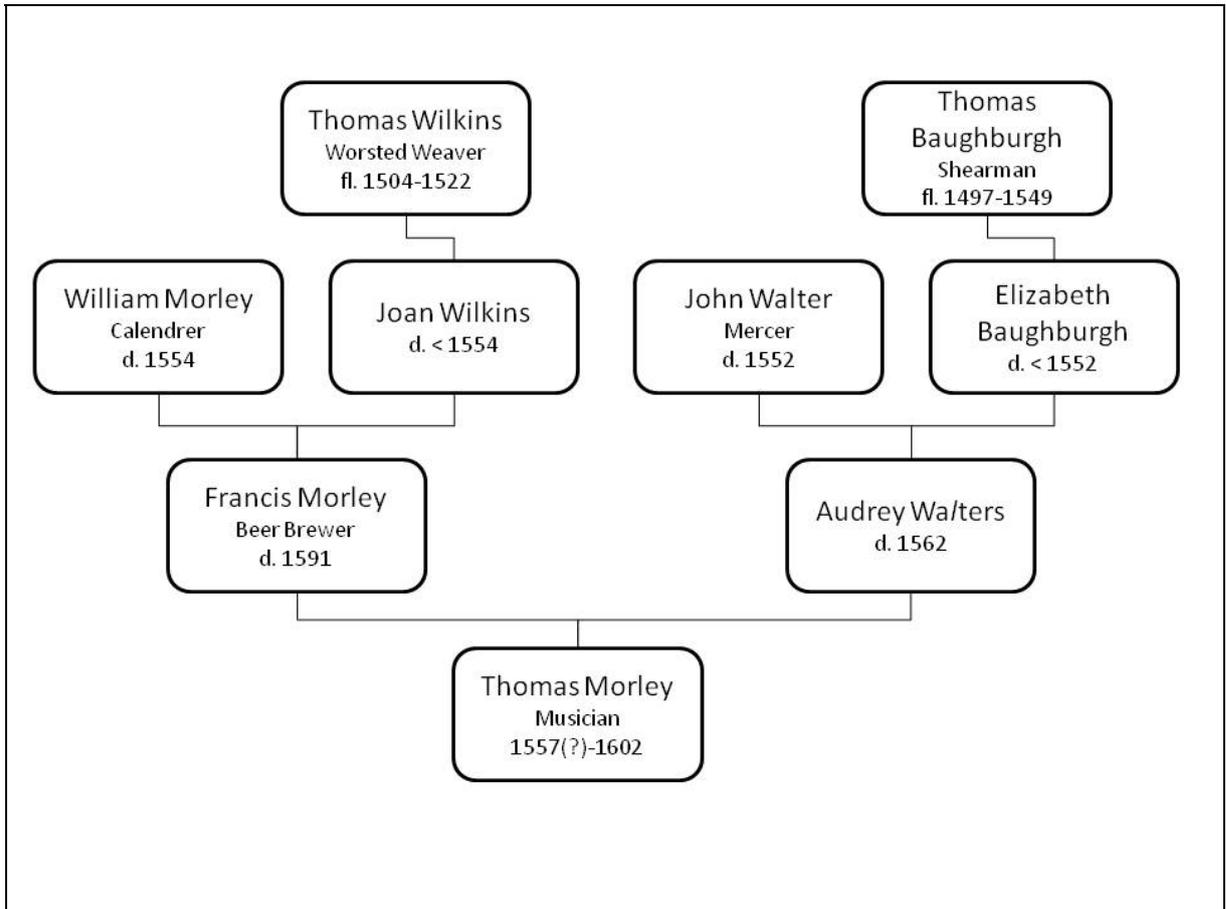
John Walter's will refers to property he inherited from his father-in-law, Thomas Baughburgh, a shearman²⁸ who gained his freedom in 1497-8²⁹ and was an alderman from 1516 to 1549 and Mayor of Norwich in 1530.³⁰ It is not absolutely certain which of the two Elizabeths was Thomas Baughburgh's child, but since it was his property to which Francis Morley later laid claim on behalf of his son George, it seems reasonable to assume that Elizabeth Baughburgh was John Walter's first wife, the mother of Audrey and grandmother of Thomas, the musician. If she was, then Thomas's ancestors, shown in Figure 1.1 overleaf, were well-established in the middle-to-upper layers of Norwich society, largely engaged in the traditional wool trade and playing a part in the running of the city.

²⁸ Someone who shears off excess nap from the surface of cloth.

²⁹ l'Estrange, *Freemen of Norwich*, 11.

³⁰ Hawes, *Norwich City Officers*, 14.

Figure 1.1: Thomas Morley's Apparent Ancestors



Francis Morley: Middle-class Trader

The legal action brought by Francis Morley against Thomas and Elizabeth Winter reveals something of Francis's tendency to pursue financial and business opportunities, an example later followed by his son, Thomas. In his will John Walter set out to deal with all eventualities, including all his sons dying without issue, but did not allow for the possibility of his eldest son Robert, by now deceased, having no children and choosing to make his sister's eldest child (George Morley) his heir. There is no surviving documentary evidence that George was indeed Robert Walter's heir, but Francis claimed for George, then aged about ten, all the property in which Robert Walter had had an interest, according to John Walter's

will, and more besides.³¹ The case was lodged in June 1566 but not heard until the following January, at least partly because Francis Morley and his co-plaintiffs, George Morley and Cecily Walter (possibly Robert Walter's wife), had retained all three legal representatives available in Norwich, thus preventing Thomas and Elizabeth Winter from hiring anyone themselves.³² In the end, the Mayor's Court was unable to resolve the case and washed its hands of it on 5 April:

This daye For somuche as the *parties* Fynde them Selves greved by bothe ther coments the courte dothe dismysse them and sett them at Lybtie to trye the matter at the comon Lawe wheare they shall thynke good.³³

It is not clear whether Francis Morley took the case any further, but there was no obvious change in his fortunes at that time: presumably either he did not pursue the case or he lost it.

Records linking Francis Morley and the brewing of beer first appear in 1560. On 22 June that year, in the Mayor's Court Book, Francis Morley is listed as a warden of the beer brewers.³⁴ The wardens spoke for members of their trade and were involved in enforcing standards. It seems unlikely that a raw recruit to the trade would have gained such a position, so he had probably been engaged in brewing for some time. His name appears intermittently through to the 1580s as a warden (and from 1576 as 'headman' of the wardens) and in connection with regulatory investigations into the brewing trade in Norwich.³⁵

There are other records linking Francis Morley with brewing, too. In 1562, Morley lodged a complaint in court about one of Lord Norfolk's men, Mr Bruton, picking a fight with one of Morley's employees in his brewhouse.³⁶ The same year, he was issued with a malt

³¹ The will: *Lna*, PROB/11/36; Francis Morley's petition to the Mayor's court: *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/8, 407-8.

³² *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/8, 457.

³³ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/8, 473.

³⁴ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/7, 392.

³⁵ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/8, 402, 602-3, 617ff.; Case 16a/9, 7, 365; Case 16a/10, 3, 710.

³⁶ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/7, 603-4.

certificate³⁷ and much later, in 1588, was on the receiving end of some poor cooperage, for which the perpetrator was fined.³⁸ On the other hand, on Saturday 4 March 1564 the Mayor's Court found as follows:

... that the comon berebrewers viz Thomas Narford, Andrew Gybson, Fraunces Morley, *Mistress* Lee, Thomas Mihell, John Utberde, Thomas Debney, William Gylderne and [Thomas] Levold, brew beare not holsome for mannes body.³⁹

This was perhaps not as drastic as it sounds. The city council seems to have carried out a major campaign against suppliers of food and drink, prosecuting also a number of ale brewers, inn keepers, wine sellers, tipplers, bakers, butchers and fishmongers.⁴⁰ Later, in 1587, Francis was fined several times for brewing over-strength beer.⁴¹

Francis Morley's switch from a specialist textile craft to the making and sale of beer suggests a decision to engage more actively in trade, no doubt with the expectation of a better income from the sale of his own goods than he could achieve simply by finishing the cloth made by others. Beer, with its predominant hop flavour, was rapidly replacing ale in England: writing in 1636, Henry Peacham said that 'Beere and viols da gamba came into England both in one yeare' in the reign of Henry VII.⁴² Beer was being brewed in Norwich in the fifteenth century,⁴³ and by the second half of the sixteenth century beer was becoming the everyday drink of most people (water being unsafe). It offered Francis a high-volume, staple product, requiring relatively little skill to produce and with the certainty of a steady demand. Brewing had been the preserve of householders and innkeepers, but the demand was such that

³⁷ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/7, 626-7.

³⁸ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/12, 143.

³⁹ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/8, 178.

⁴⁰ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/8, 178-180.

⁴¹ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/12, 11, 17, 21, 24, 26.

⁴² Henry Peacham (Mis-Amaxius, pseudo.), *Coach and Sedan, Pleasantly Disputing for Place and Precedence* (London: Crowch, 1636), sig. F2r-v.

⁴³ Anon., 'Brewing in Norwich', *Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service web-site* [online resource] www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk/default.asp?Document=400.740.51x1 ; accessed 21 June 2010.

it was now possible to make a living from brewing without keeping an inn. City and legal records make a clear distinction between brewers and innkeepers, and there is no evidence that Francis had an inn. Two of his brothers, William and Thomas, pursued careers in the textile trade (as dyer and dornex [damask] weaver, respectively), but a third, Leonard, joined the distributive trades as a baker.

After the death of his first wife, Audrey, in November 1562, Francis remarried on 17 March 1563. His new wife was Margaret, one of the daughters of Christopher Some,⁴⁴ who held office as mayor three times. Christopher Some was neither a member of one of Norwich's most eminent families nor, as a dornex weaver⁴⁵ and at least part-time brewer,⁴⁶ engaged in one of the more elite merchant trades. However, from the evidence of his will, several of his children and at least one grandchild married into wealthy Norwich merchant families.⁴⁷

In due course, possibly with the encouragement of his father-in-law, who had been an alderman since 1559, Francis, too, embarked upon a career in city administration. In 1572 he was for a year a councillor for the Northern Great Ward, in which the parish of St Michael Coslany lay, and from 1574 to 1576 he was councillor for Wymer, which included the parish of St Gregory, where he now lived.⁴⁸ In 1574 Christopher Some became mayor for the first time and at about this time Francis's rise accelerated. He was city surveyor from 1573 to 1576 and again in 1578-9, and was one of the two city sheriffs for the year from Michaelmas

⁴⁴ Her father's name is given in the heralds' visitation: Rye, *Visitations of Norfolk*, 204.

⁴⁵ Christopher Some became a freeman as a coverlet weaver in 1542-3 (l'Estrange, *Freemen of Norwich*, 127; a number of his apprentice dornex weavers became freemen during the second half of the century (Millican, *Register of Norwich Freemen*, 55).

⁴⁶ He left his brewing equipment to his son, Ellis. *Lna*, PROB 11/96.

⁴⁷ *Lna*, PROB/11/96.

⁴⁸ All Francis Morley's city positions are recorded in Hawes, *Norwich City Officers*, 108.

(29 September) 1576.⁴⁹ He was also *clavor* [holder of keys] that year. From 1576, he is generally, though not invariably, styled *Mr Francis Morley*, or *Mr Morley*, this being the usual custom for someone who had achieved one of the higher city posts. The brewing references after this date use *Mr* too, neatly confirming the link. From 1578 to 1582 Francis was city coroner, and from 1580 to 1584 chamberlain's council. Election as sheriff was generally seen as a step towards becoming an alderman and, ultimately for some, mayor.⁵⁰ The natural progression for Francis, therefore, would have been to alderman, but it was not to be. The most likely explanation for this is simple lack of opportunity. In 1577, the year in which Francis completed his term as sheriff, there were two vacancies, both filled by members of the influential Sotherton family. There were only two further vacancies in the next six years, so that by 1583 and 1584, when there were seven vacancies, there was a long list of deserving candidates and most of the positions went to members of the major families.⁵¹

As his status grew, Francis Morley both moved house and acquired additional property. The muster rolls which show him moving from St Michael Coslany to St Gregory continue to track his progress, referring to him from 1576 onwards as *Mr Morley*.⁵² A great many musters were held during 1588 because of the threat of war with Spain. In May, Mr Morley is listed in St Gregory, but his name is crossed out. The same month (and in fact from April) he is shown in the adjacent parish, St John Maddermarket.⁵³ It is likely that he lived here until he died in 1591, although he was buried at St Gregory's Church. There are

⁴⁹ There is a roll of records of pleas in the Guildhall Court (*Nwr*, Case 8/b Misc. Boxes) which records a number of cases held before Thomas Layer, mayor and Cuthbert Brereton and Francis Morley 'gentlemen of the city'.

⁵⁰ For further discussion of the make-up of the city administration see Pound, *Norwich*, 68-71 and Hawes, *Norwich City Officers*, ix-xvi.

⁵¹ Based on information given in Hawes, *Norwich City Officers*, xxix-xxxvii.

⁵² *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/2, ff. 198v, 229r; Case 13a/3, ff. 21v; Case 13a/4, ff. 5r, 8v, 12v, 34v, 43r, 55v, 83r, 91v, 108v, 128r, 188r.

⁵³ *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/5, ff. 45r, 51r, 84r, 88r, 116v, 181r.

marriages of what appear to be three of his children in the St John Maddermarket parish registers in the 1590s: those of Winifred in 1591 and both Matthew and Elizabeth in 1599, which suggest that his family remained there after his death.

During the 1570s and 1580s Francis took on leases of additional property. In 1575, for example, he acquired a lease on a parcel of land near the hospital and cathedral:

This daye it is agreed that Fraunces Morley shall have lease of a *parcell* of *gyldecrofte* belonging to the hospitall for *xxi*^{tie} [21] yeares from Michelmas next paying yearly for the ferme thereof *xxiis iiid* [22s 3d] and also to paye *vi*^{li}. *xiiiis iiid* [£6 14s 4d] for an Incom towarde the relyffe of the poore.⁵⁴

In 1577, along with ‘others’, he leased three tenements in St Gregory from the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral⁵⁵ and in 1578 paid a fee to Peter Aspinall for some messuages in St John Maddermarket.⁵⁶ There are other leases in the cathedral chapter records dated 1578 and 1581⁵⁷ and further references to property deals in St Gregory in 1582 and 1586.⁵⁸

What appears to be a census of the inhabitants of Norwich survives amongst the papers of Sir Arthur Heveningham (c.1546-1630).⁵⁹ Although its purpose is unclear, and the title is torn, partly missing and undated, there are others in the same bundle for certain rural areas of Norfolk which are dated 1589. The Norwich census lists householders, sojourners and a few single men, but not members of households. Although its order is not explained, a comparison with contemporary muster documents suggests that it follows the geographical ward sequence used for the musters. The names are divided by horizontal lines into groups that are too small to be wards, but which may represent streets, buildings or blocks of buildings. The fact that there are more names in the groups in the poorer parts of the city than

⁵⁴ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16c/4, 125.

⁵⁵ *Nwr*, DCN 24/1, f. 52r.

⁵⁶ *Nwr*, NCR Case 3e/1, 230.

⁵⁷ *Nwr*, DCN 24/1, ff. 53r, 64v.

⁵⁸ *Nwr*, NCR Case 3e/1, 231.

⁵⁹ *Nwr*, AYL 156, *The Aylsham Papers: Heveningham, Browne & Doughty Papers – Papers of Sir Arthur Heveningham*.

in the wealthier areas supports such an interpretation. Frances Morley, brewer, appears with three other names, which may thus represent his immediate neighbours: R. Fayourchild, husbandman, John Brathet, tailor and Mr Christopher Layer, alderman. The group of six names preceding Francis Morley's includes his brother-in-law Augustine Blowe, gentleman, along with a hairweaver [wig-maker?], a hosier, a bower [bow-maker], a glazier, a grocer and a merchant, whilst the following group comprises just two names, William Hyrne, merchant, and Mr Thomas Layer, alderman.⁶⁰ There were a few areas of Norwich where particular trades, such as weaving, tanning or river-based activities, were concentrated, but the mix of craftsmen, retailers, merchants and the occasional gentleman amongst whom Francis Morley lived is typical of many parts of Norwich, and particularly so of parishes such as St John Maddermarket in the centre of the city.

Morley's brewing business seems to have provided employment for several men. A survey of households taken on 2 May 1580 for muster purposes names six servants [employees] of Francis.⁶¹ Eight years later a census was taken of all men between the ages of 16 and 60 years; there were six such men in the Morley household: Francis, his son Francis and four others, apparently employees.⁶²

Francis Morley died intestate in 1591 and was buried on 29 March. His executors made an inventory on 23 April of his movable goods and of the debts owed to him, and his widow, Margaret, was granted administration of his estate on 20 May.⁶³ His goods and debts (not including his property) were valued at £133 10s 10d, of which goods to the value of £4 9s 6d were 'destrayned ... for the quennes majesty'.⁶⁴ Thirteen inventories for men in the

⁶⁰ *Nwr*, AYL 156, f. 5v, column 2.

⁶¹ *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/4, f. 83r.

⁶² *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/5, f. 51r.

⁶³ *Nwr*, DN/INV 8/186.

⁶⁴ The complete inventory is given in Appendix 1.2.

food and drink trades in Norwich survive for the period 1584-1600; the median value for this group, of which Francis Morley was a member, is £88 15s 11d.⁶⁵ Francis thus seems to have fared reasonably well financially and almost certainly much better than if he had remained a calendrer, since the median value of the inventories of twenty-one textile workers for the same period was £8 8s 3d.⁶⁶ It is more difficult to compare his estate with those of the wealthiest of Norwich's citizens, for whom there are few inventories. There is one, however, for Robert Suckling, an alderman and twice mayor, who died in 1589 and who, if the 1589 census is a guide, lived close to Francis Morley. His inventory lists goods worth about £196, while his will refers to several parcels of land and disposes of £147 in cash.⁶⁷

Taxation returns provide a method of comparing the relative worth of individuals. There are several amongst the muster papers, carried out in order to levy payments for the musters or for arms. An example is the assessment carried out in 1578 to pay for the training of men in the use of calivers (a type of gun).⁶⁸ This provides a value for each contributor for both land and goods, and although it may not represent the true value of their possessions, it is likely to provide a valid basis for comparison. Table 1.1 on the next page shows the assessments for Francis Morley, his father-in-law, three of his brothers and one of his brothers-in-law, Thomas Pye, who later became mayor of Norwich, as well as Robert Suckling, mentioned above. These figures suggest that by 1578, though not wealthy, Francis Morley was comfortably off; his was also the third highest assessment of the twenty-two contributors to the training costs in his parish.

⁶⁵ Pound, *Norwich*, 38.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/4, f. 91v.

Table 1.1: Taxation Assessments for Francis Morley and his Circle, 1578

Name	Value of Land	Value of Goods	Tax Paid
Robert Suckling	£16 0s 0d	£30 0s 0d	10s 0d
Christopher Some	£5 0s 0d	£24 0s 0d	8s 5d
Frances Morley	£5 0s 0d	£10 0s 0d	3s 4d
William Morley	£2 0s 0d	£8 0s 0d	2s 8d
Thomas Pye	£2 0s 0d	£7 0s 0d	2s 4d
Leonard Morley	£1 10s 0d	£4 0s 0d	1s 4d
Thomas Morley	£0 0s 0d	£3 0s 0d	1s 0d

Source: *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/4, f. 91v.

When he died, Francis was living in a six-roomed house, comprising parlour, kitchen, buttery and three chambers; in addition, he had a brew house.⁶⁹ The house was modestly but adequately furnished, his household goods accounting for less than fifteen pounds of the value of his inventory. The remaining £118 was in debts owed to him by twenty-eight individuals. Inspection of other Norwich inventories from this period, discussed further in Chapter 3,⁷⁰ suggests that it was unusual for debts to form a significant (or indeed any) part of the estate of the deceased until the second decade of the seventeenth century. Even then, the proportion of debts to household goods was generally less extreme than in Morley's case. It seems fair to assume, therefore, that Francis had found a new enterprise and was operating as a moneylender. Most of the debts listed range from a few shillings to a few pounds, and the descriptions of the debtors suggest that most were neither personal friends nor of such a high

⁶⁹ *Nwr*, DN/INV 8/186.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 3, pp. 116-132.

social standing as Francis.⁷¹ The only exception to this is William Morley, either his brother or his son, to whom Francis had lent seven pounds.

Thus we have an image of a man with an eye for a commercial opportunity, be it brewing beer, taking leases on properties (presumably to sub-let them) or lending money to those less well-off than himself. Through a judicious marriage and by taking on roles in the city government, he had contact with the wealthy merchant class, as well as the wider middle classes amongst whom he lived.

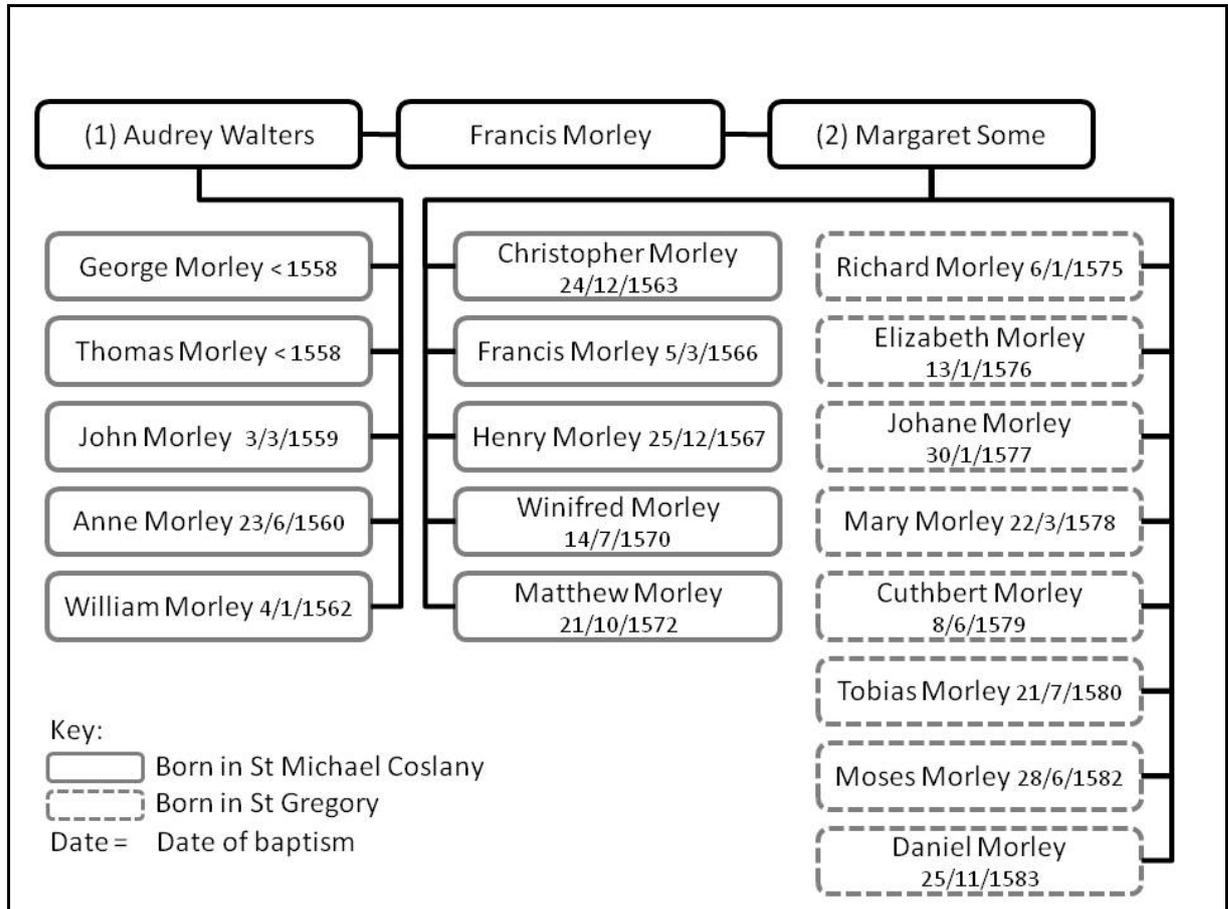
Francis Morley's children

By any standard, Francis Morley, with eighteen children (shown overleaf in Figure 1.2), had a large family, two-thirds of whom survived until at least early adulthood, the result, perhaps, of a combination of good luck and a reasonable standard of living. His first family, the children of Audrey Walter, were George, Thomas, John, William and Agnes (Anne in parish registers). The baptismal records for John onwards show that these three children arrived at intervals of 15-18 months; a similar interval for the first two children places George's date of birth around three years before that of John, say in the spring of 1556, and Thomas's mid-way between, perhaps in the autumn of 1557. According to the parish registers of St Michael Coslany and St Gregory, Francis and Margaret Some had thirteen children, spaced fairly regularly over a twenty-year period from 1563. The will of Christopher Some in 1600 refers to several of the children of his daughter Margaret, including Daniel, whose baptism was the last recorded in St Gregory's.⁷²

⁷¹ See Appendix 1.2.

⁷² *Lna*, PROB/11/96.

Figure 1.2: Francis Morley's Children



The range of occupations adopted by Francis Morley's children presents a microcosm of the opportunities open to the Elizabethan middle classes. One son from each marriage – George (born c.1556; no record of him after 1573) and Francis (born 1565; died before 1600) – appears to have worked for some time in the family business. Matthew (1572-1637) became a grocer and pin maker, and William (1561-1595) was a carpenter. Christopher (1563-1596) was a fellow of Trinity College Cambridge and possibly a poet, whilst Henry (1567-1616) went into the church after an initial career as a fellow of Corpus Christi College Cambridge. Thomas (c.1557-1602), of course, was a musician. Another son, Richard, survived into adulthood, but it has not been possible yet to identify his occupation.

There is evidence that the children of both marriages were educated, regardless of their eventual chosen career. William, the carpenter, possessed some books: the inventory made of his goods when he died in 1595 includes ‘divers ould prymmers & other ould bookes’.⁷³ Matthew Morley appears as an appraiser on a number of Norwich probate inventories, including his mother’s in 1626, and these documents reveal a fluent hand.⁷⁴ He had books and maps amongst his possessions when he died.⁷⁵

It appears that before going to Cambridge Henry was educated in London, at Westminster School. A list of sixty-four children at the school, aged from nine to fifteen years old, survives for 2 July 1582.⁷⁶ Entry 48 on the list is Henry Morley aged fifteen, from Norwich, and with a father named Francis. The children on the list are drawn from across the southern half of England. The school, which also educated the choristers of Westminster Abbey, had a number of categories of pupil, including foundation scholars, pensioners, town boys and strangers. The (now incomplete) statutes for the school around this date set out the conditions for becoming a foundation scholar, or member of the college of Westminster. Candidates first had to be in the school for a year and should not be heirs to estates of more than £10 0s 0d. Only one child would be elected from each county at a time.⁷⁷ It is not clear whether Henry was a foundation scholar, or how he came to be at the school at all, but he did go on to Cambridge from the school, matriculating in Michaelmas 1582 as a pensioner at Trinity College. In July 1572 the school had set up formal arrangements with Trinity College Cambridge and Christ Church Oxford to elect three scholars to each college every three years.⁷⁸ Perhaps this was Henry’s route to Cambridge. Henry’s education at Westminster

⁷³ *Nwr*, DN/INV 12/22.

⁷⁴ *Nwr*, DN/INV 33/39.

⁷⁵ *Nwr*, DN/INV 33/39 and 43/201.

⁷⁶ *Lwa*, WAM 43050.

⁷⁷ *Lwa*, WAM 32445.

⁷⁸ *Lwa*, WAM 63854, Extracts from Chapter Accounts referring to the School. Extract dated 2nd July 1572.

raises the possibility that Christopher also was educated there, but there are no records to confirm this.

THOMAS MORLEY'S EDUCATION AND EARLY CAREER

The proposition that Thomas was born around 1557 is supported by a manuscript collection of sacred vocal music compiled by John Sadler,⁷⁹ which includes two works attributed to Thomas Morley. In the third part book, at the end of a setting of *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum*,⁸⁰ Sadler wrote 'Thomas Morley aetatis suae 19 an^o domini 1576', which implies a date of birth around 1557. Evidence of Morley's early life is scanty, but the appearance of the two youthful motets in the Sadler part books, amongst works by Tallis, Byrd and other Tudor composers, indicates both the early development of musical skill and some visibility as a composer. The possibility of a cathedral education is suggested by the extensive instruction in chant-based descant techniques set out by Morley in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction*,⁸¹ techniques that Jane Flynn argues were the core of the musical education of choristers up to about 1565.⁸² Morley's treatise also demonstrates a solid knowledge of the main elements of a classical education and a fluent writing style, pointing to tuition at least to grammar school level.

A Chorister's Upbringing

It is probable that Morley spent some of his early years as a chorister at Norwich Cathedral; his father was verger at the cathedral from 1562 to 1566,⁸³ so would have been well placed to gain a position in the choir for his son. In 1574, when the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral promised to grant Thomas the post of master of the children at some time

⁷⁹ *Ob*, MSS. Mus. e. 1-5.

⁸⁰ *Ob*, MSS. Mus. e. 3, f. 60v.

⁸¹ Morley, 'The second part of the introduction to Musick: treating of Descant', *Introduction*, 69-115.

⁸² Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England during the Sixteenth Century', in John Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 180-199.

⁸³ *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/20 -23.

in the future when it became vacant, they noted that he had previously served the cathedral in some capacity:

Know that we the aforesaid dean and chapter of our free volition and certain knowledge by inspection of good and faithful office and service to us by Thomas Morley the son of Francis Morley of Norwich beerbrewer so far given and hereafter to be given with our unanimous assent and agreement for us and our successors by [these] presents have made ordained and constituted the said Thomas Morley master and instructor of eight boys singing within the said cathedral church. ...⁸⁴

The incumbent master of the choristers, Edmund Inglott, would have taught Thomas to read, write, sing and play,⁸⁵ but would not have provided him with the more advanced classical and musical education that he appears to have received. If Morley had grown up in Norwich, then he might well have attended the King Edward VI Foundation School, located in the cathedral precincts. However, it appears that he was not at the cathedral for the whole of his childhood and adolescence. The cathedral accounts do not name the choristers, but there are two lists of the cathedral establishment in 1568⁸⁶ that do include the boys' names, and Thomas is not amongst them.

It seems likely that, instead, Thomas received his education at St Paul's Cathedral in London. The Bishop of London, through questions asked by his agents, made periodic formal inspections, or visitations, of St Paul's Cathedral, and some records survive which include the names of the current establishment. The record of Bishop Sandes' visitation in 1574 gives the names of the vicars choral and the choristers, and 'Thomas Morley' appears as the second of the choristers.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *Nwr*, DCN 47/3, f. 82. Translated from the original Latin by Hilary Marshall. The complete document is provided as Appendix 1.1. This reversionary grant, or promise of future employment, is discussed in more detail below on pp. 33-4.

⁸⁵ Draft statutes for Norwich Cathedral, (c.1569-1574), *Lbl*, Stowe MS 128, f. 7v. (The Stowe Manuscripts were collected by Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776-1839), at Stowe House, near Buckingham.)

⁸⁶ *Nwr*, DCN 41/1 ff. 393r-396r; DCN 29/1, f. 28r.

⁸⁷ *London, Guildhall Library*, MS 09537/3, f. 4r.

Vicari Chorales

Thomas Skerrie
Thomas Woodson
Egidius [Giles] Hawkes
Henricus Mudde
Johannes Ramsey
Johannes Meares

[Choriste]⁸⁸

Georgius Bowring
Thomas Morley
Petrus Phillipp
Henricus Nation
Robertus Knight
Thomas Balylye
Johannes Brande
Edwardus Pattime
Robertus Baker
Thomas Johnson

Although there is no unequivocal evidence to confirm that this is Francis Morley's son from Norwich, and throughout the second half of the sixteenth century there are records of a small number of other Thomas Morleys living in London, his presence at St Paul's is plausible. Children were certainly recruited from around the country for the Chapel Royal,⁸⁹ and the same practice seems to have applied at St Paul's, which, according to one contemporary commentator, had the 'fearest [fairest] voices of all the cathedrall churches in England'.⁹⁰ Thomas Giles, who was master of the choristers a little later, from 1584, apparently had a royal warrant to 'take up' suitable children in England and Wales for St

⁸⁸ There is a gap but no heading; however, the layout is identical to that of other visitation records in 1561 and 1598, in which the heading 'Choriste' is used at this point.

⁸⁹ Recruitment patents and commissions for boys for the Chapel Royal, granted to Nathaniel Giles, are discussed in Mary Elizabeth Smith, 'Nathaniel Giles "from Windsore": Master of the Children in the Chapel Royal', *Notes and Queries*, 225 (1980), 128.

⁹⁰ Claude Hollyband (alias Desainliens), *The French Schoolemaister* (London: Veale, 1573), 74.

Paul's.⁹¹ Thomas Morley could well have been spotted in Norwich and recruited. Given the reference in 1574 to his previous service at Norwich, it would be strange for him not to have been there in 1568 when, at the age of about eleven, he would have been experienced and in good voice, unless he had gone somewhere that offered him a better opportunity. The presence of Henry at Westminster School suggests that their father was aware of the advantages of sending his children to London to improve their education, and was resourceful enough to achieve it.

A Grammar School Education

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, the traditional instruction in basic grammar and morals provided by the master of the choristers in cathedrals and chapels was replaced by a broader grammar school education, provided elsewhere.⁹² Thus, on his appointment as master of the choristers at St Paul's in 1584, Thomas Giles was required to allow the choristers to attend St Paul's School daily:

... when the children shall be skilfull in musicke, that they shall be able conveniently to serve in the Church that then the said Thomas shall suffer them to resorte to paules schole tow howers in the forenone and one hower in the afternone, from the feast of thannunciation of the blessed virgine St Mary until the feaste of St Micheall thearchaungell every yeere, and one hower in the forenone, and one hower in the after none from the feast of St Michaell the Archaungell everye yere likewise (the howers for devine service onely excepted) that they may learne the principles of grammer, and after as they shall be forwardes learne the said Catechismes in Laten *which* before they lerned in Englishe and other good bookes taught in the said Schole.⁹³

This practice is likely to have been in place before 1584, and such an environment could have provided the more advanced education that Morley clearly possessed, although, with only two or three hours' attendance a day, to supplement the more basic education provided by their

⁹¹ Quoted in David Scott, *The Music of St Paul's Cathedral*, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1972), 13, but with no citation of original source.

⁹² Flynn, 'Education', 196-7.

⁹³ *London, Guildhall Library*, MS 25630/3, f.188v.

master, the choristers were disadvantaged compared with the full-time pupils at the school, who had eight hours of tuition each day.⁹⁴ John Colet had founded a new school at St Paul's in 1509 to replace the old grammar school attached to the cathedral, which had become moribund. He gave broad guidance in his statutes of 1512 regarding the curriculum:

As touching in this scole what shalbe taught ... I wolde they were taught al way in good litterature both laten and greke, and good auctours suych as have the veray Romaine eliquence Joynyd withe wisdome specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten other in verse or in prose. for my entent is by thys scole specially to increase knowlege and worshipping of god and our lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff and maners in the Children And for that entent I will the Chyldren lerne First above all the Cathechyzon in Englysh and after the accidence that I made or sum other yf eny be better to the purpose to induce chyldren more spedely to laten spech And thanne Institutum Christiani homines which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request and the boke callid Copia of the same Erasmus And thenne other auctours Christian ...⁹⁵

Colet's school provided a humanist, Christian education designed by Erasmus, and taught Greek as well as Latin; in addition, the first High Master was William Lily, whose Latin grammar became the standard (and required) work in schools for nearly two centuries.⁹⁶ By the time Thomas Morley was at school, many grammar schools had similar, well-defined curricula,⁹⁷ but at St Paul's he would have benefited both from exceptional teaching (the teaching posts were very well paid) and from the experience of attending the largest school in England, which set out to teach 'children of all nacions and countres'⁹⁸ at no charge beyond an initial enrolment fee of 4d and a requirement for parents to provide books and wax candles for their children. Situated in the heart of the City of London, the school would have provided Morley with a meeting ground for the children of the middle classes.

⁹⁴ John Colet, *Statuta Paulinae Scholae*, 1512 transcribed in St Paul's School website [on-line resource] www.stpaulsschool.org.uk/about-st-pauls/history/colets-statutes, accessed 9 December 2009.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Anon., 'A Short History of the School', *St Paul's School web-site* [online resource] www.stpaulsschool.org.uk/about-st-pauls/history, accessed 9 December 2009.

⁹⁷ See, for example: 'Sandwich School, 1580: A Grammar School Curriculum' and 'St Bees School, 1583: Set Texts', in David Cressy (ed.), *Education in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), 81-83 and 83-84. For Norwich School: Nwr, NCR Case 16c/3, f. 218ff.

⁹⁸ Colet, *Statuta*.

Musical Training

Jane Flynn⁹⁹ argues that after 1565, as the Anglican liturgy, with its more limited vocal demands, became established, an emphasis on training choristers in descant and improvising on chant was replaced by more training in instrumental playing and by learning the techniques of composition. St Paul's Cathedral had built a reputation for the viol playing of the choristers in the 1550s and early 1560s, and the children were hired for outside engagements, such as guild events and weddings.¹⁰⁰ When Sebastian Westcote – the almoner and master of the choristers during the period when Morley was there – died in 1582, he left his chest of violins and viols for the training of the children.¹⁰¹ By the 1570s, performance of secular consort songs as well as instrumental music was well-established at St Paul's.

The curricula of many schools allowed for the performance of one or two plays a year by the children, for their entertainment and instruction, as at Sandwich School, for instance:

... and at every Christmas time, if the master do think meet, to have one comedy or tragedy of chaste matter in Latin to be played, the parts to be divided to as many scholars as may be and to be learned at vacant times.¹⁰²

The same applied at cathedral and collegiate schools: the 1560 statutes for Westminster School required the masters to provide a comedy or tragedy in Latin 'in order that the boys may celebrate Christmastide with greater benefit'.¹⁰³ The plays performed gradually became secular, at least at the major institutions in or near London, where there was an opportunity to perform at court. During the reign of Henry VIII choirboy companies were employed to perform interludes at court, but this had ceased during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary. Elizabeth renewed the practice, and the court records show payments most years from the

⁹⁹ Flynn, 'Education', 194-99.

¹⁰⁰ Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 213-218.

¹⁰¹ *Lna*, PROB/11/64; image ref. 120.

¹⁰² Quoted in Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England*, 82.

¹⁰³ John Field, *The King's Nurseries* (London: James & James, 1987), 25.

early 1560s to one or more of the masters of the choristers at St Paul's, the Chapel Royal and St George's Chapel Windsor, for interludes and plays performed at court.¹⁰⁴ Westminster School also put on regular plays for the Queen and Council, and the school accounts record the expenses for these, including:

For buttered beer for ye children, being horse ... for paper for them to wright out their partes ... aquavitae and sugar candee for the children ... colors and golde foyle bestowed in colouring the children's faces ... given to a painter for drawing the temple of Jerusalem and for paynting townes ... for a bagpipe plaier ... for the lone of a thondre barrel and to two men which brought the same and thondred ... for the bynding of one copie in vellume with the Queen's Majesties armes and sylke ribben stringes.¹⁰⁵

The children played music as well as acting in such productions: surviving play texts from the 1560s include references to consort songs, sometimes with choral refrains, for the boys to perform.¹⁰⁶ Samuel Westcote was paid for the performance by the children of St Paul's of at least one play at court each year from 1565 to 1582, when he died. Towards the end of the century, the children of St Paul's and the Chapel Royal were also starting to perform in public theatres, competing with companies of adult players. Whether or not Thomas Morley performed on a commercial public stage whilst at St Paul's, he would certainly have been involved in the court performances, and possibly other paid engagements, giving him early performing experience in a secular environment.

Thomas Morley and William Byrd

In his dedication of *Plaine and Easie Introduction* to William Byrd, Morley gives a strong indication that he had, at some point, been a pupil of Byrd:

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Ashbee (ed.), *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1986-1996), vi.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Field, *King's Nurseries*, 25.

¹⁰⁶ Woodfield, *Viol*, 219.

Accept (I pray you) of this booke, both that you may exercise your deepe skill in censuring of what shall be amisse, as also defend what is in it truely spoken, as that which somtime proceeded from your selfe.¹⁰⁷

Similarly, in the second part, towards the end of a discussion on canons, Morley refers to Byrd thus: ‘... my loving Maister (never without reverence to be named of the musicians) M. *Bird*.’¹⁰⁸ Whilst Morley’s comments offer no proof that he was Byrd’s pupil, he would hardly have made this claim in such a public way, and addressed it directly to the senior composer, unless it were true. There is also evidence of the stylistic influence of Byrd in Morley’s work.¹⁰⁹ At what point Morley may have studied with Byrd is not known. The name of Peter Philips, who is also thought to have been a pupil of Byrd before he went abroad in 1582, appears immediately after Morley’s on the 1574 St Paul’s visitation list quoted above.¹¹⁰ Sebastian Westcote, as almoner and master of the choristers, would have been responsible for the boys’ musical education, and it is possible that he arranged for Byrd to teach the two young men.

The inclusion of Morley’s two settings of Latin texts, written when he was nineteen, in the Sadler part books may well result from his association with Byrd, and this in turn suggests that Morley was being taught by Byrd (or had significant contact with him) before 1576, when the pieces were written out. John Sadler (1513 to c. 1591), schoolmaster at Fotheringhay and then Oundle in Northamptonshire and, from 1568, vicar of Sudborough, compiled an anthology of largely Latin-texted, sacred music over a period of twenty years in the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s. Dates and references to contemporary events help to establish the chronology of the compilation. The collection has a distinctly recusant flavour, with

¹⁰⁷ Morley, *Introduction*, preface.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 115; (Morley’s italics).

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, Brett, ‘Thomas Morley’; David Brown, ‘The Styles and Chronology of Thomas Morley’s Motets’, *Music & Letters*, 41 (1960), 216-22; Craig Monson, ‘“Throughout all Generations”: Intimations of Influence in the Short Service Styles of Tallis, Byrd and Morley’, in David Brown and Richard Turbet (eds.), *Byrd Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 83-111.

¹¹⁰ John Harley, *William Byrd Gentleman of the Chapel Royal* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), 62, 364.

references to the Catholic liturgy reinforcing the Latin texts, and many decorated initial letters depicting martyrdom and persecution. David Mateer believes that the decoration was carried out no earlier than 1580, and could possibly mark the execution of Edmund Campion in 1581.¹¹¹ The part book format suggests that the music was intended for performance, but given the repertory and the content of the later decoration, it must have been seen only in trusted recusant circles.

The Morley pieces are included amongst works by Tallis and Byrd from their *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*, which had been published in the previous year and had presumably arrived in Northamptonshire, either in print or in a manuscript copy of the print, by 1576. There is no evidence that Morley himself was in Northamptonshire in the mid-1570s. Similarly, the inclusion of his works in the collection does not necessarily mean that Morley was a committed Catholic; his religious stance is discussed further in Chapter 2. It is not possible to establish how Sadler acquired Morley's pieces, but they may have been transmitted through the recusant community via Byrd.

MASTER OF THE CHILDREN AT NORWICH CATHEDRAL

If, as seems likely, Thomas was at St Paul's Cathedral in 1574, he must have been, at the age of 16 or 17, in his final months as a chorister there. His name is second on the list, so he was probably one of the oldest boys, and it is possible that by this time he was singing alto parts. The impending requirement for him to find employment may have been one of the catalysts for the reversionary grant, referred to above, of the post of master of the children at Norwich Cathedral.¹¹² The Dean and Chapter of the cathedral had already made similar grants to both Thomas Tusser in 1564¹¹³ and Thomas Dalyce in 1565¹¹⁴ and were to make a

¹¹¹ David Mateer, 'John Sadler and Oxford, Bodleian Mss Mus. e. 1-5', *Music & Letters*, 60 (1979), 281-95.

¹¹² *Nwr*, DCN 47/3, ff. 82r-82v.

¹¹³ *Nwr*, DCN 47/1, f. 388.

further grant to Edmund Inglott's son, William, in 1579;¹¹⁵ furthermore, in 1580 they granted the post to Lionell and Hamont Claxton.¹¹⁶ It seems that this practice was as much a way of granting a favour as an example of organised succession planning. The cathedral authorities may have felt it politic in 1574 to do something for Morley, since his step-grandfather, Christopher Some, was currently Mayor of Norwich.

However, the post in Norwich did not become available until 1583 and, apart from the inclusion of his two pieces in the Sadler part books, there is no trace of Morley in the intervening eight or nine years. Watkins Shaw speculated¹¹⁷ that he was back at Norwich Cathedral as a singing man in 1576, on the strength of a payment to 'domino Morley' in the accounts for 1575-6. This, however, is a misreading: the entry is actually the record of revenue of £8 0s 0d returned to Lord Morley (Henry Parker, 11th Baron Morley, who was succeeded by his son Edward in 1577) in connection with the manor at Swanton, and a similar payment appears annually for many years.¹¹⁸ In addition, the singing men are named in the accounts throughout this period, and Thomas Morley is not amongst them, so that the only basis on which he could have been at Norwich Cathedral during this period is as an unpaid supernumerary singer. Even so, one might expect to find occasional *ex-gratia* payments to Thomas in the cathedral accounts (as there are for William Inglott¹¹⁹ before he obtained a salaried place), but there are none. Similarly, whilst there are some instances of the name 'Thomas Morley' in the muster records for this period, these can be accounted for amongst the extended Morley family, so that it seems very unlikely that Thomas the musician was in Norwich on a regular basis between 1574 and 1583. It is quite possible that he remained at St

¹¹⁴ *Nwr*, DCN 47/2, f. 128.

¹¹⁵ *Nwr*, DCN 47/3, f. 115.

¹¹⁶ *Nwr*, DCN 24/1, f. 61v.

¹¹⁷ Watkins Shaw, 'Thomas Morley', 669.

¹¹⁸ (left margin) 'Reddit resolut'

'... viij li ab domino Morley ad manerium sui de Swaynton ...' ; *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/28.

¹¹⁹ *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/32-35.

Paul's in some capacity for at least part of this period, but unfortunately no records of choir members survive to confirm or refute this.

Life at the Cathedral

Thomas Morley took up the post of master of the children at Norwich Cathedral in March 1583, on the death of Edmund Inglott. By this time Thomas Tusser and Thomas Dalyce, who had prior claims to the position, had already died, leaving Morley next in line. The cathedral accounts show, except for the year 1585-6 (for which accounts do not survive), payments of £36 0s 0d per annum to him from Lady Day (25 March) in 1583 to the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June) in 1587. Ten pounds of each payment was his salary; the rest was for the upkeep of the boys.¹²⁰ Morley and, presumably, the boys were accommodated in the cathedral close in a property held by Thomas Hopkins, for which the Dean and Chapter paid £4 0s 0d in the accounting years 1583-4 and 1584-5.¹²¹ There were two Thomas Hopkins associated with the cathedral in different lay roles and each was involved in property transactions with the Dean and Chapter, so it is not possible to be precise about where Morley lived.¹²² However, amongst the Hopkins leases is one that seems a good candidate for accommodating the master and the boys:

... a stable & a chamber adjoining to the work house to the *south* of the stable & the Porter's lodge, and a chamber or old chaple over the gate & Porter's lodge, sometime called our Lady's Chapel over the gate.¹²³

These rooms are situated above and next to the gate now known as St Ethelbert's Gate. Certainly, Morley did live in the cathedral precinct: the muster records for 13 November 1585

¹²⁰ *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/33-36.

¹²¹ *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/34-35.

¹²² *Nwr*, DCN 24/1 f. 18r.; DCN 24/1, f. 35v.; DCN 24/1, f. 60r.; DCN 24/1, f. 62r.

¹²³ *Nwr*, DCN 47/2, f. 121v.

include Thomas Morley, furnished with bow and arrows, amongst ‘the men and furniture remayning within the cathedrall church of norwiche for the service of hyr majestie’.¹²⁴

There is no payment to Hopkins for the first six months that Morley was at the cathedral; this may be the result of accounting practices or indicate that his accommodation could not be arranged immediately. He had originally been promised, in the 1574 reversion, the property occupied by Edmund Inglott, comprising the almoner’s house and garden, but plans had clearly changed well before he arrived, as the 1579 reversion of the post to Edmund’s son, William Inglott, refers to a property currently leased to Hopkins rather than the house occupied by his father.¹²⁵ There is an isolated record of a Thomas Morley in the parish of St Lawrence in the spring of 1583, which cannot refer to Thomas, the brother of Francis (and the only Thomas recorded in parish and muster records at this time), as he lived in St Michael Coslany. This record is the baptism of a Margaret Morley, daughter of Thomas Morley, on 12 April. If this was Thomas the musician, it possible that he and an unidentified wife stayed with either his uncle William or his brother William, both of whom lived in the parish of St Lawrence, until his own accommodation was available. However, against this possibility must be set the fact that during this period Thomas was responsible for the housing, upkeep and education of the choristers and there are no payments for exceptional arrangements for them in the cathedral accounts, although they could have remained temporarily at Edmund Inglott’s house.

Thomas Morley returned to a very different establishment from the one he would have known as a child. For the first decade of the reign of Elizabeth I, the Chapter of Norwich

¹²⁴ *Nwr*, NCR Case 13a/5, f. 7a.

¹²⁵ *Nwr*, DCN 24/1, f. 57r.

Cathedral had been made up largely of religious conservatives,¹²⁶ who did not espouse a particularly Protestant stance, and this was reflected both in the style of worship and in the appearance of the cathedral. Humphrey Prideaux, dean of Norwich Cathedral from 1702 to 1724, recorded the outcome of an archiepiscopal visitation in 1567. Whilst Prideaux might be suspected of betraying his strongly anti-Catholic views, his notes give the impression of being a straight transcription of the original documents, as they contain what would have been archaic constructions and usages at the time he was writing. He records that the cathedral authorities were instructed to:

... deface all images and places where images stand and fill up the same places with stone and ... burn all Grailes Masse Bookes Processioners portasses and suchlike superstitious Bookes in whose custody soever they be found ... provide their Bibles and Paraphrases *which* they now want and repair & furnish their library within six months ... suffer not their church dedicated to the study of holy Scripture to preaching and prayer to be profaned with any Popish Superstition whoredom or suchlike detestable vice.¹²⁷

In 1570, four new prebendaries were appointed, injecting a strong protestant or puritan element into the Chapter.¹²⁸ The urge to reform was so pressing amongst certain members that it led them to carry out some form of demonstration that year, which allegedly included damage to the organs.¹²⁹ One of the key participants in this demonstration was George Gardiner, who later became Dean in 1573, at which point he adopted a more moderate position. Gardiner may have had a hand in drawing up draft statutes for the cathedral, written in the period 1569-74, but never formalised.¹³⁰ Whilst Protestant leanings are seen in a strong emphasis on preaching,¹³¹ provision is made for the continuance of the existing musical

¹²⁶ Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Refoundation & Reformation, 1538-1628', in Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bell and Hassell Smith (eds.) *Norwich Cathedral Church, City & Diocese 1096 – 1996* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 522.

¹²⁷ *Nwr*, DCN 115/9, f. 17.

¹²⁸ Houlbrooke, 'Refoundation', 522.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Lbl*, Stowe MS 128.

¹³¹ Houlbrooke, 'Refoundation', 531.

establishment of eight minor canons, six singing men, eight choristers and a master of the choristers.¹³²

The draft statutes strictly limited the use of music in services on weekdays:

... it shall suffice to have the service in playne note withoutt anye partes on the working dayes with a psalme in meter att the begyning & ending of prayer & also before & after sermons & lectures.¹³³

If this was indeed the practice in Norwich, it would have been a somewhat limiting environment for a young man who, during his time at St Paul's, would have experienced a much wider range of music, both sacred and secular, in the capital.

The same draft statutes define the role of the master of the choristers:

... we will that ther shal be a Scoolmaster of the Queristers which shalbe a man of honest life and godly Religion skillfull in pricksong, descant & plaing of the orgaines his office shalbe to teache the Queristers too Reade, write, sing, & playe untill they be perfite in the same, and he shall be bounde to serve in the Queare as other singingmen doo, and to playe on the orgaines when and as often as it shalbe thought convenient by the chaunter [precentor] or his substitute & he shall provide such songs as shall be fytt and convenient to furnysh the Queare, And he shall not absent hym self at anie tyme without speciall licence as is before sayde in the statute of the Pettycannonnes, And he shall receive *quarterlye* for his stipend fiftye shillings & no more.¹³⁴

Thus Morley would have been expected to provide both a basic and a musical education for the boys, to sing in the choir, play the organ and compose music for the choir. The references to prick-song and organ playing suggest that more elaborate music was acceptable and expected on Sundays and feast days. A new organ was installed in 1578 for the Queen's visit to Norwich.¹³⁵

¹³² *Lbl*, Stowe MS 128.

¹³³ *Lbl*, MS Stowe 128, f. 11r.

¹³⁴ *Lbl*, MS Stowe 128, f. 7v.

¹³⁵ Peter Aston and Tom Roast, 'Music in the Cathedral', in Atherton, Fernie, Harper-Bill and Smith, *Norwich Cathedral*, 690.

The master of the choristers at Norwich was not particularly well-paid, and by the time Morley took up the post the differential between the pay for this role and that of the ordinary singing men had been eroded. The draft statutes of 1569-1574 had proposed reverting to the salaries set in the reign of Edward VI: £10 0s 0d for the master of the choristers, and £6 13s 4d for the singing men.¹³⁶ However, at the time the statutes were drafted, the cathedral accounts show that one of the singing men, Osbert Parsley, was receiving £12 0s 0d per annum, two were paid £10 0s 0d and the other three, £8 0s 0d; ten years later, when Morley arrived, some men were still being paid £10 0s 0d and the remainder £8 0s 0d. As a result, Morley received no more money than the better-paid singing men for all his additional responsibilities. Ten pounds a year is approximately what an unskilled building labourer on 8d a day would have earned.¹³⁷

City Life

There were opportunities for musical activity outside the cathedral. In the accounting year 1583-4 Thomas was paid ten shillings by the cathedral for his expenses in a dispute with John Amery, one of the singing men at the cathedral.¹³⁸ The following record, from a Norwich Quarter Sessions hearing on 25 September 1583, may explain this:

This daye Robert Thacker Peter Spratt John Mannyng Jamys Wyllson and Richard Graves the Waytes of this cite and Thomas Morley Master of the Children of *Christ*Churche cam befor Mr Thomas Gleane Maior of this Citie Mr Robert Sucklyng and Mr Thomas Layer Justices of the peace within the same Citie and made compleynt ageynst Robert Ambry A Syngyngman in the *Christ*churche for an abuse in that Ambrye meeting with them ageynst Gyrdlers hows yesternight as they cam from Mr Chauncellors hous Fell at debate with them calling them Fydlyng & pypyng knaves and beeyng reproved for playeng at unlauffull games saied he wold playe though the Deane & whosoever else sayed naye and further he did strike Morley on the face and drew his dagger also at hym And because of this abuse and many his other abuses offered to them at other tymes at their request yt

¹³⁶ *Lbl*, MS Stowe 128, ff. 15r-16r.

¹³⁷ See Chapter 4, pp. 199-200, for a discussion of wages in Elizabethan England.

¹³⁸ *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/34. First noted by Frank Ll. Harrison in a letter to *Music and Letters*, 42 (1961), 97-98.

is ordered that the seid Ambrye shalbe *commytted* to prison untill he fynde sureties for his good behavyor.¹³⁹

This is a colourful anecdote, but it also demonstrates that Morley was engaged either socially or professionally with the city waits. Mr Chauncellor, who was probably the chancellor of the cathedral John Becon, may have engaged the waits and Morley to provide some form of entertainment at his house. The waits received a modest salary of £3 0s 0d per annum, plus £2 0s 0d for livery,¹⁴⁰ for fulfilling basic ceremonial duties, but supplemented their incomes, generally as a group, through both private and additional official engagements. For example, for playing at the mayor's house on the day of the 1580 annual perambulation they earned 5s 0d between them,¹⁴¹ whilst for playing on Accession Day and Armada Thanksgiving Day (17 and 29 November respectively) in 1588, the waits received 20s 0d.¹⁴² The cathedral also employed them to play at Christmas.¹⁴³ From 4 February 1576 the waits were permitted to participate in theatrical productions:

This daye the hole company of the waytes of this Cittie did come here unto this courte and Craved that they might have leve to playe *commodies* and upon Interlutes & souch other places [sic] and tragedies *which* shall seme to them mete *which* Peticion by the hole concent of this courte is graunted to them so farre as they do not play in the tyme of devine *service* and Sermonnes.¹⁴⁴

At least some of the waits also had salaried second jobs: Robert Thacker was the city's water bailiff,¹⁴⁵ whilst Peter Spratt was also a singing man at the cathedral, for which he earned £8 0s 0d a year.

¹³⁹ *Nwr*, NCR Case 20a/6, f. 59v. Whilst the defendant is described as Robert Ambry in the text, the marginal description of the case gives the name *Johannis Amry*; there was no Robert Ambry amongst the singing men at the cathedral.

¹⁴⁰ *Nwr*, NCR Case 18a, f. 59.

¹⁴¹ *Nwr*, NCR Case 18a, f. 32r.

¹⁴² *Nwr*, NCR Case 18a, f. 32v.

¹⁴³ See, for example, *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/31: 5s paid to Peter Spratt, Robert Thacker and the other waits for playing at Christmas.

¹⁴⁴ *Nwr*, DCN Case 16a/9, f. 682.

¹⁴⁵ *Nwr*, NCR Case 18a, f. 305v.

The waits' instruments were mostly provided for them by the city. An inventory of the city's property taken in the accounting year 1584-5 lists two trumpets, four sackbuts, three hautboys, five recorders 'beeyng a Whoall noyse', and an old lyzardine [serpent].¹⁴⁶ They also had silver collars to wear and half a dozen flags. A lectern and three seats were provided for them at the market cross for their regular outdoor performances.¹⁴⁷ From Amery's dismissive reference to them as 'Fydlyng & pypyng knaves' it is clear that they played stringed instruments as well as winds, and Thacker owned a violin when he died in 1589.¹⁴⁸ It may be that some of Morley's pieces for mixed consort were originally written for the Norwich waits. In 1591, at least one of his pieces, apparently written well before then, was played at a lavish entertainment for the Queen at Elvetham:

After supper was ended, her Majestie graciously admitted unto her presence a notable consort of six Musitions, which my Lord of Hertford had provided to entertaine her Majestie withall, at her will and pleasure, and when it should seeme good to her highnesse. Their Musicke so highly pleased her, that in grace and favour thereof, she gave a newe name unto one of their Pavans, made long since by master *Thomas Morley*, then Organist of Paules Church.¹⁴⁹

Elsewhere in the description of this entertainment, an 'exquisite consort, wherein was the Lute, Bandora, Base-violl, Citterne, Treble-violl and Flute...' ¹⁵⁰ is mentioned and it is probable that Morley's piece was for a mixed consort of this sort.

DEPARTURE FROM NORWICH

Morley seems to have left the cathedral abruptly in the summer of 1587, so abruptly, in fact, that there was an interregnum during which one of the singing men, Leonard Walker, was paid for teaching the boys before Morley's successor, William Inglott, was appointed in

¹⁴⁶ *Nwr*, NCR Case 18a, f. 129v.

¹⁴⁷ *Nwr*, NCR Case 18a, f. 124v.

¹⁴⁸ *Nwr*, DN/INV 5/89.

¹⁴⁹ Anon., *The Honorable Entertainement Given to the Quenes Majestie, in Progresse, at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honourable the Earle of Hertford* (London: John Wolfe, 1591), sig. B4v.-C.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. Ev.

the autumn.¹⁵¹ During the accounting year 1586-7 the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral also incurred 'necessary expenses' of £11 15s 0d for looking after the boys on several occasions, suggesting that Morley's departure left the domestic arrangements in disarray:

And in respect of money paid by the said dean for victuals or maintenance of the said boys at several times within the time of this account that is to say for 5 boys for the space of five weeks according to the agreement of 10s. for each week – 50s. at another time for three boys for the space of 18 weeks according to the agreement of 6s. for each week – 108s. at another time for two boys for the space of 12 weeks according to the agreement of 4s. 6d. for each week 56s. & at the last time for one boy for the space of 9 weeks according to the agreement of 2s. 4d. for each week 21s¹⁵²

(Et in denariis per dictum decanum solut pro victualis sive communis dictorum puerorum ad separalia tempora infra tempus huius compoti viz pro v pueris per spacium quinque septimanarum inxta rat xs [10s 0d] quolibet septimanis – 1s [50s 0d] alia vice pro tribus pueris per spacium xviii septimanarum inxta rat vis [6s 0d] pro quolibet septimanis cviii [108s 0d] alia vice pro duobus pueris per spacium xii septimanarum inxta rat iiiis viiid [4s 8d] pro quolibet septimanis lvis [56s 0d] et ultima vice pro puero per spacium ix septinanarum inxta rat iis iiiid [2s 4d] pro quolibet septimanis xxis [21s 0d] In toto ut in dicta shedula papiri manis decani et prebendariorum signat patet xlii xvs)

Morley's house was leased to Thomas Brown of Brisley in May of that year. A draft version of the lease is dated as early as 28 April,¹⁵³ with the completed record dated 25 May:

'Imprimis one lease to Thomas Brown of Bresley of the howse chambers and dorter within christs church which howse was late in the tenure of Thomas Morley'.¹⁵⁴

David Scott asserts that Morley went to St Paul's Cathedral from Norwich in 1586, but provides no evidence for this,¹⁵⁵ although a period during which Thomas was periodically away, possibly at St Paul's, before finally leaving Norwich could explain the intermittent maintenance costs for the boys. Philip Brett, however, links Morley's departure with a letter

¹⁵¹ *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/36.

¹⁵² *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/36. Translation by Hilary Marshall.

¹⁵³ *Nwr*, DCN 24/1, f. 86r.

¹⁵⁴ *Nwr*, DCN 24/1, f. 87r.

¹⁵⁵ Scott, *Music of St Paul's*, 13.

dated 3 August 1587 from Edward Paston to his relative by marriage John Manners, the Earl of Rutland, recommending a keyboard teacher for his daughters.

Right honourable, my dewtie remembered whereas your *Lordship* spake to me for one to teach *your* daughters to playe uppon the virginalls. I have procured the bearer herof whom I thinke very fytt for the purpose to goe unto *your* Lordship. He was placed at Norwich Organest. And by my *perswacion* he hath left his rome to come unto your *Lordship* not doutinge *your* Lordship will consider of his paynes, & like wise of his cunningg *which* is such as in my Judgment *your* Lordship shall hardlie get the like. I have had good experience of his honestie and good Condycions & therfour I dare the more bould & commend him. Thus having not other to wryte unto *your* Lordship at this tyme I commit you to the trinitie [?] of the almightie From at Keyton this iii die of August 1587. *Your Lordship's* to command Edward Paston.¹⁵⁶

Although Morley is not named in this letter, there is no other plausible candidate, assuming, as seems likely, that 'placed at Norwich Organest' means organist at Norwich Cathedral, rather than, say, at one of the many parish churches. From the cathedral itself another possible candidate was William Inglott, who was next in line for post of master of the children, and who eventually replaced Morley in the autumn of 1587, after an interregnum of several months. However, there is no break in payments to Inglott for his services as a singing man and, at the time Paston wrote, he had not been appointed organist.¹⁵⁷ There is a significant gap between the granting of the lease of Morley's house to Thomas Brown and Edward Paston's letter to the Earl of Rutland, so if Morley did leave the cathedral in order to take up this post he must have been confident that he would gain the post, or very anxious to leave the cathedral, to have done this so far in advance. Alternatively, other factors, of which there are now no traces, must have led to his departure.

Whilst it is not possible to confirm that Morley did indeed go to work for the Earl of Rutland at Belvoir Castle, the wording of Edward Paston's letter and the fact that it is preserved amongst the Manners family papers suggest that the person recommended by

¹⁵⁶ Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston (1550-1630): a Norfolk Gentleman and his Musical Collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1964), 55 and Plate VIII.

¹⁵⁷ *Nwr*, DCN 10/1/36.

Paston took it to Belvoir himself. If employed there, Morley would have entered a household with an established interest in music. The family's ownership of instruments and their employment of both visiting and resident musicians from the 1520s onwards are documented by David Price, drawing on the Manners family records.¹⁵⁸ Until the 1580s there is little evidence that the Manners sang or played themselves, but from then onwards there are references to providing tutors, music, instruments and strings for family members. There are, however, no references to Thomas Morley amongst the household records for which published transcripts are available.

Thomas Morley's employment at Belvoir, if it happened at all, was probably short-lived. Edward Paston's letter was written to John, the fourth Earl of Rutland, who had inherited the title on his father's death in April 1587. John himself died the following February, and the title passed to his son Roger, a minor, then studying at Cambridge. Roger's mother, Elizabeth, administered the estate for her son. It seems from the funeral accounts that there were three daughters, the Lady Bridget and the 'two little ladies'.¹⁵⁹ The death of the fourth earl seems to have left the family in straitened circumstances and funeral costs were kept to a minimum.¹⁶⁰ This, and the fact that Lady Bridget was sent to live with the Countess of Bedford in June¹⁶¹ to acquire an education (and some polish for her eventual destination at court as a maid of the Queen's privy chamber in 1589), makes it unlikely that Morley would have remained with them beyond the first half of 1588, unless he stayed to teach the younger girls. A letter of 9 June 1588 concerning Lady Bridget from her mother to the Countess of Bedford certainly provides no evidence that Morley had taught her to play the virginals. It appears that Lady Bridget had recently been ill and that:

¹⁵⁸ Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 131-140.

¹⁵⁹ HMC, *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland GCB Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 4 vols (London: HMSO, 1888-1905), i. 242-3.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, i. 50 and iv. 393.

‘Her education has been barren hitherto, nor has she attained to anything except to play a little on the lute, which now, by her late discontinuance, she has almost forgotten’.¹⁶²

Thus, by 1588, Morley appears to have tried his hand at all the employment opportunities open to a professional musician outside London: leading the music at a cathedral; performing music for urban dwellers on an *ad hoc* basis; and possibly working as a retained household musician. He was apparently not happy enough with his position at Norwich cathedral to want to remain there, and if he did go to work at Belvoir Castle, his tenure there was disappointingly short. On 6 July 1588 he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford University.¹⁶³ The degree was not taught at the University but awarded on the basis of two tests: the candidate was required to demonstrate that he had studied and practised music for at least seven years; and he had to compose a five-part vocal piece and have it performed at Oxford. Three days’ notice of the performance was required. The process was completed by the presentation of the candidate in Congregation.¹⁶⁴

On 14 February 1589, ‘Thomas, the sonne of Thomas Morley organist’ was buried at St Giles Cripplegate in London.¹⁶⁵ It is reasonable to assume that this is the same Thomas Morley, now living in London with a wife and at least one child. He apparently described himself, or was known, as an organist, which fits with Edward Paston’s assessment of his ‘cunning’ as a keyboard player. Morley is also referred to in the description of the entertainment at Elvetham, quoted above, as ‘master Thomas Morley, then Organist of Paules Church’.¹⁶⁶ This indicates that Morley played the organ at St Paul’s Cathedral, although there was no formal position for an organist at the cathedral until the nineteenth century. Instead,

¹⁶² Ibid., i. 250.

¹⁶³ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714*, 4 vols (Oxford: James Parker, 1891), iii. 1034.

¹⁶⁴ Andrew Clark (ed.), *Register of the University of Oxford, Volume II (1571-1622)*, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1887-9), i. 145-6.

¹⁶⁵ *London, Guildhall Library*, MS 06419/1.

¹⁶⁶ Anon., *Elvetham*, sig. C.

organ players were drawn from the vicars choral.¹⁶⁷ Morley must therefore have been a vicar choral, or lay clerk, at St. Paul's, and this is confirmed by other references to him both as an organist and as a singing man at St Paul's, discussed in Chapter 2. He was back in the capital, almost certainly in familiar surroundings at St Paul's, and well-placed to develop his career.

¹⁶⁷ Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 170-172.

CHAPTER 2 – NEW DIRECTIONS

Ther is one morley that playeth on the orgaines in poules that was with me in my house he semed here to be a good catholicke and was reconciled, but not-withstanding suspecting his behaviour I enterceptd letters that mr nowell wrote to him wherby I discovered enoughe to have hanged him nevertheless he shewing with teares great repentaunce and asking on his knees forgiveness. I was content to let him goe. I here since his comming thether he hath played the promotor and apprehendeth catholickes. I pray yow advertise me therof.¹

This frequently quoted passage from a letter written by Charles Paget in the Low Countries in 1591 provides confirmation of Thomas Morley's employment at St Paul's Cathedral ('poules'), but it also raises important questions about Morley's religious and political stance, about the nature of his visit to the Low Countries and about how this visit may have influenced the future direction of his career. It is generally assumed that Morley went to Flanders primarily to carry out intelligence work of some kind, but we cannot be sure that this was the case. It is possible that he had a personal reason for the trip, such as visiting his old colleague from St Paul's Cathedral, Peter Philips, going to Antwerp to buy music, or investigating the music publishing business there at first hand; and that, on seeking permission to travel, he was asked also to undertake work for the government. This could explain how Morley, who had no known connections in 1591 with those who ran and funded intelligence activities, became involved. On the other hand, foreign travel was generally limited to the upper classes and those engaged in foreign trade, so it would have been unusual for a singing man from St Paul's Cathedral to undertake such a trip of his own volition, especially to a country at war with England's allies.

¹ *Lna*, SP 12/240/19.

AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF MORLEY'S CAREER, 1587-1591

In her study of musicians and intelligence operations in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,² Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor suggests that the seeds of Morley's apparent intelligence activities in 1591 may have been sown several years earlier. She argues that Thomas may have left Norwich in 1587, 'with the project of completing his musical studies at Oxford University'.³ This, of course, ignores the possibility – discussed in Chapter 1 – that Morley worked for the Manners family at Belvoir Castle as a keyboard teacher in the second half of 1587 and the early part of 1588. This is a reasonable position to take, given that Morley is not named in the correspondence concerning the post, although it is difficult to identify who else might have been referred to as 'placed at Norwich Organest'.⁴

More problematic is Dr Chiasson-Taylor's assumption that Morley actually attended Oxford University as a student for almost a year before being awarded his B. Mus. on 6 July 1588. The Bachelor of Music (B. Mus.) was not a taught degree, so would not have required residence at the university;⁵ neither is there any evidence that Morley matriculated in 1587, which he would have done had he been a resident student. Anyone joining either Oxford or Cambridge University was required to go through a formal registration process, or matriculation, at the start of their attendance. Matriculation details, including date and college, are recorded for full-time students such as Thomas's half-brothers, Christopher and Henry Morley, who matriculated at Trinity College Cambridge in 1578 and 1582 respectively, at the start of their studies towards the Bachelor of Arts degree,⁶ but there is no matriculation information of this sort for music graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge in this period. The

² Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor, 'Musicians and Intelligence Operations, 1570-1612: Politics, Surveillance, and Patronage in the Late Tudor and Early Stuart Years', Ph.D. diss. (McGill University, 2006).

³ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁴ See Chapter 1, pp. 42-45.

⁵ See Chapter 1, p. 45.

⁶ John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part 1 From the Earliest Times to 1751*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924-1926), iii. 213.

records for Oxford B. Mus. graduates sometimes give the length of time the candidate had studied or worked in music – for example, Giles Farnaby, ‘12 years in music’;⁷ John Bull, ‘14 years a student’⁸ – and there may be a stated association with a college, such as Christ Church in the case of Giles Farnaby. However, often there is no detail beyond the date on which the degree was awarded, as for Thomas Morley and John Dowland, both of whom graduated at Oxford on the same day.⁹ It seems that, if they matriculated at all, candidates for the degree of B. Mus. must have gone through the formality of matriculation as part of the process of supplicating for the degree. For example, although Anthony à Wood, writing much later in the seventeenth century, associates Giles Farnaby with Christ Church Oxford,¹⁰ there is no record of his matriculation or degree in the retrospectively compiled college admissions book,¹¹ nor does he appear in the lists of members of the college in the disbursement books for the years around his graduation.¹²

The question of Morley’s residence at Oxford University as a student in 1587-8 is not just an interesting detail. It has a bearing on how and when he might have become involved in political and intelligence activities. On 21 September 1592 the Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick) wrote to Lord Burghley in reply to a letter from him received ‘towards night time’ the previous day, Wednesday 20 September, warning her of plots concerning her grandchild Arbella Stuart (the Queen’s cousin and a potential heir to the throne), who was living with her at Hardwick Hall. Her letter includes the following information:

On[e] Morley, who hath attended on Arbell & red to hyr for the space of thre yere & a half shoed to be much discontented since my retorne into the cuntry, in sayinge he had lyved in hope, to have som annuitie graunted him by Arbell out of hyr land duringe

⁷ Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, ii. 485.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 208.

⁹ *Ibid.*, iii. 1034, i. 418.

¹⁰ Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses ... to which are added, the Fasti, or, Annals, of the said university...* (London: Bennet, 1691), column 767.

¹¹ *Och Archives*, Ch. Ch. Ms. D.P i.a.1; *Matricula Aedis Christi 1546-1635*.

¹² *Och Archives*, Ch.Ch. Mss. Xii.b.30-35.

hys lyfe, or some lease of grounds to the value of forty pound a yere, alledging th[a]t he was so much damnified by leving of the universitie; & now saw th[a]t if she were wyllinge yet not of abylitye to make him any such assurance. I understanding by dyvers th[a]t Morley was so much discontented, & withall of late having some cause to be doubtfull of his forwardnes in religion (though I cannot charge him with papistry), toke occasion to parte with him

after he was gone from my howse and all hys stuff caried from hence, the next day he returned ageyn, very importunate to serve, without standinge upon any recompence, which made me more suspicious & the wyllinger to parte with hym

I have an other in my howse who wyll supply Morleys place very well for the tyme; I wyll have those th[a]t shalbe sufficient in lerninge, honest, & well disposed so nere as I can.¹³

Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor feels that this letter could refer to events that happened twelve or even eighteen months before it was written – perhaps as early as the beginning of 1591, when the Countess of Shrewsbury returned to Hardwick after the death of her husband in late 1590. She argues that Thomas Morley could have mixed with others involved in political and religious intrigue whilst a student at Oxford¹⁴ and gone from there to this role at Hardwick in 1588.¹⁵ This career path, she proposes, would fit with his visit to the Low Countries in the autumn of 1591, where she believes he was engaged in activities associated with promoting the marriage of Arbella Stuart to the son of the Duke of Parma.¹⁶

There are some difficulties with this hypothesis. Firstly, the wording of the complaint by ‘Morley’ implies that he left the university to tutor Arbella, and was financially disadvantaged (‘damnified’) by so doing. For this to be the case he must have been resident and in receipt of a stipend at one of the universities, which is not consistent with the evidence of the way in which the B. Mus. was awarded. Secondly, the dates do not entirely fit together. By the time Thomas visited the Low Countries in the early autumn of 1591 he was described

¹³ *Lbl*, Lansdowne MS 71, item 2. (The Lansdowne Manuscripts were collected by Sir William Petty, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne (b. 1737, d. 1805) and purchased by the British Museum in 1807. They cover a wide range of subjects, including papers of William Cecil, Lord Burghley.)

¹⁴ Chiasson-Taylor, ‘Musicians and Intelligence Operations’, 152.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 120-121.

¹⁶ Morley’s activities in the Low Countries are discussed below, pp. 69-79.

by Charles Paget as organist at St Paul's. He would surely have been at the cathedral for several months by then, at the very least, to justify describing himself in this way to Paget or for Paget to know that this was his role. To fit in three and a half years at Hardwick and, say, six months at St Paul's, Morley must have arrived at Hardwick in the autumn of 1587, leaving very little time for him to have attended the university and then been disadvantaged by leaving it.

Perhaps the most compelling argument against Chiasson-Taylor's interpretation is her proposition that the Countess of Shrewsbury's letter refers back to events occurring over a year before it was written. The letter was a response to Burghley's warning that there were active plots in September 1592 concerning Arbella, assuring him that precautions were being taken to keep the girl safe and away from bad influences. The phrase 'I have an other in my howse who wyll supply Morleys place very well for the tyme' suggests that Morley's final dismissal was fairly contemporaneous with the letter. Although this might not have precluded Morley from visiting the Low Countries a year earlier whilst in employment at Hardwick, it would certainly mean that he could not at that point have been described as organist at St Paul's.

There is no other obvious candidate known to us for the role of tutor to Arbella Stuart, but the case for it being Thomas Morley is not convincing. Quite apart from the difficulties with the evidence, it is inconceivable, given his apparent restlessness at Norwich and the entrepreneurial drive he exhibited during the 1590s, that he would have remained at Hardwick for three and a half years before raising his dissatisfaction with his remuneration. The most plausible alternative candidate for the role is the playwright Christopher Marlowe, who had

been involved in espionage for the government since at least 1587, whilst still at Cambridge University.¹⁷ However, having considered the possibility, Charles Nicholl concludes:

But I cannot call him Marlowe because I want him to be Marlowe. There are too many uncertainties. The main argument against the identification is Marlowe's presence elsewhere.¹⁸

There are records of a few university students named Morley (or variants of the name) from approximately the right period, although, like Thomas Morley and Christopher Marlowe, their careers tend not to make them good candidates for tutoring Arbella Stuart in the late 1580s and early 1590s.¹⁹ The university career of Thomas's half-brother, Henry, is documented by Venn.²⁰ He gained his B. A. from Trinity in 1586-7 and became a fellow of Corpus Christi in 1589. He took his M. A. in 1590 and gained a B. D. in 1597. He was possibly incorporated M. A. at Oxford in 1592, but more likely in 1607.²¹ He remained a fellow of Corpus Christi until 1598, when he took up a clerical career.²² The level of his activities and achievements at Cambridge in the period 1588-1592 would appear to be inconsistent with tutoring Arbella Stuart in Derbyshire. Christopher Morley, Thomas's other university-educated half-brother, might be another candidate. He graduated with a B. A. in 1582-3 from Trinity College and gained his M. A. there in 1586. From that year he was a fellow of the college, a role in which he remained until he died in April 1596. The Senior Bursar's account books for the college²³ show that he was paid a stipend for every quarter from his graduation until his death in 1596, an arrangement not consistent with someone

¹⁷ Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: the Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), 91-101.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 341.

¹⁹ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*; Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*.

²⁰ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, iii. 213.

²¹ Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, iii. 1033, gives a Morley with no Christian name MA of Cambridge, incorporated on 27 September 1592. He proposes either Christopher or Henry. As there is also a record on the same page of Henry Morley, MA of Cambridge, incorporated on 14 July 1607, the 1592 record probably refers to Christopher.

²² *Ibid* and G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning (eds.), *The Record of Old Westminster: A Biographical List of All Those Who are Known to Have Been Educated at Westminster School from the Earliest Times to 1927*, 2 vols (London: Chiswick Press, 1928), ii. 667. Also W. W. Rouse Ball and J. A. Venn (eds.) *Admissions, 1546-1700 Trinity College, Cambridge* (London, Macmillan, 1913), 121 and 140.

²³ *Ctc Archives*, Senior Bursar's Accounts, 1582-1596.

‘damnified’ by leaving the university in the late 1580s. There are also records of: Robert Morley of London, who matriculated in March 1579 from New College Oxford, aged eighteen, but who may have gone on to the Middle Temple in 1582;²⁴ John and James Morley, who matriculated at Cambridge in 1571 and 1572 respectively but who both were members of the Inner Temple by the end of the decade; Herbert Morley, who matriculated at Cambridge in 1577 and by 1588-9 was MP for Winchelsea; finally Brian Marley, who graduated M. A. at St John’s in 1576, but about whom nothing else is known.²⁵ None of these is a better or a worse candidate than Thomas, so it seems that the identity of Arbella Stuart’s tutor will remain a mystery.

MORLEY’S RELIGION

If we cannot rely upon Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor’s proposed identification of Thomas Morley as Arbella Stuart’s tutor to explain his activities in the Low Countries in 1591, we need to consider other evidence of his religious and political stance. David Brown²⁶ and Thurston Dart, writing in the mid-twentieth century, saw Morley’s career as a progressive moral decline from committed Roman Catholicism to a position in which all that mattered was commercial success, an argument put most trenchantly by Dart:

For illustrations to his textbook, Morley drew upon a wide range of Latin church music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, most of it by English composers; few of these men found themselves greatly in sympathy with the reforming spirit that created the new Anglican rite. By upbringing, if not by birth, Morley thus found himself looking to Rome. But the path of self-advancement led him first, it seems, to sacrifice his beliefs. As organist of St Paul’s, Morley would have had formally to signify his acceptance of the Thirty-Nine Articles. Next the path led him to the betrayal of his fellow-men – in Flanders in 1591, if nowhere else and at no other time. Then began to appear the cracks in his integrity as a musician: his plagiarisms from Tigrini and Anerio, his underhand methods of securing the renewal of the printing monopoly, his unacknowledged use in the ‘Consort Lessons’ (1599) of material apparently composed

²⁴ Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, iii.1033.

²⁵ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, iii. 214 and 142.

²⁶ David Brown, ‘Styles and Chronology’; and ‘Thomas Morley and the Catholics: Some Speculations’, *The Monthly Musical Record*, 89 (1959), 53-61.

by Richard Alison. Lastly, his health began to fail. But the texts of his motets would suggest that with all this came remorse²⁷

This simple analysis does not reflect the entanglement of politics and religion in the late sixteenth century, different attitudes to the re-use of existing material, or the accepted use of patronage and lobbying to achieve personal and commercial ends. Whilst the issues associated with Morley's publishing activities are discussed in Chapter 4, some consideration of the political position of Catholics during the reign of Elizabeth I is necessary here, in order to provide a context for Morley's own political activities.

Catholicism and Politics

Elizabeth I's re-establishment of a Protestant Church of England on her accession had immediate and on-going practical implications for adherents to Roman Catholicism. The 1559 Act of Supremacy required everyone over the age of sixteen to attend church services on Sundays and feast days or risk 'spiritual censure' and pay a fine of a shilling for each occasion missed. A replacement act in 1580 raised the fines to £20 a month, along with the payment of a £200 surety for future good behaviour. There were also additional penalties for participating in Masses, including very large fines and the possibility of imprisonment. Further strengthening of the act, including measures to streamline the judicial process, occurred in 1586.²⁸

Conformity with religious practice was only one of the Elizabethan state's concerns with Catholicism, however. From the start of the Queen's reign, both Protestants and Catholics argued that they were the people with the interests of the country at heart. Royal proclamations, starting in the 1570s, and later trials of missionary priests sought to

²⁷ Thurston Dart, 'Morley and the Catholics: Some Further Speculations', *The Monthly Musical Record*, 89 (1959), 92.

²⁸ See Harley, *William Byrd*, 69 for a summary of the legislation.

characterise the promotion of Roman Catholicism as treasonous, initially to Elizabeth personally and later to the state as a whole. There was a strong attempt to avoid the appearance of overt religious persecution.²⁹ The failed invasion of England by Philip II of Spain in 1588, which had the stated aim of bringing ‘this kingdom to our Holy Catholic Faith and to obedience to the Church of Rome’,³⁰ resulted in English Catholics being assumed to be supporters of Spain. This was by no means the case. Two groups of Catholics had already emerged: those who merely required freedom of worship and those who sought to return England to Catholicism. Within the latter group there were further splits. Those in favour of active regime change were associated with the Jesuit missionaries (who started to arrive from the English College in Rome in the 1580s) and were generally supporters of Spain, whilst the remainder were content with a more evolutionary approach to change.

Early Influences on Morley

Recent research has shown that William Byrd, whose staunch Catholicism for most of his adult life is in no doubt, appears not to have come from a Roman Catholic family.³¹ Thomas Morley, too, was born to a family showing no signs of Catholic allegiance. His father was verger at Norwich Cathedral for some years, and none of his family in Norwich is cited as a recusant in transcripts of surviving records.³² His brother Henry was probably vicar of Stansted Abbots, Hertfordshire, from 1597 to 1602, and in January 1604 became Rector of

²⁹ See, for example, Gillian E. Brennan, ‘Papists and Patriotism in Elizabethan England’, *Recusant History*, 19 (1998-99), 1-15.

³⁰ Quoted in Rev. Michael E. Williams, ‘William Allen: The Sixteenth Century Spanish Connection’, *Recusant History*, 22 (1994-95), 134; original is Archivo General de Simancas, estado 165, f. 114.

³¹ Harley, *William Byrd*, 67.

³² Dom Hugh Bowler (ed.), ‘Recusant Roll No. 2 (1593-1594)’, *Catholic Record Society*, 57 (1965); idem (ed.), ‘Recusant Roll No. 3 (1594-1595) & No. 4 (1595-1696)’, *Catholic Record Society*, 61 (1970); idem and Timothy J. McCann (eds.), ‘Recusants in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls 1581-1592’, *Catholic Record Society*, 71 (1986); Patrick Ryan (ed.), ‘Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales, 1577’, *Catholic Record Society*, 22 (1921), 1-114.

St Alphege in the City of London, adding St Martin Orgar in 1614.³³ In 1609 Henry published *The Cleansing of the Leper*,³⁴ a set of his lectures at St Paul's given in 1603, which he dedicated to Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, describing himself as Bancroft's 'Chaplain and servant'. No record of the appointment of chaplains to Archbishop Bancroft survives, although a later list of chaplains to George Abbot, who succeeded Bancroft in 1611, suggests that Morley would have been one of a number of concurrent chaplains.³⁵ Lambeth Palace Library holds a lavishly bound copy of Morley's publication, which may have been his presentation copy to Bancroft.³⁶ Henry Morley's preface reveals something of the same slightly sharp humour found in his brother's *Plaine and Easie Introduction*:

Right Honorable, and my gracious good Lord: the common Apologie that is made for the publishing of bookes (viz. the intreatie & importunitie of friends) with a complaint, notwithstanding, of the excessive number thereof already; I take to be much like that formal speech used by guests at great feasts: who will seeme to finde fault with the excesse of cheere and superfluitie of dishes; & yet taste and eate of everie one that is before them.

His position on religious matters soon becomes clear, however:

The best Apologie (I suppose) my self and others can make herein ... is the necessitie or rather iniquitie of this age: wherein, the manifold opposition to Trueth, and the most shamefull dishonour to Pietie (the one by Papists and Schismatickes; the other by Atheists and Libertines) do seeme to call ...³⁷

Of course, as with William Byrd, evidence of Protestant family members does not mean that Thomas could not have adopted Catholicism at some point, particularly as he may well have been exposed to strong Catholic influences at a formative time in his life. Sebastian Westcote, who, as Almoner and Master of Choristers at St Paul's Cathedral, would have been

³³ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, iii. 213; Barker and Stenning, *Westminsters*, 667; George Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), 86 and 130.

³⁴ Henry Morley, *The Cleansing of the Leper* (London: Clement Knight, 1609).

³⁵ *Llp*, Lambeth MS. 1730, f. 8; domestic account book: list of chaplains dated 15 October 1614. Although Henry Morley was still alive when this list was made, he does not appear on it, probably because George Abbot replaced Bancroft's chaplains with men of his own choosing.

³⁶ *Llp*, (zz) 1609.25.

³⁷ Morley, *Leper*, A2 r and v.

responsible for the welfare and basic education of Morley during his time there, openly acknowledged his Catholic beliefs. Westcote managed to avoid serious prosecution for his faith, possibly as a result of Elizabeth's favourable reception of the theatrical activities of the choristers.³⁸ Nevertheless, in 1564 he was required to provide a substantial bond against his failure to comply with the requirements of the English Church:

... a Bond of Sebastian Westcote of London, gent. To Edmund Bishop of London, in the sum of 100 l. [£100] to frame his consciens according to the Articles of Religion and Injunctions issued during the Queens reign.³⁹

Later, in 1577, he was named in a register of recusants:

The certificate of the Reverend Father in God Bishopp of London ... of the names of all sutch as refuse to comin to their *parishe* church within the dioces of London ...

[marginal heading] St Gregories by Powles

Sebastian Westcott, maister of the children of Paules church valewed at one hundred powndes in gooddes.⁴⁰

When he died, in 1582, Westcote left bequests to several people who were living in his house, including Peter Philips (also a Catholic), as well as seven other men who had previously been choristers at St Paul's.⁴¹ Five of these, including Philips, were at St Paul's in 1574, at the same time as Morley. Thomas, however, was not one of the beneficiaries, suggesting that, by 1582, there was no close connection between the two men.

Morley's claim to have been taught by Byrd, and the appearance of his two early works in Sadler's recusant part books, were discussed in Chapter 1.⁴² Morley must have been aware of Byrd's religious allegiance, even if the older composer's mentoring did not extend

³⁸ Harley, *William Byrd*, 17.

³⁹ Quoted in John Steele (ed.), *Peter Philips: Select Italian Madrigals. Musica Britannica*, 29, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1970), xvi; original is St Paul's archives at London, *Guildhall Library*, (A, Box 77, item 2059).

⁴⁰ *Lna*, SP 12/118/73.

⁴¹ *Lna*, PROB/11/64; image ref. 120.

⁴² See Chapter 1, pp. 31-33.

beyond the purely musical. The traditional view of Byrd's recusancy has been that he avoided serious difficulties by keeping a low profile, so that it was easy for the Queen to extend protection to him when necessary. Recent research, however, paints a different picture. The prosecution of Byrd and his family for recusancy whilst living in Middlesex is comprehensively documented by David Mateer and seems to have been a fairly constant process from 1577 for his wife and for John Reason, previously a singer at Lincoln Cathedral, who lived with the Byrds and was sometimes described as their servant.⁴³ From 1584 William also is cited as a recusant. After the uncovering, in late 1583, of the unsuccessful Throckmorton plot to support a French invasion, assassinate Elizabeth and replace her with Mary Queen of Scots, Byrd came under scrutiny. Entries discovered by John Bossy in Francis Walsingham's office diary from around February 1584 demonstrate this clearly:

To seek out matters against Byrde.

to send to Francis Mylles Mr. Byrde's note

To sende for Mr. Byrde.⁴⁴

At around this time too, on 17 February 1584, Byrd was 'bounde in 200^{li} [£200] to be forthcoming at his house at harlington',⁴⁵ whilst a few days later, on 22 February, William Parry wrote to Charles Paget in Paris that Byrd was 'at liberty' and had been well treated by the Privy Council.⁴⁶ Harley provides evidence of Byrd's house being searched on more than one occasion in the mid-1580s,⁴⁷ whilst David Mateer argues that the events of 1584 may have led to 'a period of enforced retirement for the composer',⁴⁸ which may have been the

⁴³ David Mateer, 'William Byrd's Middlesex Recusancy', *Music & Letters*, 78 (1997), 1-14.

⁴⁴ John Bossy, 'William Byrd Investigated, 1583-84', *Byrd Newsletter*, 8 (2002), 6. Originals are in *Lbl*, Harleian MS 6035.

⁴⁵ Harley, *William Byrd*, 73; original is *Lna*, SP 12/200/59.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 74; original is *Lna*, SP 12/168/23.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁴⁸ Mateer, 'Middlesex Recusancy', 13-14.

reason why, in 1586, the Jesuit William Weston described him as being formerly in the Queen's Chapel and as someone who:

sacrificed everything for the faith – his position, the court. And all those aspirations common to men who seek preferment in royal circles as means of improving their fortune.⁴⁹

Certainly, being away from the court and unable to use the excuse that he was worshipping at the Chapel Royal would explain why Byrd's recusancy suddenly became visible to the Middlesex authorities. Nevertheless, he seems largely to have avoided paying his fines, sometimes through the direct intervention of Elizabeth, whilst his wife, Julian, adopted the approach of not appearing in court, resulting in more than one declaration of outlawry, which seems, however, to have had few consequences.⁵⁰ William Byrd's position is probably best summarised by John Harley:

Yet the feeling lingers that the documents conceal at least as much about Byrd's Catholic connections as they disclose. Delving further into them brings to light hints that, loyal and circumspect as Byrd undoubtedly was, he was more intimately involved in Catholic circles, and probably knew more about Catholic intrigues, than is betrayed by the bare written records.⁵¹

Morley's Latin music

Byrd expressed much of his religious feeling through his Latin motets and later Catholic service music. Morley, for his part, considered the writing of motets to be the pinnacle of compositional achievement, and an act of praise for God, as both his description of the genre and his choice of such works as illustrations in his music treatise demonstrate:

This kind [the motet] of al others which are made on a ditty [musical settings of a text], requireth most art, and moveth and causeth most strange effects in the hearer, being aptlie framed for the ditty and well expressed by the singer, for it will draw the

⁴⁹ William Weston, *Autobiography*, trans. Philip Caraman (London: Longman, 1955), 71.

⁵⁰ Mateer, 'Middlesex Recusancy'.

⁵¹ Harley, *William Byrd*, 78.

auditor (and speciallie the skilfull auditor) into a devout and reverent kind of consideration of him for whose praise it was made.⁵²

David Brown points out that, to judge from the surviving evidence, Morley composed more Latin settings than any of his English contemporaries other than Byrd:

We are confronted then by a composer who was the most commercially minded of his generation but who produced a larger quantity of financially unpromising music than any of his near contemporaries except Byrd.⁵³

From this and Paget's letter of 1591 Brown concludes that it was likely that Morley was a Catholic in his early years.⁵⁴ Thurston Dart summarises the nature of Morley's motets thus:

To sum up, then, the texts of Morley's motets fall into two clear categories. Two of the motets, each of them a diptych, are out-and-out Marian ['Gaude Maria virgo' and its second part 'Virgo prudentissima'; 'O amica mea' and its second part 'Dentes tui sicut greges'] and their words would have been at best unacceptable and at worst utterly repugnant to most members of the newer Anglican Church. The remainder are almost without exception deeply penitential – the anguished prayers of a sinner, weighed down by his guilt, yet still daring to trust in God's infinite mercy.⁵⁵

At the time when Dart and Brown were writing, twelve Latin motets were attributed to Morley. Two of them were the early works copied by Sadler in 1576 that could as easily have been exercises written under tuition from Byrd as personal statements of religious faith. Another four, included by Morley in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, seem on stylistic grounds to have been late works and were probably written specially as examples for his instruction book. The authorship of the remaining six works is less certain.

Lionel Pike has demonstrated that a version of the motet 'Gaude Maria virgo', with its second part, 'Virgo prudentissima', was also published by Phalèse in Antwerp in 1612 as item 34 in Peter Philips' *Cantiones sacrae*.⁵⁶ Its style, compared with many of the pieces in the

⁵² Morley, *Introduction*, 179.

⁵³ Brown, 'Morley and the Catholics', 60.

⁵⁴ Brown, 'Styles and Chronology', 216.

⁵⁵ Dart, 'Morley and the Catholics', 92.

⁵⁶ Lionel Pike, "'Gaude Maria virgo': Morley or Philips?", *Music & Letters*, 50 (1969), 127-135.

volume, suggests a much earlier date of composition. The version attributed to Morley survives in a manuscript anthology, as a score with only incipits to indicate the text, copied by John Baldwin probably before 1591.⁵⁷ There are small differences between the two versions, and Pike argues that the ‘Morley’ setting is an attempt to improve on an original by Philips. A similar re-attribution of Morley’s ‘Laboravi in gemitu meo’ to Philippe Rogier has been made by Peter Phillips.⁵⁸ The ‘Morley’ version is also preserved in a manuscript anthology, compiled by Thomas Myriell in 1616, from which it was further copied around 1631 by Thomas Hammond.⁵⁹ The version by Rogier was published in Naples in his *Sacrarum modulationem liber primus* of 1595 and is slightly extended in two places compared with the Morley version. Phillips argues for Rogier as the original composer on several grounds: that it was more likely that Morley shortened the work than that Rogier lengthened it; that stylistically it is closer to Rogier’s than to Morley’s other output, and that the relatively narrow range of the alto parts is more typical of continental than English practice. To this one might add opportunity: it is more plausible that Rogier’s printed edition reached Morley in England than that a manuscript including Morley’s work reached Rogier at the Spanish Court in Madrid, where he was employed.

Of the remaining four Latin motets attributed to Morley, one is found in Myriell’s collection,⁶⁰ along with ‘Nolo mortem peccatoris’ (which is macaronic and largely in English and therefore not really a Latin motet); a third survives in an incomplete set of part books dating from after 1612;⁶¹ and the fourth is represented by a single part book from around 1600.⁶² Pike and Phillips, perhaps somewhat influenced by Brown and Dart and extending

⁵⁷ *Lbl*, R.M.24.d.2.

⁵⁸ Peter Phillips, “‘Laboravi in gemitu meo’: Morley or Rogier?”, *Music & Letters*, 63 (1982), 85-90.

⁵⁹ *Lbl*, Add. MSS. 29372-7; *Ob*, MSS. Mus. f.1-6.

⁶⁰ ‘De profundis clamavi’ and ‘Nolo mortem peccatoris’.

⁶¹ ‘Heu mihi’.

⁶² ‘In manus tuas’.

their view of Morley's moral decline to include also a failure of musical inspiration, argue that Morley would undoubtedly have made it known that the two re-attributed works were his own.⁶³ We cannot be sure of this, but however the attributions arose, it means that we cannot be certain that the other works attributed to Morley are by him either, although they may well be. This means that only half of the twelve motets are definitely by Morley and that his output of 'Catholic' music is, perhaps, less significant than David Brown suggests.

Despite Morley's evident enthusiasm for the motet as a genre, he acknowledges that there is little demand for it:

... This musicke (a lamentable case) being the chiefest both for art and utilitie, is notwithstanding little esteemed, and in small request with the greatest number of those who most highly seeme to favor art ...⁶⁴

and his surviving output of motets, whether six or a dozen, is small compared with Byrd's. Certainly the beautiful and deceptively simple motets included in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* demonstrate great care and creative ability, but whether this is the reflection of a strong underlying Catholic faith or the result of his early training and a continuing enjoyment of writing in a genre for which he had few openings, is difficult to tell.

How Committed a Catholic was Morley?

It is clear that Morley could pass for a Catholic in the Low Countries in 1591, at least to the untrained eye, that his formative years were almost certainly spent under the tutelage of overt Catholics – Westcote and Byrd – and that he set some Latin religious texts of a type that would have had resonance for Elizabethan Catholics. He was also familiar with the poetry of Robert Southwell, a Jesuit executed in 1595. Morley's text for 'With my love my life was nestled' is based on stanzas five, four and three (in that order) of Southwell's 'Marie

⁶³ Pike, "'Gaude Maria Virgo'", 128, 133; Phillips, "'Laboravi'", 87-90.

⁶⁴ Morley, *Introduction*, 179.

Magdalens complaint at Christes death’, from *Saint Peters Complaint, with other Poems* (1595).⁶⁵ Morley turns Southwell’s words into a song about rejected love, but Edward Doughtie, who first noticed the origin of the text, speculates that it could equally be a disguised ‘address to the Catholic Church’, although he does concede that Morley’s music is more suited to a love song.⁶⁶ Further speculation has arisen concerning Morley’s setting of ‘Can I forget what reasons force’ in the same volume, for which he uses the tune to psalm 137 from East’s *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1592).⁶⁷ Parallels are drawn between the sentiments of the song text and the psalm’s reflection on the Babylonian captivity, although Morley’s choice of a Protestant psalm tune to convey a crypto-Catholic message is improbable.

Against these suggestions of at least a sympathy for Roman Catholicism must be set the lack of evidence of recusancy on Morley’s part. Unlike Byrd who, once he had left Lincoln Cathedral in 1572, worked only at the Chapel Royal, where he seems to have received some royal protection, Morley worked both at Norwich and at St Paul’s Cathedral, where affirming acceptance of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion (1562) was a condition of employment.⁶⁸ A similar condition attached to the granting of a university degree, although it may not have been rigorously enforced.⁶⁹ Whilst Westcote held an appointment at St Paul’s despite being a recusant, his role as almoner would not have required the regular participation

⁶⁵ Robert Southwell, *Saint Peters Complaint, with other Poems* (London: Wolfe, 1595), 37-38.

⁶⁶ Edward Doughtie, ‘Robert Southwell and Morley’s *First Booke of Ayres*’, *The Lute Society Journal*, 4 (1962), 28-30.

⁶⁷ Ian Harwood and Christopher Goodwin, ‘A Psalm Reference in a Morley Lute Song; and a Crypto-Catholic Message?’, *Lute News*, 83 (October 2007), 17-20.

⁶⁸ See, for example *Lbl*, Stowe MS 128, f. 4r for the oath to be sworn by office holders set out in the draft statutes of Norwich Cathedral.

⁶⁹ Clark, *Register*, 150.

in worship attached to the post of a singing man; furthermore, his recusancy was known and documented. There is no trace of Morley in the recusancy records consulted for this study.⁷⁰

Morley seems to have been knowledgeable about, and possibly sympathetic towards, Roman Catholicism, and he clearly held the Latin motet in high esteem as an art form. In these respects Catholicism exerted a cultural influence on him. However, it does not appear that he had the level of commitment to the Catholic cause characteristic of Byrd.

MORLEY'S POLITICS

By the early 1590s many of Elizabeth's trusted advisers and key post-holders had died, leaving her increasingly reliant on Lord Burghley, and slow to make new appointments. In this relative vacuum Burghley's younger son, Robert Cecil, and Edward Devereux, Earl of Essex, jostled for position. Cecil had the backing of his father, whilst Essex, previously Burghley's ward, relied to some extent on his informal status as one of the Queen's favourites. As the decade progressed, Cecil became increasingly the holder of established power, with Essex always endeavouring to prove himself, particularly via success on the battlefield. As a result, distinct Cecil and Essex 'parties' emerged, as allegiances became polarized.⁷¹ Reading the political landscape and deciding whom to back were key skills for anyone, including Morley, who hoped for preferment or needed the support of a patron to achieve his ambitions.

Morley appears to have picked a careful path through the divisions of the 1590s. Those dedicatees of his publications with political influence tended to be established office

⁷⁰ Bowler, 'Recusant Roll No. 2'; idem, 'Recusant Roll No. 3 & No. 4'; idem & McCann, 'Recusants in Pipe Rolls'; Ryan, 'Returns of Recusants'; Rev. J. H. Pollen, S. J., 'The Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Part II, 1581-1602', *Catholic Record Society*, 2 (1906), 219-288.

⁷¹ For a detailed analysis of the factional politics of the late Elizabethan era see Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999).

holders who worked with Burghley and were not known as supporters of Essex.⁷² Nevertheless, some commentators have attempted to associate Morley with Essex,⁷³ citing particularly the Accession Day (17 November) celebration of 1595, which, as usual, was extremely lavish. Celebrations generally started in St Paul's Churchyard with a sermon and the choir singing an anthem from high up on the cathedral,⁷⁴ before moving to Whitehall, where the centrepiece was a tournament held at the tiltyard, in which the earls of Essex and Cumberland were the two lead jousters.⁷⁵ In 1595 Essex prefaced the joust with a theatrical performance that was continued in the evening. This was intended to convey the message that he put his love of the queen before his love of himself, but, with its complete focus on Essex, served instead as a massive act of self-publicity to the general public. Rowland Whyte, who saw the event, described it in a letter to his master Sir Robert Sidney (Governor of Flushing) on 22 November 1595, naming the actors and describing the reactions of the public and the Queen:

The old man was he that in Cambridge played Giraldy, Morley played the Secretary, and he that played Pedantiq was the soldier, and Toby Matthew acted the Squire's part. The world makes many untrue constructions of these speeches, comparing the Hermit and the Secretary to two of the lords, and the Soldier to Sir Roger Williams; but the Queen said that if she had thought there had been so much said of her, she would not have been there that night, and so went to bed.⁷⁶

Giraldy and Pedantiq were roles in a play called *Laelia* that had been performed in February 1595, at Cambridge, which Essex and a number of his circle had attended. The actors concerned were George Meriton and George Montaigne, fellows of Queens; both were known

⁷² See Appendix 4.4.

⁷³ Lillian M. Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson, 'The Madrigal, The Lute Song and Elizabethan Politics', *Past and Present*, 44 (1969), 16; J. E. Uhler, *Morley's 'Canzonets for Three Voyces'* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), 19; Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Upstaging the Queen: The Earl of Essex, Francis Bacon and the Accession Day Celebrations of 1595', in David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 51.

⁷⁴ Hammer, 'Upstaging', 42.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁷⁶ Transcribed in James Spedding (ed.), *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols. (London: Longman, 1861-1572), i. 374-5.

as actors and were possibly also playwrights. Toby Mathew, who played the Squire, was from Christ Church Oxford.⁷⁷ The assumption has been made that the fourth actor, Morley, must have been Thomas, entirely on the basis that he is the only Morley from the period who is well-known today.⁷⁸ However, although Thomas may have appeared in dramatic productions as a child at St Paul's, there is no evidence that he appeared as an actor in adulthood and certainly no indication that he had a sufficient reputation as an actor to have attracted the attention of the Earl of Essex.

It seems much more like that the Morley concerned was a university man, like the other three performers, possibly even Thomas's half-brother, Christopher, who was still a fellow of Trinity at the time and appears also to have been a poet. Sukanta Chaudhuri⁷⁹ argues that Christopher Morley may have been the author ('Ch. M.') of an eclogue and sonnets found as additions to a manuscript compiled by Paul Thompson, an exact contemporary of his at Trinity. The eclogue takes the form of a dialogue between 'Bonnyboots' and 'Dickie', and Chaudhuri speculates that Bonnyboots may have been meant to be the author himself. He further speculates that Christopher Morley, who died in 1596, may have been the Bonny-boots whose death is marked in several contemporary musical works. Morley's *Canzonets* of 1597 includes references to Bonny-boots in the first and ninth pieces:

Fly Love, that art so sprightly,
To Bonny-boots uprightly.
And when in heaven thou meet him
Say that I kindly greet him,
And that his Oriana,
True widow maid, still followeth Diana.

⁷⁷ Hammer, 'Upstaging', 51 and end notes 61-63.

⁷⁸ Ruff and Wilson, 'Madrigal', 16; Uhler, '*Canzonets*', 19; Hammer, 'Upstaging', 51.

⁷⁹ Sukanta Chaudhuri, 'Marlowe, Madrigals, and a New Elizabethan Poet', *Review of English Studies*, New Series 39 (1988), 199-216.

Our Bonny-boots could toot it, yeah and foot it.
Say, lusty lads, who now shall bonny-boot it?
Who but the jolly shepherd bonny Dorus?
He now must lead the morris dance before us.

In the same year, a setting of the following text by William Holborne was included in his brother Anthony's *The Cittharn Schoole*:

Since bonny-boots was dead that so divinely
Could toot and foot it (oh he did it finely)
We neare went more a maying
Nor h[e]ard that sweet falaing.⁸⁰

A further two references to Bonny-boots are found in *The Triumphes of Oriana* (1601) – in John Holmes's 'Thus Bonny-boots the birthday celebrated' (no. 8) and in Edward Johnson's 'Come, blessed bird' (no. 24). The courtier Henry Noel is generally considered to be the most likely candidate for Bonny-boots,⁸¹ although his death is marked separately by a very much less frivolous piece in Morley's *Canzonets*, headed 'A reverend memorial of that honourable true gentleman Henry Noel Esquier':

Hark! Alleluia cheerly
With angels now he singeth,
That here loved music dearly,
Whose echo heaven ringeth,
Where thousand cherubs hover
About th'eternal Mover.

Clearly, whoever Bonny-boots was (and maybe more than one person qualified for the epithet), he was well-known, convivial and, on the evidence of the song texts about him, something of a performer. Christopher Morley may have acted in plays at Trinity College, but no cast lists survive from before his death to confirm this.⁸² Whether he was sufficiently

⁸⁰ Anthony Holborne, *The Cittharn Schoole* (London: [Holborne], 1597), sig. Q2v and Q3r.

⁸¹ See, for example, David Greer, "'... Thou Court's Delight': Biographical Notes on Henry Noel', *Lute Society Journal*, 17 (1975), 49-59.

⁸² Alan H. Nelson, *Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge*, 2 vols (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1989).

well-known as an actor to be known simply as ‘Morley’ or a colourful character familiar enough to be known as ‘Bonny-boots’ is not proved. However, when he died in 1596, his probate inventory included ‘apparell of all sorts’, valued at the enormous sum of £30 9s 2d, out of his total worth of £52 5s 1d. Typical valuations for clothing were often less than one pound and rarely more than a few pounds at most. The possession of so much clothing tempts one to believe that he was a certainly a candidate for both roles.⁸³

A more plausible connection between Thomas Morley and Essex is made by Jeremy Smith in his reassessment of the imagery contained in Morley’s madrigal anthology, *The Triumphes of Oriana*.⁸⁴ With the Queen unmarried, past child-bearing age and visibly growing older, the succession was a key political concern. The strengths and merits of the claims of a range of candidates for the throne were privately and sometimes publicly debated, and after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and the defeat of the Armada many English Catholics put their hopes in James VI of Scotland as a potentially tolerant replacement for Elizabeth. Essex and his sister Penelope Rich had been supporters of James VI as the next monarch since the late 1580s, initially secretly but later more openly, thereby attracting many Catholics to become general supporters of the earl.

Smith argues convincingly that the allegorical identification of ‘Oriana’ (who originated in the romance *Amadis de Gaulle*) with Queen Elizabeth is inappropriate, given the fictional character’s marriage, fecundity and impulsive nature.⁸⁵ Instead, he proposes that ‘Oriana’ represents James VI’s wife, Anna of Denmark (with ‘Amadis’ as James himself), and that ‘Diana’, who also features in all the *Triumphes* texts, represents Penelope Rich. In Smith’s view:

⁸³ *Cambridge University Archives*, VC Court Inventories, Bundle 6, 1596-1604.

⁸⁴ Jeremy L. Smith, ‘Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: the Identities of Oriana and Diana’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 58 (2005), 507-558.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 514-515.

Morley's project for the *Triumphes* began originally, evidence shows, as a musical offering pleasing to the Essex camp and supportive of James's succession. A marked shift in political circumstances between 1600 and 1601 [the Essex Revolt and subsequent execution of the Earl] made it incumbent upon Morley and his collaborators to pay tribute to Elizabeth instead. But not all traces of the original intent were effaced.⁸⁶

This may well have been the case, but it is not clear that this reflected a political statement in support of Essex on Morley's and his collaborators' part rather than a commercial response to the growing expectation of a Jamesian succession. Certainly, Morley seems eventually to have played safe, dedicating the volume to the Earl of Nottingham, who had been prominent in the prosecution of both Mary Queen of Scots and Essex.

MORLEY'S VISIT TO THE LOW COUNTRIES IN 1591

The Intelligence background

Francis Walsingham, principal secretary to Elizabeth, had built up an extensive and sophisticated intelligence network during the 1580s, but he died in 1590 and was not replaced for a considerable time. Burghley retained high-level responsibility for intelligence but decided to rationalise the operation and cut central costs. This reduced the flow of intelligence, so that the state had increasingly to rely on the private intelligence-gathering of privy councillors and others.⁸⁷ Both Robert Cecil and Essex chose to participate in the process, although Cecil made less effort than Essex to make his name in this field, being happy to leave overall control with his father.⁸⁸ Thomas Phelippes had been Walsingham's encoder of messages, decipherer and organiser, but was left without funding when his employer died and Burghley cut spending.⁸⁹ Phelippes maintained his network of agents,

⁸⁶ Ibid., 558.

⁸⁷ Hammer, *Polarisation*, 154-5.

⁸⁸ Alan Haynes, *The Elizabethan Secret Services* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), 166.

⁸⁹ Chiasson-Taylor, 'Musicians and Intelligence Operations', 136.

though, and when Robert Cecil seemed disinclined to employ him, he approached Essex. By 1592 Essex was sufficiently involved to tell Phelippes to 'take no pity on my purse'.⁹⁰

The Low Countries had been under Spanish control since the early part of the sixteenth century, but by 1591, when Thomas Morley made his visit, it had split into two, with the Protestant United Provinces to the north and Flanders, still under Spanish control and therefore Catholic, to the south. Brussels and Antwerp lay within the Spanish area, but Antwerp was very close to the border between the two states, which continued to be at war. The United Provinces were recognised by, and received military support from, England, which in 1591 was also providing military assistance to Henri IV in France against the Spanish. Ex-patriot English Catholics resided in significant numbers in Brussels and Antwerp. Writing of Antwerp in the mid-1590s, Alan Haynes describes the city as resembling 'post-Second World War Vienna, awash with spies, counter-spies, lies and double-dealing'.⁹¹ The house of Adrian de Langhe, the city postmaster since 1582, was the place where Catholic priests on their way to England obtained forged passports, and it was also the hub for correspondence with priests in England.⁹² Intelligence-gathering in Flanders was extremely important, therefore, for the English state.

Charles Paget, a Catholic, had left England in 1581 and settled in Paris, and had lived abroad ever since. He seems to have met Walsingham in Paris in 1581, and in 1582 corresponded with him, professing his loyalty and offering his services to Elizabeth so long as nothing he was asked to do would conflict with his religious beliefs.⁹³ His career indicates that he was a double-agent: he was closely involved in the Throckmorton and Babington plots

⁹⁰ Hammer, *Polarisation*, 156. Original is *Lna*, SP 12/242/9. See also Haynes, *Secret Services*, 115.

⁹¹ Haynes, *Secret Services*, 158.

⁹² Haynes, *Secret Services*, 158-9.

⁹³ Leo Hicks, S. J., *An Elizabethan Problem: Some Aspects of the Careers of Two Exile-Adventurers* (London: Burn & Oates, 1964), 8.

of the 1580s, probably on both sides; by the 1590s he opposed the Jesuits and the claims of the Spanish Infanta as heir to the English throne, but he was nevertheless in receipt of a pension from Philip II.⁹⁴ He moved from Paris to Brussels in March 1588 on entering Spanish employment.⁹⁵ Paget reported to England from Flanders via another double-agent called Thomas Barnes – also in receipt of money from Spain for a time – who operated both in England and abroad and was part of the Phelippes network.⁹⁶ Whilst Walsingham was alive, Burghley and the Queen were the ultimate recipients of Phelippes' intelligence, but in the period between Walsingham's death and the engagement of Essex as Phelippes' patron it is unclear how he promulgated the information he gathered.

Morley's role

Thomas Morley was undeniably in Flanders in 1591 in possession of letters of a compromising nature. The simplest explanation for this would be that he was acting as a courier on state business, although no evidence survives for his engagement in such a role. However, records do exist for the employment of other musicians on such assignments. Nicholas Lanier had been sent to France with letters to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in 1562,⁹⁷ Patrick Owen took letters to the Earl of Leicester in Holland in 1586,⁹⁸ and in 1602 Isaack Burgis, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, was drowned 'in cominge out of the lowe Countries', although it is not clear what his business was there.⁹⁹ Unlike Morley in 1591, these men were all court employees; Anthony Holborne may not have been, however, when he carried letters to the Low Countries:

⁹⁴ See, for example: Peter Holmes, 'Paget, Charles (c.1546-1612)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online resource], (Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edition, January 2008) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21103, accessed 30 March 2010.

⁹⁵ Holmes, 'Paget'; Chiasson-Taylor, 'Musicians and Intelligence Operations', 140.

⁹⁶ See, for example: *Lna*, SP 12/241/94; SP 12/244/49 and correspondence cited in Appendix 2.1.

⁹⁷ Ashbee, *Records*, vi. 84.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, vi. 141.

⁹⁹ Andrew Ashbee and John Harley (eds.), *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), i. 25.

To Anthonie Holborne [Secretary's warrant, Whitehall, 8 January 1599] beinge sent with *lettres* for her *Majesties* service to Mr George Guylpyn her heighnes Agent with the States of the united provinces: £6. 0s. 0d.¹⁰⁰

Anthonye Holborne [Secretary's warrant, Greenwich, 30 June 1601] for carreinge of *Lettres* for her *Majesties* service to Mr Guylpine in the lowe countries: £10. 0s. 0d.¹⁰¹

Whilst Holborne described himself in his two publications as 'gentleman and servant to her most excellent Majestie',¹⁰² there is no record of his employment at court.

Paget's letter, repeated here for convenience, suggests that Morley was more than just a courier:

Ther is one morley that playeth on the orgaines in poules that was with me in my house he semed here to be a good catholicke and was reconciled, but not-withstanding suspecting his behaviour I enterceptd letters that mr nowell wrote to him wherby I discovered enoughe to have hanged him nevertheless he shewing with teares great repentaunce and asking on his knees forgiveness. I was content to let him goe. I here since his comming thether he hath played the promotor and apprehendeth catholickes. I pray yow advertise me therof.

Haynes describes how, in addition to their regular agents, the English intelligence network attracted those who were keen to improve their financial circumstances:

Finally, there was the motley caravan of unofficial eavesdroppers and intelligencers who scurried about hunting for anything that might enhance their income. Those with a career in mind, like Herle, usually found spying no more than an anxiety-inducing temporary option. The men who remained in it were rarities; spies at other times might be soldiers, academics, students, writers and musicians. The madrigalist Thomas Morley survived being discovered by the anti-Jesuit double agent Charles Paget in 1591. What the spy masters ruthlessly exploited was the impassioned but often thwarted desire of their employees to thrive.¹⁰³

The well-documented intelligence activities of the elder Alfonso Ferrabosco set a precedent for the engagement of musicians in such work, although, like many of the musician couriers,

¹⁰⁰ Ashbee, *Records*, vi. 160.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, vi. 163.

¹⁰² Anthony Holborne, *The Cittarn Schoole* (London: [Holborne], 1597); *Pauans, Galliards, Almains, and Other Short Aeirs* (London: [Holborne], 1599). Holborne is described posthumously as 'Gentleman Usher' to Queen Elizabeth, in Robert Dowland, *Varietie of lute-lessons* (London: Thomas Adams, 1610), Pavin 2.

¹⁰³ Haynes, *Secret Services*, 13-14.

he was already in the Queen's employ and, unlike Morley, had more obvious personal reasons for travelling abroad.¹⁰⁴

Morley was receiving letters from a Mr Nowell whilst abroad. Rachele Chiasson-Taylor suggests three possible identities for Nowell: Dr Alexander Noel, Dean of St Paul's; Henry Noel, courtier; and Noel de Caron, who from 1591 was the attaché in London for the United Dutch Provinces and who effectively worked for Burghley and Cecil. Her argument that Noel de Caron is the most plausible candidate is convincing,¹⁰⁵ and certainly Caron was an active correspondent at this time. Twenty-three letters from him survive amongst the State Papers for the period from June 1591 to April 1592,¹⁰⁶ although none is to Morley.

The purpose and contents of Mr Nowell's letters to Morley are unknown, although given Paget's view that they were 'enoughe to have hanged him', the material was clearly sensitive. Morley was playing the part of someone who had espoused the Catholic faith – he 'was reconciled' – which would have been essential whilst visiting Flanders, but presumably he did not do it well enough to completely convince Paget. Chiasson-Taylor argues on the strength of her interpretation of a reply to Paget's letter, backed up by her belief that Thomas Morley had probably been Arbella Stuart's tutor, that the correspondence found in Morley's possession was most likely to have been concerned with the promotion of marriage between Arbella and the Duke of Parma's son. Paget's letter, dated 3 October 1591, was addressed to Giles Martin, a French gentleman in London, one of the aliases of Barnes. Thomas Phelippes wrote instructions to Barnes on how to reply both to this letter and to a letter from William

¹⁰⁴ Craig Monson, 'The Composer as "Spy": The Ferraboscas, Gabriele Paleotti, and the Inquisition', *Music & Letters*, 84 (2003), 1-18; John Cockshoot and Christopher Field, 'Alfonso Ferrabosco (i)', *Grove Music Online* [online resource], (Oxford University Press, 2007-2010)

www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09507, accessed 30 March 2010.

¹⁰⁵ Chiasson-Taylor, 'Musicians and Intelligence Operations', 143-5.

¹⁰⁶ R. B. Whernham (ed.), *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series Elizabeth I*, 7 vols to date (London: Public Record Office, 1964-2000), ii. and iii.

Clitherow, an English priest resident in Antwerp. The pertinent part of these instructions is as follows:

Among other things you understand you have bene sought for as the practiser of a mariage between Arbella & the D. of Parma his sonne: *which* you imagine must nedes provide further [two indecipherable words] you heare likewise th[a]t it is *given* out so do you heare th[a]t [words crossed out] is your errand in England. You marvell to heare none of these things from him. It is true th[a]t Morley the singingman employeth him selfe in th[a]t kind of service he writeth & hath brought dyverse into danger [last five words are a redraft of now illegible words crossed out].¹⁰⁷

The original document is not available for consultation and the legibility of parts of the microfilm copy of it is not good, so that it is tempting to work instead from the transcript in the Calendar of State Papers, which reads:

Has been sought for as the practiser of a marriage between Arbella and the Duke of Parma's son, which is given out to be his errand to England; marvels at not hearing of these things from him. It is true that Morley, the singing man, employs himself in that kind of service and has brought divers into danger.¹⁰⁸

Chiasson-Taylor argues that the inclusion of references to the hoped-for Stuart/Farnese marriage and Morley's activities in the same paragraph means that the 'kind of service' Morley is engaged in is the promotion of the marriage. To arrive at such an interpretation suggests that she has relied on the transcript rather than the original. However, the original has two extra words – 'he writeth' – in the last sentence, not included the transcript:

It is true th[a]t Morley the singingman employeth him self in th[a]t kind of service he writeth & hath brought diverse into danger.

This suggests a modern English equivalent that reads:

It is true that Morley the singer is doing the sort of thing he [Paget] wrote asking about [deceiving and arresting Catholics] and has endangered various people.

¹⁰⁷ *Lna*, SP 12/240/53.

¹⁰⁸ Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1591-1594* (London: Longman, 1867), 117-118.

These words refer back to Paget's request for information about Morley's activities on his arrival back in England:

I here since his comming thether he hath played the promotor and apprehendeth catholickes. I pray yow advertise me therof.

There is no trace of any anti-Catholic activity on Morley's part in England, but it is quite possible, of course. For example, one of Phelippes' key agents was William Sterrell, who worked both in the Low Countries and in England, where he was employed as Secretary to the Earl of Worcester, an acknowledged but loyal Catholic. Correspondence between Sterrell and Phelippes demonstrates that he provided information on the activities of Catholics at home as well as abroad.¹⁰⁹ Whatever Morley did or did not do, it seems not to have caused a rift between him and William Byrd.¹¹⁰ It is worth bearing in mind also that Phelippes, in drafting a reply for one double-agent to send to another, could ensure it contained the information that he, for whatever reason, wished to circulate. In the world of espionage, the truth is difficult to determine.

The Timing of Morley's Visit

Paget's letter is dated 3 October 1591. Its wording suggests that Morley had recently been at his house, presumably after 13 July, when Paget had previously written to Barnes.¹¹¹ Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor believes that Morley could have travelled abroad much earlier in the year, possibly spending several months overseas. Signet Office decisions are summarised in records known as docquets; one such record dated 30 January 1591 grants privy seals to a list of twenty-four people 'and others', presumably permitting them to travel abroad, although

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, *Lna*, SP 12/240/34; SP 12/242/3.

¹¹⁰ Morley appears to have operated Byrd's music printing monopoly for him from 1593, for instance. See Chapter 4, p. 156.

¹¹¹ *Lna*, SP 12/239/77.

this is not explicit. The twelfth entry is for a ‘Thomas Moreley’, whose application is supported by an Edwarde Moringes or Moninges:

A privie Seale to Hercules Loveden at the sute of John Toppe ...

A lyke to Thomas Moreley at the sute of Edwarde Moringes [or Moninges].¹¹²

Chiasson-Taylor argues that an application to travel so far in advance of his appearance in the Low Countries casts some doubt over the nature of Morley’s employment at St Paul’s, as well as making it possible that he could have been abroad for a substantial part of 1591.¹¹³ However, this would-be traveller was probably not Thomas Morley, musician. Parish records show that there were other Thomas Morleys in London in this period, and one, a citizen and cloth worker, seems at least as good a candidate for this privy seal. The bequests in his will, made on 13 July 1591, include ‘all mine adventure of and in the one halfe of a barke ... called the Grace of God ... riddinge upon the rivar of Thames, and nowe bounde forthe in waie of reprisall’¹¹⁴ (It is possible that he and the co-owner of his sailing vessel planned to join the attempted plunder of the Spanish treasure convoy off the Azores in the late summer.) Probate was granted on 2 August the following year by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, suggesting that this Thomas Morley travelled with his ship and died at sea or abroad. There is a gap of about six months between March and September 1591 in which no Signet Office docquets are recorded,¹¹⁵ so it is possible that Thomas the musician was granted permission to travel in that period. It is equally possible that, depending on why he was travelling, the paperwork for the journey was dealt with less publicly.

¹¹² *Lna*, SP 38/2 f.7r; the Moreley entry is twelfth in a list.

¹¹³ Chiasson-Taylor, ‘Musicians and Intelligence Operations’, 118.

¹¹⁴ *Lna*, PROB 11/80; image reference 188.

¹¹⁵ *Lna*, SP 38/2.

Morley's Connection with Charles Paget

If Morley's letters from Mr Nowell were from Noel de Caron, then this places him squarely in the ultimate employ of Burghley and Cecil. Paget continued to work through Phelippes, who was now cultivating Essex as his future patron. Burghley and Cecil were well aware of Paget from his previous work for Walsingham, and Morley may have visited him on their instruction. There are other possible connections between the two men, though. John Harley describes William Byrd's links with both Charles Paget and his brother, Lord Thomas, from at least 1576, in the period before the brothers went abroad.¹¹⁶ This was also the period in which Morley was probably in contact with Byrd and could therefore have met Paget. John Bossy argues, plausibly, if not conclusively, that Byrd kept in touch with Charles Paget after he went abroad.¹¹⁷ Certainly, Charles Paget continued to take an interest in Byrd, as William Parry's letter to him about Byrd's questioning after the Throckmorton Plot shows.¹¹⁸

Another possible connection is via Peter Philips, who seems to have been a chorister with Morley at St Paul's and who left England in early August 1582 to pursue his Catholic faith. He worked in Rome until 1585 for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (a member of the ruling Parma family in Flanders), when he entered the service of Lord Thomas Paget, whom he met in Rome.¹¹⁹ Having travelled extensively, Lord Thomas and Philips spent some time staying with Charles Paget in Paris, and visiting Antwerp, before moving to Brussels in February 1589. At some point after the death of Lord Thomas in early 1590, Philips moved to Antwerp, earning his living there as a virginals teacher. He signed and dated the dedication of his madrigal anthology *Melodia Olympica* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1591) December 1590 in

¹¹⁶ Harley, *William Byrd*, 46-50 and 58-63.

¹¹⁷ Bossy, 'William Byrd Investigated, 1583-84', 4-5.

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Harley, *William Byrd*, 74. Original is *Lna*, SP 12/168/23. See also p. 58 above.

¹¹⁹ John Steele (ed.), *Peter Philips: Italian Madrigals*, xvi.

Antwerp, and was married there in May 1591.¹²⁰ That he seems to have maintained close contact with Charles Paget is demonstrated by his entanglement in an alleged plot against Elizabeth in 1593, whilst acting as a courier for Paget.¹²¹

It is generally stated that Morley visited Paget in Brussels, although Paget's letter is addressed only 'from the place accustomed'. Standard biographical material, such as the *Dictionary of National Biography*,¹²² assumes that Paget remained in Brussels once he had moved there from Paris. However, by 1593 Paget can be firmly placed in Antwerp, in close contact with Philips,¹²³ and it is possible that he moved there several years earlier, perhaps at the same time as Philips. Chiasson-Taylor states that Philips and Paget moved to Antwerp after the death of Lord Thomas Paget, but provides no evidence of when Paget might have done so.¹²⁴ In the long term, both Philips and Paget eventually moved back to Brussels, each signing certificates of residence there in August 1597,¹²⁵ but both do seem to have lived in Antwerp for a number of years.

A detailed examination of Paget's surviving correspondence, set out in Appendix 2.1, demonstrates that Paget may have been living in Antwerp by October 1590. A letter of 11 October strongly suggests that he no longer lived in Brussels, whilst the letters either side of this in the sequence mention him going to and departing from Antwerp. Most subsequent letters through to 1593 are signed from 'my' or 'the' 'place accustomed'; in the spring of that year, for instance, he wrote on 22 April to Barnes 'from the place accustomed', at about the same time as Robert Draper later claimed that he had visited the Low Countries to deliver

¹²⁰ John Steele, 'Philips, Peter', *Grove Music Online* [online resource], (Oxford University Press, 2007-2010) www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21570, accessed on 30 March 2010.

¹²¹ See Chiasson-Taylor, 'Musicians and Intelligence Operations', Chapter 4.

¹²² Holmes, 'Paget, Charles'.

¹²³ See, for example, *Lna*, SP 84/47/38; SP 84/47/60 and 62; SP12/247/41; SP 12/249/44; SP 12/250/7. See also Chiasson-Taylor, 'Musicians and Intelligence Operations', Chapter 4.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 200.

letters to Paget in Antwerp.¹²⁶ From this evidence it seems more likely that Morley visited Paget in Antwerp than in Brussels, and this increases the probability that he also met his fellow composer, Philips, there. Whether Morley was under instruction to make contact with Paget or whether Philips introduced them, perhaps as fellow music-lovers or friends of Byrd, is not clear. Wherever in the Low Countries he went, and for whatever reason, Morley would have had the opportunity to see how much printed music was available for sale in there; however, a visit to Antwerp would have provided first-hand experience of a well-established music printing business on a much larger scale than that of London, which would surely have inspired his own later efforts.

MUSIC PUBLISHING IN ANTWERP

Antwerp, at the time when Morley was in the region, was a city of about 40,000 people. Situated on the Scheldt, it had, for the first sixty or seventy years of the sixteenth century, been the ‘centre of the *entire* international economy’,¹²⁷ and had continued to trade, with growing difficulty, through the religious, political and military turmoil of the period which intensified in the mid-1560s. Having had its increasingly visible Calvinist and reformist tendencies suppressed in 1567 by the Duke of Alva, its port seized by Northern rebels in 1572 and the city sacked by garrisoned Spanish soldiers in 1576, Antwerp then joined the Protestant States. During the 1580s the Spanish increasingly controlled the trade routes in and out of the city, and on 17 August 1585 Antwerp fell after a long siege by the Duke of Parma. Protestants who were not prepared to be reconciled to the Spanish-controlled, Catholic state were given several years in which to wind up their affairs and leave; they moved in large numbers to Amsterdam, taking their businesses with them, so that by

¹²⁶ Document references are provided in Appendix 2.1.

¹²⁷ Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World*, trans. Siân Reynolds (London: William Collins, 1984), 143.

1591 the city was firmly under Spanish control, but with a population less than half what it had been at its peak around 1570.¹²⁸

From the 1550s Antwerp had focused increasingly on manufacture, particularly of textiles, but other industries, such as printing and publishing, were also important. Christophe Plantin, originally from France, who came to Antwerp as a bookbinder in 1548 or 1549¹²⁹ before setting up his own printing and publishing business, explained the attraction of Antwerp in a letter to Pope Gregory XIII on 9 October 1574:

If I had taken only my personal interests into account, I could have secured for myself the benefits that were offered me in other countries and cities. I preferred Belgium (*Belgica regio*) and this city of Antwerp, however, before all others as a place in which to establish myself. What chiefly inspired this choice is that in my judgement no other place in the world could furnish more convenience for the trade I wished to practice. This city is easy of access; one sees the various nations congregating in the marketplace, and here all the materials necessary for the practice of my craft are to be obtained; workers for all trades, who can be taught in a short time, are easily found; above all else I noticed, to the satisfaction of my religious belief, that this city and the whole country surrounding it far excel all neighbouring peoples in their great love for the Catholic religion, under the sceptre of a king who is Catholic in name and deed; finally, it is in this country that the renowned University of Louvain flourishes, graced in all faculties by the knowledge of her many professors, of whose guidance, counsel and works I hoped to avail myself to the great benefit of the public.¹³⁰

(Atque ad eam rem etsi aliis in locis et urbibus commodiores mihi oblatas condiciones consequi poteram, tamen una hæc præ ceteris placuit Belgica regio, atque adeo hæc urbs Antverpia in qua sedem figerem, eo potissimum nomine, quod nullam in orbe terrarum ad eam quam instituebam artem majores habere commoditates existimarem. Nam præter facilem eo tempore commeatum et affleuntem copiam variæ materiæ nostris officinis necessariæ quæ ex variis provinciis comportabatur, ac etiam operarum, quæ ad omnes artes in hac provincia brevi tempore instrui et deligi possunt, illa cum primis mihi probabantur, quod hæc una provincia et *respublica* omnis in catholica religione colenda tum egregie præter finitimas omnes, florere videretur: quod Regi cognomento et re catholico pareret: denique quod florentissimam hanc Lovaniensem Academiam haberet viris multis in omni disciplinarum genere

¹²⁸ John J. Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Bruegel* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), 39-42. Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (London: Methuen, 1984), 272.

¹²⁹ Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969-1972), i. 11.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, i.13.

doctimissimis instructam, quorum consiliis, judiciis, studiis et laboribus ad publicam utilitatem frui juvarique possem.)¹³¹

It is necessary to bear in mind the audience and timing of this letter when considering its religious aspects, but the commercial arguments were strong. Leon Voet, in his study of the business founded by Plantin, demonstrates the printer's careful negotiation of the changing religious situation.¹³² Plantin was not immune, however, to the impact of war and political change. A summary in Table 2.1 of the number of printing presses he was able to operate during the period 1571 to 1591 demonstrates this clearly.

Table 2.1: Number of Printing Presses operated by Plantin, 1571-1591

Year	Presses	Year	Presses	Year	Presses
1571	11	1578	6	1585	6>1
				Siege of Antwerp	
1572	13	1579	5	1586	3
1573	12	1580	7	1587	6
1574	16	1581	8	1588	6
1575	15	1582	7	1589	4
				Plantin died	
1576	15>1>2	1583	10	1590	4
Sack of Antwerp		Temp move to Leiden until 1585			
1577	3	1584	6	1591	4

Source: Voet, *Golden Compasses*, i. 437.

¹³¹ Max Rooses and Jan Denucé (eds.), *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, 9 vols (Antwerp: J.-E. Buschmann, De Nederlandsche Boekhandel and De Groote Boekhandel, 1883-1918), iv. 158-9.

¹³² Voet, *Golden Compasses*, i. Chapter 1 (3-137).

It is an indication of the resilience of Plantin and of Antwerp that he was operating six presses again by 1587, two years after the fall of the city, in the face of continuing blockades of the port (now from Protestants), raids around the city and slow road communications.¹³³

Antwerp was one of four main centres for the publication of printed music in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century, along with Venice, Paris and Nuremberg. Music printing started late in Antwerp, with the earliest example being a woodcut of 1515.¹³⁴ During the 1520s the city built up a significant business producing liturgical music, particularly Sarum rite material for the London market, using a double-impression process.¹³⁵ After this slow start, in the 1550s music printing became well-established. Tielman Susato, a professional musician originally from Cologne, had moved to Antwerp by 1529 and was a member of the 'stadsspeellieden' (the equivalent of English city waits) from 1531. He started printing music in partnership with Hendrik ter Bruggen and Willem van Vissenhaken in 1542. That year, and in the one following, he received a subsidy from the city for bringing a new trade to the city, and by 1544 he had acquired his partners' shares in the business and was operating independently.¹³⁶ Using the faster, cheaper single-impression process, Susato produced at least fifty-eight music publications between 1543 and 1561.¹³⁷ He left Antwerp around 1561 and moved to North Holland where he had bought property, possibly because, as a committed Calvinist, he was increasingly at odds with the Catholic regime.¹³⁸ His business passed to his son, who died in 1564.

¹³³ Ibid., i. 116-17.

¹³⁴ Kristine Forney, 'Tielman Susato, Sixteenth-Century Music Printer: An Archival and Typographical Investigation', Ph.D. diss. (University of Kentucky, 1978), 13.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 15.

¹³⁶ Kristine Forney, 'New Documents on the Life of Tielman Susato, Sixteenth-century Music Printer and Musician', *Revue belge de musicologie*, 35-38 (1982-1984), 18-25.

¹³⁷ Forney, 'Susato', 125-26.

¹³⁸ Forney, 'New Documents', 29-35.

Susato's main competitor was Pierre Phalèse, who started printing volumes of lute intabulations in Leuven in 1545, moving on to part books around 1552.¹³⁹ The Phalèse house was the most prolific printer of music in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century; on the death of Pierre, his son (also Pierre) took over the business and relocated it to Antwerp. Phalèse entered into a formal partnership with the book trader Jan Bellère in 1570.¹⁴⁰ Henri Vanhulst's catalogue of Phalèse's musical output in the period 1545-1578¹⁴¹ lists 189 publications issued by the Phalèse house, of which more than seventy were reprints of previous editions from that period, suggesting strong sales. A further music publishing business was set up in Antwerp by the composer and singer Hubert Waelrant and printer Hans de Laet in 1554. Together they produced sixteen publications of music between 1554 and 1558, when it appears that they stopped working together.¹⁴²

Plantin did not venture into music printing until 1564, when the widow of Susato's son sold him the Susato music type and equipment.¹⁴³ For some years Plantin's musical output was limited to Catholic service material, often of a high quality, and frequently underwritten during the 1570s by Philip II.¹⁴⁴ No polyphonic music appeared from the Plantin presses until 1578, after which a trickle of publications appeared – a mixture of Mass settings, sacred songs and chansons – amounting to fourteen in all by 1591.¹⁴⁵

In his comparison of music publishers' attitudes to their customers in Venice and Antwerp, Stanley Boorman provides an analysis of the nature of Antwerp's market for

¹³⁹ Forney, 'Susato', 26-27.

¹⁴⁰ Anne Tatnall Gross, 'The *Livre septième des chansons à quatre parties* of Phalèse: Studies in Music Printing and the Book Trade in the Low Countries, 1560-1660', Ph.D diss. (New York University, 1998), 216.

¹⁴¹ Henri Vanhulst, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1984), 233-243.

¹⁴² Forney, 'Susato', 27.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁴⁴ J. A. Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1949), 13.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

music.¹⁴⁶ Publishers of music fell into four categories: music specialists, such as Phalèse and Susato, who produced sophisticated output; generalists, such as Plantin, who also produced sophisticated output; specialists who produced a couple of volumes and then disappeared; and generalists who produced one or two psalters or editions of simple secular repertoire amongst their non-musical output. Although the psalter market was quite distinct from that for polyphony, it was large¹⁴⁷ and therefore defined ‘the musical abilities of a large part of the Protestant population – or at least the level of musical ability that the publisher could assume’.¹⁴⁸ Whilst Antwerp’s official religious status switched at intervals and was predominantly Catholic after the mid-1560s, there was nevertheless a large Protestant population within a few miles. There was a good market for secular music, but a market for sacred polyphony seems to have been harder to build:

Susato and Phalèse, therefore, seem to have come to the conclusion that the market for sacred polyphony was rather small, and better suited to manuscripts. They also determined, and evidently correctly, that there was a large enough market for two repertoires of secular music, one based on works of local composers, and one reflecting the Parisians.¹⁴⁹

Susato tended to publish works from local composers¹⁵⁰ whilst Phalèse senior focused on the Parisian chanson. In her study of the Phalèse *Livre septième*, Anne Tatnall Gross demonstrates that many of the old-fashioned Parisian chansons it contains had previously been published by Phalèse or others as lute intabulations, and that they therefore might be familiar to purchasers of the *Livre septième*.¹⁵¹ She argues that such music was ideally suited to amateurs, with treble-dominated, harmonic textures and straightforward vocal lines. Many

¹⁴⁶ Stanley Boorman, ‘The Music Publisher’s View of his Public’s Abilities and Taste: Venice and Antwerp’, reprinted in Stanley Boorman, *Studies in the Printing, Publishing and Performance of Music in the Sixteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 405-429.

¹⁴⁷ See below, p. 86, Table 2.2.

¹⁴⁸ Boorman, ‘Music Publisher’s View’, 407.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 421.

¹⁵⁰ Forney, ‘Susato’, 213.

¹⁵¹ Gross, ‘*Livre Septième*’, 5.

of the texts were well-known.¹⁵² Before the arrival of single-composer volumes from Venice in the 1560s started a general trend for similar publications in the Low Countries, secular polyphony was largely published in anthologies. In Stanley Boorman's view:

The publishers themselves therefore had this view of their purchasers: that they were willing to buy in specific genres, and that they preferred specific groups of composers, local or Parisian: but also that they were willing to buy without knowing in detail the contents of the books, to take a risk, and therefore to explore styles that were imported from elsewhere – if they were not too strange. I add that last clause partly in deference to the pattern of a relatively conservative selection of Italian madrigals in northern editions late in the century.¹⁵³

The Antwerp music market was very different from that of Venice, which was by far the biggest centre of European music publishing. Whilst Phalèse produced over 500 titles in the course of a century, the Gardano/Magni house produced twice that, and Vincenti and Amadino published 1,500 editions in thirty years. Generalist printers and small specialists in Venice, who would have been considered major producers elsewhere, might produce thirty or forty music titles in the course of their printing careers.¹⁵⁴ Venice benefited from a highly developed distribution network and was able to dominate both the Italian market and the whole of Europe, publishing for a sophisticated international market rather than for a local hinterland. Antwerp did both to some extent, meeting the local demand described by Boorman whilst also trading with neighbouring countries. Plantin, for example, had a regular presence at the Frankfurt Book Fair¹⁵⁵ and for a long time had a shop in Paris,¹⁵⁶ as well as in Antwerp, along with customers in other cities.

Plantin only had a few suppliers, but a larger and more varied group of clients. They included booksellers or merchants, above all, of which some were from Antwerp while others lived in London, Lyon, Milan, Rome or Vienna. For the most part, they

¹⁵² Ibid., 27.

¹⁵³ Boorman, 'Music Publisher's View', 423.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 408.

¹⁵⁵ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, i. 32.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., i. 50.

resided in modern-day Belgium or in bordering regions, such as northern France, the southern Netherlands, and the Rhine valley.¹⁵⁷

In addition to his printing and publishing business, Plantin sold books and music from other publishers. In the early part of his career, up to the mid-1560s, he mostly handled foreign prints from Venice, Lyon and particularly Paris, where he had good contacts, but increasingly he dealt in local publications, particularly those of Phalèse.¹⁵⁸

When Thomas Morley visited the Low Countries he would have encountered a thriving music market strikingly similar to the potential market in Elizabethan London. If the production of metrical psalters in the vernacular with music is any guide to levels of basic musical literacy, the English urban population, by 1590, was as well-equipped to engage in recreational music-making as were the Protestant Dutch.

Table 2.2: Editions of Metrical Psalters with Music 1530-1599

Decade	Dutch Psalter editions	English Psalter editions
1530-39	1	
1540-49	9	
1550-59	15	
1560-69	40	18
1570-79	39	26
1580-89	19	46
1590-99	21	43

Sources: Dutch figures extracted from C. A. Höweler and F. H. Matter, *Fontes Hymnodiae Neerlandicae Impressi 1539-1700* (Nieuwkoop, NL: B. De Graaf, 1985). English figures extracted from *STC2* i. 99-107.

Antwerp seemed to be producing music suitable for its middle class amateurs: not too difficult, with texts in French (one of the two languages of the region) and with a focus on local, or at least north European, composers. The survival of copies of Phalèse's *Livre*

¹⁵⁷ Henri Vanhulst, 'Suppliers and Clients', 566.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 571.

septième in cheap bindings provides evidence of this amateur market.¹⁵⁹ Music by Italian composers was introduced as demand for it grew.

Very little of this was happening in England. Several factors may help to explain this. Firstly, although London was growing rapidly, other English towns were small and scattered; in contrast the Low Countries was densely populated with large numbers concentrated in urban centres. For instance, in England in 1550 there were four cities with 10,000 or more inhabitants compared with twenty-four in the Low Countries. By 1600 the numbers had risen in England to six and in the Netherlands to thirty-one.¹⁶⁰ In 1600, 43% of the Netherlands population lived in urban communities compared with less than 6% in England and Wales.¹⁶¹ the role played by established urban populations in creating a demand for printed music will be considered in Chapter 3 of this study. Secondly, Antwerp had been a much more significant trading centre than London, with a large population from Italy and elsewhere, and so was probably more of a cultural melting-pot. Thirdly, Antwerp printers, following the example of their fellow merchants, looked beyond their local hinterland and were not hampered by an insular outlook, as in London. Despite the difficulties of the on-going war, Antwerp had a highly developed trading tradition.

In September 1591, when Morley was in the Low Countries, he could have counted on the fingers of one hand the number of publications of music of a not entirely devotional nature that had been printed in England during the previous decade, all of them in the last four years.¹⁶² To these could be added Byrd's two volumes of exclusively sacred, but not

¹⁵⁹ Gross, '*Livre Septième*' 325.

¹⁶⁰ De Vries, *Urbanization*, 29, table 3.1.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 39, table 3.7.

¹⁶² 1588: Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs*; Yonge, *Musica Transalpina*; 1589: Byrd, *Songs of Sundrie Natures*; 1590: Watson, *Italian Madrigalls Englished*; Whythorne, *Duos*.

liturgical, songs.¹⁶³ If he visited the Phalèse and Plantin shops in the Kammenstraat in Antwerp, he would have seen volumes of chansons and motets produced by Phalèse, lute books, anthologies of Italian madrigals, some single-composer volumes of music by Italians, and music for smaller ensembles, such as Jean de Castro's reduced-force arrangements of well-known works.¹⁶⁴ He may have been struck by the number of local composers whose music appeared in print. If he met Peter Philips, his ex-colleague would surely have shown him his own anthology of Italian madrigals, *Melodia Olympica*, published by Phalèse that year, within months of Philips' arrival in Antwerp. Surviving prints by Phalèse and Plantin for the period 1581-1591, listed in Appendix 2.2, show a steady output in the face of war and political upheaval. Sales of many publications justified at least one reprint. As well as recent publications, Phalèse also had a large back-catalogue, and it is likely that some of Susato's prints were still available, too. Even a visit to a bookseller in Brussels, particularly one supplied by Plantin with his own and others' publications, would have given Morley a taste of a more developed music publishing business than existed in London. On this evidence Morley could reasonably have concluded that there must be a market in London for music by English composers, with English texts, straightforward enough for amateur performance and with a hint of the Italian about it.

THE IMPACT OF MORLEY'S TRIP ABROAD

The correspondence between Charles Paget and Thomas Barnes suggests that Morley was back in England by October 1591, at which point he presumably returned to his employment at St Paul's, although there are no surviving cathedral records from this period to demonstrate whether this was so. If he continued to play the promoter and apprehend Catholics, there is no record of this either, or of any further trips abroad. His life did undergo

¹⁶³ *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum* (1589) and *Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum* (1591).

¹⁶⁴ Boorman, 'Music Publisher's View', 424.

two major changes, though: in 1592 he was appointed to the Chapel Royal, and in 1593 he embarked on his publishing career. The reasons for these developments may have stemmed from his visit to the Low Countries. His business ventures are the subject of Chapter 4, but the circumstances of his appointment to the Chapel Royal are worth examining here, as there has been speculation that Morley's appointment was a reward for services rendered to the Queen's government.¹⁶⁵

There are two primary sources of information for appointments to the Chapel Royal in the sixteenth century: the 'Old' Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, which contains both a list of appointments, 'The Subdeanes & *Gentlemen* succeeding since the third yeare of the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth', as well as sporadic records of the swearing in of some individuals,¹⁶⁶ and a separate register of appointments preserved in MS Rawlinson D.318, at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.¹⁶⁷ Lists of chapel members exempted from paying subsidies as a result of their employment at court also provide snapshots of the Chapel membership.¹⁶⁸ The records for Morley's appointment are summarised in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Records of Thomas Morley's Appointment to the Chapel Royal

Date	Source	Text
24/7/1592	Old Cheque Book, f. 5v.	Thomas Morley sworne ... in Mr Greenes roome.
	MS Rawlinson D.318, f. 28r.	Thomas Morley sworne ... in Subdeane Greens Roome, & Mr Anderson sworne Subdeane.
18/11/1592	Old Cheque Book, f. 20r.	The same day also was sworne ... Thomas Morleye from the epistlers place to the gossellers place and waiges ...

¹⁶⁵ See, for instance Brett, 'Thomas Morley'.

¹⁶⁶ *Archives of the Chapel Royal*, Old Cheque Book; transcribed in Ashbee and Harley, *Cheque Books*, i. 3-186.

¹⁶⁷ *Ob*, MS Rawlinson D.318, ff.25r-35r; transcribed in Ashbee, *Records*, viii. 317-327.

¹⁶⁸ *Lna*, E 179 series; Chapel Royal entries for reign of Elizabeth I transcribed in Ashbee, *Records*, vi.

These records show Morley changing role during his first few months at the chapel. As well as the positions for singing men in the chapel choir – the gentlemen – there were also roles for epistlers and gossellers, who intoned the epistle and the gospel during the service. In the late fifteenth century, ‘yeoman epistler’ positions were reserved for children of the chapel whose voices had recently broken,¹⁶⁹ but it is not clear from sixteenth-century records whether this practice continued, nor whether ‘yeomen epistler’ and ‘epistler’ were interchangeable terms for the same role. Alan Smith suggests that the normal career path for a gentleman was to move from epistler to gosseller to gentleman,¹⁷⁰ but Ashbee and Harley dispute this;¹⁷¹ certainly, the records from Elizabeth’s reign do not reveal this sort of pattern on a routine basis. Whilst some gentlemen started as epistlers, many appeared on the registers from the outset as gentlemen, and most epistlers progressed to become gentlemen without spending time as gossellers. Generally there were at least two members of the chapel described as epistlers at any time during Elizabeth’s reign. Throughout the sixteenth century, until 1591, the gosseller’s place was held by an ordained priest, who generally remained in the post for a lengthy period. It was only occasionally a stepping-stone to becoming a singing man. However, as Table 2.4 (overleaf) demonstrates, the situation became more complicated towards the end of the century.

¹⁶⁹ Ashbee and Harley, *Cheque Books*, i. xii, xiv.

¹⁷⁰ Alan Smith, ‘The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: an annotated Register’, *RMA Research Chronicle*, 5 (1965), 13.

¹⁷¹ Ashbee and Harley, *Cheque Books*, i. xv.

Table 2.4: Holders of the Gospeller Position at the Chapel Royal, 1561-1600

Name	Appointments
William Jones (priest)	Gospeller from 24/3/1561 to 28/2/1581, when he died.
Leonard Davies (priest)	Replaced William Jones on 15/5/1581; apparently in post till 15/10/1593 when appointed Subdean.
William Barnes (priest)	Gospeller from 11/10/1583; appointed Gentleman on 15/5/1584
Anthony Harrison (priest)	Appointed in an unspecified capacity in October 1583; appointed Gospeller on 15/5/1584, effectively replacing William Barnes; apparently remained in post into seventeenth century.
Anthony Anderson (priest)	Appointed in some capacity on 12/10/1591; his appointment as Subdean on 26/7/1592 states that he was previously Gospeller.
Thomas Gould	Appointed in an unspecified capacity on 14/11/1591; appointed Gentleman from Gospeller on 18/11/1592; not clear whether he was Gospeller from the start or perhaps appointed to that role when Anthony Anderson became Subdean.
Thomas Morley	Appointed in an unspecified capacity 24/7/1592; appointed Gospeller from Epistler on 18/11/1592; no record of him transferring to role of Gentleman; remained a member of Chapel Royal until his death on 7/10/1602.

Sources: *Archives of the Chapel Royal*, Old Cheque Book; transcribed in Ashbee and Harley, *Cheque Books*, i. 3-186. *Ob*, MS Rawlinson D.318, ff.25r-35r; transcribed in Ashbee, *Records*, viii. 317-327. Alan Smith, 'The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: an annotated Register', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 5 (1965).

It appears that from the 1580s there was more than one concurrent holder of the position of gospeller, and that with the appointment of Thomas Gould and then Morley there was also a break with the practice of appointing ordained incumbents. If the records are right, and it has to be said that they do leave some details unstated, then there were already at least two gossellers in place when Gould and Morley were appointed and it therefore appears that at least one extra role may have been created. It is equally possible, though, that Leonard Davies (or perhaps Anthony Harrison) had ceased to be a gospeller, although still attached to the chapel as a chaplain. A description by Anthony Anderson of the Easter day service on

15 April 1593 refers to ‘the gospeller for th[a]t day’, confirming that there was indeed more than one holder of the post:

Then her majesties Royal person came moste chearfully havinge as noble Supporters the right ho. Therle of Essex *master* of her majesties horse on the right hande, & the right ho. The *Lord* admyral on the left hand ... all the while D. Bull was at the Organ playenge the offertorye. ...and then the blessed Sacrament first received of the sayd Bushop and adminstred to the Subdean, the gospeller for th[a]t day & to the epistler...¹⁷²

It is not clear whether Morley remained as a gospeller or was later appointed a gentleman, although when he refers to his position at the chapel on the title pages of his publications it is always as a gentleman of the chapel. There are no further references to the appointment of gossellers during his lifetime or at his death in 1602, but on the other hand, the next reference does not occur until 1613.

Places at the Chapel Royal were sought after, with candidates often lobbying for, or being offered, an unpaid position as an extra-ordinary gentleman until a paid position became available. Whilst the annual salary of £30 was not exceptional, it was a better regular salary than could be earned elsewhere as a musician, with the exception of the royal household, and it provided a certain status. In addition, it was not a full-time job. Alan Smith describes conditions of employment thus:

Not all of the thirty-two gentlemen were present at every service, however, but only on special occasions, such as the major feasts ... Normally only sixteen, about half the full number of gentlemen, were present at services; each did duty for one month and then had one month off. In the three months between St Peter’s day (29 June) and Michaelmas (29 September) there were no weekday choral services. There were various other holidays, too, such as in the week before Christmas, when likewise there were no daily choral services. During their free time the gentlemen were at liberty to return to their cathedrals and churches, though in all probability very few did so.¹⁷³

¹⁷² Ashbee and Harley, *Cheque Books*, i. 54-55.

¹⁷³ Smith, ‘Gentlemen and Children’, 14.

It seems that there was some controversy concerning the process of appointment to the chapel at about the time Thomas Morley was appointed gospeller, which led to all members of the chapel present on 2 December 1592, including Morley, being required to sign the following commitment:

Be it knowne to whomsoever it may concern herafter that in a Chapter holden by us the then Subdeane Chaplens & gentelmen of her Majesties Chappell Royall in ful purpose to avoyde a great inconvenience very moche hertofor offred to the no smal hinderance of her Majesties service in her sayd Chappell That whosoever of us whose names be underwritten shall at any tyme herafter eyther when any place shalbe voyd in the sayd Chappell or beffore by him selfe or with, or by other, or others, in any sorte make frends mocion sewte or private labor, to the righte *honourable* The Lord Chamberlen or to anye others by whose *Favour* his *honour* might be supposed to graunt the request for any place *with* out having therto the consent firste of the Subdeane for the tyme beinge & the most voices of the Companye in a Chapter then of purpose to be holden shall Forfeite to the use of us the sayd Companye the somme of x^{li.} [£10] ...¹⁷⁴

It is certainly possible that Burghley or Cecil pressed Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, to provide Morley with a position in reward for his intelligence services, but this would presumably have happened before his initial appointment in July, rather than in November. It is not evident that there was any financial or other advantage attached to the post of gospeller compared with that of epistler, nor was it Morley's appointment that broke the pattern of placing an ordained priest in the role, so perhaps the discontent was not about his appointment. The controversy may equally have arisen from Thomas Gould's appointment as gentleman, from the appointment of Peter Wright from Westminster, also in November, or in connection with the appointment of extra-ordinary gentlemen.

Despite Alan Smith's view, some of the Chapel Royal's singing men did combine their role there with other work.¹⁷⁵ It possible, therefore, that Thomas Morley continued for the time being at St Paul's, too. Whether or not he did, his position at the Chapel Royal

¹⁷⁴ *Lna*, PRO 28.1a.part 1: microfilm copy of the Old Cheque Book, f. 20v.; see Ashbee and Harley, *Cheque Books*, i. 65-66 for their complete transcription of the document.

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 4, p. 210.

provided him with a regular salary for a part-time post, with the advantage of a physical presence at court. It was from this base that he embarked on his publishing career.

CHAPTER 3 – THE MARKET FOR RECREATIONAL MUSIC

The multitude (or whole bodie) of this populous Citie is two waies to bee considered, generally, and specially, generally they bee naturall subjectes, a part of the commons of this Realme and are by birth for the most part a mixture of all countries of the same, by blood Gentlemen, Yeomen, and of the basest sorte, without distinction: and by profession busie Bees, and travellers for their living in the Hive of this common welth, but specially considered, they consist of these three partes, Marchantes, Handicrafts men and Labourers.¹

Until the final decades of the sixteenth century, documentary evidence of engagement in music for recreation is largely limited in England to the wealthy, land-owning classes, together with the universities and Inns of Court. This could be purely the result of the better preservation of documents relating to the well-off, but it is almost certainly a reflection, too, of significant changes during the century which resulted in the emergence of an educated ‘middle class’, concentrated in cities, with some disposable income and with social aspirations at least partly fuelled by reading such works as Castiglione’s *The Courtyer*,² which were increasingly available in printed English editions. Of course, to imagine that there was no music in the lives of the bulk of the population in Tudor England would be misguided, as the strong tradition of ballad performance demonstrates.³ However, the playing and singing of polyphonic ‘art’ music in middle-class homes seems to have grown significantly during the second half of the sixteenth century. This chapter considers the contribution made by the growth of urban centres, particularly London, by the growth of literacy and by increasing social aspiration to the creation of a market for mass-produced printed music. Probate

¹ John Stow, *A Survey of London* (London: J. Wolfe, 1598), 478-9.

² Baldassare Castiglione, *The Courtyer*, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (London: Seres, 1561) and many subsequent editions. First published in Italy as *Il cortegiano* in 1528.

³ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996 reprint), 33-38.

inventories have been used as a primary source of information about the lives of the merchants and craftsmen who, with their families, provided that market. Because such inventories do not survive for London during this period, those for Norwich, England's second city, and the home of Morley's family, have been used.

TRADITIONAL CONSUMERS OF MUSIC

Major Households

The households of England's aristocratic families and wealthy gentry were important 'consumers' of music, and the foremost of these was the royal court. Henry VIII had built on the largely ceremonial musical establishment of his father by importing foreign musicians, particularly from Italy, who played more domestically-scaled instruments such as viols, violins and recorders; and the King himself was known as a performer and composer.⁴ Elizabeth I, a lutenist and keyboard player,⁵ also had a keen interest in music and retained a substantial body of musicians. A lay subsidy roll, dated 10 November 1590⁶ and summarised in Table 3.1 on the next page, records the names of the musicians in the queen's employ and therefore exempted from paying the subsidy (a form of tax). It is one of many such lists from her reign, all showing a similarly sized establishment:

⁴ David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009 reprint), 10-13; John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979 reprint), 275-8; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 58-103.

⁵ Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 16.

⁶ Ashbee, *Records*, vi. 53-55.

Table 3.1: Musicians employed at the Royal Court in 1590

Instrumentalists	Number
Musicons [sic – actually recorder players]	6
Violens	5
Sagbotes	6
Flutes	5
Lute players	4
Trumpets [including sergeant]	17
Dromes	3
The Chappell	28

Source: Ashbee, *Records*, vi. 53-55.

As well as the payment of the musicians, there were significant costs involved in maintaining the court's musical instruments:

Grant of the office of 'custodio, repairing and tuning hir *Majesties* Regalls, Virginalls, Organs, and all other windy instruments; And also a commission to take up at reasonable prices workmen and things necessary for the same instruments': £50 a year to Edmond Schetts, during life.⁷

and in moving them from one site to another:

To William Treasurer, Tunnor of her *Majesties* Instruments, upon two bills for removing and caryinge of a paire of Orgaines from St James to Whitehall against the maundy ...⁸

The court attracted an increasing number of aristocrats and gentry who felt the need to maintain a presence there. John Stow, writing in 1598, observed:

...for not onely the Court, (which is now a dayes much greater and more gallant then in former times, and which was wont to bee contented to remain with a smal company, sometimes at an Abbey or Priorie, sometimes at a Bishops house, and sometimes at some meane Mannor of the kings own) is now for the most part eyther abiding at London, or els so neare unto it, ... by occasion thereof the Gentlemen of all shires do

⁷ Ibid., vi. 50 (20 Feb 1588).

⁸ Ibid., vi. 115 (1576 – Maundy Thursday fell on 19 April).

flie, and flocke to this City, the yonger sorte of them to see and shew vanitie, and the elder to save the cost and charge of Hospitality, and house keeping.⁹

Lawrence Stone estimates that in 1560 half the peerage had houses in London and that by the 1630s three-quarters of the peerage and several hundred of the gentry had a permanent residence there.¹⁰ They were thus able to observe and experience at first hand the musical life of the court, and many strove to emulate it. Such emulation was not a new phenomenon:

To speak of music in houses, ye shall understand that divers noblemen and women in time past, imitating the Prince, would have organists and singingmen to serve God after the manner of that time with music in their private chapels.¹¹

Now the emphasis had shifted to secular music, sometimes ceremonial, but more often on a domestic scale. At one extreme, an inventory made for Lord Lumley of the household goods at Nonesuch in 1596 listed the instruments shown in Table 3.2 overleaf.

⁹ Stow, *Survey*, 467.

¹⁰ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 395-7.

¹¹ Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (Modern Spelling Edition), ed. James M. Osborn (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 203.

Table 3.2: Musical Instruments at Nonesuch in 1596

Instruments	Number
Great standing wynd Instruments with stoppes [organs]	8
Vyrgynalles paires	5
Rygalles paires	2
Iryshe harpes	2
Lutes	8
Howboyes	10
Bumbardes	2
Crumpehorns	4
Recorders	15
Vyolens	13
Vyoles	41
Sagbuttes	4
Cornettes	12

Source: Warren, 'Music at Nonesuch', 50.

Nonesuch, granted to the Earl of Arundel first by Queen Mary and then by Elizabeth, and inherited by Lord Lumley, also had an unusually large and well-documented library of music.¹² The Nonesuch collection seems to have been exceptional, though, possibly dating from the early part of Elizabeth's reign when Arundel was courting the queen.¹³ More typical of a wealthy family with an interest in music was the Kytson household at Hengrave Hall, whose household accounts provide evidence of the employment of musicians: Edward Johnson from at least 1572, and 'Robert the musician' from 1574. The composer John Wilbye was also employed by the Kytsons, but as a servant, not solely as a musician, from

¹² Charles W. Warren, 'Music at Nonesuch', *Musical Quarterly*, 54 (1968), 49; Sears Jayne and Francis Johnson, *The Lumley Library – The Catalogue of 1609* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1956), 284-286, which lists forty-five sets of part books and other items.

¹³ Warren, 'Music at Nonesuch', 48.

1593.¹⁴ In addition there were ‘singing boys’, probably young servants employed partly to sing in the chapel and in consorts,¹⁵ and rewards were paid to visiting musicians. Payments were made for the purchase and maintenance of instruments, for the purchase of music and music paper, and for music lessons for both adults and children. An inventory compiled on 29 March 1603¹⁶ describes the instruments and music owned by the family and includes viols, violins, lutes and other plucked instruments, recorders and loud wind instruments, virginals and at least one organ. Amongst the music are two books of lute music and ten sets of part books, some of which themselves contained multiple sets of music. The full inventory is given in Appendix 3.1, together with extracts from the household accounts from 1572 to 1575. Families such as the Kytsons could easily afford this level of expenditure on music: in 1575, for instance, their musical expenses, over and above the salaries paid to their musicians, amounted to £13 4s 10d, whilst, in contrast, the cost of clothing and jewellery for Mary Kytson, on her marriage to Lord Darcy the same year, was £662 6s 11d.¹⁷ The average weekly food bill for the household a decade later in 1587 was around £6 0s 0d.¹⁸

The Universities

Whilst practical music had no part in the university curriculum until the seventeenth century,¹⁹ music was deemed a suitable leisure pursuit for students and fellows. Morley’s young students in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* express their intention of continuing what they have learnt from Master Gnorimus as a form of relaxation after studying:

Polymathes. To morrow we must be busied making provision for our journey to the Universitie, so that we cannot possiblie see you againe before our departure, therefore

¹⁴ Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 71-83.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁶ *Cambridge University Archives*, Hengrave MS 81.

¹⁷ See Appendix 3.1.

¹⁸ *Cambridge University Archives*, Hengrave MS 82/10.

¹⁹ See Chapter 1, p. 45.

we must at this time both take our leave of you, and intreat you that at every convenient occasion and your leasure you will let us heare from you.

Master. I hope before such time as you have sufficientlie ruminated & digested those precepts which I have given you, that you shal heare from me in a new kind of matter.

Philomathes. I will not onely looke for that, but also pray you that we may have some songes which may serve both to direct us in our compositions, and by singing them recreate us after our more serious studies.²⁰

Some students had private tutors for subjects such as music, as well as their university tutor.

Thomas Whythorne went to Trinity College Cambridge around 1560 as private tutor to William Bromfield, son of the Queen's Lieutenant-General of the Ordinance:

... shortly after, my fortune was to be acquainted with a gentleman who had a son that was then in Cambridge. And this said gentleman hired me to go thither to teach his son. And for that my credit and entertainment should be the better there, he commended me unto one there who was tutor to his son.²¹

Other students taught themselves. In his autobiography, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who had married at an early age for dynastic reasons and, perhaps unusually, went to Oxford with both his mother and his wife, reflected:

During this time of living in the university, or at home ... I attained also to sing my part at first sight in music, and to play the lute with very little or at most no teaching ... my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and together refresh my mind after my studies, to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.²²

Evidence of ownership of instruments and music survives amongst the probate inventories proved in Oxford and Cambridge.²³ For example, Elizabeth Leedham-Green's

²⁰ Morley, *Introduction*, 182.

²¹ Whythorne, *Autobiography*, 101 (see note 1 for James Osborn's estimate of the dates when Whythorne was at Cambridge).

²² Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *Autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (London: Alexander Murray, 1870), 25.

²³ Those for Oxford are discussed below, pp. 131-32.

work on Cambridge inventories²⁴ analyses and partially transcribes the contents of two hundred inventories and forty-one wills that listed named books. Whilst her focus is largely on the books, she also indexes references to music and musical instruments and includes the entries in her transcriptions. Details have been extracted and tabulated in Appendix 3.2 for the thirty-six individuals who owned music, an instrument, or both. Lutes, other plucked instruments and keyboard instruments are most prevalent. Amongst this group is Andrew Perne, Master of Peterhouse, whose instruments were of sufficient importance for him to specify their disposal in his will:

And I do give the Cathedrall church of the holy and undevided Trinitie of Ely another of the same Quisshions [cushions] and all mine Instrumentes of musicke saving my Regalls which I do give to master Thomas Perne nephew.²⁵

University colleges such as Trinity in Cambridge sometimes owned instruments and music which had no obvious application in either the college's curriculum or its chapel. Trinity's musical expenses for the period 1585 to 1597, listed in Appendix 3.3, show that, as well as paying for items directly related to chapel services, the college also spent money on recorders, virginals and viols. Trinity had a choir that included eight lay clerks and ten choristers, as well as a master of the choristers,²⁶ Ian Payne argues in his doctoral thesis²⁷ that, as was evidently the case in London at such establishments as St Paul's, provincial cathedrals and colleges with professional choirs provided instrumental tuition for their choristers. Initially, such tuition would have been limited to keyboard instruments, but increasingly it

²⁴ Elizabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Booklists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

²⁵ Transcribed in Patrick Collinson, David McKitterick and E. S. Leedham-Green, *Andrew Perne: Quartercentenary Studies. Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monographs 11*, ed. David McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1991), 118, Appendix E.

²⁶ Ian Payne, 'Instrumental Music at Trinity College, Cambridge, c.1594-c.1615: Archival and Biographical Evidence', *Music & Letters*, 68 (1987), 128.

²⁷ Ian Payne, 'The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals, c. 1547-c. 1646: a Comparative Study of Archival Evidence', Ph.D. diss. (Cambridge University, 1991).

included ensemble instruments, such as viols, as well.²⁸ Ian Harwood suggests that a collection of mixed consort books now in Cambridge University Library²⁹ originated as teaching material at Christ Church Oxford.³⁰ If they did, this would provide further support for Payne's views. A similar approach is seen in such cathedrals as Exeter, where an injunction made in 1550 required that the boys were taught to play instruments.³¹

NEW CONSUMERS OF MUSIC

A Growing Population

The aristocracy and the gentry, the universities, the Inns of Court (where there was also a thriving musical life)³² and the cathedrals (through their educational activities) formed well-defined, close-knit and relatively small groups of consumers of non-liturgical polyphonic music, with the means to obtain and exchange music amongst themselves, and no particular need for the relative mass-production of printed music. Against this backdrop, demographic change in England may have been the biggest factor in providing a market for printed music. The population grew enormously during the sixteenth century, despite periodic visitations of bubonic plague, rising from about 2.4 million around 1520 to 4.11 million around 1600.³³ Throughout the period, England remained essentially rural, with no overall shift of population from the country to towns. For example, the rural population in relation to town populations in Gloucestershire and Leicestershire actually rose marginally between 1563 and 1603 (at around 68% and 83% respectively for the two counties), whilst it fell, again marginally, in

²⁸ Ian Payne, 'The Provision of Teaching on Viols at some English Cathedral Churches, c. 1594-c. 1645: Archival Evidence', *Chelys*, 19 (1990), 3.

²⁹ Cu, Dd.3.18; Dd.14.24; Dd.5.20; Dd.5.21.

³⁰ Ian Harwood, "A Lecture in Musick, with the Practice thereof by Instrument in the Common Schools", Mathew Holmes and Music at Oxford University c. 1588-1627', *The Lute*, 45 (2005), 20-35.

³¹ Payne, 'Viols', 3.

³² See Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 27-31.

³³ E. Anthony Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 15 (1985), 688, table 2.

Norfolk, where the rural population made up about 74% of the county.³⁴ Generally, the population of English towns grew either in line with, or more slowly than, the population of the country as a whole. As Table 3.3 demonstrates, the situation was different in London, which expanded from 50,000-60,000 in 1520 to 150,000 in the City of London or 200,000 if Westminster and the suburbs (parts of Middlesex and Surrey) are included.³⁵ This provided a critical mass of people gathered in a small area.

Table 3.3: Growth of Urban Populations in England in the Sixteenth Century

Town	Population c. 1520	Population c.1600
London (City)	50,000	150,000
Norwich	12,000	15,000
Bristol	10,000	12,000
York	8,000	12,000
Exeter	8,000	9,000
Salisbury	8,000	6,000
Newcastle	5,000	10,000

Source: Derived from Wrigley, 'Urban Growth', 688, table 2.

Outside London, towns were small and remained so. Regional capitals, such as Norwich, which was England's second city, continued to fulfil their traditional roles and supply their regional markets, but grew modestly, at best. Only where towns had a strong link to London did they see major growth. Thus Newcastle doubled in size as a result of the development of its role as supplier of coal to London and northern Europe.³⁶ A drop in the population of Norwich was avoided only by an influx of Dutch and Walloon immigrants in

³⁴ Alan Dyer, 'Growth and Decay in English Towns 1500-1700', *Urban History Yearbook 1979*, 60-72.

³⁵ Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 83; Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London. Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Times*, 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 61; Wrigley, 'Urban Growth', 685-8.

³⁶ Clark and Slack, *English Towns*, 50.

the latter part of the century. Two separate censuses of Norwich taken in 1569 and 1570 indicate a population of 11,000, including 3,000 immigrants. By 1579, the population may have been 14,000 or 15,000 of whom 6,000 were immigrants. However, in 1579-80 at least 6,000 people died of plague, slowing further growth.³⁷

Migration was also the primary cause of the enormous increase in London's population, where the birth rate, although higher than that in the rest of England, was outpaced by the death rate in the period 1580-1650.³⁸ From a study of the register of freemen of the City of London, Steve Rappaport estimates that up to 90% of apprentices in London may have come from outside the city.³⁹ He suggests that apprentices and other young people seeking work as domestic servants, for instance, came to the capital to make their fortune,⁴⁰ and it seems from the fall in town populations outside London that many of these migrants came from provincial towns rather than rural communities. This was John Stow's opinion in 1598:

But heere before I conclude this part, I have shortly to aunswere the accusation of those men, which charge London with the losse and decay of many (or most) of the auncient Cities, Corporate Townes, and Marketes within this Realme, by drawing from them to her selfe alone (say they) both all trade of traffique by sea, and the retayling of wares, and exercise of manuall artes also. Touching Navigation, which (I must confesse) is apparantly decayed in many port townes, and flourisheth only, or chiefly at London, I impute that, partly to the fall of the Staple [wool trade]... partly to the empayring of Havens [harbours], which in many places have empoverished those Townes, whose estate doth ebbe and flow with them, and partly to the dissolution of Religious houses, by whose welth and haunt, many of those places were chiefly fed and nourished. ... As for Retaylers therefore, and Handicraftes men, it is no marvaile if they abandon Countrie Townes, and resort to London: for not onely the Court ...is now for the most part eyther abiding at London, or els so neare unto it, that the provision of things most fit for it, may easily be fetched from thence: but also by occasion thereof the Gentlemen of all shires do flie, and flocke to this City ...For hereby it commeth to passe that the Gentlemen being ...for a good portion of the yeare out of the Countrie, ...Retaylers and Artificers, at the least of such things as pertaine

³⁷ John Pound, *Tudor and Stuart Norwich* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1988), 28-29.

³⁸ Rappaport, *Worlds*, 67-69.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

to the backe or belly, do leave the Countrie townes where there is no vent [market], and do flie to London, where they be sure to finde ready and quicke market.⁴¹

Stow paints a picture of a skilled trading and working population in London, which he divides into three categories: merchants, who are themselves subdivided into overseas traders, wholesalers, and retailers; handicraftsmen; and labourers or hirelings. In his view, a middle group, in terms of wealth, comprising most of the retailers plus the craftsmen, form a numerical majority:

Againe these three sortes may be considered eyther in respect of their welth, or number: in welth Marchantes, and some of the chiefe Retaylers have the first place, the most part of the Retaylers, and all the artificers: the second or meane place, and the Hyrelinges the lowest roome; but in number they of the middle place, be first, and do farre exceede both the rest: Hyrelinges be next, and Marchantes bee the last.⁴²

London also experienced a major growth in what might be termed the service sector during the latter part of the sixteenth century. The presence of the royal courts, such as the Star Chamber, and of the Inns of Court concentrated England's legal services in London in a period that saw an enormous increase in litigation:

...the number of pleas entered in King's Bench rose tenfold during the sixteenth century, while the number of suits initiated in Chancery jumped from 200 a year in the 1560s to 500 a year in the 1590s. Parallel to this the number of enrolled attorneys in the Court of Common Pleas increased from 342 to 1,383 between 1578 and 1633.⁴³

This, as much as the desire to be seen at the royal court, was probably instrumental in drawing an increasing number of the aristocracy and gentry to London for at least part of the year, adding to the concentration of wealth in the capital.

⁴¹ Stow, *Survey*, 466-7.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 479-80.

⁴³ Clark and Slack, *Transition*, 67-68.

The Distribution of Wealth

Rappaport argues that there were fewer poor in English cities than other historians have supposed.⁴⁴ He feels that previous analyses may have resulted from the way in which Elizabethan subsidy assessments were interpreted. Unlike early Tudor assessments, Elizabethan assessments were intended to raise a specific amount of money required by the state from the parish and not to assess the wealth of all residents. As a result, typically only the top 25% of the male population was assessed; this probably does not imply that the remaining 75% was poor. Three-quarters of men in London were freemen by the middle of the century;⁴⁵ in order to gain their freedom they had to have a trade or craft and therefore belong to a guild or livery company.⁴⁶ The livery companies taxed their members on the basis of their income, and two-thirds of member households paid amounts averaging three weeks' wages each year.⁴⁷ Rappaport summarises his view of the wealth of the city's inhabitants thus:

Unquestionably there was poverty in the capital, but the fact that estimates of the numbers of poor are relatively low, that most journeymen were able within a few years to accumulate the capital needed to set up shops, that more than two-thirds of all householders could pay taxes amounting to several weeks' income, suggests that most Londoners were not merely subsisting. Indeed there is little evidence in general that London was a city only of extremes, of a few rich and many poor, of a privileged elite and unprivileged masses. That extremes existed we can be sure, but between them lay the majority of the men and women who lived, worked, and raised families during the twelve decades when the Tudor kings and queens ruled in England, the 'middling sort' of people who, in Stow's words, 'do far exceed both the rest'.⁴⁸

A survey was carried out by the city authorities in Norwich in 1570 in preparation for a revised scheme for supporting the poor. Using this and other contemporary information, John Pound suggests that perhaps 29% of the population was poor in 1575. Even so, most of

⁴⁴ Rappaport, *Worlds*, 162ff.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 167, 276.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 277-8.

those deemed poor were in employment.⁴⁹ Pound, in an analysis of probate inventories for the city, defines as ‘poor’ those people dying before 1600 with less than ten pounds’ worth of movable goods and after 1600 with less than fifteen pounds’ worth.⁵⁰ This is a very broad definition, as his own summary of the situation in Tudor and Stuart Norwich concedes:

Nevertheless, a proportion of the Norwich poor – we cannot be sure of what proportion in the absence of figures for the poor, as such, for much of the period – were sufficiently well-off, in a relative sense, to leave enough property to be recorded in an inventory; and analysis of this material allows us to paint a very broad picture of those living above the level of absolute poverty. Sixty per cent of these people lived in houses containing between three and five rooms, and a few lived in still larger dwellings. No more than a quarter of them inhabited houses with two rooms or less. A small minority owned animals – cows, pigs, horses and chickens – which provided a cushion against unemployment, but most of them possessed little more than their personal property. Of this, bedding was by far the most valuable item, followed by personal clothing and books. Every fifth person owned a few books, some of them owning several, which suggests a reasonable level of literacy among people of this class.⁵¹

Probate inventories paint only a partial picture of the deceased’s possessions, being concerned solely with movable goods, money and debts. Property was never included. This exclusion can result in misleading conclusions. For instance, Robert Mundes, one of the Norwich city waits, died in 1584. His inventory valued his goods at around £6 0s 0d,⁵² so that, according to Pound’s criteria, he was poor. However, in his will Mundes refers to houses in the parishes of St Giles and St Lawrence, a separate little garden in St Lawrence, a little house and yard in St Bennett and an orchard in St Margaret and St Giles. He describes two of these properties as having been bought by him,⁵³ and this ability to purchase property, rather than merely leasing it, suggests that he was far from poor.

⁴⁹ Pound, *Norwich*, 125-7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁵² *Nwr*, DN/INV 2a/5.

⁵³ *Nwr*, NCC Will Register, Bate 287.

The latter part of the sixteenth century saw a slowing down in economic growth together with significant price inflation. The Norwich probate inventories analysed by John Pound show a steady rise in value overall, from a median of £15 15s 11d in the period 1584-1600 (222 inventories) to £31 13s 0d in 1601-25 (327 inventories).⁵⁴ Pound compares this rise with the Phelps-Brown and Hopkins index,⁵⁵ which provides a cost of living rise of 38% from 1584 to 1600 and a further 16% to 1625,⁵⁶ and concludes that generally the value of domestic goods included in inventories kept pace with inflation but did not outstrip it.⁵⁷ Rappaport argues that, to maintain their standard of living, people in London worked longer hours; more members of the household worked, and individuals engaged in more than one occupation.⁵⁸ Norwich inventories confirm this view, providing evidence of individuals having secondary trades. For example, Richard Clarke, a clothier who died in 1589, possessed looms for making broadcloths and blankets, but also thirty-five dozen bow staves and 1,500 patching tiles.⁵⁹

The picture which emerges is of urban communities with a large core of tradesmen and craftsmen making a steady living, although most of the wealth generated inevitably remained in the households of the merchant class.

The Private riches of London resteth chiefly in the handes of the Marchantes, and Retaylers, for Artificers have not much to spare, and Labourers hav neede that it were given unto them.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Pound, *Norwich*, 38.

⁵⁵ E. H. Phelps-Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Price of Consumables, compared with Builders' Wage Rates', in E. Carus-Wilson (ed.), *Essays in Economic History*, 2 (1962), 179-198.

⁵⁶ Pound, *Norwich*, 39.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

⁵⁸ Rappaport, *Worlds*, 152.

⁵⁹ Pound, *Norwich*, 41.

⁶⁰ Stow, *Survey*, 480.

Social Aspiration and the Rise of Consumerism

Throughout Europe, the Renaissance period saw an increased interest in owning consumer goods and in displaying them. Lisa Jardine suggests that the appearance in both religious and secular images, from the fifteenth century onwards, of domestic possessions illustrates this rising consumerism.⁶¹ A familiar image, in which such worldly goods are so prominently displayed that they take centre stage, is Holbein's *The Ambassadors* (1534), but even one hundred years earlier Jan van Eyck's *The Arnolfini Marriage* (1434) depicts a room furnished with what might be considered to be luxury items.⁶²

Evidence of an increasing desire and ability to spend money on non-essential goods and improved housing is seen in London and the English regional capitals during the sixteenth century. In Norwich, both the volume of groceries (such as sugar, molasses and dried fruits) imported, and the number of grocers importing them, increased significantly. Whilst there were twenty-seven grocers in 1525, by 1569 there were one hundred and fifty.⁶³

In 1581 a cargo of 20,000 oranges and 1,000 lemons reached Norwich in time for the St Bartholomew's Fair. The grocers were not the only ones to take advantage of the opportunities offered, however. The Norwich mercers, possibly extending their activities, imported large quantities of French and sweet wines about the same time.⁶⁴

A great deal of building went on in Norwich in the period 1576-1590, and the volume of bricks and tiles imported to the city suggests the abandonment of traditional local materials, such as thatch and timber.⁶⁵

Alan Dyer discerns a similar trend towards consumerism in the probate inventories of Worcester:

⁶¹ Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: a New History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 5ff.

⁶² Discussed by Jardine in *Worldly Goods*, 13-16.

⁶³ J. F. Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich 1525-1575', in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Early Modern Town: A Reader* (London: Longman, 1976), 138.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 139.

Early in the sixteenth century much money was kept in cash or plate or was invested in loans and real estate, but as the century progressed there seems to have been a drift towards converting this wealth into the paraphernalia of domestic comfort. There is plenty of evidence, both national and local, of an increasing consciousness of social pressures, of more awareness of, and greater competition for, social status, of a rising need to make a physical exhibition of social and financial standing. Thus houses become more showily wealthy not because their owners are necessarily any richer, but because they feel the need to register and advertise their social status in this way.⁶⁶

A More Literate and Educated Population

Whilst basic literacy is not required in order to be able to sing or play an instrument by ear or from memory, the ability to read the text of a song in a part book, or an instruction manual such as Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, would almost certainly have been a prerequisite for the potential purchaser. David Cressy has considered various methods of assessing literacy in Tudor and Stuart England and has concluded that the most reliable is ability to sign one's name;⁶⁷ he rejects other potential measures, such as the growth in volume and range of output from London's printing presses, and the ownership of books as reflected in probate inventories. Although an increasing number of book titles and a wider and more popular range of subjects registered with the Stationers' Company may provide evidence of an increasing interest in selling printed material, there is too little evidence of who bought particularly the more ephemeral material, such as pamphlets, to enable any conclusions to be drawn about literacy levels.⁶⁸ Similarly, the inclusion of books in probate inventories is a poor measure, because of the incomplete social coverage of the inventories and the way books were treated in them: sometimes listed by title, sometimes recorded as a number of books, sometimes referred to simply as 'books', and probably sometimes left out.⁶⁹

The possession of books, particularly bibles that may have been passed down from parents or

⁶⁶ Alan Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1973), 160-161.

⁶⁷ David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 42-61.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

considered essential equipment for a pious household, did not necessarily mean the owners could read.⁷⁰

In practice, there is no effective way of measuring the ability to read, so it is necessary to use the ability to write as a measure of literacy, and the most widespread evidence of writing is the use of a signature rather than a mark. Of course, an individual may not have been able to write more than his name, and there are also occasions when people who could write used a mark instead.⁷¹ Cressy's analysis of literacy levels, summarised in Table 3.4 (overleaf), is based on the signatures and marks on ecclesiastical court depositions in four dioceses: Norwich, Exeter, Durham and both the metropolitan and rural areas of the diocese of London. All figures are given for the period 1580-1700, which may result in an overstatement of literacy levels if applied to the late sixteenth century, but in his view the groupings and ranking are very consistent over the whole period, even if the absolute values change.⁷²

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 49-51.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 53-61.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 118.

Table 3.4: Percentages of Literacy in English Cities based on Ability to Sign Name, 1580-1700

Social group	Norwich	Exeter	Durham	Essex and Herts	City of London and Middlesex
Clergy and professions	100	100	98	100	100
Gentry	98	97	79	97	98
Yeomen	65	73	27	67	70
Tradesmen and craftsmen	66	53	35	58	72
Apprentices					82
Husbandmen	21	21	9	27	21
Servants	18	50	22		69
Labourers	15	0	2	0	22
Women	11	16	2	5	24

Note that the categorisation of yeomen may have been different in Durham (Cressy, *Literacy*, 125) and that servants and apprentices are small samples.

Source: Derived from Cressy, *Literacy*, 119-121, tables 6.1-6.5.

Literacy, social standing and wealth all reveal a similar hierarchy, except for the clergy and teachers, who are in the top echelon for literacy but not for social standing or wealth. The largest grouping – 32% of the sample of 16,680 – is of tradesmen and craftsmen, and within this category there is also a literacy hierarchy: those whose trade required the keeping of a retail shop were the most literate and close to the levels of the clergy and gentry, while those pursuing heavy outdoor trades were the least literate.⁷³

It is reasonable to expect that literacy would have been a requirement for at least those apprentices entering the merchant trades, and Cressy's figures show a high level of literacy amongst his sample of apprentices in London. Rappaport has examined the written oaths of

⁷³ Ibid., 130 ff.

apprentice ironmongers, one of the merchant trades. The ability to sign was already high in the first half of the sixteenth century, at 92%, and rose to 98% in the second half of the century. There was a more significant increase in the ability of apprentices to write out their entire oath, rising in the same period from 72% to 92%.⁷⁴

Since acquisition of literacy appears to have been driven primarily by occupational need, the pattern of employment determined the distribution of literacy. Literacy levels amongst yeomen and the whole group of tradesmen and craftsmen were very similar, but this disguises a disparity between the rural yeomen and the urban merchants and retailers who were probably their social equals. Literacy was much higher in the latter group, so that, taking into account also their apprentices, there was a significant concentration of literate men in the urban areas where merchants and retailers traded.

Cressy also analysed his sample by year and age to establish when each deponent would have received his education. The literacy rate does not show a steady growth over the period of his study, but ebbs and flows, suggesting that the provision and quality of, and demand for, education fluctuated as well. He argues that 'a period of energetic educational advance, lasting to 1580, began with the accession of Elizabeth',⁷⁵ when virtually all groups in all areas became significantly more literate.

Every indicator confirms the period from 1560 to 1580 as one of educational revolution. Confidence in education was high, and political, religious and humanist propaganda was running in favour of schooling. Marian exiles were concerned to create a learned protestant community. Ascham and his contemporary pedagogues were perfecting the education of the lay aristocracy and extending their curriculum beyond the most privileged elite. Much was expected of education and such a climate could not but be helpful to the expansion of basic literacy.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Rappaport, *Worlds*, 298-9.

⁷⁵ Cressy, *Literacy*, 167.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 168.

Admissions to the universities rose; there were more schools, and more teachers, more of whom were university-educated. Looked at broadly, this suggests that the adult population in the last two decades of the sixteenth century was not only more literate, but also better educated than previous generations and therefore equipped in greater numbers to engage in activities such as formal music-making.

Musical literacy

As well as basic literacy, potential performers from manuscript or printed music needed a minimum level of musical literacy. Grammar schools, with the exception of Merchant Taylor's and a handful of charity schools (where music might be considered a suitable career for some children), rarely taught music, and writers on education at this level did not recommend its inclusion in the curriculum.⁷⁷ It does not follow, therefore, that the literate were also musically literate, although the quantity of psalm books with music produced by John Day and others suggests that many households had some contact with printed music.⁷⁸ Assessing levels of musical literacy is virtually impossible. The ownership of instruments and music, discussed below as an indication of involvement in practical music-making,⁷⁹ is no better as a measure of musical literacy than the ownership of books is for general literacy. John Milsom considers the level of musical literacy that might be implied by allusions to music, including an occasional appearance of musical terminology such as 'solf'ing, in the poetry and plays of the early Tudor period.⁸⁰ Such technical references remained rare, though. John Hollander, who has looked more widely at musical allusions in poetry between 1500 and 1700, observes:

⁷⁷ Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 36-38.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 2, p. 86, Table 2.2.

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 124-132.

⁸⁰ John Milsom, 'Songs and Society in Early Tudor London', *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), 276-282.

During the course of the century, musical imagery in non-didactic poetry, particularly in those poems where music is not the formal subject, tends to confine itself more to the use of figures involving instruments and some of their traditional associations than it does to the use of those drawn from the more abstract musical conceptions. Nevertheless there are many examples of these general musical metaphors in both verse and prose of the Elizabethan era.⁸¹

Thus the Elizabethan reader might be familiar with the lute as an allegory for the poetic muse, or the merging of the ideas of musical and social concord or harmony; but such concepts can be understood without a musical education. There are occasional references, though, to technical musical matters. Shakespeare's Richard II declares:

Music do I hear?
Ha, ha! Keep time. How sour sweet music is
When time is broke and no proportion kept!⁸²

A more practical and domestic example appears in Claude Hollyband's *The French Schoolemaister*:

Who shall singe with me?
You shall have companie enough: David shall make the base: Jhon the tenor: and
James the treble.
Begine: James, take your tune: go to: for what do you tarie?
I have but a rest.⁸³

Here, what is effectively a French phrase book provides the names for the singing parts and, more tellingly, refers to a 'rest' at the beginning of the treble part. Direct evidence of musical literacy is hard to find, but these examples do at least hint at their authors' expectation that some of their readers and audiences might understand musical references.

⁸¹ John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 126.

⁸² Quoted in Hollander, *Untuning*, 148.

⁸³ Hollyband, *French Schoolemaister*, 128.

Book ownership

Although the ownership of a book does not guarantee that its owner could read it or that he had bought it himself, it may nevertheless be an indication of an existence above subsistence level and is worth examining in more detail. Ownership of books, especially if more than the ubiquitous bible and prayer book, may also suggest a predisposition towards leisure activities such as reading and, perhaps, music.

However, in order to be able to infer anything about standards of living, interest in learning or increased time for leisure activities, it is essential to look in detail at the kind of books people owned. There are various studies of book ownership based on inventories for particular towns or regions, some of which are discussed below, but most do not include full details of the books appraised. There have also been studies of the libraries of individuals, such as the Private Libraries in Renaissance England project⁸⁴ or the work on the Nonesuch Library,⁸⁵ but such libraries tend to have belonged to the very wealthy or the very erudite and are therefore exceptional. A study of book ownership in London, with its apparently high concentration of the literate and relatively wealthy, might be revealing, but, unfortunately, the documents do not survive to make this possible. There are, however, probate inventories for Norwich, where Thomas Morley was born, spent his early childhood and later worked for several years. Inventories from the Norwich Consistory Court (NCC) survive for most years from 1584 for people who had sufficient movable goods (£5 0s 0d) to be subject to formal probate proceedings, and also for some with lower valuations. Those individuals whose property came under more than one ecclesiastical jurisdiction – generally the wealthiest echelon of Norwich society – were dealt with by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC)

⁸⁴ R. J. Fehrenbach and E. S. Leedham-Green (eds.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* (Tempe, Arizona: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, from 1992).

⁸⁵ Jayne and Johnson, *Lumley*.

and not by the court at Norwich; unfortunately probate inventories for the Canterbury court are not available, although some wills are.

In 1984 the Centre of East Anglian Studies at the University of East Anglia carried out an analysis of Norwich probate inventories from 1584 to 1730,⁸⁶ in conjunction with the Norwich Survey, an archaeological and architectural study of house structures. The main purpose of this analysis was to provide information about the interiors of houses, but it also indicates the existence of such items as books, although no detail is given. This survey, together with the indexes to the NCC inventories, enables the identification of a set of 556 inventories of people who died in Norwich between 1584 and 1625. Although 1625 is beyond the end of the period on which this chapter focuses, it is fair to assume that an inventory might represent the accumulation of possessions over a period of, say, twenty years for someone dying around the age of fifty. Some years are missing altogether from the series and, for the years that are present, the inventories cannot possibly represent everyone who fell into the middle ground between the very wealthy and the very poor. From the time of the outbreak of plague in 1579, the Mayor's Court received weekly reports of baptisms and burials that are recorded in the Mayor's Court Books, and for sample years these show a huge discrepancy between the number of burials and the number of surviving inventories, even allowing for the inclusion of both the poor and the very wealthy amongst the burials. In 1589, for instance, 771 burials were recorded, but only seventeen inventories now exist.⁸⁷ Similarly, in 1599 eight inventories survive for 514 burials.⁸⁸ Despite these limitations, the inventories provide a valuable insight into book ownership amongst a subset of the Norwich population. A detailed inspection of all the inventories that the survey marked as including books, as well

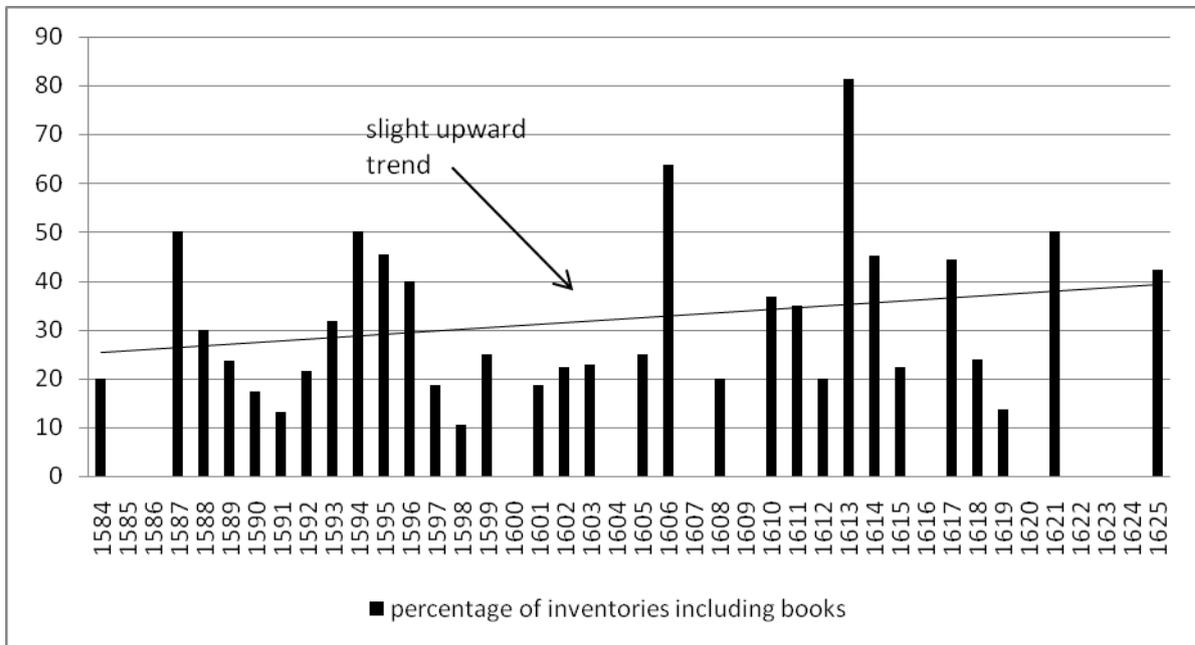
⁸⁶ *Nwr*, MC 146/44, *Norwich Survey: Computer Analysis of Norwich Probate Inventories 1584 to 1730* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1964).

⁸⁷ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/12.

⁸⁸ *Nwr*, NCR Case 16a/13.

as some additional Norwich inventories not included in the survey - the survey excluded incomplete inventories, for example – reveals that 161 (29%) of the 556 inventories have clear references to books of some type. Breaking this down by year suggests a slight upward trend over the period in terms of the percentage of inventories including books, as shown in Figure 3.1, but it is by no means a smooth progression. The years for which no book ownership is shown are years for which no inventories for Norwich survive.

Figure 3.1: Percentage of Norwich Probate Inventories including Books, 1584-1625



Source: *Nwr*, DN/INV 2-32.

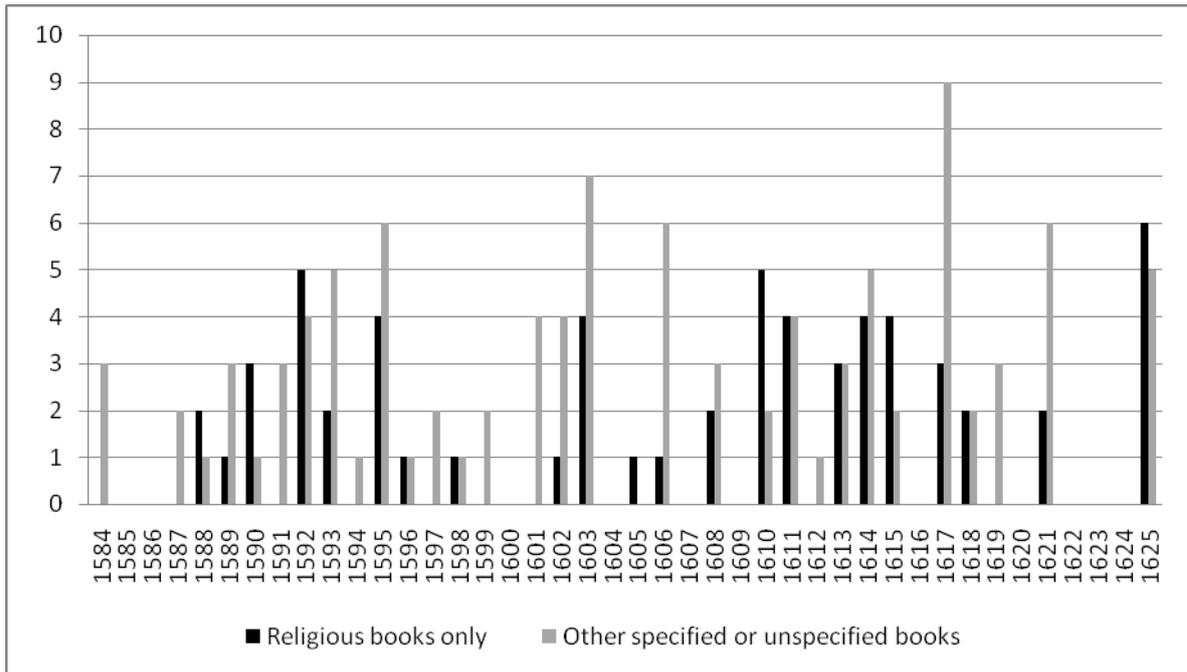
Appendix 3.4 provides information about each of these book owners, including their occupation where this is recorded, the total value of their goods if this has been included on the inventory, and the total value of the books listed. A wide cross-section of the Norwich population owned some sort of book: university-educated gentlemen; members of the clergy; merchants; craftsmen such as goldsmiths and feltmakers; and practitioners of the heavier building trades such as tilers and joiners. Inventory values of book owners range from £2 to

£2,024, with a median of £44. Twenty-five book owners had books valued at one pound or more. The seven ministers, clerks or preachers in this group tended to have a high proportion of their wealth tied up in books, the most extreme example being Rowland Nutt, a preacher who died in 1596 with books worth nearly £16 out of a total inventory valued at £44. Other people with a strong vocational flavour to their books were Henry Gibson, a lawyer, and Edward Jefferies, one of the city waits, whose music and books were valued at 30s 0d. The rest of the significant investors in books tended to be gentlemen or merchants. The bulk of book owners with books worth less than a pound might have a handful of books, valued at a few shillings.

In contrast, the 167 PCC wills of wealthy, landed Norwich residents who died between 1584 and 1625 reveal very little about their ownership of books. Generally, their wills are concerned with the inheritance of land and buildings and with providing an income for dependant family members. There are only three references to books amongst the 167 wills, but undoubtedly books would have been included in the typical entry: 'all my other household goods'.

The references to books in the NCC inventories have been grouped into six categories in Appendix 3.4: bibles and testaments; religious service books; devotional books (such as lives of saints); vocational books (such as a lawyer's law books); other books that are named or the contents of which are described; and other unspecified books. Sixty-one book owners (38%) possessed only bibles, testaments or service books, and it is probably fair to assume that these were used for devotional purposes, if at all, rather than for recreation. A broad summary of the nature of book ownership in Norwich inventories is shown in Figure 3.2, on the following page.

Figure 3.2: Nature of References to Books in Norwich Probate Inventories, 1584-1625



Source: *Nwr*, DN/INV 2-32.

Amongst the books owned by the other 62%, there is a surprising level of description, although there are also inevitably many entries for ‘certain’, ‘diverse’, ‘other’, ‘small’, or ‘little’ books. In many respects, these may be the most interesting entries, as they suggest a variety of inexpensive volumes, which may well have been purchased for recreational purposes. Well-known devotional books such as Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*,⁸⁹ which the appraiser would recognise, are often named, and there are specific references to primers and grammars. Books may be categorised in the inventories according to the language in which they were written, their size, the type of binding or their apparent age. Sometimes general subject areas, such as philosophy, are recorded. Overall, there is an air of worthiness about the books the appraisers choose to describe in detail, but one example stands out from this: in

⁸⁹ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Dayes* (London: John Day, 1563, and later editions).

1601, a widow, Elizabeth Walden, died in possession of two play books and two apothecary books, valued together at eight shillings.

A worthiness verging on piety is seen in inventories proved in Worcester. Book ownership, at 16% in the 1590s and early decades of the seventeenth century, was lower than in Norwich, even after taking into account the exclusion of clergymen and lawyers from the Worcester figures. Alan Dyer notes that ‘most people owned only bibles or prayer books and those whose books were more numerous than this still confined their reading to devotional works’.⁹⁰

A major study of book ownership in three Kentish towns – Canterbury, Faversham and Maidstone – for the period 1560-1640 was carried out by Peter Clark, based on 2,771 inventories. He estimates that these inventories cover around 30% of deaths and perhaps 75% of those with goods worth appraising.⁹¹ If so, this coverage is much more complete than that achieved with the Norwich inventories. His figures show a marked rise in references to books in inventories in Canterbury and Faversham in the period up to 1590 and then a steady increase in all three towns. (Inventories for Maidstone are missing for the 1570s and 1580s.)⁹² Thus book ownership amongst men in Canterbury, for example, rises from 8% in the 1560s, to 33-34% in the 1590s and 1600s, and ultimately to 46% in the 1640s. These figures look high compared with Norwich, but they exclude women, whose much lower book ownership pattern is analysed separately. Only single women and widows were treated independently for probate purposes, so there are far fewer inventories for women throughout England. For his study, Clark divides the women’s inventories into two broad time periods, before and after

⁹⁰ Dyer, *Worcester*, 250-51.

⁹¹ Peter Clark, ‘The Ownership of Books in England 1560-1640: The Example of Some Kentish Townsfolk’, in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), 98.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 99.

1600. Adding Canterbury's men and women together produces ownership percentages of 25% up to 1600 and 35% across the whole of Clark's eighty-year period. This suggests ownership rates close to Norwich's figure of 29% for the period 1584-1625. As in Norwich and Worcester, there is a high incidence of bibles, testaments, psalm books and service books, with other books of piety prominent amongst the named volumes.⁹³

Although book ownership in towns was reaching a significant level by the end of the sixteenth century, the situation was very different in rural areas. Norwich Consistory Court inventories also exist for rural parishes in Norfolk. Taking the Fenlands, an area including one small town, Downham Market, and fourteen rural parishes as an example, Table 3.5 shows that books appear much less frequently in rural inventories than in those for Norwich.

Table 3.5: References to Books in Fenland Parish Probate Inventories, 1584-1625

Area	1584-1599			1600-1625		
	Total inventories	Inventories including books		Total inventories	Inventories including books	
		Number	%		Number	%
Downham Market	9	3	33%	7	1	14%
Other Fenland Parishes	122	3	2%	51	6	12%
Total	131	6	5%	58	7	12%

Source: *Nwr*, DN/INV 2-32.

Apart from a few gentlemen and clergymen, and a handful of craftsmen in Downham Market, the deceased in the fens were, as one would expect, mostly yeomen, husbandmen, labourers or building craftsmen and were thus amongst the occupational groups who did not

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 102-3.

need to be literate to carry out their trade. People with more than one book tended to be clerics or to belong to the yeomanry: for example, John Pepper, a yeoman who died in Southery in 1603, owned fourteen books valued at 7s 7d. There was less wealth in the fens than in Norwich. The median for the 138 inventories for which the appraiser has provided a total is £25 (compared with £44 in Norwich), and values ranged from less than a pound to £810. The lower range is probably explained by the complete absence of a well-off merchant class. The majority of the landowning gentry, who are likely to have owned books, would have had their wills proved under the jurisdiction of Canterbury. A similar pattern is found in other rural studies, such as Oxfordshire, with three records of books (1.4%) in 222 inventories for the period 1550-1590,⁹⁴ and Essex, with thirteen records of books (8%) in 166 inventories for the period 1617-1619.⁹⁵

Setting aside the established landed classes wherever they lived, the pattern of book ownership reinforces the correlation amongst the middle classes between literacy, relative wealth, and residence in an urban environment.

Ownership of instruments and music

Just as book ownership, particularly of several 'little books', may suggest a household with some time, means and inclination for activities other than work, so also ownership of musical instruments may be a strong indicator of an interest in practical music-making. As with books, it is possible that instruments sometimes sat unused, as Alan Dyer, drawing on 817 Worcester inventories spanning the period 1529 to 1619, suggests:

Musical instruments were quite common in Worcester households. A total number of 25 instances are recorded: a few were virginals, valued at 10s and upwards and found only in wealthy homes where they perhaps represented a status symbol rather than a

⁹⁴ M. A. Havinden (ed.), *Household and Farm Inventories in Oxfordshire, 1550-1590* (London: HMSO, 1965).

⁹⁵ F. G. Emmison, 'Jacobean Household Inventories', *Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Records Society*, 20 (1938), 1-143.

genuine enthusiasm. However, the majority of instruments are stringed ones which one would expect to be used to accompany the human voice – normally the lute, occasionally the cythern and even the harp in two cases. These instruments were clearly there because they were used, and one suspects frequently; for pleasure and relaxation the townspeople were much more likely to turn to a musical instrument than to a book.⁹⁶

However, evidence from Norwich suggests that Dyer is perhaps a little unfair to the wealthier owners of virginals. Amongst the 167 Norwich wills proved at the PCC are four that make specific provision for virginals. In one case the instrument is left to the deceased's wife amongst a list of furniture, but in the other three examples the instrument is bequeathed to a daughter who is not the estate's principal heir. Perhaps most poignantly, Sir Edward Blenhaysett, who died in 1618, left to his daughter Susan 'one payer of virginals which were her Mothers', together with a lute.⁹⁷

The 556 Norwich Consistory Court inventories for the period 1584 to 1625 analysed for book ownership include twenty-four that list musical instruments, giving an ownership rate of 4.3%. This is higher than that for Worcester, although the time periods of the two studies do not match. These twenty-four instrument-owners are shown in Appendix 3.5, together with the four who left instructions for the disposal of virginals in PCC wills. Where there are wills associated with the Norwich inventories, these have been consulted as well. The inventories show a very similar spread of values to those of the book owners, but with a slightly higher lowest value of £6. This is for Robert Mundes, the wait, who also owned significant property in Norwich and was thus better off than his inventory would suggest.⁹⁸ The median value, at £83, is much higher than for book owners, probably reflecting the need for more disposable income in order to be able to invest in musical instruments. Most virginals are valued at between 20s 0d and 40s 0d, for instance, whilst smaller instruments are

⁹⁶ Dyer, *Worcester*, 252.

⁹⁷ *Lna*, PROB/11/131; image ref. 667.

⁹⁸ See above, p. 108.

valued at anything from a few shillings to a pound. The occupations of the instrument owners of Norwich are shown in Table 3.6 and represent a similar cross-section of the community to the book owners.

Table 3.6: Occupations of Instrument Owners in Norwich, 1584-1625

Occupational group	Number
Gentlemen (PCC wills)	4
Gentlemen and Aldermen (NCC inventories)	4
Clergy	2
Distributive trades	6
Craftsmen	4
Joiner, possibly an instrument maker	1
Musicians	3
Musician's widow	1
Yeomen	1
Unspecified	2
Total	28

Sources: *Lna*, PCC Wills; *Nwr*, DN/INV 2-32.

Many of the homes where music must have been a recreational activity had solely virginals, but in households with other types of instrument there was a tendency to have more than one, often of more than one type, suggesting some versatility or the presence of several players in the family. Thus Edmund Stile, a grocer who died in 1592, owned a bandora and a bass recorder as well as his virginals. His instruments were in the parlour of his six-roomed property.⁹⁹ Hubert Hacon, a gentleman with two substantial houses for which inventories were made,¹⁰⁰ was clearly an enthusiastic musician, with two pairs of virginals in each house

⁹⁹ *Nwr*, DN/INV 9/329c.

¹⁰⁰ *Nwr*, DN/INV 16/194a.

and a huge range of wind and stringed instruments. That he treasured his instruments (and his books) is clear from his will, too:

I gyve and bequeathe unto my saied sonne Hubert Hacon his heires and assignes all my bookes whatsoever and likewise all my musicall instrumentes whatsoever to the ende & purpose to have them safe kept and *preserved* unto his howse name and posteritie for ever willinge hym to make upp a librarie howse and place at my howse whetacrer mete necessarie and convenient for them.¹⁰¹

The pursuit of music seems to have been acceptable even to those of strong Protestant beliefs. Thomas Roberts, a preacher whose goods included two ‘maps of the Spanish inquisition & the persecution of the martyrs for the truth’, also owned a pair of virginals when he died in 1584.¹⁰²

The inventories of three professional musicians are amongst the Norwich records, two from the 1580s and one from 1617. All three were waits. Robert Mundes, who died in 1584, owned a trumpet, which he probably used for his work, although most of the waits’ instruments were provided for them by the city.¹⁰³ Mundes’ virginals may have been for his family’s entertainment, since he left them to his daughter. His inventory mentions no books, but in his will he left four black books to his fellow waits, which may possibly have been music part books. He also asked his executors not to forget that he had some books, including a testament, to be given to a Mr King.¹⁰⁴ His house was modestly furnished, but the extent of his property suggests that he may have had other means apart from his annual wait’s salary of £3 0s 0d plus £2 0s 0d for livery.¹⁰⁵

Mundes’ contemporary amongst the waits, Robert Thacker, died away from home in 1589 on Sir Francis Drake’s abortive Portugal expedition. (Drake had asked the city to let

¹⁰¹ *Nwr*, NCC Will Register, Adams 33.

¹⁰² *Nwr*, DN/INV 2/106.

¹⁰³ See Chapter 1, p. 41.

¹⁰⁴ *Nwr*, NCC Will Register, Bate 287.

¹⁰⁵ *Nwr*, NCR Case 18a, f. 305v.

him take the waits with him.) Thacker's hastily-made will leaves everything in his small, three-roomed house to his wife.¹⁰⁶ Amongst his goods was 'a violente to play on', which was probably a violin. Despite his modest accommodation, he owned some decorative items, including seven pictures, 'a little chest of Jasperstone' and some silver spoons.¹⁰⁷ Thacker supplemented his income by taking on a second job as the city's water bailiff, for which he earned an additional £2 0s 0d (plus £1 0s 0d livery) a year.¹⁰⁸

Nearly twenty years later, in 1617, Edward Jefferies died, leaving his wife and children living in a four-roomed house, with what was becoming an increasingly common way of extending living space - a 'false roof' or attic. His inventory suggests that his house was comfortably, if not lavishly, furnished. He owned two French books and a number of other old books. His goods were assessed at a total value of approximately £35, of which his instruments were valued at £2 19s 4d, his music at a further 20s 0d, and his clothing at £6 13s 4d. Whether this last item included his city livery is not clear. His instruments, with the exception of two unspecified old instruments, were all portable and suitable for indoor ensemble use. This suggests that he may have had an income from musical activities other than his membership of the waits. His son Edward took his place in the waits on a trial basis,¹⁰⁹ but his wife Susan retained ownership of his instruments. Although she did not die until 1625, she made a will in June 1619, in which she left the instruments and music to Edward 'on condicion that the said Edward shall give unto his sister Elizabeth within two months after my deathe one goode Treble Lute in stead thereof.' Similar conditions were attached to Edward's inheritance of the books: he could only have the great bible, prayer

¹⁰⁶ *Nwr*, NCC Will Register, Flack 155.

¹⁰⁷ *Nwr*, DN/INV 5/89.

¹⁰⁸ *Nwr*, NCR Case 18a, f. 305v.

¹⁰⁹ *Nwr*, NCC Case 16a/15, f. 157r.

books and other books if he gave Elizabeth a new small bible in English.¹¹⁰ The instrument collection was still intact on Susan's death, although by then it was kept in the kitchen rather than the parlour. An additional lute is listed though, so perhaps Elizabeth did not have to wait for her new instrument.¹¹¹

The inventory of the joiner, John Eden, who died in 1617, suggests that he may have been an instrument maker. His shop, in this case his workshop, contained all his tools and two old musical instruments, whilst the chamber over the shop held a range of wooden furniture, plus ten musical instruments valued at £4 0s 0d. The furniture included a bedstead without any bedding, which suggests that the room was Eden's showroom rather than a bedroom.¹¹² It is less certain that the other joiner, John Runnell, who died the same year, was an instrument maker. Although he owned a pair of virginals, they were in his parlour which, to judge from its other furnishings, was part of his family's living accommodation.¹¹³

Taken as a group, these twenty-eight owners of instruments in Norwich possessed a wide range of instruments, although more than half the lutes belonged to Hubert Hacon. These instruments are summarised in Table 3.7 overleaf.

¹¹⁰ *Nwr*, NCC Will Register, Belward 304.

¹¹¹ *Nwr*, DN/INV 32/262.

¹¹² *Nwr*, DN/INV 28/133.

¹¹³ *Nwr*, DN/INV 28/68.

Table 3.7: Instruments mentioned in Norwich Probate Inventories, 1584-1625

Instruments owned	Number	Instruments owned	Number
<i>Keyboard</i>		<i>Wind</i>	
Virginals	21	Trumpet	1
		Sackbut	1
<i>Plucked instruments</i>		Cornett	9
Lute	14	Pipe	1
Bandora	5	Flute	4
Cittern	4	Recorder	1
Orpharion	3	Bass recorder	1
<i>Bowed instruments</i>		<i>Percussion</i>	
Violin/treble violin	3	Drum	1
Kit	1		
Viol	1	<i>Unspecified instruments</i>	
Treble viol	2	Old instruments	2
Bass viol	3	Instruments of music	10

Note that the instruments inherited from Edward Jefferies by Susan Jefferies have only been counted once.

Sources: *Lna*, PCC Wills; *Nwr*, DN/INV 2-32.

There are few references to manuscript or printed music amongst the Norwich inventories and wills, possibly because music for everyday use was cheaply bound (if it was bound at all) and therefore worth relatively little. It is most unlikely, however, that owners of instruments had no music. Robert Mundes owned the black books he left to the waits, which may have contained music, and Hubert Hacon had a press of singing books, which was probably recorded because of the physical nature of the press, or cupboard. Edward Jefferies owned twenty ‘old & newe of singing & musick Books’ when he died in 1617, whilst Daniel Heylett, gentleman and Master of Arts, possessed seven music books as well as a viol, a

cittern and an orpharion.¹¹⁴ Those without instruments also owned music: amongst Thomas Birde's large collection of books, appraised in 1601, were five 'prick song bookes of certeyne psalmes'.¹¹⁵ The Cambridge inventories listed in Appendix 3.2 reveal a higher incidence of references to music, with ten (29%) of the thirty-five instrument owners also shown as owning music, as well as one man who had music but no instruments. The more frequent records of music in the Cambridge inventories are more likely to result from a different approach by the appraisers in Cambridge and Norwich than from a genuinely higher ownership rate in the university town. In Cambridge many of the decedents were academics, and the detailed inventories of their books suggest that they were compiled by people who were used to handling, describing and valuing books.

In what must be one of the largest studies of this kind, Michael Fleming has examined modern published transcriptions of wills and inventories, as well as some original documents (including most of those proved in the Court of the Chancellor of the University of Oxford), representing over 6,500 people in the period 1570 to 1680.¹¹⁶ By design, his sample does not include any records for London residents or for the highest levels of society, and as with all inventory studies, the lowest echelons of society, for whom there are no probate records, are automatically excluded as well. This process produced documents for 225 people who owned instruments or music.¹¹⁷ As with Norwich, keyboard and plucked instruments are most prevalent in Fleming's study, with an increase in bowed instruments in the early decades of seventeenth century. Some interesting parallels can be drawn between Oxford and Norwich. In both cases the number of lutes is significantly increased by the large collection of one

¹¹⁴ *Nwr*, DN/INV 28/108.

¹¹⁵ *Nwr*, DN/INV 17/186.

¹¹⁶ Michael Fleming, 'An "Old Old Violl" and "Other Lumber": Musical Remains in Provincial, Non-Noble England c. 1580-1660', *Galpin Society Journal*, 58 (2005), 88-99.

¹¹⁷ The Norwich Consistory Court records were not included in Fleming's study as they have not been published in modern transcriptions.

individual, and in both cities, metal-strung instruments – cittern, bandora and orpharion – were popular, suggesting a strong interest in mixed consort music.¹¹⁸

Overall, 3% of Fleming’s sample owned instruments.¹¹⁹ The figure is lower than that for Norwich, but it includes rural areas where instrument ownership was almost non-existent. A similarly low level of instrument ownership is seen in the rural Fenland parishes. Here there is one pair of virginals and a possible fiddle amongst 189 inventories (just less than 1%). In the probate records of the Court of the Chancellor of Oxford University, references to instruments or music are frequent, at 12%. Thirty (13%) of the 225 inventories in Michael Fleming’s study group include music on paper.¹²⁰ A comparable figure for Norwich would be 17% (five of twenty-nine).

Evidence from the Norwich inventories and those of other provincial towns demonstrates a level of investment in instruments significant enough to support the argument for an interest in recreational music-making amongst the middle classes of urban dwellers. A similar level of engagement amongst the population of London in the late sixteenth century would represent a considerable potential market for recreational music.

MUSIC TO SING AND PLAY

Printed Music

Until the last decade of the sixteenth century, the music from which people in England sang and played at home and in the major public institutions existed largely in manuscript form. This is certainly how most of it survives today, and there is very little evidence of music printed in England before the late 1580s.

¹¹⁸ See p. 130, Table 3.7 above; and Fleming, ‘Old Old Violl’, 95.

¹¹⁹ Fleming, ‘Old Old Violl’, 92.

¹²⁰ Fleming, ‘Old Old Violl’, 93.

The earliest secular prints appeared during the reign of Henry VIII, and were printed mostly by John or William Rastell, using a new, fast, single-impression process. Of the surviving output from the Rastells' press, one item is a part song inserted into a play text, whilst three (including two recently discovered fragments lining a deed box from the seventeenth century) are single-sheet, or broadside, publications of single songs, with the parts apparently printed on separate sheets. A contemporary publisher, John Gough, used the Rastells' type to print *Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songes* (1535?), a translation from the German by Miles Coverdale. Two other examples survive from before 1540, printed using a double impression process: *XX Songes*, published as part books, and sheets of paper printed with blank staves produced as an off-shoot of the double impression process.¹²¹ John Milsom argues, from a detailed analysis particularly of the texts of these prints, that the Rastells' inexpensive broadside format, printed by a single impression, was probably aimed at amateur musicians.¹²² The fragile nature of this loose sheet format may have resulted in an exceptionally high rate of loss, so that these surviving fragments may represent an originally much more significant body of publications. The more substantial *XX Songes*, although beautifully printed, demonstrates no links with the royal court; few court composers are represented, and the texts are far from courtly, with a tendency to wit.¹²³ This evidence points to some sort of retail market for polyphonic songs, at least in London.

There was a dearth of secular music prints during the next three decades until, in 1568, an initial English version of Adrian Le Roy's lute tutor, *A Briefe and Easye Instrution* [sic],¹²⁴ was published. This was followed by an English edition of part songs by Lassus in 1570,¹²⁵

¹²¹ John Milsom, 'Songs and Society', 237-9.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 275-6.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 288-9.

¹²⁴ Adrien Le Roy, *A Briefe and Easye Instrution ... Englished by J. Alford* (London: J. Rowbothum, 1568).

¹²⁵ Orlando di Lasso, *Recueil du Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* (London: Vaultrollier, 1570).

Thomas Whythorne's *Of Songes, for Three, Fower and Five Voyces*¹²⁶ the following year, and a further, extended version of the Le Roy tutor in 1574.¹²⁷ During the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s a handful of other musical publications appeared, setting texts of a pious nature (mostly psalms), suitable for home use. Amongst these, the *Cantiones sacrae* of Tallis and Byrd, expensively produced and with a distinctly recusant flavour, stands out.¹²⁸

The second half of the sixteenth century saw a steady growth in the publication of printed books which was not matched in volume or rate of growth by printed music, either sacred or secular. Even allowing for the ephemeral nature of a potentially lost repertory of broadside polyphonic songs, which will have been matched by a similar loss of other ephemera, secular music made up a minute portion of the burgeoning Tudor print output, as demonstrated in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8: Output of Printed Books and Music in England, 1540-1590

Decade	Titles printed	Secular music printed
1541-1550	1,470	0
1551-1560	1,501	0
1561-1570	1,634	2
1571-1580	2,117	3
1581-1590	2,724	6

Sources: For titles printed – John Barnard and Maureen Bell, ‘Appendix 1 Statistical Tables’ in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie with Maureen Bell (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, IV: 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 780-81. For secular music printed – count and assessment of content of known prints (listed in Appendix 5.1).

If Elizabethan printers and publishers did not rush to print secular music, they were, nevertheless, happy to print music if there was a demonstrable market for it. Complex

¹²⁶ Thomas Whythorne, *Of Songs of Three, Fower and Five Voyces* (London: [Whythorne], 1571).

¹²⁷ Adrien Le Roy, *A Briefe and Plaine Instruction* (London: J. Rowbothum, 1574).

¹²⁸ Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (London: [Tallis and Byrd], 1575).

liturgical music was now sung only in a few religious establishments, but simple settings of the psalms in the vernacular were acceptable both in church and in the home. Probate inventories from the period show that many people owned a psalm book, with or without music.¹²⁹ Between 1560 and 1584 John Day printed an average of almost three editions of the psalms with music each year, including two in Dutch and two with four-part settings. Some had solfège letters added. Such psalm books probably represent many people's first encounter with printed music.¹³⁰

In contrast, as discussed in Chapter 2, the publication of printed secular music was well developed in continental Europe by the middle of the sixteenth century, particularly in Venice, Paris, Nuremberg and Antwerp. Some of this continental music found its way to England, perhaps imported by individuals, as described by Nicholas Yonge in 1588:

... since I first began to keepe house in this Citie, it hath been no small comfort unto mee, that a great number of Gentlemen and Merchants of good accompt (as well of this realme as of forreine nations) have taken in good part such entertainment of pleasure, as my poore abilitie was able to afford them, both by the exercise of Musicke daily used in my house, and by furnishing them with Bookes of that kinde yeerly sent me out of Italy and other places, which beeing for the most part Italian Songs...¹³¹

There are also occasional examples of booksellers importing music from abroad. For instance, the accounts of the Antwerp printer and publisher Christophe Plantin include limited sales of music in 1566, 1567 and 1568 to Jan Desserans, a bookseller in London.¹³²

¹²⁹ See Appendix 3.4.

¹³⁰ D. W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1975), 15.

¹³¹ Nicholas Yonge, *Musica Transalpina* (London: [Yonge], 1588), prefatory letter. The importation of music is discussed further in Chapter 4.

¹³² Henri Vanhulst, 'Suppliers and Clients of Christopher Plantin, Distributor of Polyphonic Music in Antwerp (1566-1578)', in Barbara Hagg, Frank Daelemans and André Vanrie (eds.), *Musicology and Archival Research: Colloquium Proceedings, Brussels, 22-23.4.1993* (Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 1994), 581, 583 and 585.

Manuscript Music

A significant corpus of manuscript sources of music of all types survives from sixteenth-century England. As well as liturgical music, there is music for solo instruments and instrumental ensembles, and non-liturgical music for voices, with or without instruments, much of which would have been appropriate, and indeed intended, for domestic use. For example, Julia Craig-McFeely has identified 2,100 different works for solo lute, preserved in eighty-five manuscripts from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹³³ There are a further 1,230 concordances, so that the total contents of these manuscripts amount to 3,330 pieces. There are fewer manuscripts of keyboard music from the same period, but the number is still significant.¹³⁴

Sources of music for solo instrument tend to contain pieces only for the intended instrument, although lute sources often include songs as well. The situation is different for ensemble music. Sets of part books, or (more often) single surviving parts, frequently contain a mixture of sacred and secular vocal music, and works suitable for instrumental performance. Warwick Edwards' study of the sources of consort music demonstrates this clearly.¹³⁵ For instance, the 'Dow Part Books' (Oxford Christ Church, MSS. Mus. 984-8), compiled in Oxford in the 1580s, contain both consort songs and instrumental music,¹³⁶ whilst a tenor part book from the mid-1580s, preserved in the British Library (Add. MS. 22597), includes English anthems and motets, as well as textless versions of chansons, motets, anthems and an

¹³³ Julia Craig-McFeely, *English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630* [online resource], (Oxford: Craig-McFeely, 2000) www.ramesescats.co.uk/thesis/, 36-37, accessed September 2009.

¹³⁴ John Caldwell, 'Sources of Keyboard Music to 1660', *Grove Music Online* [online reference work], (Oxford University Press, 2007-2010) www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/26298, 34-40, accessed 25 September 2009.

¹³⁵ Warwick Edwards, 'The Sources of Elizabethan Consort Music', Ph.D. diss. (Cambridge University, 1974) and Warwick Edwards, 'Sources of Instrumental Ensemble Music to 1630', *Grove Music Online* [online reference work], (Oxford University Press, 2007-2010) www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/26297, 30-37, accessed 25 September 2009.

¹³⁶ Edwards, 'Elizabethan Consort Music', 106-110.

Italian madrigal.¹³⁷ Despite the inclusion of sacred music such as motets, the mixed nature of their contents makes it reasonable to assume that such collections were intended for domestic use. For practical reasons, music for regular use in services in cathedrals and chapels is likely to have been kept separately from any music that the same establishments might have possessed for teaching or recreational purposes.

Acquiring Music

From a twenty-first century perspective, the natural way to acquire music is to buy it ready-made. This was certainly an option for books, and possibly for music too, even before printing started. The Stationers' Company was established in 1403 to regulate the production and sale of manuscript books:

In 1403 the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London approved the formation of a fraternity or Guild of Stationers (booksellers who copied and sold manuscript books and writing materials and limners who decorated and illustrated them). Each appointed a warden to control and regulate them.¹³⁸

It seems that manuscript books were not all necessarily produced to order. Evidence of the disposal of the book stock of the London stationer Peter Bylton, who died in 1454, suggests that:

... Bylton's business was not entirely the coordination of a "bespoke" trade, that he kept a variety of books in stock, and that some at least were older manuscripts not of his own making. Whether these [older] manuscripts were exemplars or were second-hand stock kept on hand is not clear.¹³⁹

Print publishing became increasingly important in the sixteenth century, and in 1557 the Stationers' Company was reorganised, with new statutes, taking on the regulation of

¹³⁷ Ibid., 138.

¹³⁸ Anon., 'The Hall and Heritage', *The Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers website*, [online resource] www.stationers.org/the-hall-a-heritage.html, accessed 17 November 2009.

¹³⁹ C. Paul Christianson, 'A Century of the Manuscript-Book Trade in Late Medieval London', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, New Series 12 (1984), 150.

printing as well as the traditional stationer activities. Whilst most booksellers, many of them also publishers, were located in the City of London, there were also booksellers in provincial towns. Manasses Vautrollier, a Cambridge bookseller, described the wholesale trade as it operated between London stationers and their provincial counterparts:

The Merchantes at London doe usuallie allowe unto the stacioners there [Cambridge], and all those that buy bookes of them, to sell them ageine three shillings in every pownd ...¹⁴⁰

Regional fairs and local markets were also a major means of distributing book stocks beyond London. In an undated complaint against John Wolfe and others, the officials of the Stationers' Company observed that the men:

...runne up or downe to all the faires and markets through a great part of the Realme, and make sale of them [copies of pirated editions]; whose charges in cariage with their expences in Innes or Alehouses and other places considered, ... they returne home more poore than they went out ...¹⁴¹

Surviving booklists and inventories for late sixteenth-century booksellers show that printed stock had replaced manuscript volumes. Despite the apparent paucity of music prints available to them, booksellers did try to cater for the needs of their musically inclined customers. An inventory of the stock of London stationer Henry Bynneman, taken in 1583, includes two items of music. The first of these was the Byrd and Tallis *Cantiones sacrae*, of which there were 717 copies, a volume of stock which had more to do with Bynneman's involvement in the composers' music monopoly than with his expectation of sales.¹⁴² The

¹⁴⁰ Quoted in Elizabeth Leedham-Green, 'Manasses Vautrollier in Cambridge', in Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell (eds.), *The Book Trade and its Customers 1450-1900*, (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), 17. Original source is *Cambridge University Archives*, VC Court III.2 (191).

¹⁴¹ *Lna*, SP 12/15/38; also transcribed in Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.*, 5 vols (Birmingham: Arber, 1875-1894) (facs. ed. New York: Peter Smith, 1950), ii. 779.

¹⁴² See Chapter 4, pp. 152-3.

second was a publication referred to as ‘Brookes music’, of which no copies survive today. Bynneman had fourteen of these.¹⁴³

Roger Ward’s bookshop in Shrewsbury stocked several musical items in 1585. There were six copies of Willian Hunnis’s *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne*,¹⁴⁴ which included some musical settings of penitential psalms, a ‘luting booke’ and a ‘Sitherne booke ruled’. Whilst the cittern book was obviously a pre-assembled book of blank ruled paper, it is not clear whether the luting book contained music or just ruled paper. Ward also had in stock forty-two copies of ‘singinge psalms alone’ and another copy of ‘singinge sphalmes [sic] gylte’.¹⁴⁵

The bulk of the music circulating in manuscript form was probably not acquired from stationers. One possibility was to obtain it directly from the composer. Harold Love describes various forms of scribal publication that continued during the seventeenth century, despite the advent of print, taking as one example the publication of music for viols.

Of hundreds of surviving fantasias for the instruments written between 1600 and 1680, only a few ... ever appeared in print. The rest were published scribally by their composers for direct sale to players (some of whom will have been their pupils) or as part of their work for their patrons. Collections of fantasias consolidated into part books were also available, with some pieces evidently composed as sets for this purpose. Once available in this form, new compositions moved quickly through the network of music-loving families, either by private copying or by purchase.¹⁴⁶

Love cites Roger North’s recollections of the composer John Jenkins in support of his argument for this type of direct publishing by composers.¹⁴⁷ Jenkins spent a good deal of his

¹⁴³ John Barnard and Maureen Bell, ‘The Inventory of Henry Bynneman (1583): a Preliminary Survey’, *Publishing History*, 29 (1991), 36-37.

¹⁴⁴ William Hunnis, *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne* (London: [H. Denham], 1583).

¹⁴⁵ Items 364, 101, 102, 30 and 508 respectively in the inventory transcribed in Alexander Rodger, ‘Roger Ward’s Shrewsbury Stock: an Inventory of 1585’, *The Library*, Fifth Series, 13 (1958), 247-268.

¹⁴⁶ Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 25-26.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 26 and 63-64.

long career paying extended visits to a circle of wealthy patrons, where he would teach, organise playing and provide music. North describes Jenkins' output and its distribution thus:

And of this kind ['lesser pieces'] there was horsloads of his works, which were dispersed about, and very few came together into the same hands, but the private musick in England was in great measure supplied by him.¹⁴⁸

It seems that circulation was not necessarily as swift or complete as Love believes; similarly, Jenkins' reward for his activities was less of a straightforward commercial arrangement than Love's statement might imply, as, according to North, the composer 'accepted what they [his patrons] gave him'.¹⁴⁹ Julia Craig-McFeely believes that, conversely, scribal publication by composers played little part in the transmission of lute music, as the surviving manuscripts are invariably miscellanies and not the single-composer collections one would expect from composer-publishers.¹⁵⁰

An amateur musician of sufficient means might commission the copying of music by professional scribes. Edward Paston, the Norfolk landowner who recommended somebody, possibly Morley, to the Earl of Rutland as a teacher, accumulated a large collection of music manuscripts. His will refers to 'many lute bookes prickt in Ciphers', books of lute songs and sets of part books.¹⁵¹ Philip Brett identified a number of manuscripts, now scattered, that he believed formed part of Paston's collection, and concluded that Paston employed several copyists to compile them. There is evidence of co-operation between copyists in producing some sets of part books. One of the scribes, who worked on his own, was his servant; Brett suggests that others also may have worked under Paston's roof.¹⁵² On the other hand, Love sees this group of part book copyists as 'a well-organised scriptorium' that produced and sold

¹⁴⁸ John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music* (London: Novello, 1959), 345. Transcribed from *H*, MS.R.II.xlii: Roger North, *Memoires of Musick*, written 1728.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 344.

¹⁵⁰ Craig-McFeely, *Lute Manuscripts*, 74.

¹⁵¹ Brett, 'Paston', 66-68.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 58-61.

music. There are duplications of works across different sets of books produced by the same scribes, which Love argues result from pre-formed collections of music being offered for sale.¹⁵³ Brett, though, believed that Paston commissioned his manuscripts and that the scribes may have repeated pieces to fulfil Paston's desire to extend his library.¹⁵⁴ An important factor is that the lute parts are written in Italian tablature¹⁵⁵ rather than the French tablature generally used in England, making it less likely that the Paston manuscripts were copied routinely from pre-formed 'commercial' collections.

There is some evidence of the sale of ready-prepared books of manuscript music. In the Senior Bursar's accounts for Trinity College Cambridge, for instance, amongst the chapel expenses for 1586, is a payment of 10s 0d for 'ten bookes readie pricked bought of Mistris Baker'¹⁵⁶ and a further less specific purchase of song books from her in 1588.¹⁵⁷ These entries are clearly distinct in their wording from payments for writing out music to order, which invariably start 'for pricking'. Payments for copying music are found in court, cathedral, college and household accounts. The following entry from the court accounts, whilst it is probably for music for the chapel, provides an unusually detailed breakdown of the costs involved in having music copied.

William Hunys, *master* of the children of her majesties chappell, for 20^{tie} quire and a haulfe of *paper royall* at 2s. the quier: 40s.; for bynding the same to 17 bookes wherof 14 at 2s. 6d. le pece and thre at 20d. le pece: 40s.; And for wrytinge and pricking 210 shetes in the sayd 17 bookes at 12d. the sheete: £10. 10s.; in all by her majesties speciall order declared by a bill signed by the Lord Chamberlayne: £15. 11s. 6d.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Love, *Scribal Publication*, 26, note 66.

¹⁵⁴ Brett, 'Paston', 62.

¹⁵⁵ I am grateful to Hector Sequera, performance practice research student at the University of Birmingham, for drawing my attention to this information.

¹⁵⁶ *Ctc Archives*, Senior Bursars' Accounts, 1586/7, f. 46r; with the permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

¹⁵⁷ *Ctc Archives*, Senior Bursars' Accounts, 1588/9, f. 110r.

¹⁵⁸ Ashbee, *Records*, vi.113. Undated but calendared under 1575 by Ashbee.

Those who could not afford to buy or commission the copying services of others, and some who could, must have copied music themselves from friends' books or from teachers' copies. The English lute repertory provides examples of this type of copying. Julia Craig-McFeely's study shows that very few of the surviving lute music manuscripts, with the exception of those belonging to Edward Paston discussed above, are written in recognisably professional scribal hands. She believes that most were written by the owners, who fall into two groups: professional players and teachers, who gradually built up and recorded their performing repertoire and teaching material, as they encountered new works; and amateurs, who acquired music from teachers and friends.¹⁵⁹ The books belonging to professionals tended to be written at speed, with little attention to appearance, and using pre-printed music paper. Craig-McFeely cites the books compiled by Mathew Holmes between 1580 and 1615¹⁶⁰ as prime examples of this type, although Ian Harwood argues that, whilst Holmes was a professional musician, he was not a lutenist and he actually compiled the volumes to order for John Case.¹⁶¹ Another example of a 'professional' lute book is the Marsh Lute Book.¹⁶² Amateurs' books may have had a pedagogical purpose or may have been the personal anthologies of experienced players. Sometimes a beginner's book evolved into a personal anthology as the player became proficient, as in the case of the books compiled by Jane Pickering, M[argaret] L., and Margaret Board.¹⁶³ Some amateurs' books, such as Margaret Board's book and the Folger Lute Book,¹⁶⁴ include items added by teachers; in both of these books there are contributions written in John Dowland's hand.

¹⁵⁹ Craig-McFeely, *Lute Manuscripts*, 70 ff.

¹⁶⁰ *Cu*, Dd.2.11; Dd.3.18; Dd.5.78.3; Dd.33.3; Nn.6.36.

¹⁶¹ Harwood, 'Lecture', 3-10.

¹⁶² *E-Dm*, Ms.Z3.2.13.

¹⁶³ Jane Pickering: *Lbl*, MS Egerton 2046; M.L.: *Lbl*, Add. MS 38539; Margaret Board: *Lam*, MS 603.

¹⁶⁴ *US-WS*, Ms.V.b.280.

Part books of the kind referred to in Claude Hollyband's *The French Schoolemaister* were probably manuscript copies. Hollyband's work, first published in 1573, takes the form of dialogues describing the everyday life of an educated family and their circle of friends in Lewisham and London, set out as parallel English and French texts. After dinner, they sit down to sing:

Roland, shall we have a song? yea Sir: where bee your bookes of musick? for they bee the best corrected.

They bee in my chest: Katherin take the key of my closet, you shall find them in a little til at the left hand: behold therebee faire songes at fouer partes.¹⁶⁵

The dialogue suggests both that the household had more than one set of books and that manuscript copies often needed correcting. Transmission of music from friend to friend is exemplified in the will of Henry Trashe of Petworth, in Sussex. When he died in 1622, he left his music books to his cousin Robert, with this proviso:

But my mind and will is that Jesper Cachelo shall take & prick out anye of the same books if he will and Henrye Caershell shall likewise prick out of them what he will...¹⁶⁶

Another means of obtaining music was by letter. Iain Fenlon and John Milsom describe part books and lute books in the Haerwart Library (now part of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich) which are made up of single leaves of music, in various hands, later bound into volumes. The leaves appear previously to have been folded and may originally have been sent in letters.¹⁶⁷

It is relatively easy to demonstrate how manuscript music might have originated and how it might have been copied, but it is more difficult to gauge just how widely such music

¹⁶⁵ Hollyband, *The French Schoolemaister*, 126-8.

¹⁶⁶ Will, 20 April 1622. West Sussex Record Office, M.Dean 10. Quoted in Fleming, 'Old Old Violl', 94.

¹⁶⁷ Iain Fenlon and John Milsom, "'Ruled Paper Imprinted': Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 143.

circulated, and therefore how easy it was to obtain. Michael Gale and Tim Crawford have analysed the transmission of Dowland's 'Lachrimae' across British and European sources, over a period of fifty years and in a range of genres, including lute solo, lute song, consort arrangement and arrangements for other solo instruments.¹⁶⁸ They have identified over a hundred versions, including eighteen solo lute versions in English sources and twelve for keyboard. From this evidence it is clear that a popular work could travel widely. On the other hand, a high level of concordances between sources, as seen in the English lute repertory,¹⁶⁹ may suggest circulation was more generally restricted to a relatively tight-knit group of players.

A MARKET FOR RECREATIONAL MUSIC

The evidence of probate records confirms that during the second half of the sixteenth century urban dwellers were investing in music and musical instruments for their homes. The Norwich inventories demonstrate that owners of instruments and music almost always owned books as well. Instrument owners came from the ranks of the city gentry, dignitaries and clerics, and from amongst the merchants, retailers and craftsmen.

What had changed by the end of the century was the number of urban residents, largely in London, who had the literacy, education and relative wealth to be able, if they wished, to entertain themselves with activities such as music. Whilst small, close-knit circles of friends exchanging music could continue to operate in the way they always had, it would have been difficult for a newcomer to music, and maybe to the city, to acquire the music they needed without knowing someone else who had it. Even if this could be achieved, the music available to an amateur musician would have been limited to what his friends and

¹⁶⁸ Michael Gale and Tim Crawford, 'John Dowland's "Lachrimae" at Home and Abroad', *The Lute*, 44 (2004), 1-34.

¹⁶⁹ Craig Mc-Feely, *Lute Manuscripts*, 71.

acquaintances possessed. The middle classes largely lacked the advantages of contact with professional musicians enjoyed by the upper classes.

It is possible to envisage a grocer, who earned his living buying and selling goods and who would naturally buy from a fellow retailer or craftsman when he required anything for himself, finding it strange that he could go to a bookseller to choose and buy a book but not music. Lisa Jardine characterises the Renaissance as ‘a time of creative energy, enthusiasm, expanding horizons, collaborative enterprises, bravura entrepreneurialism and intellectual excitement’.¹⁷⁰ The concentration in London at the end of the sixteenth century of trade, service industries, education and disposable income must have contributed to the sort of atmosphere in which even the middling sort of inhabitant could aspire to extend his or her horizons and could expect to achieve it at least partly through the sort of commercial transaction familiar to them. It was this world that provided Thomas Morley with a market for printed music.

¹⁷⁰ Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, xxiv.

CHAPTER 4 – MORLEY’S MUSIC BUSINESS

... wee geve and graunte full priviledge and licence unto our welbeloved servaunte Thomas Morley one of the gentlemen of our Chapell and to his assignes that he the saide Thomas Morley and his assignes ... for and duringe the space of twentie and one yeres ... maye by him or themselves imprinte or cause to be imprinted anye and as manye sett songe and songes in partes as to him or them shall from tyme to tyme seeme expedient in the Englishe laten frenche and Italien Tonges ...¹

By the end of 1592 Thomas Morley was an established member of the Chapel Royal, with what was for an Elizabethan musician a good income, exceeded only by that of the queen’s household musicians. He had almost certainly experienced all the respectable – and some less respectable – ways for a musician to earn a living: cathedral musician, possibly teacher in an aristocratic household and, probably on an occasional basis, performer of some kind with the Norwich waits. He had even resorted to intelligence work in the Low Countries. Thomas had probably participated in theatrical performances as a child at St Paul’s Cathedral, but in the late sixteenth century the theatre did not yet provide significant employment opportunities for musicians. If the musical requirements for a play went beyond what the actors could provide amongst themselves, the city waits or a choirboy ensemble were hired. Virtually the only way for a musician to make money in England in 1592, in either secular or religious surroundings, was as a performer or teacher, or a combination of the two. These roles often required the provision of music, but this was considered part of the job: the most that could be expected for composing a new piece was a modest reward from a gracious employer.

¹ *Lna*, C 66/1486/18.

Morley was living in the heart of the rapidly growing, increasingly literate and socially aspiring London described in Chapter 3, amongst nearly 200,000 others, a proportion of whom would have been comfortable with the idea of buying music in the same way as they bought everything else. He had seen the strength of the music printing business in the Low Countries and was probably familiar with music imported privately from abroad by individuals such as Nicholas Yonge, who may have been a vicar choral at St Paul's at the same time as Morley. All these factors, combined with his own urban, entrepreneurial background, seem to have led him to embark on the commercial exploitation of music. Although he may have set out only to publish music, the complex control mechanisms of the printing trade and economic realities of publishing as a composer resulted in his becoming a monopolist and a printer as well as a publisher.

THE CONTROL OF PRINTING IN LONDON

In 1557, the Stationers' Company was reorganised in order to take on the regulation of printing in London and, in practice, the whole of England. Thereafter, a printer could, if he wished, register the details of a work he intended to print, known as his 'copy', with the Company. Registration with the Stationers' Company was not obligatory, but it conferred sole printing rights.² Under the charter of the Stationers' Company, the right of registration was not originally restricted to its own members, but extended also to freemen of other City guilds and associates or 'brothers' of the Company. This changed in 1586, when registration was limited to members of the Company.³ From that time, too, the commissioning of new printing presses was controlled and needed the approval of the Company, largely excluding non-members from engaging in legitimate printing operations.

² C. J. Sisson, 'The Law of Elizabethan Copyright: the Stationers' View', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 15 (1960), 18.

³ Graham Pollard, 'The English Market for Printed Books', *Publishing History*, 4 (1978), 19.

This relatively straightforward situation was complicated by the granting of royal monopolies: a cost-free form of patronage for the monarch, which reached a peak in Elizabeth I's reign, and covered a wide range of commodities and activities, including levying import duty on wine, transporting iron and tin, growing woad, exporting steel, and importing, making and selling playing cards.⁴ There were also monopolies that conferred sole rights for the printing of particular books or classes of book. The number of these grew during the sixteenth century to include law books, primers, New Testaments, Latin grammars, Ponet's catechism, ABCs, dictionaries, chronicles, almanacs and versions of the metrical psalms, most of them high-volume items, of which the printing had previously been shared amongst members of the Stationers' Company.⁵ Many of the monopolies for these publications were held by members of the Stationers' Company, who might be either printers or booksellers, but not all were. There was concern that monopoly holders were putting printers out of work. For example, the following undated document was written around 1577:

The griefes of the printers glass sellers & cutlers systeined by reson of *privildiges* granted to *privatt persons*

The *privildiges* latelie granted by her *Majestie* under her highnes great Seale of England to the persons hereunder written conserninge the arte of printing of bookes, hath and will be the over throwe of the Printers and Stacioners within this cittie beinge in nomber 175. Beside their wyves children Apprentizes & families, and thereby the excessive prices of bookes *prejudiciall* to the state of the whole Realme before the false printing of the same.

John Jugge beside the being her *Majesties* printer hath gotten the *privildge* for the printing of Bibles and Testamentes, the *which* was *common* to all the printers

Richard Tothill the printing of all kindes of lawe booke, which was *common* to all printers, who selleth the same bookes at excessive prices to the hunderance of a greate number of pore students

⁴ For example, see 'Townshend's Journal, 23 November 1601', in T. E. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, 3 vols (Leicester and London: Leicester University Press, 1981-1995), iii. 388-390.

⁵ Pollard, 'English Market', 22; John Barnard, 'Introduction', in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *History of the Book IV*, 7-13.

John Daye the printinge of A.B.C. & Catechismes with the sole selling of them by the collor of A comission These bookes weare the onelie releif of the porest sort of that companie

James Roberts & Richard Watkyns the printinge of all Alminacks and Pronosticacons, the *which* was the onelie releif of the most porest of the printers

Thomas Marsh hathe a great licence for latten bookes used in the *grammar* scoles of Englande the *which* was the generall livinge of the whole companie

Thomas Vautrollier a *stranger* hathe the sole printinge of other latten bookes, as the newe Testament & others

One Byrde a Singingman hathe a licence for printinge of all musicke bookes & by that meanes he claimeth the printing of ruled paper

William Seres hath privilidge for the printinge of all psalters All *manner* of prymer englishe or latten & all *manner* of prayer bookes with the revercion to his sonne who giveth not himself to *our* trade

Francis Flower a gentleman beinge none of *our* companie hathe privilidg for printinge the Gramer & other thinges & hathe farmed it oute to some of the companie for one hundred poundes by the yere, *which* c^{li} [£100] is raised in the inhausinge of the prices above the accustomed order⁶

Some monopolies were bought; others, like the music monopoly obtained by William Byrd and Thomas Tallis in 1575, appear to have been granted as a reward.⁷ There was also a market in existing monopolies: the Queen's French Secretary Charles Yetswert, for example, purchased the reversion of Richard Tottell's law book patent, which meant that the monopoly would – and indeed did – come to him on Tottell's death.⁸

Christopher Barker, the Queen's Printer and a member of the Stationers' Company, was eventually asked to investigate the impact of printing monopolies on the livelihood of the less well off and less well connected members of the Company, and he reported his findings in 1582. As a monopolist himself, Barker generally played down the value of the monopolies, describing them as a defence mechanism against those non-printer booksellers who, he alleged, held the rights to many of the best titles without the overhead of any investment in

⁶ *Lbl*, Lansdowne MS 48, f. 180r. Also transcribed in Arber, *Transcript*, i. 111.

⁷ See below, p. 150.

⁸ Graham Pollard, 'The English Market', 22; Barnard, 'Introduction', 12.

printing equipment or supplies.⁹ However, the acquisition of monopolies by some printers also created a class of further disadvantaged printers without monopolies, and the situation was eventually resolved by the holders of lucrative monopolies being required to hand over some of their titles to form a pool of work for the poorer printers. Additionally, all print runs were restricted to 1,500, and the retention of standing type – the practice of leaving type set up ready for the next print run of a work – was banned. These last two constraints were designed to generate more work for trade printers and journeymen.

THE MUSIC MONOPOLY

Tallis's and Byrd's Monopoly

Thomas Tallis and William Byrd were granted a monopoly for the printing of both music in parts and ruled music paper for twenty-one years from 22 January 1575. The patent also forbade the importation for sale of music printed abroad.¹⁰ It was unusual in sixteenth-century England for authors or potential authors to hold a patent. In the early seventeenth century, authors such as John Speed, a map maker, increasingly patented their own individual works, but it remained uncommon for authors to hold patents for whole classes of book in the way that Byrd and Tallis, and later Morley, did for music.¹¹ The situation varied in continental Europe. Generally, printing monopolies were granted to publishers (usually printers) rather than authors or third parties completely unconnected with publishing. In France, Attaignant had a near total monopoly for music printing in Paris in the first half of

⁹ *Lbl*, Lansdowne MS 48, f. 189r ff.

¹⁰ *Lna*, C 66/1463/2.

¹¹ Arnold Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents 1603-1640', in Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell (eds.), *The Book Trade and its Customers 1450-1900* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), 31.

the sixteenth century,¹² whilst, in contrast, publishers in Antwerp and Venice could protect the rights to their titles for a limited period, and often only in a local area.¹³

Tallis and Byrd responded to the receipt of their monopoly by embarking on the production of what is best seen as a luxury printed substitute for a presentation manuscript, probably intended as a celebration of Queen Elizabeth's seventeen years on the throne. The *Cantiones sacrae*, of 1575, a set of seventeen Latin texted sacred pieces by each composer, may have been suitable for performance at the Chapel Royal and the collegiate chapels, but had no obvious liturgical use elsewhere.¹⁴ The pieces are scored for quite large forces of five to eight voices, which may have limited their appeal for domestic performance, and the collection appears not to have sold well. Two years later, Tallis and Byrd petitioned the Queen for financial help, arguing as part of their case that the operation of the monopoly had cost them money rather than providing the income she had intended it to give them:

Moste humblie beseache *your Majestie* your poore servants Thomas Tallis and William Birde *gentlemen* of *your highness* chappell. That whereas the saide Thomas Tallis is now verie aged, and hath served *your Majestie* and *your Royall* ancesteres almost these ffortie yeres, and hadd as yet never anie manner of preferment (Except onely one lease *which your Majesties* late deare syster quene Marie gave him, which lease beinge now the best parte of his lyvinge, is *within one yere* of expiracion, and the revercion thereof by *your Majestie* graunted unto another:) And also for that the saide William Birde beinge called to *your highness* service from the cathedral church of Lincolne where he was well settled is now throughe his greate charge of wief and children, fallen into debt & greate necessitie, by reason that by his daylie attendaunce in *your Majesties* saide service, he is letted from reapinge suche *commoditie* by teachinge, as heretofore he did and still might have done to the greate releyff of him self and his poore famylie: And further where *your Majestie* of *your princely* goodness, entendinge the benefitt of us your saide poore servantes did geve unto us about ii^o [2] yeres past a lycense for the printinge of musicke. So it is moste gracyouse sovereign that the same hath fallen oute to oure greate losse and hindaunce to the value of two hundred markes at the least. It might therefore please *your Majestie* of *your* moste aboundant goodness, for the bettar releavinge of our poore estates To graunte unto us *withoute ffyne* a lease in revercion for the terme of xxiⁱⁱ [21] yeres of

¹² See Richard Agee, 'The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 3 (1993), 23-26, for a summary of the different music monopoly arrangements found in Europe.

¹³ Forney, 'Susato', 80-88.

¹⁴ Craig Monson, 'Preface', *The Byrd Edition, I, Cantiones Sacrae (1575)* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1977), vii.

the yerely rent of xl^{li} [£40 0s 0d] to the tenantes use. So shall we most dutifullie praie unto almightie god for the prosperous preservacion of you[r] Majestie longe to Reigne over us.¹⁵

As a result, they were granted a set of leases worth £30 0s 0d a year.¹⁶

A further indication of the poor sales of the *Cantiones sacrae* is seen in the inventory of the printer and bookseller Henry Bynneman, made when he died in April 1583.¹⁷ Included in the inventory were 717 'bookes of Birdes and Tallis musicke'.¹⁸ Mark Eccles, who transcribed and published the inventory in 1957, assumed that a new edition had just been published, as the only other works present in such large quantities were recent. However, this seems very unlikely, given the composers' initial disappointment with the venture and the lack, to a modern-day observer at least, of a market for the work. Despite the poor sales, though, some pieces included in *Cantiones sacrae* circulated in manuscript copies, probably made from the print, as, for example, the four pieces which appear in the Sadler part books¹⁹ discussed in Chapter 1.

The two composers made no further attempt to exploit their monopoly during Tallis's lifetime, and very little other music appears to have been published during that period, apart from psalms and devotional items, such as William Hunnis's *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule*, a group of penitential psalm settings, first published in 1583. Most of these came under the control of another monopoly, held by John Day and his son Richard for the printing of the 'Psalmes of David in English meeter with notes to singe them'.²⁰ It seems that, by 1582, Henry Bynneman had taken on some sort of role in the music monopoly; possibly it was

¹⁵ Hatfield House, The Cecil Papers, vol. 160, item 134. Microfilm: *Lbl*, M485, reel 42.

¹⁶ Harley, *William Byrd*, 66.

¹⁷ Mark Eccles, 'Bynneman's Books', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 12 (1957), 82.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁹ *Ob*, MSS. Mus. e. 1-5.

²⁰ Robert R. Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing: A Description and Bibliography of English Printed Music to the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1903), 23; quotes *Lna*, C 66/1152.

assigned to him to operate. He already had some monopolies in his own right, for the printing of 'all Dictionaries in all tongues, all Chronicles and histories whatsoever',²¹ so would presumably have been open to taking on fresh opportunities. Certainly his possession of the unsold copies of the *Cantiones sacrae* suggests an involvement - although not a very rewarding one - and this is confirmed by comments made by Christopher Barker in 1582. Barker was particularly dismissive of the music monopoly, although he considered there to be some value in printed lined paper:

Mr Birde & Mr Tallis of her Majesties Chappell

In this patent are included all musicke bookes whatsoever, and the printing of all ruled paper, for the pricking of any songe to the lute, virginals or other instrumentes. The paper is somewhat beneficiall, as for the musick bookes, I would not provide necessarie furniture to have them This patent is executed by Henry Binneman also.²²

The printer of *Cantiones sacrae* was Thomas Vautrollier, a Huguenot immigrant. Apart from John Day, Vautrollier seems to have been the only person in England in the 1570s who possessed a music fount large enough for part books, and he had already used it to print an edition of vocal music by Lassus, *Recueil du mellange*, in 1570.²³ Although he had the means to continue to print music, he was busy with a thriving book-printing and -selling business, including an offshoot in Edinburgh,²⁴ and probably too astute to want to put time and effort into music after the commercial failure of *Cantiones sacrae* and in the face of an evident lack of interest from Tallis and Byrd.

Revitalisation of the Music Monopoly

In 1587 Vautrollier died, and his widow Jacqueline, who had been closely involved in the business, continued to manage it for a short time before marrying Richard Field, who had

²¹ *Lbl*, Lansdowne MS 48, f. 191v.

²² *Lbl*, Lansdowne MS 48, f. 192r.

²³ Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 84.

²⁴ *STC2*, iii. 173.

served much of his apprenticeship as a stationer with Vautrollier. Field then took over the print shop. Vautrollier's part book fount (but not a smaller one suitable for psalms) passed, possibly via Field's family connections, to Thomas East, another printer and member of the Stationers' Company,²⁵ and it seems to have been East who galvanised Byrd into considering further printed publications. East recorded his intention to print Byrd's *Psalms Sonets, & Songs* in the Stationers' Company register in 1587,²⁶ and it was produced in 1588, a year which also saw the publication of Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, printed by East under the aegis of Byrd's monopoly. Byrd published his *Songs of Sundrie Natures* and the *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum* in 1589, and in 1590 East printed Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigalls Englished* and Thomas Whythorne's *Duos, or Songs for Two Voices*. East remained the sole printer of music other than psalms in London until the end of Byrd's monopoly in 1596, describing himself as the 'assigne' of William Byrd.

In the years around 1590 the focus of music publishing in print was very much on Byrd's own part songs and sacred vocal works, albeit accompanied by Yonge's and Watson's relatively conservative sets of Italian madrigals with English texts. There was also a didactic trend, seen in the instructional tone of some prefaces, including Byrd's 'Reasons briefly set downe by th'auctor, to perswade every one to learne to sing' on the reverse of the title page of *Psalms, Sonets, & Songs*, and Whythorne's inclusion in his *Duos* of pieces 'made for yong beginners' at singing and playing. Meanwhile, John Farmer's *Divers & Sundry Waies of Two Parts in One* (1591) demonstrated techniques of counterpoint. A continued emphasis on sacred material is seen in 1592 in Byrd's *Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum*, in two

²⁵ Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 39.

²⁶ Edward Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 477.

volumes of psalm settings by William Daman published posthumously by William Swayne²⁷ and in East's own version of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*.

By English standards this represented an explosion of activity and provided the potential purchaser with a range of material not previously available, although little of it was really fashionable or particularly entertaining. From 1593 to 1595, however, the list of music publications is dominated by Morley's efforts to supply Italian or Italianate, lighter-weight music, ideal for domestic use: in 1593, the *Canzonets or Little Short Songs to Three Voyces*; in 1594, the *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces*; and in 1595, the *First Booke of Balletts* and its Italian texted counterpart, *Il primo libro delle ballette*, plus the *First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces* and an Italian version of this that no longer survives.²⁸ During this period East discreetly printed Byrd's Masses without the usual title pages, presumably to avoid personal entanglement in any political difficulties that might arise, and he also printed John Mundy's *Songs and Psalmes*, very much in the Byrd tradition.

It appears that around 1594 there was an unacknowledged, or 'hidden', reprint of Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, possibly inspired by the success of Morley's initial publications.²⁹ The print is dated 1588, but on typographical evidence Peter Clulow gives it a date of around 1593-4.³⁰ Jeremy Smith's work on the paper used by East shows that this reprint, the two Daman volumes and Byrd's Masses all used the same paper stock, placing the Yonge volume in 1594.³¹ Smith further suggests that East 'skimmed' the paper for this volume (and probably the Masses too) from the paper presumably paid for by Daman's

²⁷ *The Former Booke of the Musicke* and *The Second Booke of the Musicke*.

²⁸ This last item was included in a list of East's music copies transferred after his death to a group of three stationers, Browne, Lownes and Snodham, and referred to in the entry as 'Morleyes 2 partes Englishe and Italian'. See Arber, *Transcripts*, iii. 465. See also Chapter 5, pp. 245-7.

²⁹ The term 'hidden edition' for such unacknowledged reprints was introduced by Jeremy Smith in *Thomas East*, 43.

³⁰ Peter Clulow, 'Dates for Byrd's Latin Masses', *Music & Letters*, 47 (1966), 7.

³¹ Smith, *Thomas East*, 67-8.

publisher, William Swayne. The incorrect date must have been deliberate, as the whole work would have been reset from scratch, given both that standing print was forbidden and that East could probably not have afforded to render so much of his type stock unusable for six years by leaving the volume set up. Furthermore, although he did not change the date of publication, East did make a correction to an error in the first edition. It is likely, therefore, that this represents private enterprise on East's part. The original publication was probably paid for by Yonge, who would also have taken the profit from the sales. By issuing a reprint using paper paid for out of other jobs, leaving himself only with the labour bill, East could anticipate a higher return than he would have achieved from his fee for printing the original run. It is likely, too, that by publishing covertly East avoided paying the monopoly charges that Byrd would have levied. The economics of music printing are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

In 1593 Byrd moved to Essex and seems largely to have removed himself from court and London life. Jeremy Smith has suggested that, at this point, Morley effectively took over Byrd's role in London music printing, with the intention of controlling the market himself.³² This control was embedded in the music printing monopoly, but it is by no means clear that gaining control was Morley's primary focus at this stage, as he did not immediately take action to obtain the monopoly when Byrd's tenure ended. However, the fact that East did not describe himself as Byrd's assign on the prints of Morley's work that he produced in 1594 and 1595, although he still did so in John Mundy's *Songs and Psalmes* (1594), does suggest that Morley had some involvement in the monopoly. Two years elapsed after the end of Byrd's monopoly before Morley sought it for himself, suggesting that, in the meantime, his main aim was to publish music to meet a public demand, rather than to control its supply.

³² Ibid., 78.

Like Byrd he had an ‘agenda’, and like Byrd it seems to have been a mission to promulgate the sort of music he felt it appropriate to publish. Unlike Byrd, he chose to promote music that he thought would fulfil the current fashion for light Italian-style pieces rather than music he thought particularly worthy:

... composers of musick who otherwise would follow the depth of their skill, in this kinde are compelled for lacke of *maecenates* [patrons] to put on another humor, and follow that kind whereunto they have neither beene brought up, nor yet (except so much as they can learne by seeing other mens works in an unknown tounge) doe perfectlie understand the nature of it, such be the newfangled opinions of our countrey men, who will highlie esteeme whatsoever commeth from beyond the seas, and speciallie from Italie, be it never so simple, contemning that which is done at home though it be never so excellent. Nor yet is that fault of esteeming so highlie the light musicke particular to us in England, but generall through the world, which is the cause that the musitions in all countries and chiefly in Italy, have imploied most of their studies in it...³³

The End of Byrd’s Monopoly

Byrd’s monopoly expired in January 1596, and this altered the music publishing dynamic. While East and Morley apparently considered the situation, William Barley, a member of the Drapers’ Guild but a bookseller and publisher by trade, moved in to fill the vacuum with *The Pathway to Musicke* and *A New Booke of Tabliture* – a basic music tutor, and a compilation of three tutors for lute, orpharion and bandora respectively, which may originally have been published as a single set of four items.³⁴ These are closely modelled on Adrian Le Roy’s tutor and anthology published in translation in England in 1568 and 1574,³⁵ right down to the wording of the prefaces. In 1568 Le Roy, through his translator, explains the purpose of *A Briefe and Easie Instruction* [sic] thus:

Being verely perswaded that there be an infinite number of good wits in Fraunce, the which for that they cannot all dwell in or neere the Cittie of Paris, or such lyke flowrishing Citties, for lack of perfic Instructors ... Thou shalte understande by this

³³ Morley, *Introduction*, 179.

³⁴ John Ward, ‘Barley’s Songs Without Words’, *Lute Society Journal*, 12 (1970), 14-15, note 2.

³⁵ Adrian Le Roy, *A Briefe and Easie Instruction* (1568) and *A Briefe and Plaine Instruction* (1574).

little treatise the tablytorie for the Lute, howe thou mayest accorde or tune the same, eyther by arte or by eare, the disposition of the hande: By it the handling of the Necke of the Lute or the bellye and other little rules, whereby thou mayest easily learne by thy selfe, with very small helpe of a teacher.³⁶

Barley, addressing *his* reader of *A Newe Booke of Tabliture* in 1596, makes what must be a conscious reference to Le Roy, with a defence of the abilities of the English, continuing to follow Le Roy's wording closely to describe the more technical aspects of the book's content:

It is not to be doubted but that there are a number of good wits in England, which for their sufficient capacitie and promptnes of spirit, neither Fraunce nor Italie can surpasse, and in respect that they cannot all dwell in or neere the cittie of London where expert Tutors are to be had ... I have here to my great cost and charges, caused sundrie lessons to be collected together for the Lute, Orpharion, Bandora, ... and for the more ready attayning thereunto, is added sundrie, necessarie rules, plainelie teaching how thou maiest accord or tune these Instrumentes by Arte or by eare, and the disposing of the hand in handling the necke or bellie of the Lute and the other instruments, by observing of which rules thou maiest in a short time learne by thy selfe with very small help of a teacher.³⁷

A Newe Booke of Tabliture contains pieces by prominent composers of the day, including Dowland and Holborne, both of whom complained about the unauthorised publication of their works. Holborne, for example, in his prefatory letter 'to the proficient scholler' in *The Cittharn Schoole* (1597), made the following comments:

But the time nowe presenting occasion by a wrong proffered from a meere stranger unto me, who (without my knowledge of either man or meane) hath delivered in common to the worlds view certiane [sic] corrupt coppies of my Idles, (the untimely fruits of my youth, begotten in the cradle and infancy of my slender skill) I am therefore with a more easie reason led to call home my own mangled children to the originall place of their nativity: both in respect of their immaturitie, and the disguised countenance wherin they live abroad.³⁸

Although Barley's 1596 music publications were poorly printed, using woodcuts rather than movable type, they did fill a gap in the market. Barley was not a printer himself, and did not identify the printer who carried out the work for him, but evidence from ornamental type

³⁶ Adrian Le Roy, *A Briefe and Easie Instrution*, 'The Author to the Reader'.

³⁷ [William Barley], *A Newe Booke of Tabliture* (London: William Barley, 1596), 'To the Reader'.

³⁸ Anthony Holborne, *The Cittarn Schoole* (London: [Holborne], 1597), 'To the Proficient Scholler'.

pieces used to decorate blank areas of pages suggests that the work was done by John Danter, one of the printers with whom Barley regularly worked on other types of book.³⁹

East, meanwhile, also decided to issue a didactic work, Bathe's *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song*. Kevin Karnes, in the introduction to his modern edition of Bathe's volume, argues that this was a compilation of material from an earlier publication by Bathe, *A Briefe Introduction to the True Art of Musicke* (1584), new material written by Bathe in 1584-1586 and further additions made by East himself, some time after 1592.⁴⁰ The publication is undated, but Smith places it in 1596, and certainly East registered it with the Stationers' Company that year.⁴¹ East also produced 'hidden' reprints of Byrd's *Songs of Sundrie Natures* and Morley's *Canzonets ... to Three Voyces*, as he had done for Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* in 1594, suggesting that both had sold out. Morley may or may not have known about this, but he would probably have been aware of East's registration with the Stationers' Company on 6 December 1596⁴² of virtually all the music he had printed to date, including all of Morley's publications. The only exceptions were Byrd's Masses, which East had printed anonymously, and the various volumes of psalm settings, which were the subject of an awkward overlap between the Byrd-Tallis music monopoly and the monopoly for psalms with music held by John Day and his successors. East had probably not previously registered his prints because they had been protected by the monopoly. His registration of them in 1596 ensured that no other printer could produce editions of their contents.

East's action drew attention to another aspect of printers' copy rights, one which meant that Morley had no control over the future printing and publication of his own

³⁹ J. A. Lavin, 'William Barley, Draper and Stationer', *Studies in Bibliography*, 21 (1969), 216; Gerald D. Johnson, 'William Barley, "Publisher & Seller of Bookes", 1591-1614', *The Library*, Sixth Series, 11 (1989), 38.

⁴⁰ Kevin Karnes (ed.), 'Towards a History of Bathe's Treatise', in *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song* by William Bathe (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 4-15.

⁴¹ Smith, *Thomas East*, 80, 191.

⁴² Arber, *Transcript*, iii. 76-77.

successful volumes and no means of making any more money from them. The few printing contracts that survive from the sixteenth century suggest that composers (and third-party publishers) had no enduring copyright, even if they had funded the initial publication. For example, Thomas East agreed with George Eastland – the publisher of Dowland’s *Second Booke of Songs* – that he would not print any more copies until Eastland had sold all his copies from the original print run. This suggests that, after the initial run, copyright lay with East.⁴³ A similar arrangement existed between Victoria and his Spanish printer, Modesti, over the printing of the former’s *Missae, magnificat, motecta, psalmi* of 1600, which the composer funded. The printer was paid for producing two hundred copies but was allowed to print a further one hundred, which he could start to sell for his own benefit twelve months after Victoria had received his two hundred.⁴⁴

Morley’s Response

Morley’s immediate response to East’s registration of his works seems to have been to cease working with East and to look for another printer, whom he found in Peter Short. During 1597 Short, also a stationer, printed for Morley *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke, Canzonets or Little Short Songs to Foure Voyces* and *Canzonets or Little Short Aers to Five and Sixe Voices*, plus Dowland’s *First Book of Songes* and Holborne’s *The Cittharn Schoole*. Short appears to have acquired a new type fount in order to take on this work,⁴⁵ although he had already printed some music using a smaller type face in Hunnis’s *Seven Sobs*, the rights to which he had inherited from Henry Denham.⁴⁶ The standard of his printing was very high. Working with his clients, he introduced two innovations into English

⁴³ *Lna*, REQ 2/203/4, f. 10; John Wilbye’s deposition.

⁴⁴ Jane A. Bernstein, ‘Financial Arrangements and the Role of Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing’, *Acta Musicologica*, 63 (1991), 51.

⁴⁵ Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 58.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

music printing: the use of a new method of typesetting for the tablature from which plucked instruments were played, and the folio table book format for songs with lute accompaniment and optional vocal and instrumental parts. This type of layout, by orientating the parts in different directions, facilitated the performance of music around a table using a single copy, and is occasionally found in slightly earlier manuscript sources, such as *A booke of Innomines & other sofainge songes*.⁴⁷ It is first seen in print, however, in 1597, in Dowland's *First Book of Songes* and in some of the pieces (without lute) included in Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction*.⁴⁸

East, meanwhile, continued to print madrigals and other part songs, seeking out up-and-coming provincial composers, such as Thomas Weelkes (*Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. & 6. Voyces*) and George Kirbye (*The First Set of English Madrigalls*), as well as printing a second volume of *Musica Transalpina* for Yonge. He himself published an edition of Lassus songs (*Novae ... cantiones suavissimæ*) and printed *Le premier livre de chansons & airs* for Charles Tessier, a young Frenchman who was trying to obtain work in England.⁴⁹

Short naturally registered his music prints with the Stationers' Company to establish his 'copy' rights, and this left Morley (as well as the other composers whose works Short printed) no better off with respect to long-term revenue than he was with East. Morley may therefore have concluded that the best way forward was to obtain the music monopoly himself. It is not clear how early he embarked on this process, but negotiations were in progress over the summer of 1598. The process of obtaining a royal privilege entailed a number of steps which can be summarised as follows:

⁴⁷ *Lbl*, Add. MS 31390. Described in Edwards, 'Elizabethan Consort Music', 90.

⁴⁸ These pieces are inserted at the end of the book, before and after the Annotations. They include both secular and sacred pieces.

⁴⁹ Smith, *Thomas East*, 88.

- Petition addressed to Queen, Privy Council or one of the Secretaries of State
- Petition referred to the Attorney General or Solicitor General for a legal opinion
- If approved, bill prepared for Queen's signature
- Bill of privy signet prepared
- Writ of Privy Seal prepared
- Letters patent issued under the Great Seal
- Copy of letters patent recorded in Chancery Rolls
- Patent itself, with the seal attached, given to patentee.⁵⁰

The last step was optional and depended on the patentee paying a fee; in 1592, for example, Richard Field paid 20s 4d for the seal for his patent for an English version of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.⁵¹

Morley's patent was procured for him by Julius Caesar, a lawyer and judge who held a number of senior court positions and who had close connections with the Cecil family.⁵² Caesar owned several properties in St Helen, Bishopsgate, the parish in which Morley now lived, and although it is unlikely that Caesar himself was resident there at the time, it is not inconceivable that Morley was his tenant. Of course, they could equally have met either at court or through mutual contacts in the City of London.

The petition was complicated by the long-standing ambiguity regarding settings of the psalter. The patent granted to John Day and his son Richard was still current in 1598, but it

⁵⁰ Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents', 37.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵² Signet Office docquet: *Lna*, SP 38/5, dated 11 September 1598. For information on Caesar see Alain Wijffels, 'Caesar, Sir Julius', *ODNB* [online resource], (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-9) www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/4328.

was important for Morley to try to encompass at least some types of psalm setting within the scope of his monopoly, because the sales of psalters with music dwarfed sales of all other music and most other books as well; in the ten years from 1591 to 1600, for example, *STC2* identifies a possible forty-three editions of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* that acknowledge the Day patent.⁵³ In maximum permitted print runs of fifteen hundred, this represents nearly sixty-five thousand copies. Morley naturally wished to maximise his income from the monopoly by making its wording as all-embracing as possible. He therefore wrote the following undated – but endorsed 23 July 1598 – letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State:

Right honourable, my humble duty remembrid my humble sewte is, that if it would stand *with your* good pleasure, to favour me once againe in the allowance of *your* honors warraunt to Mr. Autorny generall for the inserting of the wordes *which* he hathe taken exceptions at by reason of his mistakinge of them, for all most ther is words nere to the same purpos allredye *which* are these; (or anny other wise to be sonnge or played, Now, may it please *your* honnore the wordes *which* I humbly desyre may be incertid are these, (all every and anny musicke) Butt for ruld paper to serve for musick, except it may please *your* honore to allow them wordes in *your* warraunt allso, it wilbe little worthe, and the rather because theris many devissis by hand to preguidis the presse, in the printinge of ruled paper to serve for musick, as for printinge of songes uppon my credit I can avoutche it for suche thingis as I have haud imprinted of myne owne workes I have hade so smalle benefitt of them, that the bookes *which* I dedicattid to *your* honnore, the bountiouse reward of *your* honore to me, was more worthe to me, then anny book or bookes what so ever for *which* and for *your* good acceptaunce of them I must humbly thank *your* honore, if it shall stand *with your* honores good favour to allow a warraunt to Mr. Autornie or Mr. Solicitor, *which* by my exsperience I know *without* them wordes will be of so small vallewe as not worthe twenty nobles⁵⁴ a yeare, if it please *your* honore to favore me in this hir *Majesties* favorable and gracious graunt towards me, *your* servant, Mr. Heyborne Mr. ferdinandos brother, shall receive the one halfe of the benefitt whatt so ever for the terme of yeres grauntid Thus fearing to be troble some to *your* honnore in most humbleness I take my leave

Your honores devotid in all service

Tho. Morley⁵⁵

⁵³ *STC2*, i. items 2477.7 - 2501, with some exclusions.

⁵⁴ A noble was worth 6s 8d, so 20 nobles amounted to £6 13s 4d.

⁵⁵ Hatfield House, The Cecil Papers, vol. 62, item 77. Microfilm: *Lbl*, M485, reel 12.

However, he was not successful, and the final version was closely modelled on the 1575 monopoly, despite Morley's attempts to strengthen its coverage:

... wee geve and graunte full priviledge and licence unto our welbelovved servaunte Thomas Morley one of the gentlemen of our Chapell and to his assignes that he the saide Thomas Morley and his assignes and his and their deputies factors and servauntes onelie and none others for and duringe the space of twentie and one yeres next ensuyng the date of this our licence shall and maye by him or themselves imprinte or cause to be imprinted anye and as manye sett songe and songes in partes as to him or them shall from tyme to tyme seeme expedient in the Englishe laten frenche and Italien Tonges and in *everye* or anye one of the same tonges or in anye other tonge tonges or languages that maye serve for the musick ether of Churche or chamber or other wise to be songe or played And shall and maye rule and cause to be ruled by impression all *everye* or anye paper suche as maye serve for the printinge or pricking of anye songe or songes either to be songe or played in Churche chamber or otherwise And shall and maye sell or utter or cause to be soulded or uttered anye printed bookes or papers of anye songe or songes in anye of the tonge or tongues aforesaide or otherwise to be songe or played as is aforesaide. And all *everye* or anye bookes or quiers of suche ruled paper imprinted as is aforesaide...⁵⁶

The biggest change compared with 1575 was an increase in the fine for breaking the monopoly, from £2 to £10, but this would benefit the Crown and not Morley. The grant of the licence was recorded in Privy Council docquets dated 11 and 18 September 1598⁵⁷ and the patent itself was dated 28 September. As Morley's letter to Cecil shows, he attempted to persuade the Secretary of State to support his amendments by offering half the proceeds to Christopher Heybourne, one of Cecil's employees and the brother of Ferdinando Heybourne, or Richardson. Mr. Ferdinando, as the latter was often known, was an influential Groom of the Privy Chamber and a musician, who appears to have been highly trusted by the Queen.⁵⁸ Whether either of the Heybourne brothers played any part in the procurement of the patent is not clear, but offering such a large share in the proceeds suggests either confidence in the outcome on Morley's part, or desperation. In the end, even though the scope of the patent was not improved, Morley nevertheless felt obliged to honour his offer and Christopher

⁵⁶ *Lna*, C 66/1486/18. The full text is given in Appendix 4.1.

⁵⁷ *Lna*, SP 38/5: docquets dated 11 and 18 September 1598.

⁵⁸ Richard Marlow, 'Sir Ferdinando Heybourne alias Richardson', *Musical Times*, 115 (1974), 736-39.

Heybourne did receive half the proceeds of the monopoly, thus significantly reducing what would otherwise have been a good income for Morley.⁵⁹

Morley's Monopoly

The monopoly provided Morley with revenue, discussed in detail below, from all new music publications and from all reprints, including those registered with the Stationers' Company. To ensure that the Company was aware of his rights, Morley personally took his letters patent to their court on 6 October:

This *gentleman* this day shewed unto the Company her *majestties lettres patentes* under the *grat seale* of England dated 28 September 1598... for the *speciall privilege* of the *sole printynge* of *sett songes in partes*... and also for the *Rulinge* of any *paper* by *Impression*... And the Company have taken notice thereof *accordinglye*⁶⁰

The rules to be employed when both a monopoly and registration with the Stationers' Company applied to a particular publication were not clearly laid down: it seems, however, that the registered volume could not be published without the patentee's agreement (and on payment of a fee) and that only the printer who had registered the work had the right to print it. As a composer, therefore, Morley regained some control over the reprinting of his music and some income from it as patentee. With this protection in place, he seems to have been prepared to work with East again, starting with his *Madrigals to Five Voyces*, which East registered with the Stationers' Company on 7 August 1598, by which time Morley must have been certain of obtaining the patent.

The legal records of a dispute between Thomas East (printer) and George Eastland (publisher) regarding the production of Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs* provide precise details of how Morley operated the music printing aspect of the monopoly. The records are

⁵⁹ See below, p. 167.

⁶⁰ W. W. Greg and E. Boswell, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company: 1576 to 1602 from Register B.*, (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1930), 65.

held in the National Archives and the case was first described in detail by Margaret Dowling in 1932.⁶¹ In his evidence, East sets out the charges levied by Morley and paid by the publisher via the printer: 40s 0d at the outset and then 6s 0d for every ream of paper printed, the total divided between Morley and Heybourne. Most witnesses in the case who say anything about the monopoly payment describe the initial forty shillings as being paid to Morley and the remainder being paid to both men. However, East, who is probably the most reliable source, as he handled the payments, states that both elements of the payment were shared by Morley and Heybourne:

fortie shillings as a dutie to them and six shillinges upon every reame so printed.⁶²

For the Dowland book this amounted to £9 10s 0d, of which Morley would have received £4 15s 0d. By applying this levy to each of the publications (other than Morley's own new works) known to have been issued in the four years between the start of the monopoly and his death in October 1602, and making some assumptions about print run sizes, it is possible to calculate the range of incomes for Morley shown in Table 4.1, overleaf.

⁶¹ Margaret Dowling, 'The Printing of John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*', *The Library*, Fourth Series, 12 (1932), 365-80.

⁶² *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63, f. 2; East's reply to Eastland's allegation.

Table 4.1: An Estimate of Morley's Monopoly Earnings by Year

	1599			1600			1601			1602		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Mixed print run sizes*	25	15	6	25	18	0	13	7	9	3	9	6
All print runs 1000	35	1	0	30	17	0	16	7	9	5	19	0

Assumptions: Initial fee £2, regardless of run size.
 East and Short paid the same rates for reprints as for new books.
Whole Booke of Psalmes excluded on grounds that it was probably a joint venture with Barley.
Morley Consort Lessons included as the publication was funded by an unnamed gentleman.

*Run sizes of 500 for part books and 1000 for table books and psalms. The rationale for these run sizes will be found below on page 181.

At least one set of ballads with tunes, Deloney's *Strange Histories*, was published by Barley as Morley's assign, and presumably there were others. It is possible that Morley charged a lower rate for the much smaller music content, but it is likely that he charged Barley something for the privilege. At the full rate, in a print run of 1,000, Morley's half of the fee for the Deloney ballad would have been £1 18s 0d. Although the table above shows a decline in income after the first two years, it is never as low as the 20 nobles (£6 13s 4d) in a full year, the estimate given by Morley in his letter to Cecil.⁶³

There is no comparable evidence for the value of the other aspects of the monopoly. In 1582 Christopher Barker had observed that the printed paper element of the Tallis-Byrd monopoly was commercially worthwhile,⁶⁴ and Iain Fenlon and John Milsom have demonstrated that music paper produced by Thomas East was used for a number of manuscripts produced in the last part of the sixteenth century.⁶⁵ There are references to the purchase of music paper or books of music paper in contemporary accounts, but it is not

⁶³ See above, p. 163.

⁶⁴ See above, p. 153.

⁶⁵ Fenlon and Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', 148-52.

possible to tell whether the staves were printed or hand-ruled using rastra.⁶⁶ However, whatever the means of production, it is clear that there was a retail market for ruled paper. For instance, the records of the Cavendish family, transcribed by Lynn Hulse, show that the household spent £11 12s 5d on English music prints and another £2 4s 2d on music paper and blank music books in the period from 1599 to 1614.⁶⁷

Morley's comments to Robert Cecil in his letter concerning the proposed wording of the monopoly in 1598 are open to more than one interpretation. He writes that:

Butt for ruld paper to serve for musick, except it may please *your* honore to allow them wordes in *your* warraunt allso, it wilbe little worthe, and the rather because theris many devissis by hand to preguidis the presse, in the printinge of ruled paper to serve for musick, as for printinge of songes...⁶⁸

Fenlon's and Milsom's interpretation⁶⁹ of this is that Morley considered the inclusion of ruled paper pointless because there were so many ways of producing ruled paper by hand. This is a reasonable interpretation if Morley's words are read in isolation, as above. An alternative interpretation in the context of the whole letter, suggesting that he saw *some* value in ruled paper despite the ability of others to rule it by hand, could read like this: "Except for ruled paper, *unless you include the wording – 'all, every and any music' – I requested in the previous sentence regarding the scope of the music covered*, the monopoly will be worth very little, because there are many devices by hand to prejudice both the printing of paper and songs". Unlike the Tallis-Byrd patent, Morley's explicitly covers the importation of music paper, which may suggest that imported paper was on sale in England. We do not know what levy he would have charged for printing paper under his monopoly, and it would have been very difficult to control unauthorised printing, but he may have made some money from it.

⁶⁶ Fenlon and Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', 141.

⁶⁷ Lynn Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy c1590-1640', Ph.D. diss. (King's College, University of London, 1993), 329-37. See also Appendix 3.3 of this dissertation.

⁶⁸ Hatfield House, The Cecil Papers, vol. 62, item 77. Microfilm: *Lbl*, M485, reel 12.

⁶⁹ Fenlon and Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', 141.

Morley's monopoly, like Tallis's and Byrd's previously, included the following provision:

...wee do straightlye forbidd and *prohibite* all and singular other *person* and *persons* as well printers and booke sellers as all and *everye* others whatsoever, beinge either our subjectes or strangers other then the saide Thomas Morley and his assignes and his and their deputies factors and *servauntes* that they nor anye of them duringe the saide terme ... in anye manner of wise shall imprint ... nor shall bring nor cause to be brought into or within any our Realmes or dominions nor in the same shall sell utter or putto sale or cause to be soulde uttered or putt to sale or otherwise dispose any of the saide sett songe or songes in parts made or printed in anye forein contrye or anye of the saide ruled paper uppon payne of our high indignacion and displeasure ...⁷⁰

There is no evidence that Morley or his predecessors treated this as other than a protectionist clause to prevent competition from music printed abroad, although it did offer them an opportunity to develop an import business. If Morley's primary objective was to make a living from his own musical efforts, this would not have been a high priority, and possibly it was beyond his immediate competence, but perhaps his entrepreneurial spirit might have led him to turn his attention to this potential business had he lived longer.

Very little evidence survives for the number of books of any sort imported in the Elizabethan period. Brian Dietz's work on trade at the port of London in the 1560s reproduces a summary made in 1560 of the 'particular valew of certayne necessary and unnecessary wares brought into the Porte of London' in the second year of Elizabeth's reign.⁷¹ The value of 'bokes unbounde' amounts to only £813 6s 8d, alongside paper to the value of £3,304, a total for various wines of around £68,000 and even ginger worth £1,115. Total trade for the year was £643,319 18s 0d. Detailed records for individual shipments in 1567-8, transcribed by Dietz from the port books, show only one consignment of unbound books,

⁷⁰ *Lna*, C 66/1486/18.

⁷¹ Brian Dietz (ed.), *The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London: Documents*. London Record Society Publications, VIII ([Leicester]: London Record Society, 1972), 152-5.

which was imported from Rouen by the bookseller, Lucas Harrison.⁷² However, these records only include shipments on English vessels, not on those of foreign origin.⁷³ A sample taken for this study from the London port books for the period April-May 1588, including both English and alien vessels, shows a steady inward flow of commodities such as deal from Norway, feathers, woad, spices and hops; manufactured goods such as boxes, fabrics and pins; and specialist and novelty items, including armour and dolls ('children of waxe' and 'babies for children'). No books are listed, although there are two consignments of printing paper from Rouen.⁷⁴ Colin Clair documents Plantin's export trade with England and Scotland, demonstrating that he supplied maps and books on a regular basis, but little music.⁷⁵ However, the importation of books must have increased significantly towards the end of the century, since by 1600 a process and a team of officials were in place for inspecting imported books, particularly for religious and political suitability, before release from the port. Difficult cases that required vetting by the Lord Treasurer were stored in 'the Quenes store house', which was apparently 'full of the lyke bookes' in 1597.⁷⁶

The purchases made by the Cavendish family, who spent £3 13s 0d on twenty-two sets of mostly Italian vocal music, some of it second-hand, between 1599 and 1614,⁷⁷ and the bookshop stock of John Foster, a York bookseller who died in 1616, which included a set of music by Gombert and two sets of Italian songs,⁷⁸ suggest that a steady trickle, at least, of foreign music prints was imported by booksellers and offered for sale. Some of the Cavendish purchases were made whilst Morley's monopoly was active and some whilst it was

⁷² *Ibid.*, 6, item 38.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, xiv.

⁷⁴ *Lna*, E 190/8/1 and E190/8/2.

⁷⁵ Colin Clair, 'Christopher Plantin's Trade-Connexions with England and Scotland', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 14 (1959), 28-45.

⁷⁶ *Lbl*, Lansdowne MS 84, art. 29, f. 64 quoted in W. W. Greg, *A Companion to Arber* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 152.

⁷⁷ Hulse, *Musical Patronage*, 329-37.

⁷⁸ Robert Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press* (London: Nichols and Sons, 1868) (facsimile ed. York: Spelman, 1988), 361.

dormant, but there is too little information available to enable any conclusion to be reached about the impact of the monopoly on the importation of foreign music prints. It is probable that, in any case, a significant proportion of books that were imported came in privately, rather than for sale commercially. Private importation was not covered by the monopoly. Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart describe a network of people on the continent that was established by Anthony Bacon in the 1580s, centred round the Genevan Protestant community, and engaged in intelligence and the shipping of books to England. Bacon's accounts also include a payment of 25s 8d to Thomas Bodley for the carriage of two cases of books to his brother Francis.⁷⁹ In the field of music, Nicholas Yonge, in his preface to *Musica Transalpina*, describes providing his friends with books of music 'yearly sent me out of Italy and other places'.

THE BUSINESS OF PUBLISHING

Views vary on whether a composer, editor and publisher such as Morley could make money from publishing printed music in Elizabethan England. Krummel believes that 'there were no profits to be made from music publishing',⁸⁰ whilst Smith paints a picture of a 'competitive environment' and 'a livelier market than hitherto believed'.⁸¹ Publishing involved the participation of several people, each taking on one or more distinct roles and all of them hoping to make a profit from the process. The author or composer provided the text, the printer printed it, one or more booksellers distributed the book, either to other booksellers or to retail customers and in a variety of formats ranging from collated and folded sheets to fully-bound copies. Making the whole process possible was the publisher, who funded the production and took the final profit after the other participants had received their fees and

⁷⁹ Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), 84.

⁸⁰ Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 32.

⁸¹ Smith, *Thomas East*, 77.

profits. With the exception of the publisher, all the roles required specialist skills or trades; by contrast anyone who could find the money and was prepared to take a risk could be a publisher. The publication of a volume of music might therefore be funded by a bookseller, the printer, the composer himself, or occasionally possibly a third party. What a composer could make from the process therefore depended on the role he undertook.

The Composer's Income

Febvre and Martin describe how, throughout Europe until the end of the sixteenth century, authors relied on patrons for their main income from publishing.⁸² A patron to whom a volume was dedicated might be expected to pay the composer in some way for the privilege, as, for example, the five pounds received by Tobias Hume for the 'dedication', or presentation, of a copy of *Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke* to Queen Anne in 1607,⁸³ or the ten pounds paid to Thomas Vautor by the Duke of Buckingham in 1619.⁸⁴ A further illustration is provided by the evidence in the dispute between George Eastland and Thomas East over the publication of John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*. In 1600 Dowland was working at the Danish Court, but his wife remained in London. Eastland, a musician (according to legal records), of whom nothing else is known beyond his association with Dowland's *Second Booke*, decided to take on its publication, and he contracted with East to print it. Eastland paid 'Mistris Dowland for the copie of the sayd booke xx^{li} [£20] besides the halfe of the dedicacion',⁸⁵ the latter being the anticipated proceeds from the dedicatee, Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The description of this transaction suggests that payments from patrons did not take the form of committed advance support for production costs but were, rather, *ex*

⁸² Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton, trans. David Gerard (London: Verso Classics, 1997), 160-62.

⁸³ Ashbee, *Records*, iv. 198.

⁸⁴ Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 185.

⁸⁵ *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63, f. 2; East's reply to Eastland's allegation.

gratia and after the event. Whilst this is only a single example, none of the dedications in works from this period,⁸⁶ apart from that of Morley's *Consort Lessons*, acknowledges direct financial support for the work in hand. Eastland also expected to make some money by presenting copies to other potential patrons. In his evidence East's nephew and apprentice, Thomas Snodham, reports that Eastland:

sayd that he would not put the said bookes to sale before michaellmas terme laste, by reason he ment in the meane tyme to make his beste benefytt of them in bestowinge them uppon his frendes where he hoped to have good rewardes for them before they weare putt to publique sale.⁸⁷

Revenue from patronage, whilst important, was thus not ensured, leaving someone else to take the financial risk of publication. In continental Europe, printer-publishers such as Plantin in Antwerp might take on the printing costs but usually required the author to buy a large proportion of a print run, not unlike 'vanity publishing' today. Sometimes they might give the author books or other gifts. Towards the end of the century, though, booksellers started to buy manuscripts from authors for a flat fee.⁸⁸ Describing his visit to Italy in the 1550s, Whythorne commented in his autobiography that printers

... do fee the best musicians that they can retain, to the end that when they do make any new songs their printers may have the only copies of them to print ...⁸⁹

However, there are few surviving traces of this practice so early in the sixteenth century.

For his *Second Booke of Songs* Dowland received a flat fee of £20 0s 0d (plus half the anticipated reward from the dedicatee) whilst Eastland, a speculative publisher or, as he described himself, publishing out of his love for his friend Dowland,⁹⁰ took on the publication

⁸⁶ See Appendix 5.1 section c for details of all dedicatees of music printed in England between 1588 and 1639.

⁸⁷ *Lna*, REQ 2/203/4, f. 33; Snodham's deposition.

⁸⁸ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 160-62.

⁸⁹ Whythorne, *Autobiography*, 206-207.

⁹⁰ George Eastland, 'To the Curteous Reader', in John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs* (London: Eastland, 1600).

costs and expected to take the profits as well. This model, with a publisher who was not the composer, and who may or may not have been the printer, was increasingly adopted in England in the early seventeenth century, but it is not evident that it was common practice in London in the 1590s, when music printing started to flourish. At the outset it seems most likely that in England the composer took the risk and stood to gain or lose by publishing his music. This is what Byrd and Tallis had done with *Cantiones sacrae*, and it is probable that Byrd continued on this basis with the publication of his own works, which very much fulfilled his own musical and religious agendas and required a level of perfection for which a more commercial publisher might well have been loath to pay.⁹¹ John Farmer, Richard Allison and Philip Rosseter all chose to sell their publications from their own homes and advertised this on their title pages, so it is fair to assume that they were in every sense the publishers of their works.⁹² For the rest, either the composer or the printer could have paid the publication costs, or they could have shared them: it is impossible to be sure. The title page, or the prefatory material, in a majority of the music publications issued before about 1605 associates the terms ‘publish’ and ‘put into print’ with the composer’s name, and although this cannot be a foolproof indication, it strongly suggests that, in many cases, the composer funded the printing.⁹³

However, at least a small sub-set of printed music publications from the period around 1600 must have been funded by the printer. Some publications clearly had no involvement from the composer, as in the case of East’s 1598 Lassus edition; some collections by several composers, such as East’s *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, had no acknowledged editor or

⁹¹ John Milsom, ‘Tallis, Byrd and the “Incorrected Copy”: Some Cautionary Notes for Editors of Early Music Printed from Movable Type’, *Music & Letters*, 77 (1996), 348-65.

⁹² John Farmer, *Divers & Sundrie Waies of Two Parts in One* (London: [Farmer]. 1591), Richard Allison, *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (London: [Allison], 1599), Philip Rosseter and Thomas Campion, *A Booke of Ayres* (London: [Rosseter], 1601).

⁹³ Details of all music prints listed in *STC2* are given in Appendix 5.1.

compiler. On the evidence of these publications East, who had generally made his living as a trade printer or as Byrd's monopoly assign, seems to have had the means to publish on his own account on a reasonable scale, even though he was not one of the wealthier members of the Stationers' Company. As well as *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* and the Lassus volume, he must have funded his 'hidden' editions of 1594 and 1596.⁹⁴ Quite possibly the on-going sales of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* provided the cash to enable him to branch out. Barley as a bookseller, although not a printer, already had a history as a publisher before he ventured into music publishing with his 1596 volumes. The third of Morley's printers, Peter Short, had inherited the rights to Hunnis's *Seven Sobs* from Henry Denham, and printed at least three editions of it, presumably funding them himself and reaping the profit.

The Economics of Publishing

The average London print shop was a modest affair compared with the larger continental operations, such as the Officina Plantiana in Antwerp, and music printing was a particularly speculative activity before Morley and East increased the rate of publication in the mid-1590s. The cost of publishing was not trivial. Eastland claimed that it had cost him £100 0s 0d to produce Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*, a figure he later revised to 100 marks (£66 13s 8d).⁹⁵ East countered:

... and whereas the sayd Complainant alledgeth th[at] he the said complainant hath disbursed the some of one hundred poundes in the obteyninge of the sayd booke & in & aboute printing of the same, this defendant would have much marvelled that he the sayd complainant should not have forbourne to sett downe upon recorde in so honourable a courte such apparent an untruth.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ See above, pp. 155 and 159.

⁹⁵ *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63; ff. 1 & 3; Eastland's initial allegation and response to East's reply.

⁹⁶ *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63, f. 2; East's reply.

East set out his own view of Eastland's costs:

Table 4.2: Thomas East's Estimate of the Production Costs for Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*

	£	s	d
To Mistris Dowland	20	0	0
To Morley and Heybourne	9	10	0
To East for printing	10	0	0
For paper	7	16	6
For waste paper		1	0
Other payments to East's employees		4	6

Source: *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63, f. 2.

This breakdown gives a total of £47 12s 0d, amounting to 11½d a copy, whilst elsewhere in his evidence East gives a round figure of '£50 or thereabouts' and a cost per copy of 'about twelve pence a peece'.

Books went through several stages and hands before reaching the eventual retail customer. The printer or publisher sold the copies 'in the white', collated and folded but not stitched or bound. He might sell to a bookseller or a binder, or retail some or all of the copies himself. A purchasing bookseller might sell them on to another retailer or might operate his own retail business. In January 1598 the Stationers' Company fixed maximum prices per sheet at which standard books, with no illustrations or specialised printing, could be sold:

Forasmuche as diverse abuses have been of late committed by sundry persons in enhaunsinge the prices of bookes and sellinge the same at too highe and excessive rates and prices: For Remedy thereof yt is this day ordered as foloweth, viz

That all bookes beinge newe copies whiche hereafter shalbe printed without pictures, ... shall not be sold above these rates followinge viz

Those of the pica, Romane • Italica, the Inglishe. and the Romane & Italica to the same, to be sold, not above a penny for twoo sheetes....⁹⁷

Music, which was excluded from this edict, was more expensive, but Thomas East expressed the view that ‘good’ music could be bought at no more than two pence a sheet.⁹⁸ These prices were effectively retail prices for unbound books. If selling on to a bookseller in London, the printer appears to have given a discount of three shillings in the pound (15%). Manasses Vautrollier (son of the Thomas who printed *Cantiones sacrae*), giving evidence in a case in Cambridge where he was trading as a bookseller, stated that:

... the Merchantes at London doe usuallie allowe unto the stacioners there, and all those that buy bookes of them, to sell them ageine three shillings in every pownd, and soe this deponent doeth allowe unto Mr Legate and Burwell here in Cambridge when they doe buie bookes of this deponent three shillings in every pownde accordinge to the said custome.⁹⁹

Binding was generally not done until fairly late in the chain, partly to avoid unnecessary investment and, if the goods were being transported to another part of the country, to minimise carriage costs. In any case, some customers preferred to choose their own binding, so bindings might either be plain for off-the-shelf sales or be carried out to a retail customer’s specific requirements.¹⁰⁰ The East versus Eastland case provides useful information about the costs added at each stage.

At the heart of the dispute was Eastland’s accusation that East had printed five hundred extra copies and flooded the market with them, at a low price, making it impossible for Eastland to sell his own copies. The original draft agreement between the two men was for the printing of 1,000 copies, with paper for an extra 25 copies:

⁹⁷ Greg and Boswell, *Records*, 58.

⁹⁸ *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63, f. 2.

⁹⁹ Quoted in Elizabeth Leedham-Green, ‘Manasses Vautrollier in Cambridge’, in Hunt, Mandelbrote and Shell, *Book Trade and its Customers*, 17. Original is *Cambridge University Archives*, VCCourt III.2 (191).

¹⁰⁰ Mirjam M. Foot, ‘Bookbinding’, in Barnard, McKenzie and Bell, *History of the Book IV*, 621.

... for proofes & sutch Copie bookes as were accustomed to be allowed to one Mr Morly and Mr Heyborne and sutch as did worke in printinge of the same.¹⁰¹

However, before signing the agreement East asserted that the ownership of all the extra copies would lie with him, although he would be prepared to sell some of them to Eastland. This qualified version of the contract was agreed orally. In the event, 1,023 legitimate copies were produced.

Two of East's apprentices, John Wyborough and John Balls, by their own admission, ran off some additional copies, but thirty-three rather than the five hundred alleged by Eastland, so that, with the customary gift of a copy each from Eastland and another one from East, they had a private stock of thirty-six.¹⁰² Foolishly, they started to sell them before Eastland had released the legitimate ones, so that he found out, accused East of fraud and withheld payment. The two men took legal action against each other, and the evidence from the courts shows how costs accumulated at each stage between printing and eventual sale to the retail customer. East's price of two pence a sheet for music gives a notional retail price of 2s 1d for an unbound copy of the Dowland volume; applying the 15% trade discount described by Manasses Vautrollier to this produces a 'wholesale' price of 1s 8½d. Balls and Wyborough sold twenty-five copies to William Cotton, apprentice to the stationer William Leake, for 40s 0d (giving a wholesale price of 1s 7d each) and another nine to Matthew Selman (also a stationer) for 18s 0d (2s 0d each).¹⁰³ Two were sold to individual customers. William Cotton's employer, William Leake, bought the twenty-five from his apprentice, retained three for himself, which he valued at 8s 0d, and sold the other twenty-two to William Frank, a leatherseller, for 32s 0d (1s 5½d each, and less than his apprentice had paid for them). He then bought back some of them, presumably bound:

¹⁰¹ *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63, f. 2.

¹⁰² *Lna*, REQ 2/203/4, ff. 15, 17, 35.

¹⁰³ *Lna*, REQ 2/203/4, f. 23

And afterwarde by one, twoie or three at a tyme he fetched from the said Franke about the number of nyne or ten more at three shillings the peece *which weare sould in his this deponantes shope*.¹⁰⁴

The revenue of 1s 6½d per copy achieved by Frank is a little lower than the very limited surviving evidence for standard bindings. A price list from 1619 for trade bindings in calf gives a price of 2s 4d for folio books, such as Psalms and Communions, and a price of 1s 2d for the same in quarto format.¹⁰⁵ Soft leather bindings or simple paper or parchment would have been cheaper, of course. Matthew Selman bought one copy, presumably bound, from Cotton for 4s 0d.¹⁰⁶

Some records of retail prices for other music publications survive, although it is not usually possible to tell whether the volumes were bound or not. A comparison (set out in Appendix 4.2) of retail prices computed at 2d a sheet with known prices paid by the Cavendish family in the early seventeenth century demonstrates that, allowing for some of the purchases probably having been bound, East's price of 2d a sheet is probably a fair representation of the retail price of unbound music. Although these figures are drawn from purchases over a period of fourteen years, the comparison is legitimate, as book prices remained remarkably stable despite significant general price inflation.¹⁰⁷

Eastland, who, as a customer, was perhaps more used to seeing final bound prices, had set the price to be paid to him by booksellers for unbound copies at 4s 6d. East felt this was unreasonably high, stating that Eastland:

¹⁰⁴ *Lna*, REQ 2/203/4, f. 21

¹⁰⁵ Mirjam M. Foot, 'Some Bookbinders' Price Lists of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Economics of the British Booktrade 1605-1939* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985), 142.

¹⁰⁶ *Lna*, REQ 2/203/4, f. 23.

¹⁰⁷ Francis R. Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550-1640', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 5 (1950), 90.

... doth sell the sayd bookes for foure shillinges six pence a peece in quires, the booke contayninge but twelve sheetes and a halfe, to the Companie of Stacioners, albeit other musicke of as greate skill or knowledge is sould for two pence the sheete or under.¹⁰⁸

East's suggested selling price of 2d a sheet is a little over twice the production cost, and this ratio is basically the same as the formula used by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp to set the selling price of the bulk of his books.¹⁰⁹

East and other witnesses in the dispute attributed Eastland's poor sales both to the high price he had set and to his delay in putting the volume on sale as soon as it was ready, hoping that by waiting he would maximise the rewards from the dedicatee Lucy, Countess of Bedford, who 'laye farr from London'¹¹⁰ at the time, and from other recipients of presentation copies.¹¹¹ If East's view of the costs was accurate, a revenue of 1s 8½d per copy (after allowing for discounts to booksellers) would have provided Eastland with a profit of 8½-9d on each copy sold and he would have needed to sell 550-600 copies to break even. Given that Dowland's first volume of songs was reprinted in 1600, suggesting that it had sold out, this should have been achievable.

Getting the size of a print run right, for any publication, must have been very difficult, there being little past experience to work on. To get it wrong could be financially disastrous, as Barker's comments on the viability of Bynneman's dictionary monopoly suggest. If Bynneman were to print a large run of dictionaries:

...all England, Scotland and much more, were not able to utter them; and if he should print but a few of each volume, the prices should be exceeding greate, and he in more Daunger to be undone, then [sic] likely to gayne....¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63.

¹⁰⁹ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, ii. 388.

¹¹⁰ *Lna*, REQ 2/203/4, f. 41; deposition of John Balls.

¹¹¹ *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63.

¹¹² *Lbl*, Lansdowne MS 48, f.191v.

The only evidence for the size of music print runs in England in this period is East's Dowland run of 1,000. Alongside this is the fact there were still over 700 copies of *Cantiones sacrae* left eight years after it was published, suggesting a print run for that of at least 750, and probably 1,000. From the very limited surviving evidence of European music print runs in the sixteenth century, Richard Agee proposes normal print run sizes of 1,000 for lute books and other works requiring a single performer, and 500 for polyphonic works requiring the gathering together of more performers.¹¹³

Whether these print run sizes were the norm in England is impossible to know but, using East's costs, a conjectural model of publishers' potential profits for works published around 1600 can be developed and this can be used to demonstrate the impact of print run sizes on profitability. Where the composer was also the publisher, there is a further potential cost to consider. The 15% trade discount described by Manasses Vautrollier was effectively given by the publisher to the bookseller. If a composer, as publisher, asked his printer to sell his publication to a bookseller for him, it is reasonable to assume that the printer might also have required a share in the profit for doing so. In the absence of any evidence one way or the other, this has been allowed for by assuming that a composer-publisher would receive about 1½d – 75% rather than 85% – of the retail price of 2d a sheet, out of which he would need to pay the printing costs.

For example, if Dowland had financed the publication of one thousand of his *First Booke of Songes* in 1597, all of which must have sold, he might have made a profit of around £62 0s 0d after paying for the printing work. He probably also received a gift from the dedicatee, George Carey, Baron Hunsdon. Taking another publication with less 'bestseller' potential, if John Farmer had funded a thousand copies of his *First Set of English Madrigals*,

¹¹³ Richard J. Agee, 'A Venetian Music Printing Contract and Edition Size in the Sixteenth Century', *Studi musicali*, 15 (1986), 64-5.

he would have needed to sell about 340 sets to break even without any patronage income. Most of East's costs can be scaled down proportionately for smaller print runs, but arriving at a printing cost is a more speculative process. As will be seen later in this chapter,¹¹⁴ the charge for printing covered both the typesetting and the printing itself, as well as checking, collating and other overheads. Of these elements, only the printing and collating required less effort for a smaller run so that, whilst it might have cost 16s 0d (at 8s a ream) to print 1000 copies of a single sheet, the charge for 500 copies of the same sheet might reasonably have been 12s 0d, or thereabouts. At that sort of charge, Farmer would have needed to sell about 215 copies of a run of 500 to cover his costs. This demonstrates both the sorts of profit achievable from a successful volume and the sales levels required to break even. For a stationer-publisher with fewer middle-men in the process, the potential returns would have been higher and the risks a little lower.

This model can also be applied to Tallis's and Byrd's *Cantiones sacrae*, admittedly with less confidence, given the gap of twenty-five years. Doing so helps to explain its commercial failure. Applying East's rates of charge gives a production cost of £64 0s 0d for 1,000 copies (1s 3½d each), although the composers claimed in their petition to the Queen in 1577 that their loss from the monopoly was about twice that, at 200 marks (£133 13s 4d), suggesting a much higher production cost. Given the quality of the work, and other evidence of the attention to detail paid by both composers,¹¹⁵ a high production cost might be reasonable. John Milsom summarises the composers' approach from his examination of surviving copies of the part books:

Possibly, however, they spent more on the production of the book than they could realistically hope to recoup through sales. For example, stop-press corrections consumed time and therefore cost money. Additional time was needed to apply the

¹¹⁴ See below, pp. 196-8.

¹¹⁵ Milsom, 'Incorrected Copy', 359.

paste-over cancels and other corrections that had to be added to the books by hand. Although several corrections made to *CS* were essential ... many others were not ... What matters here is that someone made the decision to execute an extremely minor change, and many others like it.¹¹⁶

The appraisers of Bynneman's stock in 1583 valued the 717 copies at £44 14s 0d¹¹⁷ which, at 1s 3d each, is very close to the cost produced by applying the 'East' model. As John Barnard and Maureen Bell point out in their analysis of Bynneman's book stock, inventory assessors seem to have used their judgement about what the stock of each book could be expected to sell for in the trade. Most often their valuations represented 'a notional cost price, with some discounting depending on a number of factors ... the age of the books, the quantities remaining, and, presumably, their own view of the market'.¹¹⁸ In the case of *Cantiones sacrae*, with a large number of copies left unsold eight years after publication, it is reasonable to assume that the assessors might have marked the price down and that a higher initial cost price might be inferred from this. At a retail price of 2d a sheet, the selling price would have been 7s 6d a set and the revenue to Tallis and Byrd, before paying for printing costs, would have been 5s 8d per set. At these prices they would have needed to sell 226 copies to cover costs of £64 or proportionately more to break even on higher costs. The residue found in Bynneman's shop in 1583 suggests that they had failed to recover their costs by then. A smaller print run would have left them even more out of pocket, particularly if they spent more than 200 marks on fewer than 1,000 copies. It seems that, as well as not having a clear market, *Cantiones sacrae* was unusually expensive to produce and probably expensive for the customer to buy.

The rate at which music sold was obviously critical to the achievement of a profit from publishing. Sales of printed books of all types, not just music, were relatively slow, except

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Eccles, 'Bynneman's Books', 83.

¹¹⁸ Barnard and Bell, 'Bynneman', 14.

for very popular works, like psalms and primers. The analysis by Barnard and Bell of Bynneman's inventory suggests that the active selling life of the average book was about seven years and that it might remain on the shelves for another five.¹¹⁹ A further analysis, also by Barnard and Bell, of the 1616 inventory of John Foster looks at first and latest publication dates of identifiable works and concludes that books published from 1600 onwards formed somewhere between 35% and 91% of Foster's stock.¹²⁰ The music volumes amongst Foster's books show a spread of publication dates:

Table 4.3: Music in the Inventory of John Foster's Bookshop in York in 1616

Composer	Title	Date of publication
Dowland	<i>A Pilgrim's Solace</i>	1612
Dowland	<i>The First Booke of Songes</i> 'Five of other sortes' of folio music books	Latest imprint 1613
Weelkes	'First set'	1597?
Youll	<i>Canzonets to Three Voices</i>	1608
Allison	'Two sets' – probably <i>An Howres Recreation</i>	1606
Michael East	'Three sets' – East had published his first three collections	1604, 1606, 1610
Gombert	'One set' 'Two settes of Ittallian Songes' 'One Courtmantian with old prick songes in yt	

Sources: Davies, *Memoir*, 361; Barnard and Bell, *Foster*, Appendix 2.

Tim Carter's work on the Florentine bookseller Piero di Giuliano Morosi suggests an even longer shelf life there. Like York, Florence was not a centre for music printing, relying

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 16.

¹²⁰ John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616* (Leeds: The Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1994), 35.

instead on stock coming from elsewhere, in this case Venice. Morosi was a relatively small-scale general bookseller, aiming at the middle and lower end of the book-buying market, but with a relatively high stock of music: 175 of 950 titles in the late 1580s or early 1590s. The bulk of the music he stocked dated from the period 1550-1570; whilst it is possible that new music sold quickly and that this stock represents a residue of less saleable items, a similar pattern is also seen in larger Florentine booksellers' stocks.¹²¹

MORLEY'S PUBLISHING BUSINESS

Assuming Morley funded the publication of his compositions and editions – which, given his close association with Byrd, is likely – it is possible to arrive at an assessment of his income from publishing his works. The detailed workings are set out in Appendix 4.3, based on a print run of a thousand for each publication,¹²² the sale of the complete run for those publications known to have been reprinted during Morley's life, and, for the remainder, conservative estimated sales between publication and his death in 1602. The result is a relatively modest figure of around £258 over ten years. The position would have been less good with print runs of five hundred, because of higher unit prices and lower revenue from smaller runs of the three volumes that appear to have sold out. Morley would also have received rewards from dedicatees.

Of course, the sales figures used above are pure guesswork informed by the evidence of the relatively slow turnover of bookshop stocks discussed above; sales of an extra fifty items for each of the titles not known to have sold out would have increased Morley's profit by about £47; selling out all his prints (in runs of 1,000) would have produce total profits in

¹²¹ Tim Carter, 'Music-Selling in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence: The Bookshop of Piero di Giuliano Morosi', *Music & Letters*, 70 (1989), 487-92.

¹²² Runs of 1,000 have been chosen for all publications, notwithstanding Agee's proposed run of 500 for part books, because costs are more certain for the larger runs. It is also arguable that Morley would have chosen the higher potential profit from a larger run.

the region of £930. This last scenario is not realistic though, as sales, even of the most popular publications, took some years to accumulate and Morley died before his later volumes could possibly have sold out. Notwithstanding this uncertainty, it is likely that Morley made a steady, if unexciting, income from publishing, which would have grown had he lived longer.

If, on the other hand, Morley had chosen not to publish his own work, but had accepted a contract and fee similar to that agreed between Eastland and Dowland – assuming he could find a publisher – then he might have received £240 in fees and kept half, rather than all, his dedication money. Whether this would have been a better or worse deal very much depends on the level of sales and rewards. When petitioning Robert Cecil for the music monopoly, he claimed that Cecil's reward for the dedication of the English and Italian versions of his *First Booke of Balletts* was worth more than the money he had made from any books:

... suche thingis as I have haud imprinted of myne owne workes I have hade so smalle benefitt of them, that the bookes which I dedicattid to *your* honnore, the bountiouse reward of *your* honnore to me, was more worthe to me, then anny book or bookes what so ever...¹²³

Given the context, this statement probably needs to be treated with some caution.

Morley's Patrons

Morley chose a wider range of patrons for his music than most of his contemporaries, but this may be merely because he published more than them and needed to find more patrons. The nearest comparison is probably to Byrd, who mostly chose holders of senior court posts and members of the aristocracy (often Catholics), who could be expected to appreciate his music and to have the wherewithal to pay for the privilege of the dedication. It is not clear that Morley's choice of patron was driven purely by his assessment of the level of

¹²³ Hatfield House, The Cecil Papers, vol. 62, item 77. Microfilm: *Lbl* M485, reel 12.

monetary reward he could obtain. He seems to have focused quite specifically on what he was trying to achieve for the promotion of his business. Thus, his very first publication, the *Canzonets ... to Three Voyces*, is dedicated to Mary, Countess of Pembroke, poet, scholar and sister of the late Sir Philip Sidney, who was at the centre of amateur (albeit aristocratic) artistic activity and whose association with the volume might be expected to promote its fashionable appeal. As he built his profile at court and established himself as a publisher, Morley concentrated on major office holders, including Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Seal, Sir Robert Cecil, and George Carey, the Lord Chamberlain, before broadening his scope to include representatives of the wider market for his music amongst the gentry and the City of London. Full details of the dedicatees of Morley's publications are given in Appendix 4.4. Even his unusual, and very personal, dedication to Byrd of *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* was surely designed to give his work credibility, while at the same time offering a tribute to his colleague and mentor.

The Psalter

Despite the energy Morley put into the publication of light secular music, he clearly saw the publication of psalm settings for the mass market as key to his business success. He had tried to improve the wording of his patent to make it easier to include settings of the psalter within its scope, but had failed.¹²⁴ East had also been well aware of the profit to be made from publishing psalms, but had done it discreetly, first by testing the water in 1587 when, on 6 November, he tentatively registered *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (carefully omitting the word 'psalms') with the Stationers' Company:

¹²⁴ See above, pp. 162-4.

Receaved of [Thomas East]... for printing. Bassus, sonnettes and songes made into musicke for five partes: By William Burd &c

Provided always that this entrance shalbe void if it be hurtfull to any privilege &c ¹¹²

This was followed by Daman's *Former* and *Second Booke of Musicke* and then by East's version of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, which had new settings by a range of composers and included all the psalms for the first time. It appears that he was not challenged, possibly because the musical settings were more complex than those published under Day's monopoly and therefore less directly in competition, but probably also because he had been careful not to issue an overt challenge himself. It is almost inconceivable that no one with an interest in the psalter monopoly noticed what he was doing, as his first run of the book sold out in two years and he reprinted it 1594.

There was undoubtedly a genuine, and unresolved, overlap between Morley's music patent and Day's for psalters with music. Morley had the rights to all music in parts, in any language, for use in church or chamber, whilst Day had the rights to musical settings of metrical psalms. Unlike East, Morley was keen to establish formal rights to the psalter and launched an outright challenge to Richard Day by authorising the publication of two psalters under his patent in 1599. One was a cannibalised pocket version of East's *Whole Booke* by Barley, with a number of new settings, some of which Morley provided, and the other was Allison's *Psalmes of David in Meter*, with instrumental accompaniment. In the latter, Morley printed a summary of his patent, effectively throwing down a gauntlet to Day. In 1592 East had seen a way to make some money out of his own version of the psalter but had made no attempt to clarify or extend the scope of Byrd's music monopoly; Morley's action, though, threatened Day's future income. Inevitably, this led to a legal battle, for which most of the documentation no longer survives. The two men could not even agree where their case

¹²⁵ Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 477.

should be held. The Bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, wrote about the case to Sir Robert Cecil on 18 October 1599:

May it please *your honour*

According to her majesties pleasure signified unto me by *your honour*: I have dealt with Mr Morley and Mr Day concerninge the question betwixt them about printinge: but I can in no wise agree them, bothe of them standing *peremptorilye* upon the validation of their severall letters patentes from her highnes: *which* Mr Morley sayth, the comon lawe must decyde, and Mr Day will have the matter determined by the Lordes in the Starrchamber The severall wordes of their grauntes where upon they relye are here inclosed. And so, resting alwayes to be disposed of by *your honour*, I commit *you* with my verie hartful comendations unto the trinitie of allmightie god. At my house in London this 28 of octobris 1599.

Your honors assured lovinge frende to command. Ric. London¹²⁶

Smith argues that Morley's preference for common law would have enabled him to cite East's earlier activities as precedents for his own.¹²⁷ Krummel explains the protagonists' choice of court thus: 'Common law at this time was usually the place to challenge and to change a possession; the Star Chamber was the place to affirm it'.¹²⁸ Although no further records survive, it appears that Morley must have lost, since no more psalm collections were published under the auspices of his monopoly.

MORLEY'S PRINTING BUSINESS

The failure of the case over the psalter must have been a significant blow to Morley's plans, as it would have brought in far more revenue, just in monopoly fees, than anything else that he might have contemplated undertaking in the sphere of music publishing. He was, however, engaged in a further new enterprise, which probably also depended crucially for its success on the psalter. In 1599 he and William Barley entered into a business arrangement together and set up a printing operation at Little St Helens (now St Helens Place) in Bishopsgate.

¹²⁶ Hatfield House, The Cecil Papers, vol. 74, item 38. Microfilm: *Lbl M485*, reel 14.

¹²⁷ Smith, *Thomas East*, 93.

¹²⁸ Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 24-25.

Morley and his wife Susan had been living in the parish of St Helen Bishopsgate since at least 1596, and three children were born there. Although Dart and Harley respectively speculate that Susan must have married Morley in 1587 or 1589,¹²⁹ the long gap between the burial of his son Thomas at St Giles Cripplegate in 1589¹³⁰ and the birth of the three children at St Helen's between 1596 and 1600 suggests that Susan was Morley's second wife. This is further borne out by the dedication, in 1595, of his *First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces* to Lady Peryam, who, it appears, had recently been Susan's employer:

Loe heere, most worthy Ladie these Canzonets of mine like two wayting maydes desiring to attend upon you; destined by my Wife (even beefore they were borne) unto your Ladships service. Not that for any great good or bewtie in them shée thought them worthy of you: but that not being able as heretofore still to serve you; shée would that these therefore with their presence should make good &c supply that hir absence.

Lady Elizabeth Peryam was a daughter of Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper until his death in 1579. She had been widowed by her second husband, Sir Henry Neville, in 1593 and had subsequently married Sir William Peryam, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. She was also half-sister to Anthony and Francis Bacon. John Harley has demonstrated that she was the Lady Neville whose name appears on a manuscript collection of keyboard music by Byrd, *My Ladye Nevells Book*.¹³¹

The christening of Frances Morley, daughter of Thomas Morley, musician, was recorded in the parish registers of St Helen Bishopsgate on 19 August 1596.¹³² Unfortunately she died in infancy and was buried in the church on 9 February 1599. The parish accounts include the following record:

¹²⁹ Thurston Dart, 'Foreword', in Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R. Alec Harman (London: Dent, 1966), xvii; John Harley, "'My Lady Nevell' Revealed', *Music & Letters*, 86 (2005), 8.

¹³⁰ See Chapter 1, p. 45.

¹³¹ Harley, "'My Lady Nevell' Revealed', 1-15.

¹³² *London, Guildhall Library*, MS 06830/1, f. 16.

The accompte of John Alsopp and Christopher Eland churchwardens of the Parische of St Hellen within Bishopsgate ... Michaelmas Anno domino 1598 untill Michaelmas Anno domino 1599.

Casual Receipts

Item for the grounde and knill [knell] for Mr Morleys childe xis viiid¹³³

Two further children of ‘Thomas Morley, gentleman, and his wife Susan’ were christened at St Helen’s: Christopher on 26 August 1599¹³⁴ and Anne on 28 July the following year.¹³⁵ Morley’s presence in the parish was also recorded in a subsidy role of 1598, along with William Shakespeare.¹³⁶ Like Shakespeare, his movable goods were valued for tax purposes at £5 0s 0d, placing him at about the mid-point of those in the parish wealthy enough to be liable to pay the subsidy. Almost half those listed had goods valued at £3 0s 0d, whilst at the upper end there were valuations of £30 0s 0d and £40 0s 0d, with a few people valued on their property instead.

Setting up a Print Shop

There are no formal records of the nature of Morley’s and Barley’s business relationship. However, several publications are described as printed by Barley at Little St Helens, but available for sale at his shop in Gracious Street (Gracechurch Street). Later, in 1601, the printer of Carleton’s *Madrigals to Five Voyces* is shown as Thomas Morley, dwelling in Little St Helens. This certainly suggests that the two men operated a printing press at, or very close to, Morley’s house. Miriam Miller, in her article on William Barley for *Grove*, asserts that the Morley-Barley publications ‘cannot all have been printed by the same man or on the same press’ and that ‘the six volumes published in 1599 show every sign of

¹³³ London, Guildhall Library, MS 06836, f. 60v.

¹³⁴ London, Guildhall Library, MS 06830/1, f. 18; MS 06831.

¹³⁵ London, Guildhall Library, MS 06830/1, f. 20; MS 06831.

¹³⁶ Lna, E 179/146/369, rot. 12.

having been farmed out to different presses'.¹³⁷ As a publisher, but not a printer, it was Barley's practice to use a generally unnamed trade printer and merely to indicate that the book was available at his shop. It is difficult to understand, therefore, why he and Morley should have claimed that the volumes were printed at Little St Helens if this were not the case. There was no obvious commercial benefit in making such a claim. In all, there are eight publications, set out in Table 4.4, associated with Barley, Morley and Little St Helens.

Table 4.4: Publications associated with Barley, Morley and Little St Helens

Year	Composer	Title	Printer	Where printed	Where sold
1599	Allison	<i>Psalmes of David</i>	Barley as Morley's assign	Not stated	Allison's House
1599		<i>Whole Booke of Psalmes</i>	Barley as Morley's assign	Little St Helens	Gratious St
1599	Morley	<i>Consort Lessons</i>	Barley as Morley's assign	Little St Helens	Gratious St
1599	Bennet	<i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces</i>	Barley as Morley's assign	Little St Helens	Gratious St
1599	Farmer	<i>First Set of English Madrigals</i>	Barley as Morley's assign	Little St Helens	Gratious St
1599	Holborne	<i>Pavans, Galliards ...</i>	Barley as Morley's assign	Little St Helens	Gratious St
1600	Morley	<i>First Booke of Ayres</i>	Barley as Morley's assign	Little St Helens	Gratious St
1601	Carleton	<i>Madrigals to Five Voyces</i>	Morley	Little St Helens	Not stated

Miller's observations seem to have been based primarily on the quality of the work, rather than on typographical differences. In her 1969 dissertation she does not refer to the use

¹³⁷ Miriam Miller and Jeremy L. Smith, 'Barley, William', *Grove Music Online* [online resource], (Oxford University Press, 2007-2010) www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02074, accessed 21 June 2010.

of different presses, but only to the probable employment of several printers.¹³⁸ Krummel demonstrates that all the Little St Helens prints except *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, which is in a smaller format and has a smaller type face, use the same type fount, which appeared for the first time in these prints.¹³⁹ This indicates an investment in type face, at least, on the part of Barley and Morley. Of the larger format volumes, Allison's *Psalmes of David in Meter* stands out from the others in terms of the cleanness and precision of its presentation, but there are nevertheless many points of similarity between it and the other volumes, including the type face. This is the one volume that is not described as having been printed at Little St Helens: it could have been printed elsewhere, using the fount purchased by Morley and Barley, perhaps before they had their own press in operation.

Morley had decried Barley's *The Pathway to Musicke* in his own *Plaine and Easie Introduction*,¹⁴⁰ and the standard of the music printing previously commissioned by Barley had been poor. Nevertheless, at the point when Morley started his own printing business, he would have needed someone with experience. Although Barley was not a printer himself, he had commissioned, overseen and sold a range of publications during the twelve years since gaining his freedom as a draper¹⁴¹ and would have known where to buy paper and hire printers and experienced journeymen. His rapid move to exploit the end of the Byrd monopoly suggests both business acumen and knowledge of the market. It is, of course, possible that the business partnership was Barley's idea and that he approached Morley. Barley had the advantage for Morley that he was not a member of the Stationers' Company and would therefore neither be bound by, nor be able to claim the protection of, its restrictive

¹³⁸ Miriam Miller, 'London Music Printing c.1570- c.1640', thesis presented for Fellowship of the Library Association, 1969, 87-9.

¹³⁹ Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 86.

¹⁴⁰ Annotations to Part One, unnumbered in original; Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. Harman, 130-31.

¹⁴¹ Johnson, 'William Barley', 18.

practices; this offered Morley the prospect of a return from future reprints of at least some of his works.

In order to set up as printers Morley and Barley would have needed a printing press. Tight controls over the number of presses and who could operate them were introduced in 1586 by a Star Chamber decree, which stipulated also that only nominated freemen of the Stationers' Company would in future be allowed to set up new presses.¹⁴² The Company actively pursued offenders, and Barley had been prosecuted for commissioning the printing of material on what the Stationers viewed as an unlicensed press, run by Simon Stafford, a member of the Drapers' Company, in the previous year.¹⁴³ However, the Stationers were not completely successful, and in this case the printer eventually had his press and other equipment returned, when it was agreed that he could transfer to the Stationers. It is difficult to envisage Morley and Barley, neither of them freemen of the Stationers' Company, acquiring a press knowing that it was likely to be seized, and then, having done so, advertising its whereabouts. This suggests that Morley and Barley were able to argue that their press would only be used for producing music under the terms of composer's patent, putting it outside the jurisdiction of the livery company. Certainly, there is no evidence of any action taken against Morley and Barley over possession of a printing press.

The evidence of other printers' accounts and inventories, both in England and in continental Europe, shows that the press itself was a relatively low-cost item. Bynneman's inventory of 1583, for instance, lists and values his printing equipment as well as his stock of books. The printing equipment accounts for just under a sixth of the total value of his movable goods, and three printing presses together make up only an eighth (12.5%) of that

¹⁴² Gerald D. Johnson, 'The Stationers Versus the Drapers: Control of the Press in the Late Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, Sixth Series, 10 (1988), 3. Also Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 807-12.

¹⁴³ Johnson, 'William Barley', 14; see also Cyril Bathurst Judge, *Elizabethan Book-Pirates. Harvard Studies in English*, VIII (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1934).

sixth,¹⁴⁴ being valued at £13 6s 8d for the three, or an average of £4 8s 11d each. The remaining value of the equipment was in type (77%) and typesetting materials (10.5%). The low cost of a press compared with that of type probably reflects both the relatively low cost of the wood from which it was made, compared with the metal needed for the type, and the different levels of skill required to make them. The inventory taken in Antwerp after the death of Christophe Plantin in 1589 lists ten presses at a value of 500fl, or 50fl each, the equivalent of a third of a year's wages for a compositor or pressman, according to Voet, although on average a new press cost between 50 and 60fl.¹⁴⁵ Applying English wage rates of one shilling a day¹⁴⁶ to this formula produces a price for a press of £5 2s 0d, not very different from the valuation of Bynneman's presses. Morley and Barley might therefore have spent five or six pounds on a press; it is unlikely that they started with more than one, given their specialised market and the volume of their surviving output.

Other equipment also was required:

....the compositors used type-cases, composing sticks, galleys, visorums and chases. The pressmen required rather more equipment: the presses themselves and all that appertained to them, ink balls, basins and troughs for moistening the paper, lye-troughs for washing the forms. There also had to be a sufficient number of trays, boxes, trestles, and table-tops to hand in the printing shop, not to mention such items as hammers, saws, ladders, and so on.¹⁴⁷

On the evidence of the Plantin business, none of these items was individually very expensive,¹⁴⁸ but all needed to be acquired and sufficient space had to be provided in which to work. The cost of furnishing a press in London in the late 1590s was estimated at £20 in a bill of complaint to the Star Chamber in June 1598 by Simon Stafford, whose printing equipment was confiscated by the Stationers' Company in the case referred to above.

¹⁴⁴ Barnard and Bell, 'Bynneman', 17.

¹⁴⁵ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, ii. 132.

¹⁴⁶ See below, pp. 198-9.

¹⁴⁷ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, ii. 32.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 40-153.

[Stafford]...did furnish himselfe to his very great Costes and Charges with presse, cases, Chases frisketes composinge stickes, gallyes, flowers, letters and all other necessary implementes tooles and instruments meete and necessary for the sayd Trade or mistery of printinge...¹⁴⁹

Stafford complained that the Stationers' representatives:

...ded forcibly and riotously take and Cary away... your sayd subjectes printinge *lettres* together with diverse other tooles and instrumentes to the value of xx^{tie} pounds [£20] or theraboutes ...¹⁵⁰

The largest part of this outlay would have been for type. Bynneman's type was valued at six times that of his presses, for example.¹⁵¹ Whilst Barley and Morley would not have required the range of text founts owned by Bynneman, which included Hebrew and Greek, they would have needed normal text founts in a range of typefaces and sizes, as well as music type. Morley may have been persuaded that Barley had a suitable music fount, but it was too small for part books and only suitable for ballads and smaller format psalm books, so they must have had to commission or buy one.¹⁵² Allison's *Psalmes of David in Meter* and two of the Little St Helens publications include lute or cittern tablature, which required further specialist type.

The Printing Process

Morley and Barley would have required skilled labour to operate the press. Generally, one press in a full-time commercial operation required four or five people to keep it working optimally: two compositors, two pressmen and an apprentice to run errands.¹⁵³ On top of this, in big firms there would have been a chief compositor, who oversaw the operation and did the initial checking of proofs. At the *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerp the pressmen were

¹⁴⁹ *Lna*, STAC 5/S7/22; also quoted in Judge, *Elizabethan Book-pirates*, 166.

¹⁵⁰ *Lna*, STAC 5/S7/22.

¹⁵¹ Barnard and Bell, 'Bynneman', 7.

¹⁵² Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 86.

¹⁵³ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 130.

expected to produce 1,250 sheets, printed on both sides, each day from a single press – about three impressions a minute, with one man inking and the other manipulating the paper and operating the press handle. Two compositors were required to keep up this pace.¹⁵⁴ Febvre and Martin suggest that the master of a smaller company with one or two presses would not necessarily have been able to provide regular employment at this level and might have operated with one or two journeymen, carrying out some of the work himself and using family members as well, when necessary.¹⁵⁵

R. B. McKerrow, drawing on evidence of print production times in England later in the seventeenth century, assessed the business of Edward Allde, who was predominantly a trade printer, and concluded that the maximum achievable output from an expert compositor, working under extreme pressure was one sheet (both sides) a day. This is twice the normal rate at Officina Platiniana and presumably could not have been sustained on a regular basis. McKerrow's estimate for a press operated by two men was between 500 and 1000 sheets a day.¹⁵⁶

East registered Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs* with the Stationer's Company on Saturday 15 July 1600.¹⁵⁷ To do this he needed to be in possession of the manuscript. It is, of course, possible that work on the printing had already started, but assuming that this was not the case (not least because the manuscript would have been needed by the compositor) then printing took a maximum of fourteen working days, since it was complete by Wednesday 2 August.¹⁵⁸ East claimed that it took him and 'his servants' a week to gather, collate, and

¹⁵⁴ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, ii. 326 and 333-4.

¹⁵⁵ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 131.

¹⁵⁶ R. B. McKerrow, 'Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer', *The Library*, Fourth Series, 10 (1929), 41-5.

¹⁵⁷ Dowling, 'Dowland's *Second Book*', 369.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 370.

correct four last-minute errors,¹⁵⁹ some of which work could have started, of course, whilst the printing continued. Allowing for this, he probably printed the volume in about ten days. The book comprises 12.5 sheets and 1,023 copies were produced, so would also have taken ten days on one press at the Officina Plantiniana. At least three apprentices (John Wyborough, John Balls and Thomas Snodham) along with East himself, his wife, Lucretia, and his cousin, Alexander, were actively engaged in producing the Dowland print, and possibly one or more of his household servants too.¹⁶⁰ It seems, therefore, that East was able to achieve a similar output to Plantin's operation, either using four or five people on one press or working less optimally on two.

As an approximate guide, therefore, both in Antwerp and in London one press could produce a complete run of 1,000 copies of one sheet a day, but would usually require two compositors, as well as two pressmen and some supervision and support, to achieve this. During their first year, 1599, Barley and Morley produced five publications on their press, assuming the Allison volume was printed elsewhere. At the sort of manning and output levels described above, this would have taken eighty-four days to set and up to eighty-four days to print, depending on the print run. There is no indication of how early in the year the operation was up and running, but they could have managed this volume of printing in about four months with two compositors and two press men, although the latter might not have been fully occupied by this work if the runs had been of five hundred copies rather than one thousand. A potential time-filler for the pressmen might have been the production of ruled music manuscript paper, which would have required very little skill or effort to set up for each run. As it came within the remit of the music monopoly, it would be surprising if Morley and Barley failed to print any music paper on their new press. It would have been an easier way

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 374.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 369, 375, 377; Smith, *Thomas East*, 15.

to exploit this aspect of the monopoly than by trying to collect fees from other printers of ruled paper. It is clear, too, from the blank staves in prints such as Morley's *Ayres*, that they possessed the necessary type pieces to produce lined paper. There is also some evidence that Barley sold music paper: an inventory of Barley's shop stock in 1601 includes sixteen quires of lined paper, which was probably for music.¹⁶¹

Taking the printing of music together with that of music paper, it is possible to envisage an operation that could be run efficiently with four staff. It could, of course, be that they had a larger or a smaller establishment, but there is no formal record of their employees. Lavin has shown from the use of ornamental type pieces that a printer called Henry Ballard, who had been apprenticed to Richard Tottell and was a freeman of the Stationers' Company, printed Holborne's volume and Morley's *Consort Lessons* for Barley and Morley. As both volumes are described on the title page as having been printed at Little St Helens, it is reasonable to assume that Ballard was employed there, at least on an irregular basis, and probably printed some of their other output in 1599, too.¹⁶² As well as Henry Ballard, another stationer and printer, Anthony Higgens, who was cited with Morley over the publication of an unsuitable ballad in 1600,¹⁶³ may have been an employee, although not necessarily simultaneously with Ballard.

Plantin's most skilled men were paid piece rates and their earnings were broadly equivalent to those of skilled workers such as master masons.¹⁶⁴ If the same were true in England, then we could expect printers to be earning between 12d and 18d a day. This assumption is based on analysis carried out by Jan Luiten van Zanden of the wages of carpenters and labourers, building on previous work by Rogers and by Phelps Brown and

¹⁶¹ London, Metropolitan Archives, CLA/024/02/026, item 46.

¹⁶² Lavin, 'William Barley', 217; Johnson, 'William Barley', 43.

¹⁶³ See below, pp. 207-8.

¹⁶⁴ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, ii. 341.

Hopkins.¹⁶⁵ Whilst the average skilled carpenter's wage in southern England was around 12d a day in 1600, wages in London had risen to 18d for carpenters and 12d for labourers. A few examples of rather lower wages for newly freed printers from around 1570-1580 are recorded by Greg and Boswell but are not directly comparable, as the individuals concerned also received payment in kind, in the form of meat, drink, lodging and washing.¹⁶⁶ The value of these made up a significant element of a man's wages.¹⁶⁷

Proofs of each sheet had to be checked against the manuscript copy and corrected before the main run was printed. Big companies such as Plantin in Antwerp employed staff proof-readers,¹⁶⁸ but in smaller continental operations, and in most London print shops, the proprietor or members of his family did this.¹⁶⁹ Music proof-reading is more specialised than text, though, and may have required specialist correctors. Byrd checked his own works, as he acknowledged in his preface to *Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs*:

In the expressing of these songs, either by voyces or Instruments, if there happen to be any jarre or dissonance, blame not the Printer, who (I doe assure thee) through his great paines and diligence, doth heere deliver to thee a perfect and true Coppie.

It is possible that the same applied to the bulk of pieces published by composers in London in the 1590s. On the other hand, East must have taken responsibility for proof-reading the handful of volumes he published himself, either by doing the job personally or by hiring someone. In the case of Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*, with Dowland abroad and Eastland temporarily away, John Wilbye and Edward Johnson seem to have taken on this role:

¹⁶⁵ Jan Luiten van Zanden, *Wages and the Cost of Living in Southern England (London) 1450-1700*, (International Institute of Social History, last updated 7 August 2008) www.iisg.nl/hpw/dover.php, accessed 14 May 2009.

¹⁶⁶ Greg and Boswell, *Records*, 3, and 12.

¹⁶⁷ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, ii. 180-1 and 336.

¹⁶⁸ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, ii. 174.

¹⁶⁹ Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 137.

...the sayd complainant [Eastland] beinge to goe forth of the towne, lefte the same booke with one Edward Johnson & John Wilbye gentleman to peruse and correct....¹⁷⁰

The same approach probably applied at the Little St Helens business, with composers (including Morley) proof-reading their own publications. It is possible that Morley took on some additional proof-reading for his clients, as he was on, or very near, the premises, but it certainly seems unlikely that he would have needed to employ anyone in this role.

Financial Returns from Printing

For printing the Dowland volume, East charged Eastland 8s 0d a ream, which amounts to 16s 0d for a thousand copies (two reams), of both sides of a single sheet. If he used five people to produce a complete run of a sheet in a day, then the composing and printing labour costs were about 2s 6d a ream (at average labouring rates of 12d a day), or up to 3s 9d (if he was obliged to pay more). He would have had other overheads, including collating and folding, ink and the depreciation of his equipment, which are harder to price, but that would still have left a considerable profit margin, perhaps as much as one hundred percent. There is no analogous evidence for a print run of five hundred, but the labour required would be proportionately higher than for a larger run, because the composition effort (two people for a day for each sheet) would be the same regardless of the run size. Assuming the process could be run efficiently, three-and-a-half to four people would have been needed to produce 500 copies of a single sheet, resulting in a cost of at least 3s 6d a ream at average rates.

The purchase of paper was a major outlay, often amounting to as much as the labour costs. East's charges to Eastland included £10 0s 0d for labour and £7 16s 6d for paper, whilst a contract made much earlier in Rome, in 1526, for the printing of a volume entitled *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra* shows that paper amounted to 10 ducats out of a

¹⁷⁰ *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63, f. 2.

total cost of 27 ducats.¹⁷¹ Febvre and Martin suggest that if the quality was good paper generally cost more than the labour.¹⁷²

If the publisher paid for the paper, and Morley and Barley charged 8s 0d a ream for printing (taking half of that as profit), their net profit in 1599 for printing four publications (excluding the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*) in runs of 1,000 at Little St Helens might have been about £31 0s 0d, as set out in Table 4.5. Morley's *Consort Lessons* is included in the calculation, as it was paid for by an anonymous gentleman (possibly Richard Allison).¹⁷³ This is a modest return for the cost – perhaps £20 0s 0d – and effort involved in setting up the business.

Table 4.5: Estimated Profit in 1599 from the Little St Helens Printing Business

	Printing charge		
	£	s	d
Morley, <i>First Booke of Consort Lessons</i>	24	0	0
Bennett, <i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces</i>	9	12	0
Farmer, <i>First Set of English Madrigals</i>	11	4	0
Holborne, <i>Pavans, Galliards ...</i>	18	0	0
Totals for 1599	62	16	0
Profit (assumed at 50% of printing charge)	31	8	0

Additionally, they would have received some income from the printing of Allison's *Psalmes*, a substantial volume of 150 pages, even if it was carried out on someone else's press using their music fount. If they had printed it themselves, this would have brought in a further £15 0s 0d.

¹⁷¹ Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Printing Contract for the *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra* (Rome, 1526)', *Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), 347.

¹⁷² Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 113-114.

¹⁷³ Sidney Beck (ed.), 'Introduction', in *The First Book of Consort Lessons Collected by Thomas Morley 1599 & 1611* (New York: Peters for New York Public Library, 1959), 2.

It appears that a reasonable profit could be made by printing lined music paper. Surviving evidence suggests that in the early part of the seventeenth century music paper retailed at about 12s 0d a ream unstitched and unbound.¹⁷⁴ Two pressmen could produce two reams a day with minimal compositor input, so at a wage of 12d a day the labour cost for producing each ream was also 12d. The biggest remaining cost was the paper. East's paper for the Dowland print cost 6s 0d a ream, but other evidence suggests that Crown (the size of paper generally used for music prints at this time) was available at around 4s 6d a ream.¹⁷⁵ Using the cheaper paper, allowing for some overheads and a 15% trade discount for paper sold on to a bookseller (1s 10d on 12s 0d), the profit might be between 3s 0d and 4s 0d per ream.

Thwarted Ambition?

Whilst Morley and Barley had the makings of a modestly successful music printing business, their main reason for starting it must have lain with the psalter. Barley's smaller format, modified version of East's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* may well have been the first volume produced at Little St Helens, as it used the small music fount to which Barley already had access. Originating costs for Barley's psalter would have been very low, as most of the contents were copied, as demonstrated by Illing, from two editions of East's version, with a few new settings by Morley and Bennet.¹⁷⁶ High sales could be anticipated. The successful sale of an initial run of 1,500 copies (the largest run possible without running into regulatory difficulties) would have brought in £225 0s 0d, assuming they sold them all retail from Barley's shop. Since production costs would probably have been less than £30 0s 0d, there would have been sufficient revenue from one print run to cover all the capital costs of the

¹⁷⁴ Hulse, 'Musical Patronage', 329-337; Davies, *Memoir*, 371.

¹⁷⁵ John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in Barnard, McKenzie and Bells (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book, IV*, 588.

¹⁷⁶ Robert Illing, 'Barley's Pocket Edition of Est's Metrical Psalter', *Music & Letters*, 49 (1968), 220.

print shop and give them both a very substantial profit. Selling on to third-party stationers would have reduced this profit by up to 15%, but the production would still have made a good deal of money.

However, the primary reason for printing the *Psalmes* themselves - as having them printed by someone else might have added only another £11 to their costs - was almost certainly that Morley and Barley were unable to ask anyone else to do it. John Windet, who was operating Day's monopoly, could hardly have been approached; East would surely not have agreed to print a plagiarised version of his own, admittedly unregistered, publication, and both he and Short would probably have been wary of the situation over the monopoly. Morley and Barley must have anticipated further lucrative reprints, with all their overheads already covered, but their enterprise foundered because Morley tried to regularise their position by claiming the right to print psalm settings under his monopoly. The extent to which this debacle resulted in financial disaster for Morley and Barley must have depended upon whether, on what appears to have been the loss of the case, the stock of their psalters was seized and destroyed and, if so, how many they had managed to sell before this happened. The fact that Barley and Morley were able to continue to print at Little St Helens in 1600 and 1601 suggests that their equipment was not seized and that there was some degree of compromise in the outcome of the dispute.

A Return to Working with East and Short

Apart from an undated reissue by East of Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs*, which Smith places in 1599,¹⁷⁷ the only music printed in London that year - the first full year of Morley's monopoly - was by Morley and Barley. However, in 1600 the situation changed. Morley seems to have entered into contractual arrangements with both Short and East,

¹⁷⁷ Smith, *Thomas East*, 135.

designating them his assigns and allowing them to source and print music. In his evidence in the dispute with Eastland, East states that he was authorised in an indenture dated 19 May 1600 to operate the monopoly:

... the sayd Thomas Morley, with the concente of Christopher Heybourne of London *gentleman* hath licenced and authorised this *defendant* by his writinge Indented under his hand and seale bearing date the xixth day of Maye in the two & fourty yere of the Queenes *Majesties* Reigne, to printe or cause to be imprinted, & sell to his best advantage any and as many sett songs as he this *defendant* hath or can *procure* ether to singe or play for and duringe the terme of three whole yeres nexte and immediatlye following the date of the sayd indenture ...¹⁷⁸

There is no surviving reference to a corresponding agreement between Morley and Short, but Short acknowledged Morley's monopoly on all his prints from 1600 onwards, either describing himself as Morley's assign or recording that he printed with 'the assent of Thomas Morley'. His last music print, published after Morley's death and before he himself died in 1603, was Dowland's *Third and Last Booke of Songs*. This has a more explicit form of words: 'By the assignement of a Patent granted to T. Morley'.

There are several reasons why Morley might have adopted this course of action, rather than trying to continue to make a modest profit from printing as much as possible at Little St Helens. The most compelling of these is probably a demand for reprints of several popular volumes, including his *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces* and *First Booke of Balletts*, and Dowland's *First Booke of Songes*. The registration of these works with the Stationers' Company meant that only East and Short, respectively, could reprint them, although they could not do so without Morley's agreement. Why Morley went beyond just agreeing to these reprints is less clear. It may be that East and Short struck a hard bargain, or that Morley was too busy or unwell to seek out new work to publish, a task that Barley would not have been well equipped to achieve. Morley makes references from 1597 onwards to his health, which

¹⁷⁸ *Lna*, REQ 2/202/63, f. 2.

seems to have been sufficiently poor to keep him at home. In his preface to *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, in 1597, explaining why he undertook the work, he says:

Lastly, the solitarie life which I lead (being compelled to keepe at home) caused mee be glad to finde any thing wherein to keepe my selfe exercised for the benefite of my contrie.¹⁷⁹

Illness was certainly on Morley's mind in 1597 as he wrote his text; his fictional, but probably autobiographical, music master reports on his health before there is any discussion of music:

My health, since you sawe mee, hath beene so badd, as if it had beene the pleasure of him who may all things, to have taken me out of the worlde, I should have beene verie well contented: and have wished it more than once.¹⁸⁰

Later, in *The First Booke of Ayres*, of 1600, he comments:

Two causes mooved me hereunto; the first to satisfie the world of my no idle howers (though both Gods visitation in sicknesse, and troubles in the world, by sutes in Law have kept me busied.)¹⁸¹

Three lists of Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal who, as servants of the queen, were excused paying the Lay Subsidy, survive from 1593, 1598 and 1602.¹⁸² Each of these includes Thomas Morley, indicating his continued employment by the chapel. There are also entries in the Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, recording agreed procedures and appointments that are witnessed by those Gentlemen present on the occasion. Morley's signature appears only in 1592, the year in which he was appointed. The Chapel operated a two-team system, with half the Gentlemen present at a time,¹⁸³ but this would not seem to account entirely for Morley's non-appearance amongst the other signatories. Whilst no clear pattern of shift-working is discernible from the surviving records, none of the other singers appointed in the 1590s has a similar absence record. Only some of the older, permanently absent members,

¹⁷⁹ Morley, *Introduction*, 'To the Curteous Reader'.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁸¹ Morley, *The First Booke of Ayres* (London, Morley, 1600), 'To the Reader'.

¹⁸² Transcribed in Ashbee, *Records*, vi. 62, 68 and 73.

¹⁸³ See Chapter 2, p. 92.

such as William Byrd, are less visible than Morley. This absence may well support his comments about his poor health.

The End of the Little St Helens Operation

Assigning the monopoly to East and Short would inevitably have reduced the potential music printing opportunities for Little St Helens, and the business faded almost as soon as it had flowered. Morley had his *First Booke of Ayres* printed there in 1600 and seems then to have put his efforts into assembling *The Triumphes of Oriana*, which was printed by East.

Barley probably continued to find work for the Little St Helens operation, as it seems that he and Morley used the protection of the monopoly to move into printing ballads with music, which would have been quick and cheap to produce and easy to sell in volume. It was an area in which Barley had previous experience, too; in August 1595, he had been fined by the Stationers' Company for publishing unlicensed ballads.¹⁸⁴ The only surviving example is Deloney's *Strange Histories*, published in 1601 by Barley. It is described as printed by William Barley, 'the assigne of T. M.', but there is no indication that it was printed at Little St Helens. However, there is evidence of Morley's own involvement in ballad printing the previous year when, on 4 May, the Privy Council issued a warrant for the suppression of a ballad:

A warrant to the Master and wardens of the Company of Stationers in London. Whereas wee understand that there is printed and published by Anthony Higgens, Thomas Morley and others printers in London under colour of their priviledg, a certaine Pamphlett or Ballade towching the death of William Doddington, esquire, which Pamphlett or any other of like sort wee thincke verie unmeete to be published; wee do therefore hereby will and require you by vertue of this *our* warrant foorthwith to make dilligent search and enquirie for all the said Pamphlettes or Ballades imprinted, and them to take into *your* custodie and deliver to Mr. Doctor Stanhope; And if any partie or parties having any of the said Ballades or Pamphlettes in their hands shall refuse to deliver them, you shall likewise by vertue of this *our* warrant bring them before me, the Lord Archbishop of Canterburie to be ordered therein as

¹⁸⁴ Johnson, 'William Barley', 13; Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 823.

there shalbe cause; *which* to performe you may not faile. And this shalbe your warrant in that behalf.¹⁸⁵

Under the terms of the Star Chamber decree of 1586¹⁸⁶ the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London was required to approve the content of many classes of publication, including ballads, although this task was soon delegated to a panel of subordinates.¹⁸⁷ Edward Stanhope, Chancellor of the Diocese of London, assisted with this work. Coming into conflict with the law seems to have been an accepted feature of commercial life in Elizabethan England and had no major impact on the individual's personal standing. Morley's father Francis could simultaneously be prosecuted for brewing unfit beer or over-strength beer and hold civic posts,¹⁸⁸ whilst Barley, so often on the wrong side of the publishing regulations, could, nevertheless, count one of their enforcers, Sir Edward Stanhope, amongst his daughter's godparents at her christening in 1604.¹⁸⁹

Carleton's *Madrigals to Five Voyces* is the last known music publication to have been printed at Little St Helens, and it cites Morley rather than Barley as its printer, suggesting that Barley and Morley had parted company by then. Carleton had been a colleague of Morley at Norwich Cathedral and a contributor to *The Triumphes of Oriana*, so this printing contract probably represents a final effort on Morley's part to generate some business. Carleton dates his preface 28 March 1601.

Later, in October that year, Barley appeared before the Mayor's Court in the City of London for failing to repay a debt of £80 0s 0d to a George Goodale. As Barley continued to

¹⁸⁵ *Lna*, PC 2/25, 160. The ballad was probably about the suicide in 1600 of William Doddington, a courtier, Auditor of the Royal Mint and brother-in-law of Sir Francis Walsingham, who threw himself from the roof of St Sepulchre's church in London – see Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls : Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 66.

¹⁸⁶ Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 807-12.

¹⁸⁷ W. W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 9. See Also Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 60.

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter 1, p. 15.

¹⁸⁹ Johnson, 'William Barley', 16-17.

default, the stock in his shop was confiscated.¹⁹⁰ The inventory drawn up at the time includes two reames of ‘ballates’ [ballads] valued at 9s 0d and one bundle of music books, at 2s 0d, as well as the ruled paper mentioned above. The total value of his stock was a relatively modest £8 10s 7d. Clearly Barley was in financial difficulties, both in debt and with relatively little stock in his shop. Morley and his family appear to have left Little St Helens some time after the completion of the printing of Carleton’s *Madrigals* in the summer of 1601 and before Morley’s death in October 1602. On the eighth of that month Susan, widow of Thomas Morley, of the parish of St Andrew Holborn, was granted administration of his estate,¹⁹¹ the normal procedure when someone died intestate. Wills were generally only made when there were buildings or land to dispose of, or special bequests to be made. This suggests that Thomas did not own any property when he died. Unfortunately, no burial record or probate inventory survives. A baptismal record in the St Andrew’s register suggests that Thomas and Susan may have had another son shortly before Thomas died; Thomas Morley, son of Thomas Morley, was christened at the church on 19 August 1602.¹⁹² However, there is no indication of the father’s occupation or the mother’s name, so we cannot be sure that this was Thomas’s and Susan’s child.

MORLEY’S FINANCIAL POSITION

Morley’s annual salary from the Chapel Royal was £30. The salary for a singer at the Chapel Royal, in common with many Royal employees, had remained fixed for decades.¹⁹³ By 1596 the Subdean and Gentlemen were making plans to lobby Elizabeth for ‘some gifte or graunte, *which* may be for the yearly increase of *our* lyvinge’;¹⁹⁴ when a pay increase was

¹⁹⁰ London, Metropolitan Archives, CLA/024/02/026, item 46; Johnson, ‘William Barley’, 15.

¹⁹¹ London, Guildhall Library, MS 09050/3, ff. 165r-165v.

¹⁹² London, Guildhall Library, MS 06667/1 August 1602, entry 91.

¹⁹³ David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (Bangor: Headstart History, 1992), 79 and 111.

¹⁹⁴ Ashbee and Harley, *Cheque Books*, i. 72.

finally granted to the Gentlemen in 1604, it was recorded in the Chapel Royal Cheque Book that:

After a longe and Chargable sute continued for increase of wages ... The Kinges Most excellent *Majestie*, of his Royall bountye and regard, pleased to ad to the late intertainment of the Chappell ten powndes *per annum* to evry man, so increasinge there stipendes from thirtie to Fortie powndes *per annum*.¹⁹⁵

A price index for a composite unit of consumables produced by Brian Mitchell¹⁹⁶ demonstrates that there was massive price inflation over the sixteenth century, with the index rising from 94 in 1500 (compared with a base level of 100 in 1475) to 459 in 1600. Even in the last fifteen years of the century, when Morley was commercially active, the index rose from 333 to 459. What had started off as a well-paid post had become less and less so, and it is therefore not surprising that some of the Gentlemen retained other posts on appointment to the Chapel Royal. On his arrival at the Chapel, Byrd, for example, had negotiated an annual retainer from Lincoln Cathedral of £3 6s 8d, in return for which he would supply compositions. This was paid for nine years from 1574.¹⁹⁷ In 1589 the Dean and Chapter of Wells Cathedral offered John Hewlett an extra 40s 0d [£2 0s 0d] a year to stay at the cathedral, setting out also the financial arrangements should he obtain a Chapel Royal position but continue to devote the residue of his time to Wells.¹⁹⁸ There is no evidence that Morley continued to work at, or be paid by St Paul's: it is likely that he did so to start with, but he had certainly ceased to be employed there by 1598, since a list of the choir from that year does not include him.¹⁹⁹ It is likely, too, that the illness that was evident by 1597, and which may have kept him away from the Chapel Royal, would also have prevented him from singing and playing at St Paul's.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 90.

¹⁹⁶ Brian R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 'Indices of Prices and Real Wages of Building Craftsmen – S. England 1264-1954', 166ff.

¹⁹⁷ Harley, *William Byrd*, 44.

¹⁹⁸ Ashbee and Harley, *Cheque Books*, i. xvii.

¹⁹⁹ *London, Guildhall Library*, MS 09537/9, f. 5v.

The wages of musicians employed in the royal household, rather than the Chapel Royal, varied, but a common annual rate in 1598 was £46 5s 10d,²⁰⁰ generally including £16 2s 6d for livery.²⁰¹ Rates for some instrumentalists were nearly £20 higher. On the other hand, Lynn Hulse has demonstrated that the wages of resident musicians in aristocratic households were very much lower. In her survey of rates for the period 1606-1610, pay ranges from £4 to £20 per annum, with £20 the most common wage.²⁰² One of the few examples of wages from an earlier date is Thomas Weelkes' salary of £2 13s 4d, plus food and lodgings, as organist at Winchester College from 1598 to 1603.²⁰³ The pay of a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal appears to compare well with most household musicians, especially as it was a part-time post, but was significantly lower than that of the secular court musicians. Unlike other court musicians, those working in the Chapel Royal received free food, drink and wood when on duty,²⁰⁴ but Morley's apparently patchy attendance suggests that he would not have benefited fully from this.

Morley's comments in his letter to Sir Robert Cecil²⁰⁵ regarding the monopoly strongly suggest that he felt that he ought to be able to make money as a composer, arranger and editor. This belief led him into publishing, operating the music monopoly and eventually printing, too. Whilst his income from publishing would have depended very much on print run sizes and sales volumes, the speculative modelling carried out in this study suggests that it is reasonably safe to assume that he made in the region of £250 over ten years from his publications, and probably more. The success of his early volumes and the continued pace of

²⁰⁰ Ashbee, *Records*, vi. 231ff.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, vi. 158.

²⁰² Hulse, *Musical Patronage*, 62-6.

²⁰³ G. A. Phillips, 'Patronage in the Career of Thomas Weelkes', *Musical Quarterly*, 62 (1976), 46.

²⁰⁴ Andrew Ashbee and John Harley, 'Records of the English Chapel Royal', *Fontes artis musicae*, 54 (2007), 484.

²⁰⁵ See above, p. 163.

his output mean that this income was probably spread fairly evenly over the period. In addition, he would have received rewards from his dedicatees.

The monopoly was a more certain source of income, with no effort attached, provided there were composers or printers with music to be published. Because of the evidence from the East-Eastland dispute it is possible to be confident of the earnings that Morley achieved from the surviving prints published under his monopoly. There was probably also some monopoly income from printed music paper, too, although it is difficult to guess the total to which it might have amounted.

Taken together, Morley's publishing and monopoly would have made a significant difference to his overall income.

Table 4.6: Conjectural Minimum Income for Morley, 1593-1602

	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600	1601	1602
Chapel Royal salary	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30
Publishing	£25	£25	£25	£25	£25	£25	£25	£25	£25	£25
Rewards from Patrons	£10	£0	£30	£0	£20	£10	£10	£10	£10	£0
Monopoly							£26	£26	£13	£3
Total	£65	£55	£85	£55	£75	£65	£91	£91	£78	£58

Assumptions:

Average reward from patrons is £10 per publication

Revenue from monopoly based on music only (not including lined paper), with conservative print runs.

Morley probably came badly unstuck with his print shop at Little St Helens. It is likely that he and Barley little more than covered their costs in their first year. Thereafter their output of music publications was meagre, although they may have supplemented their income by printing ruled paper and ballads, plus any other work that Barley managed to acquire. Had

they succeeded in publishing psalters they would have had a thriving business. They took a risk in setting it up in the face of the uncertainty over the conflicting monopolies, which backfired.

An idea of what Morley's earnings would represent today can be obtained by using a tool devised by Lawrence Officer that calculates the purchasing power of the pound from 1264 to 2008.²⁰⁶ Thus, Morley's estimated income of £91 in 1600 would have been equivalent to an income of £184,000 in 2008. However, the price of goods relative to wages in 1600 was much higher than today, so that the purchasing power of £91 in 1600 would have been no more than £13,400 in 2008.

Retained musicians – at court, in wealthy households, in cathedrals or in chapels – were effectively artisans or servants and were paid accordingly. It was possible to obtain extra rewards from employers and patrons by composing pieces, copying music and taking part in performances, but much of this income depended on the benevolence of the patron concerned. Some musicians supplemented their incomes by casual playing or by additional teaching, as demonstrated by Byrd's comments on the loss of his teaching income when he moved to the Chapel Royal.²⁰⁷ Morley no doubt exploited these means, but he also chose to attempt to make a business out of music as an independent trader, asking a fixed commercial price in return for his efforts and investment.

²⁰⁶ Lawrence H. Officer, 'Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1264 to Present', *MeasuringWorth*, (last updated 2010), www.measuringworth.com/ppoweruk, accessed 5 July 2010.

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 151.

CHAPTER 5 – MORLEY’S TRIUMPHS

He (who did shine as the *Sunne* in the *Firmament* of our *Art*, and did first give light to our understanding with his *Precepts*) be long since come to the *Close* and *Period* of his *Time*; But his posterity, as *Starres*, receiving light and benefit from his Labours, will (I hope) according to his desire and wishes, entertaine and embrace such *Opinions*, as he himself acknowledg’d to be true.¹

Thomas Ravenscroft, writing in 1614, called on Morley’s posthumous support for his own music instruction book, *A Briefe Discourse*. Although primarily a sales pitch, his words indicate a strong contemporary respect for Morley’s achievements. Ravenscroft considered some aspects of Morley’s *Plaine and Easie Introduction* to be out of date, but the work was nevertheless the first comprehensive instruction manual on music for amateurs published in English. Previous publications, such as Le Roy’s *Briefe and Easie Instrution* [sic] (1568) for the lute, or Bathe’s *Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song* (1596), focused primarily on basic performing techniques, whilst Barley’s *Pathway to Musicke* (1596) provided elementary instruction in solmisation, mensuration and the rules for the movement of parts against one another.

Morley’s book remained in use long after its publication. Thus, whilst Roger North, writing in the early eighteenth century, found Morley’s dialogue style hard-going and considered the work to be ‘stuffed with abundance of impertinences, and also with matters, in our practise, wholly obsolete’,² he had nevertheless used it when young:

I also procured Morley’s *Introduction*; which books [Simpson’s *Division-Violist* (1667) and *Compendium of Practical Musick* (1659); Charles Butler’s *The Principles*

¹ Thomas Ravenscroft, *A Briefe Discourse of the True (but Neglected) use of Charact’ring the Degrees in Measurable Musicke* (London: Thomas Adams, 1614), ‘Apologie’. Italics are Ravenscroft’s.

² Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 137. Transcribed from *Lbl*, Add. MS 32536: Roger North, *An Essay of Musickall Ayre*, written c. 1715-1720.

of Musik (1636)] together with constant playing and wrighting, and in London in very edifying consorts, I became as I thought a master of composition³

By the late eighteenth century, there had still been nothing on the scale of *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* to replace it, to the extent that William Randall felt it worthwhile to publish a new edition in 1771, an act deplored by Charles Burney for what it said about the state of current musical scholarship:

Yet though this work is redundant in some particulars, and deficient in others, it is still curious, and justly allowed to have been excellently adapted to the wants of the age in which it was written. However, its late republication in the original form, *totidem verbis*, whatever honour it may reflect on the memory of the author, somewhat disgraces later times, which have not superseded this, by producing a better and more complete book of general instructions in English, after the lapse of so many years, and the perpetual cultivation and practice of the art, in our country, both by native musicians and foreigners.⁴

However ‘excellently adapted to the wants of the age’ his treatise may have been, Morley’s major impact on his contemporaries was in the provision of music for recreational use. Both through the influence of his own publications and through his stimulation of music publishing, two generations of composers together built up a corpus of readily available, printed music.

MORLEY’S PUBLICATIONS

The achievement with which Morley is most often credited is the introduction of light vocal ensemble music with English texts, based on Italian models, loosely known as ‘English madrigals’. He was also one of the first publishers of lute ayres and of music for instrumental ensemble, and these three genres together formed the basis of music publishing in England for a period of around thirty years.

³ Ibid., 23. Transcribed from *Lbl*, Add. MS 32506: Roger North, *Notes of Me*, written c. 1695.

⁴ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, ed. Frank Mercer, 2 vols (London: Foulis, 1935), ii. 86.

Morley's 'madrigals'

Joseph Kerman's work on the English madrigal⁵ in the middle of the twentieth century remains pre-eminent in this field of study. Subsequent research, including work on aspects of Morley's vocal music by Michael Foster, Daniel Christopher Jacobsen and Catherine A. Murphy,⁶ takes Kerman's analysis as its starting point. This study, too, inevitably draws on Kerman's comprehensive work in the following discussion of Morley's madrigal publications.

By the time Morley published his first volume, the *Canzonets ... to Three Voyces*, in 1593, two anthologies of Italian madrigals with English texts – Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* (1588) and Watson's *Italian Madrigalls Englished* (1590) – had been available in print for some time. These are conservative in content and structurally similar to those produced by Phalèse in Antwerp,⁷ which are large collections, averaging around sixty-five works, divided fairly equally between four-, five-, and six-part settings. Philippe de Monte is most prevalent amongst the Italian composers represented in Flemish anthologies, along with Marenzio and Ferretti, and works by local composers are also included. Similarly, *Musica Transalpina* comprises fifty-seven pieces, again for four, five, or six voices, and includes works by 'local' composers, in this case Ferrabosco and Byrd. Whilst Yonge's selection of foreign composers is quite varied, Watson, on the other hand, draws almost exclusively on works by Marenzio for his anthology, with just three pieces by other Italian composers and two settings by Byrd. Kerman identified nineteen concordances between *Musica Transalpina* and Flemish sets, with at least eight works apparently taken directly from them.⁸ Unlike the Flemish editions, which

⁵ Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962).

⁶ Foster, 'Thomas Morley'; Daniel Christopher Jacobson, 'Some New Perspectives on Thomas Morley's Canzonets and Madrigals', M.A. diss. (California State University, 1981); Catherine A. Murphy, 'Thomas Morley Editions of Italian Canzonets and Madrigals, 1597 and 1598', Ph.D. diss. (Florida State University, 1963).

⁷ See Appendix 2.2.

⁸ Kerman, *Elizabethan Madrigal*, 50.

retain the original Italian texts, both Yonge's and Watson's anthologies substitute English words. Yonge's are fairly literal translations of the Italian, whilst Watson attempts to fit the 'affection of the note'⁹ by providing loose paraphrases of the originals or entirely new poems.¹⁰

Watson's preference for providing an English text that fitted the emotional and pictorial details of the music rather than faithfully translating the original poet's work foreshadows the lack of importance accorded by English madrigal composers to the poetry as an art form in its own right. Italy in the sixteenth century saw a revival of interest in the poetry of Petrarch – both in its structures, including the sonnet, and in its subject matter, focusing on unrequited love and conflicting emotions, set against a pastoral backdrop. Petrarch had many sixteenth-century imitators, whose works, together with those of their model, provided much of the material for Italian madrigal composers. This preference for serious poetry was stimulated, at least in part, by the learned academies in Italian cities.¹¹ During the 1580s a rising interest in Italian culture in England led to a number of poets – Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Watson and others – producing works based on Petrarchan models,¹² especially the sonnet, but their poetry was largely ignored by the English madrigalists in the 1590s. Burney, writing in the late eighteenth century, is characteristically direct in his view of the quality of English madrigal texts:

Indeed, in more than twenty sets, published between the year 1588 and 1624, during a period of nearly forty years, including almost four hundred and fifty madrigals and songs in parts, it would be difficult to find any one, of which the words can be perused with pleasure. The sonnets of Spenser and Shakespeare, many of which are worthy of

⁹ Thomas Watson, *The First Sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished* (London: [Watson], 1590), title page.

¹⁰ Kerman, *English Madrigal*, 58.

¹¹ For a full discussion of this topic, see Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions and Oliver Strunk, 3 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971 reprint), 166-212.

¹² See, for example, Douglas Brookes-Davies (ed.), *Silver Poets of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Dent, 1994), xliii-lii.

their authors, were indeed not published till about the end of the sixteenth century; but afterward, it is wonderful that none of them were set by our best musical composers.¹³

However, in a footnote he excludes Byrd from such censure:

Those genuine English songs, set and published by Bird, must be excepted, in some of which there is not only wit, but poetry.¹⁴

Byrd, along with a number of younger composers – Gibbons, Mundy, Allison, Carleton – who did not fully espouse the madrigal style, regardless of how they chose to describe their works, did set serious poetry, but in a native style based on the consort song. On the other hand, Morley and subsequent English madrigalists – Weelkes, Wilbye, Bateson, Ward – preferred to use translations of Italian madrigal texts or anonymous English texts, some of which were frequently reset.

In his *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, Morley describes a range of Italian musical forms, three of which he adopted in his own output - the madrigal, the canzonet and the ballet:

... the best kind of it [light music] is termed *Madrigal*, a word for the etymologie of which I can give no reason, yet use sheweth that it is a kinde of musicke made upon songs and sonnets, such as *Petrarcha* and many Poets of our time have excelled in. This kind of musicke weare not so much disallowable if the Poets who compose the ditties would abstaine from some obscenities, which all honest eares abhor, and sometime from blasphemies of such as this, *ch'altro di te iddio non voglio* [I desire no other god but thee] which no man (at least who hath any hope of salvation) can sing without trembling. As for the musick it is next unto the Motet, the most artificiaall and to men of understanding most delightfull. If therefore you will compose in this kind you must possesse your selfe with an amorus humor (for in no co[m]position shal you prove admirable except you put on, and possesse your selfe wholly with that vaine wherein you compose) so that you must in your musicke be wavering like the winde, sometime wanton, sometime drooping, sometime grave and staide, otherwhile effeminat, you may maintaine points and revert them, use triplaes and shew the verie uttermost of your varietie, and the more varietie you shew the better shal you please. In this kind our age excelleth, so that if you would imitate any, I would appoint you these for guides: *Alfonso ferrabosco* for deepe skill, *Luca Marenzo* for good ayre and

¹³ Burney, *A General History of Music*, ii. 105.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

fine invention, *Horatio Vecchi*, *Stephano Venturi*, *Ruggiero Giovanelli*, and *John Croce*, with divers others who are verie good, but not so generallie good as these.¹⁵

The second degree of gravetie in this light musicke is given to Canzonets that is little shorte songs (wherin little can be shewed being made in straines, the beginning of which is some point lightlie touched, and everie straine repeated except the middle) which is in composition of the musick a counterfet of the *Madrigal*. Of the nature of these are the *Neapolitans* or *Canzone a la Napolitana*, different from them in nothing saving in name, so that whosoever knoweth the nature of the one must needs know the other also, and if you think them worthie of your paines to compose them, you have a pattarne of them in *Luco Marenzo* and *John Feretti*, who as it should seeme hath imploied most of all his study that way.¹⁶

There is also another kind more light then this, which they tearme *Ballete* or daunces, and are songs, which being song to a dittie may likewise be daunced: these and all other kinds of light musicke saving the *Madrigal* are by a generall name called ayres. There be also an other kind of *Ballets*, commonlie called *fa las*, the first set of that kind which I have seene was made by *Gastaldi*, if others have laboured in the same field, I know not but a slight kind of musick it is, & as I take it devised to be daunced to voices.¹⁷

Despite providing such clear definitions of the madrigal forms, Morley's published volumes of such music contain a confusing mixture of pieces that do not align precisely with the title of the volume. Daniel Christopher Jacobsen argues that, whilst Morley's collections contain a variety of forms and styles, each piece can be shown to belong to one of the three categories.¹⁸ Thus Morley writes ballets with two repeated sections, each with a 'fa la' refrain which is often more elaborate than those of his Italian models. His canzonets similarly have an element of structural repetition, most often the first and last of two or three sections. Their texts tend to be short and, unlike their Italian models, which are strophic, only one verse is provided. Morley's madrigal settings are entirely of a light, non-literary sort. Stylistically they are very like his canzonets, employing a variety of textures, but they are through-composed interpretations of longer texts, in at least four sections. Where there is repetition, it

¹⁵ Morley, *Introduction*, 180. Italics are Morley's own in this and the next two extracts.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Daniel Christopher Jacobsen, 'Thomas Morley and the Italian Madrigal Tradition: a New Perspective', *Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996), 80-91. See also, Kerman, *Elizabethan Madrigal*, Chapter 5, 129-209.

is generally just of the last section. Jacobsen further demonstrates that the title of each of Morley's volumes reflects the form which comprises the majority of its contents. Thus, *The First Booke of Balletts* is made up of fifteen ballets, four canzonets and one madrigal, whilst the *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces* includes eighteen madrigals and four canzonets. Only the *Canzonets ...to Three Voyces*, his earliest publication, fail to follow this rule, with ten each of madrigals and canzonets.¹⁹

Morley's 'madrigal' publications can also be categorised in a different way:

Table 5.1: Morley's Madrigal Publications

Type	Title	Year	Notes
Anthologies	<i>Canzonets ... to Foure Voyces</i>	1597	Previously published Italian works
	<i>Madrigals to Five Voices</i>	1598	Previously published Italian works
	<i>Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana</i>	1601	Specially commissioned English works
Transcriptions and re-workings	<i>The First Booke of Balletts to Five Voyces</i>	1595	Based on Italian models; published in two versions, with English and Italian texts
	<i>The First Book of Canzonets to Two Voyces</i>	1595	Based on Italian models; published in two versions, with English and Italian texts
Original works	<i>Canzonets ... to Three Voyces</i>	1593	
	<i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces</i>	1594	
	<i>Canzonets ... to Five and Sixe Voyces</i>	1597	

¹⁹ Jacobsen, 'A New Perspective', 90.

Table 5.1 suggests that Morley put more effort into the compiling, editing and arranging of secular vocal music by other composers than into composing it himself. In his anthologies he acknowledges the composer of each work, but in his two volumes of transcriptions and reworkings of 1595, he does not do so. As with a number of his sacred works, this has resulted in commentators from the late eighteenth century onwards concluding that, at best, Morley lacked inspiration and, at worst, was engaged in blatant plagiarism. Neither conclusion is likely to be true; parody, sometimes as an act of homage or as a means of demonstrating craftsmanship, was common in the sixteenth century and, as discussion of this issue elsewhere in this study has indicated,²⁰ the concept of intellectual property to which we now subscribe was not the norm at that time. Morley certainly made no attempt to hide his models: as Kerman points out, his anthology of 1597 includes works by Anerio on which he had based several of his two-part canzonets in 1595. For example, the 1595 canzonet ‘Flora, wilt thou torment me?’ takes as its model Anerio’s ‘Flora, morir debb’io’ which is included as ‘Flora, fair love, I languish’ in the 1597 anthology.²¹ Nor was he alone in this approach: Orazio Vecchi, for instance, similarly reworked ‘Il bianco e dolce cigno’ without feeling the need to acknowledge its original composer, Arcadelt,²² and it was Vecchi’s version which appeared, attributed only to him, in Yonge’s second volume of *Musica Transalpina* in 1597.

Whilst Morley’s visit to the Low Countries may have been one of the triggers for his publishing career, he cannot have obtained all the source material for his madrigal volumes whilst he was there. Around one-third of his sources identified by Kerman were first published after Morley returned to London in 1591, and a review for this study of editions listed in *RISM* suggests that almost all his models appeared in Antwerp editions only after he

²⁰ See, for example, Chapter 2, pp. 53-4, 60-62.

²¹ Kerman, *Elizabethan Madrigal*, 161-2; 283-4.

²² Orazio Vecchi, *Madrigali a cinque voci ... libro primo* (Venice: Gardano, 1589).

had issued his own publications,²³ so that he presumably used the original Venetian prints. Whether or not he was able to bring some of these prints back with him from Antwerp, Morley must thereafter have had access to recent Italian editions in England, possibly importing them privately or to order via a bookseller with foreign contacts. Alternatively, he may have had personal contacts who imported music for their own use. There are very few records from the 1590s to show us what English booksellers stocked, but it seems unlikely that Italian music would have been a good speculative import, given Yonge's comments, for instance, about many of his singing friends' lack of enthusiasm for Italian texts:

... which beeing for the most part Italian Songs, are for sweetnes of Aire, verie well liked of all, but most in account with them that understand that language. As for the rest, they doe either not sing them at all, or at the least with little delight.²⁴

Kerman estimates that, from the evidence of Morley's references in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, from the pieces in his anthologies and from the other works he used as models, Morley knew at least thirty-three publications of Italian madrigals.²⁵ It is, of course, possible that his sources were manuscript copies, but surviving manuscript sources do not support such an argument. For instance, Kian-Seng Teo provides a list of manuscript sources for English and Italian madrigals from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England (summarised overleaf in Table 5.2), but their probable dating makes most of them too late to be sources for Morley.²⁶

²³ Based on a review of surviving prints listed in *RISM, Einzeldrucke vor 1800* and *Recueils imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e Siècles*.

²⁴ Yonge, *Musica Transalpina*, prefatory letter.

²⁵ Kerman, *Elizabethan Madrigal*, 132, footnote 1.

²⁶ Kian-Seng Teo, *Chromaticism in the English Madrigal* (New York: Garland, 1989), Appendix A, 314ff.

Table 5.2: English Manuscript Sources for Italian Madrigals, c. 1600

Source	Approx date	Description
Lbl, Add. MSS 30820-22	After 1597	Part books: Italian madrigals
Lbl, Add. MSS 30816-19	c. 1601	Part books: Italian madrigals; many from <i>Il lauro verde</i> (an anthology of madrigals first published in Ferrara in 1583, and reprinted by Phalèse in Antwerp in 1591).
Lbl, Add. MSS 30823-5	c. 1600	Textless part books: Italian madrigals and French chansons
Lbl, Add. MS 36484	Mostly copied before 1600?	Bass part book: Mosto, Giovanelli, Byrd, Morley, Farmer, East and others. Includes material from Yonge, Watson and Morley anthologies.
Lbl, Add. MS 34050		Part book from a Paston collection: Byrd, Marenzio, Ferrabosco, Pallavicino

Source: Kian-Seng Teo, *Chromaticism in the English Madrigal* (New York: Garland, 1989), Appendix A, 314ff.

Both Morley's anthologies of 1597 and 1598, and Yonge's second volume of *Musica Transalpina* (1597), demonstrate a clear Italian influence, completely abandoning previous Flemish models:

Even their physical arrangement is now Italian rather than Flemish: they are smaller books, containing 20 or 24 pieces; they borrow nothing from *Musica Divina* or other Flemish sources; and their contents are restricted to music *a 4*, *a 5*, or *a 5 & 6*, instead of each including music *a 4*, *5 & 6* in the manner of Phalèse's anthologies. The music is more uniformly modern, and distinctly more popular in tone than that in the relatively serious earlier books.²⁷

Thus Yonge's collection of madrigals for five or six voices contains twenty-four works, whilst Morley's *Canzonets ...to Foure Voyces* contains only twenty. This strongly suggests first-hand familiarity with Italian prints, rather than transmission through secondary sources.

Kerman believes that Morley's consistent production of settings of non-literary texts in a light musical style reflects Morley's personal taste:

²⁷ Kerman, *Elizabethan Madrigal*, 61.

... one is bound to conclude that with Morley a very decided element of personal taste must have come into play. No other madrigalist, no other anthologist, resisted the serious madrigal so firmly. Possibly the popularity of Morley's publications from 1593 on led directly to the change in taste reflected by the lighter tone of Yonge's second anthology, of 1597, as compared to his first, of 1588; certainly Morley influenced all later composers to rely principally on the lighter Italian music. To them his example was more binding than that of Ferrabosco, Marenzio, or any other Italian; and Morley's work is concerned exclusively with the light madrigal and the still lighter canzonet and ballet.²⁸

Morley's approach was indeed influential, but his regret that there was no longer any demand for motets and his observation that:

... such be the newfangled opinions of our countrey men, who will highlie esteeme whatsoever commeth from beyond the seas, and speciallie from Italie, be it never so simple, contemning that which is done at home though it be never so excellent ...²⁹

suggest that his concentration on light music was much more a result of his assessment of potential market demand than a personal enthusiasm. His publications supplied his customers with pieces without major intellectual or technical demands for the performer, making them eminently suitable for domestic performance in a wide range of households. At the same time, he delivered fashionable Italian culture in an accessible, vernacular form designed to appeal to the well-informed, aspiring urban dweller.

Lute Ayres

In 1597 John Dowland produced his *First Booke of Songes* in four parts with lute accompaniment, and in doing so initiated a second strand of published music suitable for domestic performance. By then, Morley's efforts, building on the initial publications of Byrd, Yonge and Watson, had created a significant body of printed English music, perhaps giving Dowland and the other composers who ventured into print that year³⁰ the confidence to publish their own works. Dowland's songs were flexibly scored to allow one or more parts to

²⁸ Ibid., 173.

²⁹ Morley, *Introduction*, 179.

³⁰ See Appendix 5.1.

be sung or played with or without an intabulated lute part. In many respects they represented the continued development of the consort song, examples of which had already been published by Byrd in 1588 and 1589. Philip Brett describes the emergence in the 1580s of ‘a mature song-form for treble solo accompanied by a quartet of viols’.³¹ Such songs are strophic, set the text almost entirely syllabically except at cadences, and do not employ madrigalian word-painting. Accompaniments may be chordal or contrapuntal. Byrd, in his 1588 and 1589 publications had provided words for all the parts of his songs, and now Dowland developed the song further by adding a lute part. His lute parts are fundamentally reductions of the three lower parts, providing a fairly contrapuntal texture, with the addition of idiomatic passage-work, particularly at cadences. The texts are strophic and drawn from the works of the serious English poets so comprehensively ignored by the madrigalists.

This development did not go unnoticed by Morley, who added lute reductions of the lower parts to his *Canzonets ... to Five and Sixe Voyces*, published in the same year, suggesting to his dedicatee, George Carey, the Lord Chamberlain (who was also the dedicatee of Dowland’s *First Booke of Songes*), that he might enjoy them as lute songs in his private moments:

I have also set them Tablature wise to the Lute in the Cantus booke for one to sing and plaie alone when your Lordship would retire your selfe and bee more private ...³²

Whilst it is by no means certain that Dowland’s publication came out first, the majority of Morley’s canzonet lute parts give the impression of being late additions in response to a market need or opportunity. On the whole they provide an uneasy substitute for the remaining vocal lines; because of the strongly contrapuntal nature of many of the pieces, the resulting texture is sometimes very thin, as in the opening of ‘Adieu, you kind and cruel’,

³¹ Philip Brett, ‘The English Consort Song, 1570-1625’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 88 (1961-2), 74.

³² Morley, *Canzonets ... to Five and Sixe Voyces*, dedicatory letter.

where, for the first four semibreves, the voice is accompanied only by a single line on the lute and then, for another four semibreves, by a two-part lute texture.³³

Sales of Dowland's volume were good enough to merit a second edition in 1600, matching the performance of Morley's most successful publication, the *Canzonets ... to Three Voyces* (1593), which appears to have sold well enough to prompt Thomas East to produce a hidden reprint in 1596.³⁴ The success of Dowland's volume may have encouraged Morley to work on producing his own lute ayres:

Let it not seeme straunge (courteous Reader) that I thus farre presume to take upon me, in publishing this volume of Lute Ayres, being no professor thereof, but like a blind man groping for my way, have at length happened upon a method: which when I found, my heart burning love to my friends would not consent I might conceale. Two causes mooved me hereunto, the first to satisfie the world of my no idle howers (though both Gods visitation in sicknesse, and troubles in the world, by sutes in Law have kept me busied.) The other cause was to make tryall of my first fruites, which being effected, I will commend to indifferent and no partiall judges.³⁵

Furthermore, he promised, that if they were well received, he would produce more:

... I shall by this encouragement promise and produce sundrie fruites of this kind, which verie shortly I will commend unto you.³⁶

Although Morley's *First Booke of Ayres* did not appear until 1600, some three years after Dowland's initial volume, he was, nevertheless, an early publisher of the genre. In the interim only Michael Cavendish, a gentleman and cousin of Lady Arbella Stuart (to whom he dedicated his volume), published any lute ayres,³⁷ although Richard Allison, also a gentleman, provided lute (and cittern) accompaniments for his *Psalmes of David in Meter* of 1599. For professional musicians the focus was still on publishing madrigals. This started to change in 1600 when, as well as Morley's *Ayres* and a new edition of Dowland's *First Booke of Songes*,

³³ See also David Greer, 'The Lute Songs of Thomas Morley', *Lute Society Journal*, 8 (1966), 25-37.

³⁴ See Chapter 4, p. 159.

³⁵ Morley, *First Booke of Ayres*, 'To the Reader'.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Michael Cavendish, *14. Ayres in Tabletorie*, (London: [Cavendish], 1598).

two further lute song books appeared: Dowland's *Second Book of Songes*, published by George Eastland, and Robert Jones' *First Booke of Songes & Ayres*.

In his *First Booke of Ayres*, Morley moved on from merely adding a lute reduction of the lower parts of multi-part madrigal settings to producing a book of settings of serious English poetry conceived from the outset as lute songs. Accompaniments are varied, often contrapuntal and sometimes interacting contrapuntally with the voice, but there is also idiomatic lute writing, such as the broken chord texture towards the end of the second part of 'Thirsis and Milla', although in this case it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Morley is using the running lute part to illustrate the boy chasing the girl. Morley frequently provides instrumental introductions and interludes, as Michael Cavendish had done in his 1598 publication. Although Morley's style is in some ways different from that of Dowland, the lute ayres of both men demonstrate the legacy of the consort song in their use of counterpoint. In this respect, and in Morley's use of word-painting from time to time, his *Ayres* may well have been the targets of the scorn poured on the work of unnamed others in 1601 in the preface to Rosseter's and Campion's *Booke of Ayres*:

What Epigrams are in Poetrie, the same are Ayres in musicke, then in their chiefe perfection when they are short and well seasoned. But to clogg a light song with a long Præludium, is to corrupt the nature of it. Manie rests in Musicke were invented either for necessitie of the fuge, or granted as a harmonicall licence in songs of many parts: but in Ayres I find no use they have, unlesse it be to make a vulgar, and triviall modulation seeme to the ignorant strange, and to the judicall tedious. ...But there are some, who to appeare the more deepe, and singular in their judgement, will admit no Musicke but that, which is long, intricate, bated with fuge, chaine with sincopation, and where the nature of everie word is precisely exprest in the Note ... But such childish observing of words is altogether ridiculous ...³⁸

Morley was not alone amongst the early publishers of lute ayres in his use of interludes and counterpoint. Only Dowland's songs, and perhaps those in Robert Jones' *First*

³⁸ Philip Rosseter and Thomas Campion, *A Booke of Ayres* (London: Rosseter, 1601), 'To the Reader'.

Booke of Songes & Ayres (1600), would have met with approval from Rosseter and Campion. In one respect, however, Morley's *Ayres* look firmly to the future. Dowland continued to write largely in four-voice textures, but Morley's songs were scored for a single voice with lute accompaniment, together with a part for bass viol that is in not underlain with the text. These are the earliest printed English examples of such a texture and represent the first steps in a move away from publishing part-songs, whether of English or Italian origin, towards solo songs with accompaniment. A comparison of early lute ayre publications in Appendix 5.2 illustrates this and sets Morley's songs in context.

Instrumental Ensemble Music

The publication in England of music specifically for instruments was slower to develop than the printing of secular vocal music. Apart from a few collections of lute and cittern pieces, mostly with a didactic intent, the only instrumental pieces to appear in print before 1599 were the textless *bicinia* included in Whythorne's *Duos* of 1590 and Morley's *Canzonets to Two Voyces* of 1595. In 1599 Anthony Holborne produced a volume of dance settings in five parts – *Pavans, Galliards, Almains and other Short Aeires* – and Morley published his *First Booke of Consort Lessons*. On his title page, Holborne described his music as suitable for 'viols, violins, or other wind instruments'. Holborne's is essentially generic instrumental music, playable on a range of instruments; it is the lack of texts and the adoption of dance forms that differentiate it from a number of contemporary vocal publications which their authors describe as 'apt for voices and viols'. Morley's collection, on the other hand, is for the mixed consort (treble viol or violin, flute, lute, cittern, bandora and bass viol) with which he was familiar through his association with the Norwich waits and for which he had provided music for the entertainment at Elvetham in 1591.³⁹ In the

³⁹ See Chapter 1, p. 41.

introduction to his reconstructed edition of the *Consort Lessons*, Sydney Beck discusses the development of this specific instrumentation, unique in Renaissance Europe, and its association with private and public theatrical performances, major celebrations and aristocratic music-making.⁴⁰ Such ensembles were sufficiently common to be depicted in the Sir Henry Unton memorial picture painted in around 1596.⁴¹ It is clear, too, from the evidence of probate inventories discussed in Chapter 3 that such ensembles were not the exclusive preserve of the highest in society; members of the gentry and middle classes also possessed the instruments required to perform this repertory. Despite his experience of writing for this ensemble, Morley appears to have acted as compiler and editor for his volume rather than composer. He does not identify the music's 'divers exquisite Authors', but he makes no claim to have written the music himself, explaining in the dedication that he has prepared the parts on behalf of a friend:

... at the instant request of my very good friend [I] have beene very carefull truly to set them out.⁴²

Beck has identified many of the settings as the work of Richard Allison and argues convincingly that Allison funded the project, which was:

Newly set forth at the coast & charges of a Gentle-man, for his private pleasure, and for divers others his frendes which delight in Musicke.⁴³

Morley sought to achieve a wider audience for this collection by dedicating it to the Mayor and aldermen of the City of London, suggesting both that it would be ideal for the city waits and that the waits could best do justice to the music. Performance by the waits, who appeared at theatres as well as public and private functions, would have provided good exposure to a potential market. Despite its very precise instrumental requirements, the collection appears to

⁴⁰ Beck, *Consort Lessons*, 6-22.

⁴¹ Now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

⁴² Thomas Morley (ed.), *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* (London: [Richard Allison], 1599), dedication.

⁴³ *Ibid*, title page.

have been popular and sold well. A ‘newly corrected and enlarged’ edition, now described as ‘collected by Thomas Morley, gentleman’ was published in 1611, and in the meantime, in 1609, Philip Rosseter issued his own collection of *Lessons for Consort*, explaining that

The good successe and francke entertainment which the late imprinted Set of Consort bookes generally received, hath given mee incouragement to second them with these my gatherings ...⁴⁴

MORLEY’S IMPACT ON MUSIC PUBLISHING

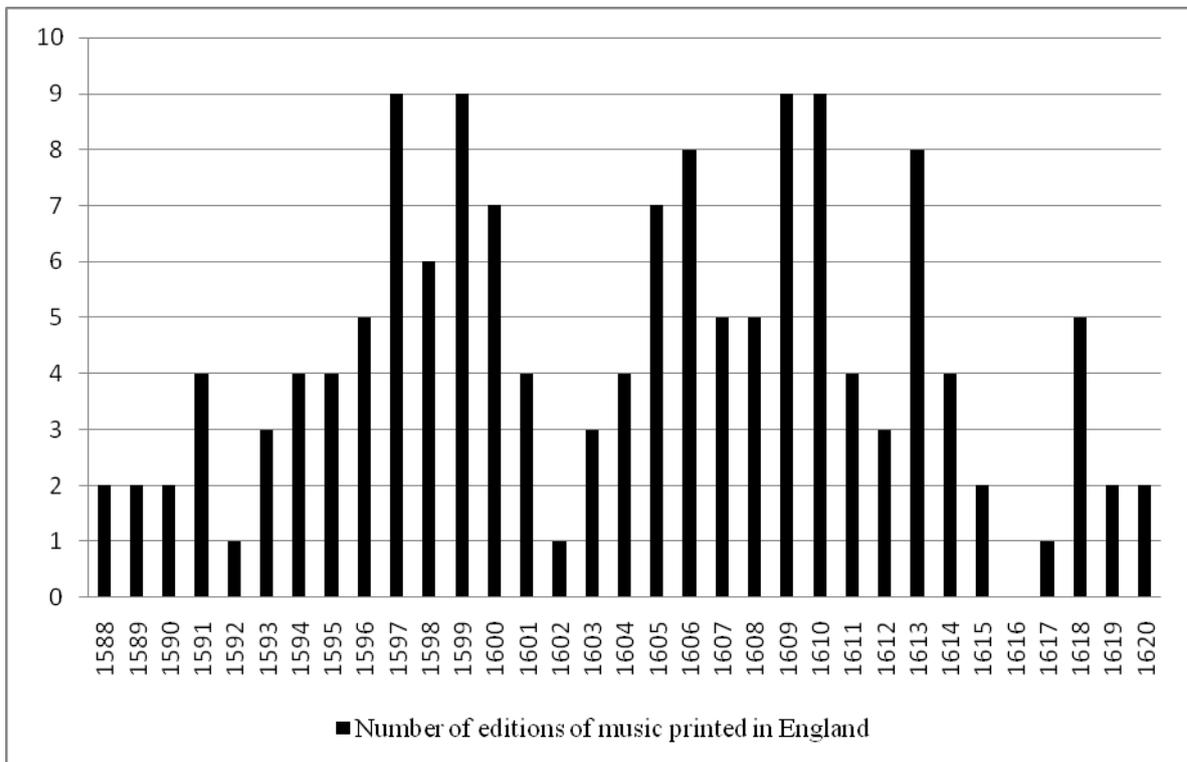
The example of *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* provides an individual demonstration of the stimulus that Morley provided, both as a producer and publisher of music, to the creation of a body of printed music available for sale. Nearly one hundred and seventy editions and reprints of music and music tutors suitable for domestic use appeared in print in the period from 1588 to 1639, with a marked acceleration from the mid-1590s, when Morley produced his madrigal publications and Byrd’s monopoly came to an end. By 1620, production was tailing off significantly, with an average of less than one publication of music a year from 1621 to 1639, when it ceased altogether, until John Playford started publishing in the 1650s. Details of these publications are provided in Appendix 5.1. All printed music publications are included, except for volumes of straightforward psalm settings published under the control of Day’s patent or, after 1603, under the control of the Stationers’ Company. Later volumes that contain selected psalms with instrumental accompaniment, usually amongst other types of music, have been included. Two volumes of church service music for which their authors obtained specific royal privileges have been excluded: George Wither’s *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (London: [Wither], 1623), with simple treble and bass lines provided by Gibbons, and George Sandys’ *Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (London: [A. Hebb], 1638), with settings by Henry Lawes. The information contained in Appendix 5.1

⁴⁴ Philip Rosseter (ed.), *Lessons for Consort* (London: [Rosseter], 1609), ‘To the Reader’.

forms the basis for the following analyses, which cover the period from 1588 to 1620, after which there are very few publications.

Figure 5.1 shows the overall publication pattern for both first and subsequent editions and reprints of music in the period from 1588 to 1620. Music and didactic volumes, most of which also contain complete pieces, are included. The only exclusions from the items listed in Appendix 5.1 are reissues and reprints which appear not to represent new print runs in response to sales demand. These are discussed further in the introduction to the appendix.

Figure 5.1: Number of Editions of Music printed in England, 1588-1620



The graph demonstrates that output rose significantly when Byrd's monopoly ended in early 1596. The impact of subsequent monopoly holdings is discussed later in this chapter,⁴⁵ but it is apparent that Morley's acquisition of the monopoly in September 1598 did not significantly dampen output. There is, however, a startling dip in output in 1602, when all that was

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 252-4.

produced was a single reprint by East of Morley's *Canzonets ... to Three Voyces*. The Little St Helens printing operation run by Morley and Barley seems to have failed the previous year, after which neither man produced any new music publications. This does not entirely explain the decline, though, as by this time both East and Short were operating as Morley's assigns, able to commission work themselves on payment of the appropriate fee to him.⁴⁶ It was, of course, in 1602 that Morley died, having probably been ill for some time. It is possible that as well as putting an end to his own publishing activity, Morley's death robbed East and Short of the advice and contacts they may have needed in order to find composers with music to publish. Another potential factor in the sharp drop in output may have been political unrest, culminating in parliamentary debates in late 1601, concerning the number of royal monopolies granted.⁴⁷ Without active encouragement from Morley as monopolist, the two printers may have adopted a cautious approach. Production grew again after 1602 to reach a further peak around 1610, before gradually declining. Ignoring the temporary drop in 1602, the overall picture is of an arc rising in the last decade of the sixteenth century and declining in the second decade of the seventeenth.

A majority of English music prints only achieved a single edition, as Table 5.3 overleaf demonstrates:

⁴⁶ See Chapter 4, pp. 204-7.

⁴⁷ See below, pp. 247-8.

Table 5.3: First and Subsequent Editions of Music printed in England, 1588-1620

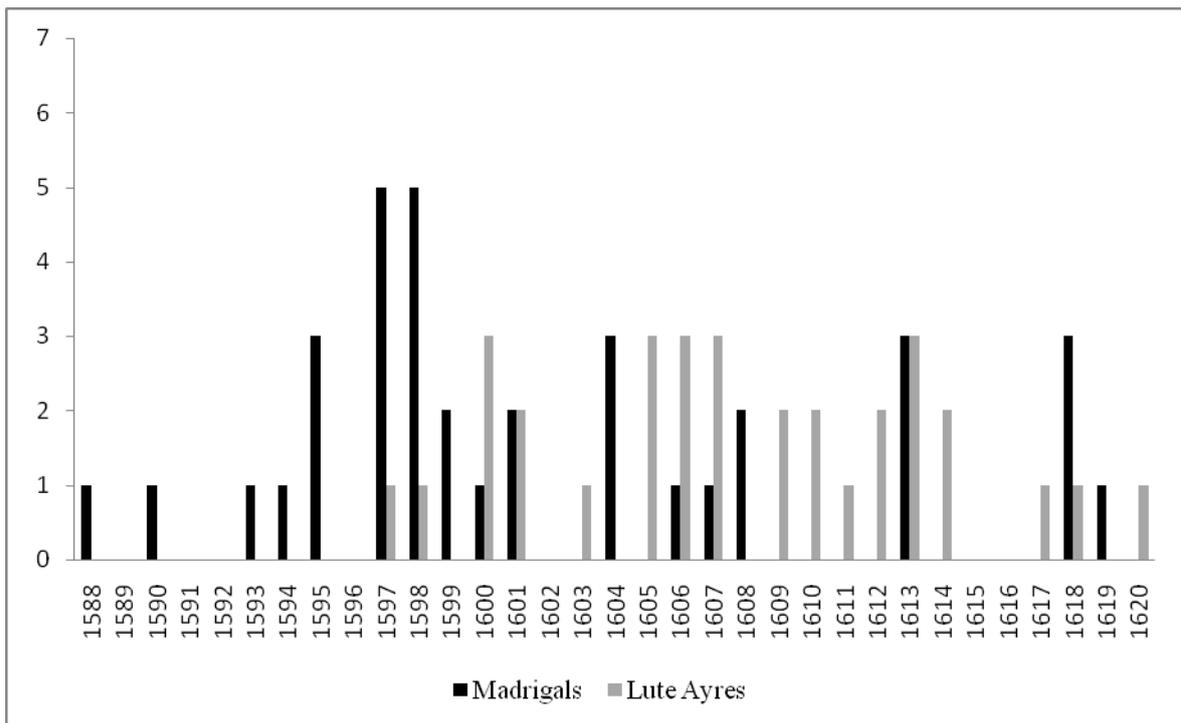
Year	First editions	New editions and reprints	Hidden editions
1588	2		
1589	2		
1590	2		
1591	4		
1592	1		
1593	2		1
1594	3	1	
1595	4		
1596	3		2
1597	9		
1598	6		
1599	6	1	2
1600	4	3	
1601	4		
1602		1	
1603	2	1	
1604	4		
1605	4		3
1606	5	3	
1607	5		
1608	3	2	
1609	9		
1610	6	1	2
1611	3	1	
1612	3		
1613	7	1	
1614	4		
1615	2		
1616			
1617	1		
1618	4	1	
1619	1	1	
1620	2		

Note: Hidden editions are new print runs of works which show the original publication date but were evidently printed later. (See Chapter 4, p. 155, and Appendix 5.1.)

The vast bulk of this output is secular in nature, and this is consistently the case throughout the period, with no obvious change in the mix. Purely sacred publications, a

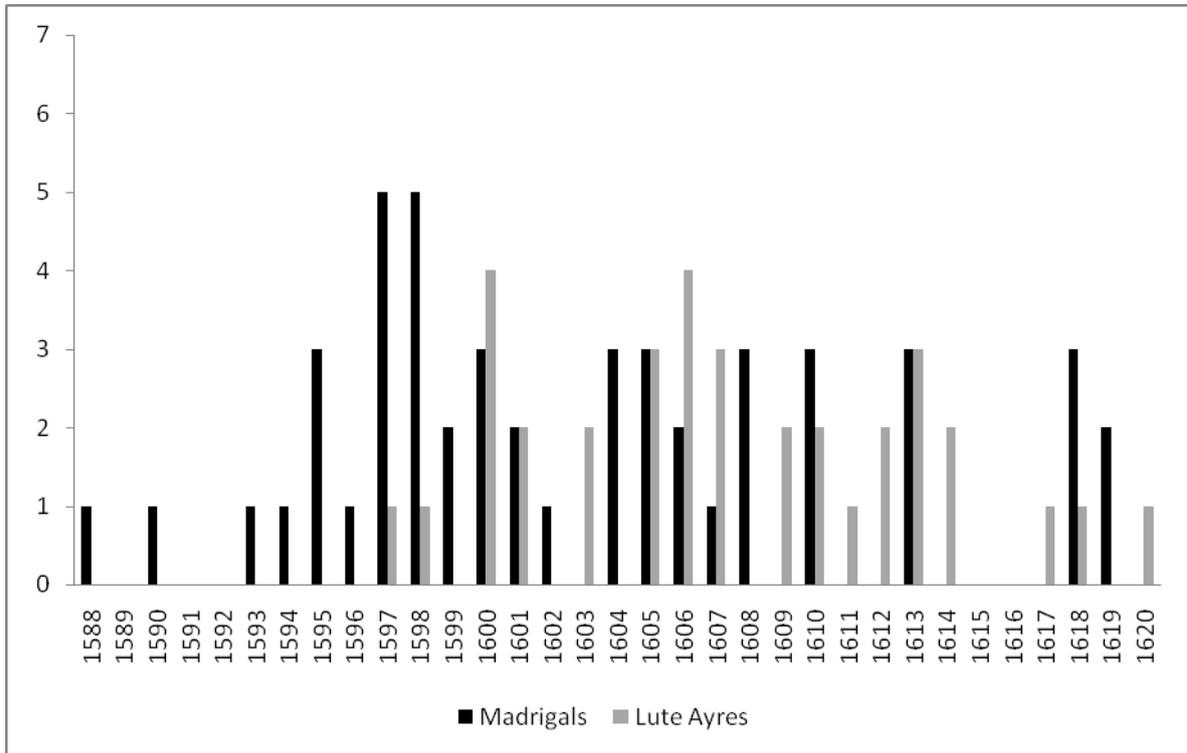
majority of which were the work of Byrd, are domestic in intent and, with the exception of Byrd's Masses and *Gradualia* volumes, non-liturgical. The growth and popularity of the two major vocal genres established in the mid-1590s – the English madrigal and the lute ayre – is illustrated by Figure 5.2:

Figure 5.2: First Editions of Madrigals and Lute Ayres printed in England, 1588-1620



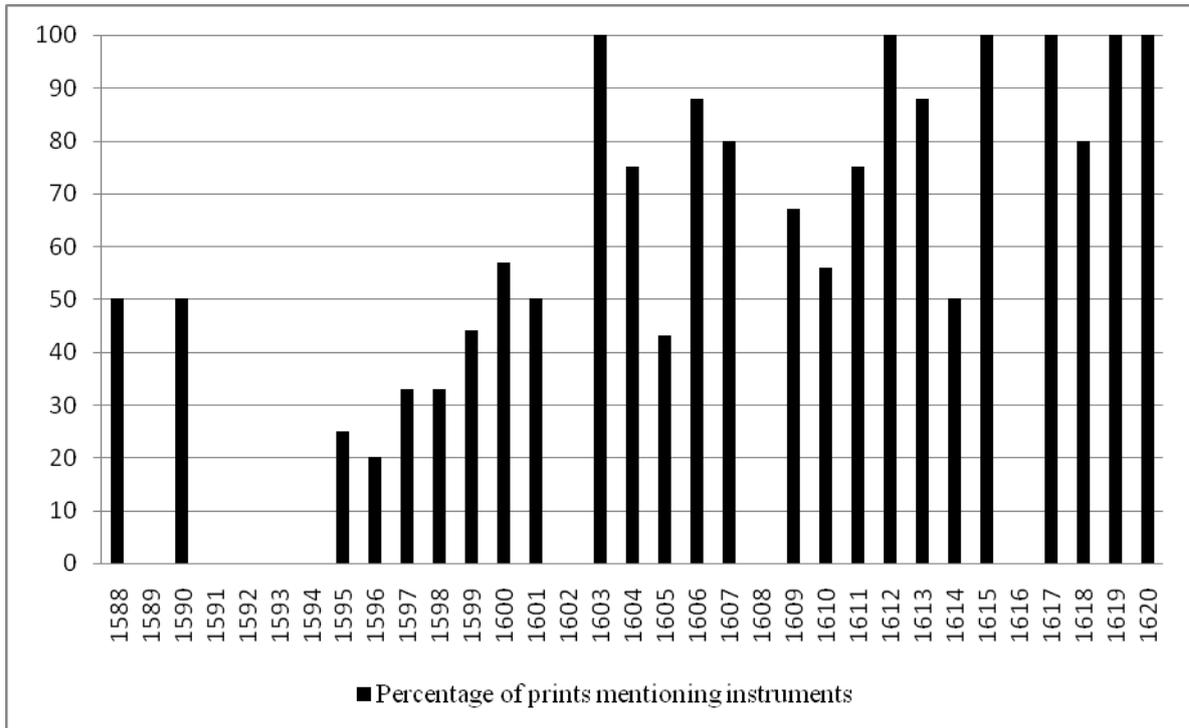
The output of first editions of madrigals reaches a peak in the late 1590s and after 1604 becomes very patchy. First editions of lute ayres start to appear several years after the madrigals and maintain a steady level until around 1614, before declining significantly. However, if reprints and subsequent editions are also included, the decline in madrigal output is much less marked, as demonstrated by Figure 5.3, overleaf. In contrast, very few lute ayre publications achieved a reprint or second edition.

Figure 5.3: All Editions of Madrigals and Lute Ayres printed in England, 1588-1620



A major development during the period under discussion was a steady growth in the number of publications which mentioned instrumental performance on their title page, presumably reflecting an increasing demand for such music by the growing number of instrument owners. As well as purely instrumental publications, such as Holborne's *Pavans, Galliards, Almains and other Short Aeires* (1599), there were also collections, such as Michael East's later publications, which included a range of vocal and instrumental genres suitable for domestic performance. Lute ayres generally required a lute, but most could also be performed with a mixture of voices, viols and lute, and there was a growing tendency to describe most ostensibly vocal collections as 'apt for voices and viols'. This growth is shown in Figure 5.4 (overleaf), which includes both first and subsequent editions and reprints.

Figure 5.4: References to Instruments on the Title Pages of Music printed in England, 1588-1620



The essentially intimate nature of performance in the home was also reflected in the formats used for publications, summarised on the next page in Table 5.4. Whilst sets of part books were the norm for madrigals and part songs of the type published by Byrd, lute ayres were produced as table books, with the parts oriented so that all performers could sit around the table singing or playing from a single copy. Ravenscroft published his collections of popular songs in what was essentially a small choirbook format, with all the parts facing the same way in a single opening, and a similar approach was used for a few other prints, including Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres* (1612) and Tailour's settings of Sir Edwin Sandys' *Sacred Hymnes* (1615).

Table 5.4: Formats of Music printed in England, 1588-1620

Year	Part books	Table books	Other single opening layouts
1588	2		
1589	2		
1590	2		
1591	3		1
1592			1
1593	3		
1594	3		1
1595	4		
1596	2		1
1597	6	2	2
1598	5	1	
1599	7	1	1
1600	3	4	
1601	2	2	
1602	1		
1603		3	
1604	2	2	
1605	4	3	
1606	4	4	
1607	2	3	
1608	4	1	
1609	2	5	3
1610	4	2	2
1611	2	1	1
1612	1	2	1
1613	3	4	2
1614		2	2
1615	1		1
1616			
1617			1
1618	3	1	1
1619	2		
1620	1	1	

The body of music printed between 1588 and 1620 thus shows some clear characteristics. It is largely, but not entirely, secular, and is published in formats particularly suitable for domestic use, although performance in other circumstances is not ruled out. Although there are increasingly references to instruments on title pages, much of this music is vocal and most of it falls into one of two categories: the madrigal – and also part songs which their composers describe as madrigals, such as Gibbons' *First Set of Madrigals and Motets* (1612) – and the lute ayre. With the exception of Ravenscroft's popular songs, which are unsophisticated homophonic settings, and a single volume of keyboard music by Byrd, Bull and Gibbons – *Parthenia* (c. 1613) – no new genres appeared in print. There can be no doubt that the success of Morley's madrigal volumes provided the stimulus for the many subsequent madrigal publications, whilst Dowland's *First Booke of Songes* provided a model for composers of lute ayres, a model which Morley himself took up and developed. Morley was also an initiator of the publication of instrumental ensemble music. These genres were firmly established by the time Morley died in 1602, and subsequent publications give the impression that a successful formula established by Morley as composer and editor, or under his auspices as music monopolist, was taken up by others and repeated over the next twenty years.

THE MUSIC PUBLISHING BUSINESS AFTER MORLEY

The failure of the printed music publishing business to develop in new directions after Morley's death was probably the result of a combination of factors, apart from the loss of his personal drive: the emergence of a declamatory style of song less suited to amateur performance and therefore not a candidate for mass publication; the continued circulation in manuscript of whole repertories; the passing of the control of music publishing from musicians to non-musician booksellers; and the arrival of more effective ways for London-based composers to make a living from their music than through publishing. Provincial

composers remained within a culture of patronage which sometimes resulted in the funding of just a single volume to enhance both the composer's and his patron's reputation.

Unpublished genres

In his study of Henry Lawes, Ian Spink describes the emergence of a new declamatory style of song, pioneered by the younger Alfonso Ferrabosco and Nicholas Lanier in their music for court masques.⁴⁸ A declaimed voice part is accompanied by no more than a bass line that might be chordally realised on a theorbo, or played on a viol. This development paralleled, but lagged behind, the development of *Le nuove musiche* in Italy, differing from it, as Spink points out, in that figured basses did not appear in England until much later, in the 1630s. Elizabeth Kenny argues that, as a result of the adoption of this new style of song, lute (and lyra viol) tablature fell out of use in professional circles, with players instead working directly from the vocal and bass lines:

For a period professionals were thinking in tablature *and* in staff notation, switching from one to the other or combining aspects of both when convenient. Robert Taylor wrote his songs as tune and bass, but he was skilled at bowed and plucked instruments and could have played them on either. When he published his *Sacred Hymns* (1615), he included alternative tablatures for viol and lute amateurs. As fewer musicians saw a commercial need to do this the supply of tablature volumes ran out: a devastating shift of musical culture for one group, but business as usual for the other.⁴⁹

Kenny believes, partly on the evidence of a manuscript in the library of Christ Church Oxford (Ms. Mus. 439), probably dating from the period 1601-1609 and possibly a theatrical source, that treble and bass versions of songs, with ornamented vocal lines and the need for extemporised lute parts, were in use earlier than has generally been thought to be the case. Christ Church Mus. 439 includes well-known published songs by Dowland, such as 'Sleep, wayward thoughts' and 'Now, O now' from his first book and 'Flow, my tears', from his

⁴⁸ Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes Cavalier Songwriter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2000), 6-8.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Kenny, 'The Uses of Lute Song: Texts, Contexts and Pretexts for "historically informed" performance', *Early Music*, 36 (2008), 288.

second, in treble and bass versions, with the inner parts stripped out. Significant ornamentation, requiring a good singing technique, is illustrated by a version of Morley's 'With my love my life was nestled', from his book of ayres, including passing notes, anticipations and very florid suggestions for cadences. As Kenny observes:

The Christ Church Ms. sheds only occasional light on the accompaniment, but its format challenges attitudes to the authority of tablature in this repertory. Wills of theatre personnel document ownership of a wider variety of accompanying instruments than the gut-strung lute or the viol, including citterns, orpharions and bandoras. Instrument-specific tablature would have been more of a hindrance than a help.⁵⁰

Performance of such music required technical skills not readily found amongst amateur consumers of music, for whom fully written-out parts, including lute tablature, would be required. Rosseter and Campion were already hinting at a divergence between the needs of the amateur and the professional in 1601:

For the Note and Tableture, if they satisfie the most, we have our desire, let expert masters please themselves with better.⁵¹

This divergence became a feature of musical culture throughout Europe during the seventeenth century, with the rise of the virtuoso performer and the development of virtuoso solo repertories.⁵² In the early years of the century, though, the lute songs that remained most popular in England – as exemplified in Dowland's *First Booke of Songes*, which was reprinted several times – had fully-realised lute parts, with the option of performance by several voices or melodic instruments. Where less than this was provided, amateur musicians demonstrated a continuing interest in part-singing by striving to add the 'missing' parts, so that in 1613 Campion felt obliged to take a step backwards and provide middle parts, explaining that:

⁵⁰ Ibid., 293.

⁵¹ Philip Rosseter and Thomas Campion, *A Booke of Ayres*, (London: Rosseter, 1601), 'To the Reader'.

⁵² Stephen Rose, 'Music in the Market-Place', in Tim Carter and John Butt (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 62-67.

These Ayres were for the most part framed at first for one voyce with the Lute, or Violl, but upon occasion, they have since beene filled with more parts, which who so please may use, who like not may leave. Yet doe wee daily observe, that when any shall sing a Treble to an Instrument, the standers by will be offering at an inward part out of their owne nature; and true or false, out it must, though to the perverting of the whole harmonie.⁵³

Declamatory song was not the only musical form that did not appear in print in the early seventeenth century. Kerman observes that England failed to adopt the spiritual madrigal, particularly popular in Italy during Lent, in which the madrigal style was applied to sacred texts.⁵⁴ It is certainly true that the sacred pieces included in published collections in England tend to have had their stylistic origins in the native consort song, but it appears that there was, nevertheless, some enthusiasm for singing sacred texts to madrigalian music. As this demand was not met by composers and publishers, amateurs provided their own material in the form of sacred *contrafacta*. The library of Christ Church College Oxford possesses four sets of manuscript part books⁵⁵ mostly comprising English texts of a Puritan nature applied to a range of published madrigals. The manuscripts and their origin are described in detail by David Pinto,⁵⁶ who suggests that they were compiled in London in the 1620s by John Browne (1608-91), who was later Clerk of the Parliaments. Browne draws most comprehensively on Morley's works, but also includes works by other English madrigalists – Wilbye, Weelkes and Kirbye, for example – and by a number of Italians. Browne provides new texts for most of Morley's three-part canzonets, ten of his two-part canzonets and a couple of four-part madrigals.⁵⁷ John Browne was not alone in his provision of alternative texts to madrigals. For example, a copy of Morley's *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces* (1594) held

⁵³ Thomas Campion, *Two Books of Ayres* (London: Lownes and Browne, [1613]), 'To the Reader'.

⁵⁴ Kerman, *Elizabethan Madrigal*, 8.

⁵⁵ Oxford, Ch Ch MSS Mus. 739-43 (which comprises one complete set of three parts and one incomplete); Mus. 750-3; Mus. 1074-7.

⁵⁶ David Pinto, 'Pious Pleasures in early Stuart London', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 41 (2008), 1-24.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

by the British Library⁵⁸ was owned at an early stage by a Richard Cullpeper who wrote his name on the verso of the title page in each book. In the tenor part, the texts of two pieces have been adjusted to provide a pious alternative. Thus in no. 20, 'Say gentle Nymphes', the 'gentle nymphs' become 'glorious' or 'blessed saints' who sit 'praying' rather than 'playing', whilst Daphne is transformed into Jesus.

The circulation of the solo lute repertory almost exclusively in manuscript form was discussed in Chapter 3.⁵⁹ The same applied to music for viol consort, and particularly to fantasias for four or more instruments. Tobias Hume, Ferrabosco, Gibbons and Michael East all published viol music, but generally only for solo instruments or small ensembles. From his detailed examination of surviving sources, Andrew Ashbee concludes that there was:

... a very tight-knit repertory of Jacobean and Caroline consort music, very little of which is found elsewhere outside these sources and these dates [1610-1640]. So the compositional urge to explore this idiom and these forms lasted about thirty years, a similar lifespan to that of madrigals and lute songs. The earlier generations (up to Byrd) are hardly represented here, having had their day, but the textless Italian madrigals continue, especially in sources associated with the aristocracy...⁶⁰

Evidence suggests that the aristocracy lent their music to each other to have it copied, whilst professional musicians carried out much of the copying and often acted as couriers. There may have been some form of lending library in operation. There is similarly some evidence of traffic in consort music between court and cathedrals, particular via Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal who retained posts or connections with their home cathedral.⁶¹ Ashbee also argues for circulation via professional musicians who both worked for aristocratic households and played in consorts in urban centres, but evidence is lacking that this practice was widespread. It seems that little of this repertory was available to the middle-class amateur

⁵⁸ *Lbl*, k.3.i.13

⁵⁹ See Chapter 3, pp. 136-44.

⁶⁰ Andrew Ashbee, 'The Transmission of Consort Music', in Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (eds.), *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 247.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 256-258.

musician, who would probably have resorted instead to playing from published sets of music ‘apt for voices and viols’.

The circulation of music in manuscript remained an important method of dissemination throughout the seventeenth century, to some extent even replacing printing in continental Europe, especially in Italy and Germany. Whilst numerous editions of Italian monody were produced during the first decade of the century, they presented the same performance difficulties for amateurs as did the declamatory song in England ten years later. In addition, increasingly florid styles were difficult to set in movable type, as were the scores needed for some other types of work, but on the other hand engraving was expensive. The rise of the virtuoso limited the market for much of the new solo music, so that manuscript circulation was the most practical and the most economic option for many genres.⁶²

In London the provision of manuscript music eventually became a retail operation available to all through the activities of such publishers as Henry Playford, who dealt in ‘prick’d’ [handwritten] copies as well as printed music. A special sale in 1690 of a collection of music acquired by Playford included at least 37 handwritten items amongst the 129 lots. Music from the English viol repertory was strongly represented amongst the manuscripts, but also available were ‘the last new Italian Sonita’s 3 parts, fairly prick’d’. The sale notice indicates that Playford himself provided manuscript copies of works on a routine basis for his customers:

Also all sorts of Ruled Paper and Books, and all Sets of Musick, or single Songs, fairly prick’d, may be had at the same Shop.⁶³

⁶² Rose, ‘Music in the Market-Place’, 68-69.

⁶³ [Henry Playford], *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books, both Vocal and Instrumental, (and several Rare Copies in Three and Four Parts, Fairly Prick’d) by the Best Masters* (London: Henry Playford, n.d. [1690]).

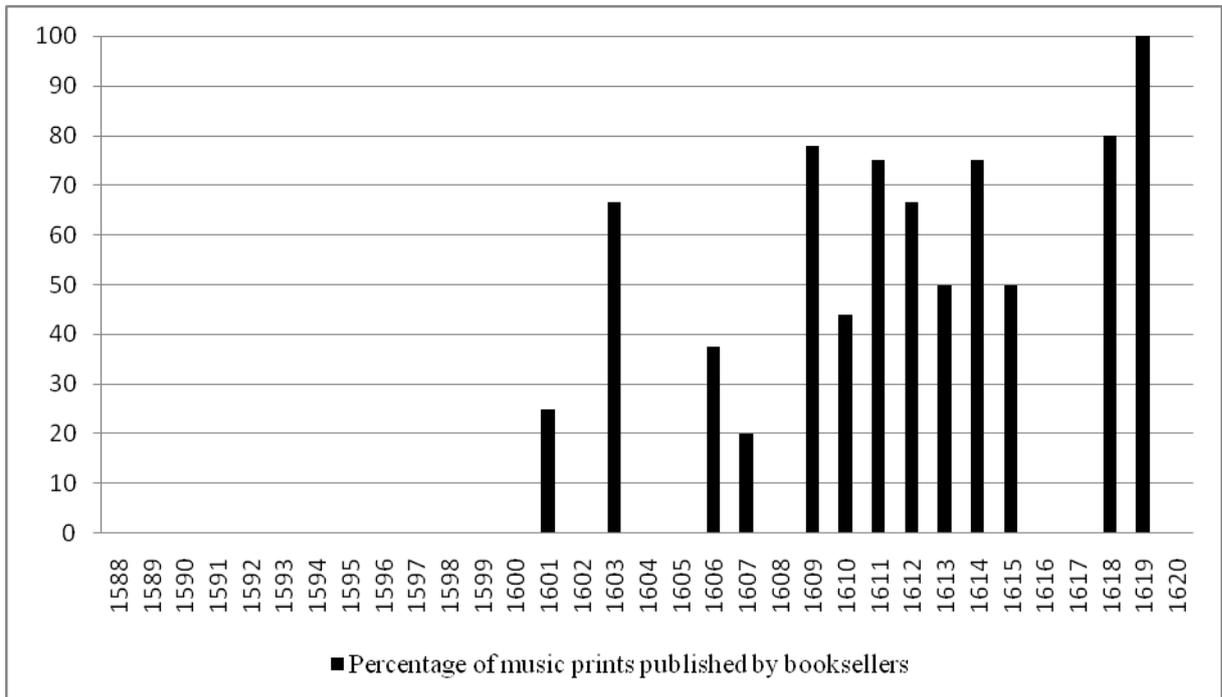
The Control of Music Publishing in the Early Seventeenth Century

Until the early years of the seventeenth century, it appears to have been most often the composer who paid for and took the risk in publishing his work, although there are also examples of prints that must have been funded directly by the printer, such as East's publication, in 1598, of Lassus's *Novae ... cantiones suavissime*.⁶⁴ The information set out in the first section of Appendix 5.1 shows that, in many cases, it is simply not clear who put up the money and was therefore effectively the publisher. This started to change around 1600, with George Eastland's speculative publication of Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*. Soon an arrangement emerged whereby music was printed by one of the specialist music printers on behalf of another member of the Stationers' Company who was primarily a bookseller and presumably took the risk and the final profit. The earliest example of this was the printing of Robert Jones' *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* in 1601 by Peter Short for Matthew Selman, a bookseller who had clearly not been put off music publishing by his entanglement in the dispute between East and Eastland over Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*.⁶⁵ Over the ensuing twenty years, as Figure 5.5 (overleaf) shows, this arrangement became the norm.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 4, pp. 174-5.

⁶⁵ See Chapter 4, pp. 178-9.

Figure 5.5: Percentage of Music printed in England, 1588-1620, published by Booksellers



Whilst this new arrangement probably meant that composers no longer had to find the money to publish their work, it also meant that decisions on what to publish lay in the hands of non-musician booksellers who might reasonably be expected to stick to a tried and tested formula. This may have been a contributing factor in the continued concentration on madrigals and lute ayres between 1600 and 1620. Morley himself might have encountered some difficulty in selling the idea of his new-fangled English madrigals to a bookseller in 1593. Of course, there was no reason why composers should not have continued to publish their own material, but other changes, discussed below,⁶⁶ made this less likely to happen.

Rights to previously published music lay with its printer rather than its publisher, and these rights were formally passed on to successors. Thus Humphrey Lownes acquired Short's

⁶⁶ See below, pp. 254-8.

music copyrights when he married Short's widow, Emma,⁶⁷ whilst East's music rights eventually went, in 1611, to a consortium of two booksellers, John Browne and Matthew Lownes (brother of Humphrey) and a printer, Thomas Snodham, who had worked for East and continued to print on behalf of the group. Not all East's copy was transferred, which suggests that this was a commercial transaction between Lucretia East and the new owners. The choice of titles included in the deal is probably therefore indicative of what was considered potentially profitable in 1611. The list entered in the Stationers' Company Register on 3 September 1611 is as follows:

Birdes Lullabye of 5 partes. [*Psalmes, sonnets, and Songes?*]
Birdes second sett to 3, 4, 5, and 6 partes. [*Songes of Sundrie Natures?*]
Birdes 5 partes latyne liber primus. [*Liber primus sacrarum cantionum*]
Batsons sett to 3, 4, 5, and 6 partes.
Bathes Introduction to musique.
Dowlandes second booke of Ayres.
Morleyes 2 partes Englishe and Italian.
Morleyes 3 partes.
Morleyes 4 partes.
Morleyes Fa laes. [*First Booke of Balletts*]
Morleyes selected of 5 partes.
Morleyes ORIANAes to 5 and 6 partes.
Orlandoes 2 partes. [*Lassus, Novae ... cantiones suavissime*]
Kyrbyes sett to 4, 5 and 6 partes.
Wylbyes first sett to 3, 4, 5, and 6 partes.
Wylkes sett to 3, 4, 5, and 6 partes
Wylkes fa laes. [*Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces*]
Wylkes 5 and 6 partes.
Yonges first sett to 4, 5, and 6 partes. [*Musica Transalpina*]
Yonges second sett to 5 and 6 partes [*Musica Transalpina. The Second Booke*]⁶⁸

The omissions from this list are particularly interesting. The exclusion of old, outdated works, such as Whythorne's *Duos* (1590) and Mundy's *Songs and Psalmes* (1594), is not surprising, nor is the omission of East's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* (now controlled by the Stationers' Company), nor the absence of the bulk of Byrd's catholic devotional volumes. It

⁶⁷ Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 94.

⁶⁸ Arber, *Transcripts*, iii. 465.

appears, though, that Browne, Lownes and Snodham did not anticipate a market for reprints of recent lute books by Robinson, Pilkington or Danyel, nor the part book sets of Michael East, Youll and Croce. Their focus was firmly on the core madrigal repertory, along with Byrd's more accessible volumes. As a result of this transfer, these three stationers owned the rights to a high proportion of existing material and they went on to produce most of the new publications. Nevertheless, as the index of works produced by printers and publishers in *STC2* shows, music was no more than a sideline for this group.⁶⁹

When Morley died, in October 1602, his patent still had a further seventeen years to run, to September 1619. Peter Short acknowledged the monopoly in 1603 when he printed Dowland's *Third and Last Booke of Songs* 'by the assignement of a Patent granted to T. Morley'. Thereafter, there was no mention of the patent until 1606, when William Barley decided to stake a claim to it on the basis of his previous status as Morley's assign. Whilst the disappearance of references to the monopoly on title pages in the interim may have been due in part to uncertainty over who now held it, it may also have been a response to the political situation. In 1601, Parliament had created a considerable *furor* over the number of patents in operation, forcing Elizabeth to concede that some of her grants of monopolies for basic commodities were injurious to the population at large and that these should be revoked. Other monopolies could be challenged through the legal system, but this does not appear to have happened to Morley's patent, although it was on a list of monopolies granted since the fifteenth year of Elizabeth's reign read out in Parliament by Sir Robert Cecil on 23 November 1601.⁷⁰ On his arrival in England in 1603, James I was quick to grant new monopolies, but

⁶⁹ *STC2*, iii. Index 1: Printers and Publishers, 30, 109-110, 158.

⁷⁰ Hartley, *Proceedings in Parliaments*, iii. 390.

soon ran into political difficulties, resulting in a temporary suspension of grants to individuals in 1603.⁷¹

By 1606 the dust had settled and Barley was probably stirred into taking action by East's production of new hidden editions of Morley's *First Booke of Balletts*, the *Triumphes of Oriana* and Wilbye's *First Set of English Madrigals*, all at one time within the scope of Morley's monopoly. East and Barley took their dispute to the Stationer's Company Court on 25 June 1606. East retained the rights to his copy, whilst Barley was acknowledged to have rights under the patent; thereafter most music publications referred to Barley as patentee.⁷² East was required to pay Barley 20s 0d before starting to print, and to provide him with six sets of books from the ensuing print run. The same fee was set for Thomas Adams on 30 October 1609, with arrears of 40s 0d to be paid immediately.⁷³

Most commentators on the history of the music printing monopoly assume that Barley operated it until he died in 1614, and no doubt he himself expected to hold it until its expiry in 1619. However, this was not strictly the case. Barley had established his claim at the court of the Stationers' Company, but the monopoly was actually a royal grant, operated under the jurisdiction of the Privy Council. It appears that Morley's widow, Susan, was still in possession of the letters patent in 1612, when she petitioned the King for the assignment of the patent to another stationer, Edward Allde. This information has surfaced from time to time – for example, in an article in *The Antiquary* in 1885⁷⁴ and in Arnold Hunt's 1997 comprehensive list of book trade patents for the period 1603-1640⁷⁵ – but has never been fully

⁷¹ Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Project: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 99-100.

⁷² William A. Jackson (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-40* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), 19-20.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁷⁴ T. G. Ordish, 'Early English Inventions, Part III', *The Antiquary*, 12 (1885), 113.

⁷⁵ Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents 1604-1640', 44.

incorporated into the history of the music monopoly. Alde was granted the monopoly on 22 October 1612:

Knowe yee that for the speciall affection and good will that wee have and beare to the science of musicke and for the advauncement thereof at the humble suite and nomynation of our welbeloved subjecte Suzanna hardanville widowe heretofore wief of Thomas Morley sometime one of the gentlemen of the Chappell to our deere sister the late Queene Elizabeth of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion have given and graunted priviledge and lycence and by these presents ... doe give and graunte full priviledge and lycence unto our welbeloved subjecte Edward Alday Cittizen and Stationer of London and his Assignes that hee the saide Edwarde Alday and his Assignes and his and their deputies Factors and servantes onelie and none others for and duringe the space of twentie and one yeares nexte ensuinge the date of this our licence shall and maie by him or themselves imprinte or cause to bee imprinted any and as manie sett songe sonnettes and songes in partes as to him or them shall from tyme to tyme seeme expediente ...⁷⁶

The remainder of Alde's patent is closely modelled on Morley's, but with the potentially lucrative, but probably unenforceable, inclusion in the scope of hand-ruled music paper as well as printed music paper:

... and shall and maie rule or cause to bee ruled by hande or impression all everie or anie paper suche as maie serve for the printing or pricking of anie songe or songes ...⁷⁷

Two conditions also were added: firstly, the patent explicitly excluded ballads from the scope of the monopoly; and, secondly, Alde stood to lose the monopoly if he infringed its conditions. Earlier, in May that year, in an attempt to stop the publication of lewd and unauthorised ballads, the printing of all new and previously unregistered ballads had been granted by the Stationers' Company to a group of only five printers, one of whom was Alde,⁷⁸ so it was presumably necessary to ensure that his music monopoly did not enable him to disadvantage his fellow ballad printers.

⁷⁶ *Lna*, C 66/1957/17.

⁷⁷ *Lna*, C 66/1957/17.

⁷⁸ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 75; Jackson, *Court of Stationers' Company*, 53.

Whilst it could be considered a slight digression, it is worth considering why Morley's widow should have taken the action she did at precisely this point. It has been impossible, so far, to find very much information about her, but what there is does shed some light on this question. It is clear from Alde's patent that at some point after Morley's death Susan married someone by the name of Hardanville, and a closer reading of the patent suggests that she was a widow again in 1612. Fortunately, Hardanville is a very unusual name, probably of French, and possibly Huguenot, origin. On 21 June 1599 a pardon was:

... graunted to Sir William Woodhouse knight Raffe Verney, Thomas Dixon and Jonathan Hardanville, being indited by the Coroners inquest of manslaughter for the death of Edward Broadhurst *with* a dispensacion for putting in securatio for the good behavior. Subscribed by the Lord Chieffe Justice. and Mr Coke her *Majesties* Atturney generall.⁷⁹

This is one of only two contemporary records so far discovered for anyone named Hardanville. Whilst much is unexplained, the Jonathan Hardanville indicted and pardoned for manslaughter could later have become Susan Morley's husband. Sir William Woodhouse, with whom Hardanville was associated, and for whom he may have worked, was a member of a Norfolk family, the son of Sir Henry Woodhouse and Ann Bacon, who in turn was the daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon. Ann Bacon's sister, Elizabeth, was Lady Peryam, Susan's previous employer.⁸⁰ It would be pure speculation to suggest that Susan turned to her previous employer's family for help after Morley's death, but it would certainly provide a plausible route to her meeting Jonathan Hardanville.

The second Hardanville record is a probate record for Jonathan Hardanville alias Voicelles, of the City of London, who died overseas. Sir William Woodhouse's brother had overseas interests, eventually becoming Governor of Bermuda in 1623-6, so it is possible that

⁷⁹ *Lna*, SP 38/6: Privy Council docquet dated 21 June 1599.

⁸⁰ Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 11 vols (London: William Miller, 1805-1810) ix. 353.

Hardanville was involved in some way with his enterprises. Administration was granted to Hardanville's widow, Suzanne Browne alias Hardanville alias Voicelles, on 12 December 1614.⁸¹ Whilst the patent suggests that Susan was a widow by 1612, it may have taken some time to achieve probate, especially if there was no body. In 1612 Susan may have known that her husband was dead but have been unable at that point to resolve his estate. In such circumstances she would have needed to exploit all possible sources of income, including arranging for the transfer of the music monopoly to Edward Allde, presumably for a fee.

It is difficult to understand why Allde should have wanted the music monopoly, unless he felt it would complement his ballad printing rights or would help him to achieve an (ultimately unfulfilled) ambition to establish himself as a music printer. There may also, of course, have been a reasonable potential income from the music paper. Having started his career in the 1580s as a printer-publisher, Allde moved into the role of trade printer, with about two-thirds of his work being for identified booksellers. Much of the rest of his output was quite esoteric and was therefore probably paid for by its authors.⁸² After his acquisition of the monopoly he briefly ventured into printing music, in 1614 when he produced Ravenscroft's *A Briefe Discourse* and Campion's *Description of a Maske* with its associated *Ayres*, and in 1615 when he printed Amner's *Sacred Hymnes*. He seems to have borrowed East's typeface, now the property of Thomas Snodham, in order to print Campion's work,⁸³ but the other works, and a surviving ballad, were printed using the type originally made for Morley and Barley,⁸⁴ presumably also acquired from Susan Hardanville (and perhaps the main reason for Allde's dealings with her). Allde appears not to have taken action to enforce his monopoly, so music prints continued to name Barley as the patentee until 1613 (the year

⁸¹ London, Guildhall Library, MS 09168, Register 15, f. 215v.

⁸² McKerrow, 'Edward Allde', 131-5.

⁸³ Bruce Pattison, 'Notes on Early Music Printing', *The Library*, Fourth Series, 19 (1939), 418-19.

⁸⁴ Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 86.

before Barley died). Thereafter, publications carried the inscription ‘cum priv.’, but not Allde’s name. In theory, his monopoly ran until 1633, but an entry in Stationers’ Company court book for 10 March 1630 refers not to Allde but to the ‘Partenors in the musicke Patent’, who were granted a lease of a new warehouse.

It has previously been argued, by Krummel⁸⁵ and to a lesser extent by Smith,⁸⁶ that the music printing monopoly had a dampening effect on music publishing in England. This was undoubtedly the case until 1588, when East began to work with Byrd, but not so obviously true after that year. Appendix 5.3 shows the total publications for each year, broken down into first editions, subsequent acknowledged editions and reprints, and hidden editions. The periods in which the monopoly was in force are overlain on this chart, showing approximately where in a year a change in the status of the monopoly took place. The steep increase in publications after the end of Byrd’s monopoly in January 1596 is evident, but there is no immediate decline as a result of Morley receiving his patent in September 1598. As discussed above, the decline comes later, in 1601 and 1602, when Morley was arguably operating his monopoly in the most open way so far. Three printers – East, Short and the Morley/Barley partnership – were authorised by Morley to both commission and print works, subject to the appropriate payments which, whilst significant, were not sufficiently punitive to act as a major disincentive to publishing. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the fall in publications at this point can be attributed to the constraining effects of the monopoly. The uncertainty over the status of the monopoly after Morley’s death was probably a contributing factor in the modest level of publications from 1603 to 1606, but the loss both of Morley’s own output and of the impetus he had given to music printing as a whole must have had a significant impact.

⁸⁵ Krummel, *English Music Printing*, 32-33.

⁸⁶ Smith, *Thomas East*, 127-131.

After asserting his rights in the monopoly in 1606, Barley's only direct involvement in the process was apparently the collection of his monopoly fees. This does not appear to have depressed activity: whilst under his control music publishing was at a level comparable with the last years of the sixteenth century. At the same time as he gained formal control of the monopoly Barley transferred from the Drapers' to the Stationers' Company, and this brought both the control and the production of music publication within the remit of stationers, and more in line with other types of publication. After Barley's death in 1614 the monopoly seems to have had little impact on the steadily declining output of printed music in England.

The production of hidden editions might be a further indicator of the negative impact of the music monopoly, and Appendix 5.3 suggests that this might be the case. However, a more detailed examination of the editions concerned shows that this is not really so. East's reprint of *Musica Transalpina* in 1593 or 1594 was almost certainly produced covertly to avoid the cost of an acknowledged reprint, and in so doing he not only avoided paying a monopoly fee but also 'skimmed' paper from other print runs to save the cost of buying paper.⁸⁷ His next hidden editions date from 1596, when it was not the operation of the monopoly but the uncertainty of its cessation that must have triggered this approach. The two hidden editions of 1600 are, in fact, reprints of two of Byrd's Masses, which were neither dated nor acknowledged as East's work when they first appeared. The next known hidden editions appeared in 1605, again in a period of uncertainty over the monopoly, whilst in 1610 Thomas Snodham appears to have printed two works after East's death, using East's imprint. The most likely reason for this is that East's widow, Lucretia, originally transferred many of her husband's music copies to John Browne, who registered them in December 1610, subject to no other claim being made for them. The following year, they were re-registered to

⁸⁷ See Chapter 4, pp. 155-6.

Browne, Snodham and Matthew Lownes. Thus it seems that if the monopoly engendered clandestine publication, this was the result not of the normal operation of the monopoly but of uncertainty about its status.

Composers and Publication

When Morley embarked on his publishing career in the 1590s, publishing was probably the best way for him to achieve an income, as well as recognition, as a composer, alongside his income as a performer. Ten years later, with the accession of James I to the English throne, interest in, and expenditure on, theatrical performance had increased enormously, providing new ways for composers to earn substantial amounts of money for their work.

The theatre – especially the private coterie theatres which flourished under James I – provided not only a market for music (this is well known), but also a crucial training ground in entrepreneurship, arranging and collaborative skills for composers, and virtuosity among performers ... The aristocratic audience assembled there were discerning listeners, potential patrons *and* potential purchasers of other musical services, such as music lessons.⁸⁸

Music was now seen as something to be paid for, along with stage sets, costumes and musicians, and the most sought-after composers could attract significant payments. Thus, in 1610, Ferrabosco and Robert Johnson were paid, respectively, £20 ‘for making the songs’ and £5 ‘for setting the songs to the lutes’ for the Queen’s Christmas masque;⁸⁹ in May 1611, Johnson received £20 for ‘making the Daunces’ for a performance of Ben Jonson’s *Oberon* paid for by the Prince of Wales; and in February 1613 Johnson was paid £45 for ‘musicke and songs’ for the masque put on by the Middle Temple and Lincoln’s Inn as part of the celebrations of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick, Elector Palatine.⁹⁰ This move

⁸⁸ Kenny, ‘The Uses of Lute Song’, 285-6.

⁸⁹ Ashbee, *Records*, iv. 31.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, iv. 38-39.

to place a value on music for the theatre extended to other areas, too, so that, as well as receiving the usual *ex gratia* payments from patrons, John Coprario was able to earn money for his compositions in a variety of circumstances. The ten shillings he received from William Petre for ‘lessons’ in 1601 was little more than the traditional Tudor patron’s gift, but in October 1605 he was paid £5 for music for a performance by Sir Robert Cecil’s musicians for Queen Anne; in 1607, £12 for songs for a banquet given by the Merchant Taylors’ company for the King; and in 1612, £20 for music for Campion’s masque for Princess Elizabeth’s wedding celebrations.⁹¹ The relative value now placed on composition is illustrated by comparing the £45 Johnson received for his music for the Lincoln’s Inn masque with the £2 10s 0d paid to each of the most eminent lutenists – Dowland, Cutting and Rosseter – who took part in it.⁹²

Kenny suggests that a composer was more likely to achieve a court appointment as a result of theatrical success than from book dedications.⁹³ To support her argument she compares the careers of Robert Johnson and John Dowland. Johnson was apprenticed to the household of the Lord Chamberlain, Sir George Carey, from 1596. Carey was a prominent theatrical patron, and this would have provided Johnson with access to theatrical circles long before he was able to command the sums for his music described above. The court establishment was extended in 1604 to create a place for him as a lutenist with a combined salary and livery of £46 10s 10d, and from 1610 he held a succession of additional appointments, initially in the Prince of Wales’ household, at a salary of £40.⁹⁴ Dowland, on the other hand, dedicated his first publication to Carey in 1597 but struggled to achieve a

⁹¹ Christopher S. Field, ‘Coprario, John’, *Grove Music Online* [online resource], (2007-2010) www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/06428, accessed 17 May 2010.

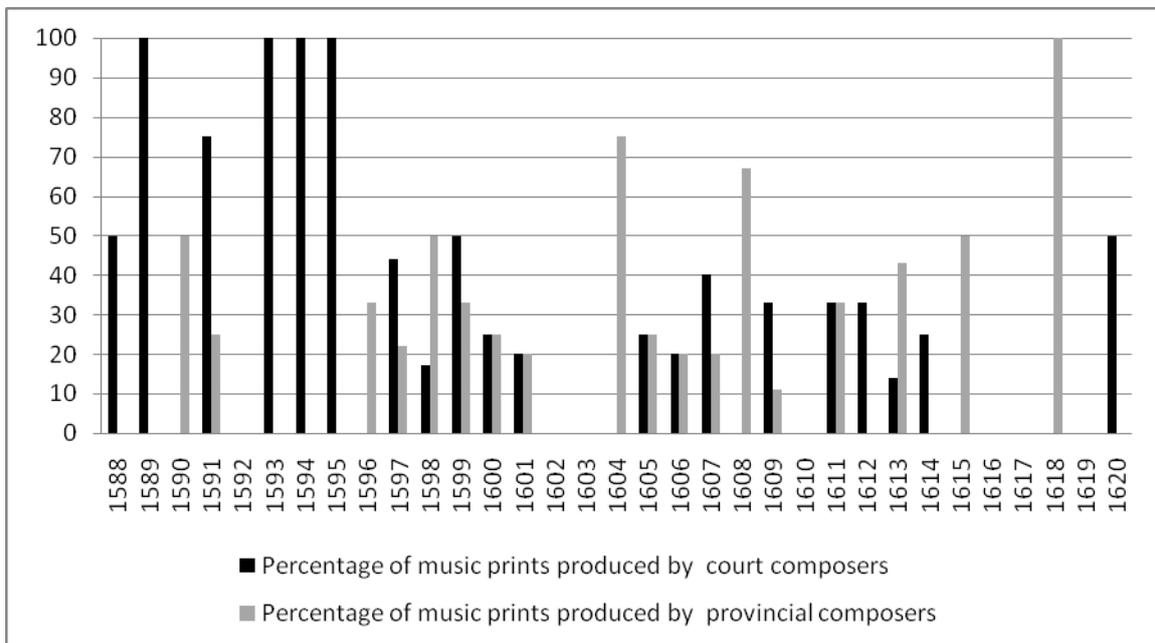
⁹² Ashbee, *Records*, iv. 38.

⁹³ Kenny, ‘The Uses of Lute Song’, 286-7.

⁹⁴ Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), ii. 630-32.

court appointment until 1612, when he, too, was appointed as a lutenist,⁹⁵ at which point he ceased publishing. Of course, additional payment for musicians' services over and above their salaries was still often a matter of patronage and gifts, but the rewards at court were now much higher than they had been in Elizabeth's time, making a court appointment much more desirable. For example, Gibbons was granted bonds forfeited to the crown in 1615 worth £150.⁹⁶ Taken together, the combined opportunities of the theatre and court in London for the foremost composers meant that there was little incentive to publish, especially as they were at the vanguard of the introduction of new developments, such as the declamatory song, discussed above. This is reflected in the steep drop in the proportion of publications coming from the pens of court-based composers shown in Figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Location of Composers of Music printed in England, 1588-1620



This declining interest in publishing amongst the country's foremost composers, who were largely employed at court, meant that publishers had to fall back on the works of lesser-

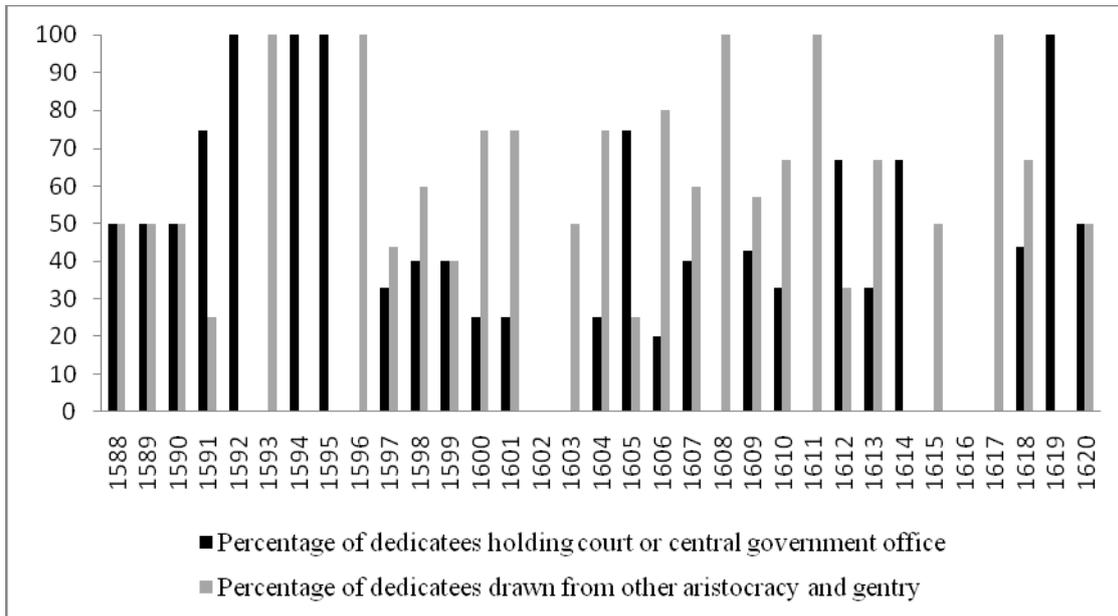
⁹⁵ Ibid., i. 354-7.

⁹⁶ Ashbee, *Records*, iv. 43.

known musicians. A few composers based in London, with theatrical connections but not employed at court, such as Robert Jones and Thomas Campion, produced a steady output, but there was a marked rise in music by composers from the provinces, also shown in Figure 5.6, most of whom produced one or, at best, two publications. One exception was Michael East, who started his career in London before taking up a succession of cathedral posts and who produced seven sets of published music between 1604 and 1638.

The relationship between composers and their patrons is explored in the third section of Appendix 5.1. Most publications (88%) had a dedicatee, and of these around 60% were apparently known personally to the composer. Those without a dedication were generally publications undertaken directly by printers, such as East's Lassus edition of 1598, or unashamedly popular volumes, such as Ravenscroft's works. The early composer-publishers usually picked holders of high office who might help them in their next career step, but a majority of provincial composers dedicated their works to an employer or local patron, which in turn meant, increasingly, that publications were dedicated to relatively unknown members of the gentry. This trend is shown in Figure 5.7 on the next page.

Figure 5.7: Occupation and Status of Dedicatees of Music printed in England, 1588-1620



Whilst most composers claimed that their decision to publish was no more than an act of love and gratitude towards their chosen patron, William Corkine was disarmingly honest when, in 1610, he virtually admitted that he was publishing because everyone else was:

It was long before the use of Notes and Tableture came into our English Presse, but having found the way, there are few Nations yeeld more impressions in that kind than ours. Every Musition according to his abilitie increasing the number. Among so many, I have now made one ...⁹⁷

Even as he wrote his enthusiastic, but rather insular, assessment of English music printing, it had reached its peak and was starting to decline.

MORLEY'S LEGACY

Morley succeeded in publishing, and encouraging other composers to publish, a substantial body of the types of music he deemed suitable for his target audience. It is relatively easy to record what was published, but harder to measure how well it was received.

The most straightforward indication of sales and demand is, of course, the production of new

⁹⁷ William Corkine, *Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl* (London: John Browne, 1610), Dedication.

editions and print runs, but evidence (admittedly anecdotal) of ownership and use, gathered from the examination of surviving copies of prints, can also provide useful insights.

Contemporary reprints and new editions

Of one hundred and sixteen first editions published between 1588 and 1620, sixteen were reprinted at least once within this timescale, as is shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Reprints and Second Editions of Music first published between 1588 and 1620

	Title	Publication dates				
Yonge	<i>Musica Transalpina</i>	1588	<i>1593/4</i>			
Byrd	<i>Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs</i>	1588	<i>1599/1600</i>	<i>1606/7</i>		
	<i>Songs of Sundrie Natures</i>	1589	<i>1596/7</i>	<i>1610</i>		
	<i>Mass a 4</i>	1593	<i>1599/1600</i>			
	<i>Mass a 3</i>	1594	<i>1599/1600</i>			
Dowland	<i>First Booke of Songes</i>	1597	1600	1603	1606	1613
Morley	<i>Canzonets to Three Voyces</i>	1593	<i>1596/7</i>	1602	1606	1631
	<i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces</i>	1594	1600	<i>1610/11</i>		
	<i>First Booke of Balletts</i>	1595	1600	<i>1605/6</i>		
	<i>Canzonets to Two Voyces</i>	1595	1619			
	<i>Consort Lessons</i>	1599	1611			
	<i>The Triumphes of Oriana</i>	1601	<i>1605/6</i>			
	<i>Plaine and Easie Introduction</i>	1597	1608			
Weelkes	<i>Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces</i>	1598	1608			
Wilbye	<i>First Set of English Madrigals</i>	1598	<i>1605/6</i>	<i>1610/11</i>		
Ravenscroft	<i>Pammelia</i>	1609	1618			

Notes: Excludes Thomas East's *Whole Booke of Psalmes*; dates in italics are estimated dates for hidden editions; those in lighter print are estimated dates for undated publications.

These reprints were largely of madrigals or part songs, with the exception of Byrd's Masses, which had a very particular market, and Dowland's *First Booke of Songes*, which was extremely successful, running to five editions and reprints, but which seems to be the only lute book to have been reprinted as a result of sales demand. The isolated success of

Dowland's *First Booke* amongst an output of thirty lute books can be attributed partly to the popularity of many of the individual songs it contains and partly to the fact that the pieces can all be performed perfectly well by voices (or voices and instruments) without a lute. This makes them suitable for the same market as madrigals. Byrd's *Songes of Sundrie Natures* appear to have been popular enough for East to issue a hidden edition of them in 1596 or 1597, and East's widow produced a further edition in 1610. Byrd took particular care to aim this volume at the amateur market, describing its contents thus:

... whereof some are easie and plaine to sing, others more hard and difficult, but all, such as any yong practicioner in singing, with a little foresight, may easely performe.⁹⁸

Two undated reprints of *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* were also produced by East.

One of the striking facts revealed by Table 5.5 is that virtually everything that merited a new print run was originally published before 1600. This was partly a matter of timing. Early reprints, such as the hidden edition of *Musica Transalpina* in 1593 or 1594, were needed because there was still little printed repertoire available, whilst at the other extreme, works first published in the second decade of the seventeenth century probably appeared too late for sales to justify a reprint before the music they contained had started to go out of fashion. But timing is only part of the explanation: the reputation of the composer was almost certainly important as well, and probably the quality of the music, too. Byrd, Morley and Dowland were well-known, and their music is never less than well-crafted. They, and Ravenscroft too, published regularly, thus building a presence in the market. Amongst their contemporaries, only Weelkes and Wilbye achieved a reprint. In the early seventeenth century the composers of highest reputation – Gibbons, Ferrabosco, Coprario, Lanier and Johnson, for instance – produced relatively little in print, leaving publication to others who

⁹⁸ Byrd, *Songes of Sundrie Natures* (London: [Byrd], 1589), 'To the courteous reader'.

had neither a public following nor the resources to produce enough material to make an impact on the market. It is hard to ignore the fact that more of Morley's publications were reprinted, and more often, than those of his contemporaries. This strongly suggests that potential purchasers liked his music and that it met their needs. Demand was steady enough for the printers and publishers who stood to gain or lose from reprinting to be sufficiently confident to invest their money in the undertaking. Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, firmly aimed at the aspiring urban dweller, also merited a second edition in 1608.

Ownership and Use of Music

Various types of evidence for the ownership of music in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have been examined in previous chapters of this study. In Chapter 3 household accounts and probate inventories were used to demonstrate the ownership of books, music and musical instruments in order to reach a tentative assessment of the size of the potential market for printed music around 1600. Examples were taken not only from aristocratic and university circles, but also from the middle classes in Norwich. In Chapter 4 the prices paid for music were discussed, drawing particularly on Lynn Hulse's detailed examination of the household records of aristocratic families.⁹⁹

For this chapter, individual exemplars of music prints preserved in a number of collections have been examined for evidence of ownership and day-to-day use. Time constraints and practical considerations have prevented the examination of every substantial holding of prints, even in Britain, but those consulted are probably no more or less representative than those not visited. The collections that have been used are listed in the bibliography at the end of this thesis. The results of this analysis provide examples of how

⁹⁹ Hulse, 'Musical Patronage', Appendix V, 325-340.

owners of music used and treated it, but cannot provide comprehensive, statistically-based conclusions.

Not surprisingly, every collection has a number of pristine copies of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century prints: their very survival is probably the result of having been put onto a shelf in a library or into a chest without ever having been used. What is more surprising is the number of surviving examples with dirty, worn and torn outer pages, suggesting that, at the very least, they were handled regularly or left lying out in people's homes, unbound, until they eventually found their way into collectors' libraries much later on. A minority have names written on them, often several, in a variety of hands, suggesting a succession of owners. For example, the Glasgow University copy of Weelkes' *Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. & 6. Voyces* (1597)¹⁰⁰ looks very used and worn. The name 'Conyers D'arcy' is written on each part book in a contemporary or near-contemporary hand and is almost trimmed off some of them by a later binder. The books also have 'Wⁱ: R' inscribed on the title pages. Very occasionally, music has a date written on it as well as a name, but few provide as much information as the copy of the cantus part of Wilbye's *First Set of English Madrigals*, of 1598, held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris:

The Gyft of My Very Honor[broken paper]
and virtuous Cousonis the Lady
Elizabeth, Sarah, Caroline, Mary
and Bridgitte Codringtonnanis
In the Reigne of hur Sovireign
Lady Elizabeth A. D. 1599¹⁰¹

This was obviously purchased soon after it was published. Another example of an early purchase is a copy of Allison's *An Howres Recreation* (1606) in the library of the Royal

¹⁰⁰ *Gu*, Sp Coll R.a.45.

¹⁰¹ *F-Pn*, [Rés. Vm⁷ 649.

College of Music in London.¹⁰² The bassus part book has ‘Oct 1606 to R H’ written on the title page, and also what appears to be the price – ‘pretium [?]s 4d.’ – although unfortunately the number of shillings is obliterated by an ink blot or other mark.

Doodles, or pen trials, are quite common. It is difficult to judge quite how early in the life of a volume such marks were made, but their presence certainly suggests both that the music was readily to hand for doodling upon and that it was not considered particularly precious.

Nearly all surviving prints in libraries now have nineteenth- or twentieth-century library bindings, but a few early bindings survive. A cantus part of *Musica Transalpina* held by the Royal College of Music¹⁰³ retains part of an early binding within its modern one. The early binding appears to be part of a ship’s log written in April 1623, when, judging by the record of the ship’s position, the writer was apparently off the coast of Africa, in the Gulf of Guinea.¹⁰⁴ ‘Yong Cantus Musica Transalpina’ is written at right-angles across the log in another hand. This provides a good example of the reuse of whatever paper or parchment was available for everyday bindings. Cambridge University Library holds a partial set of *The Triumphes of Oriana* bound in recycled parchment.¹⁰⁵ The altus cover, for instance, had previously been a lease between the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral and a Thomas Norton.

The inventory of instruments and music held at Hengrave Hall in 1603¹⁰⁶ indicates that several publications might be bound together into part books, as illustrated by this entry:

¹⁰² *Lcm*, B189/1-5.

¹⁰³ *Lcm*, B187/1.

¹⁰⁴ Latt. 4 deg. 42m; Long. 2 deg. 22m. west.

¹⁰⁵ *Cu*, Syn.7.60.203.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix 3.1.

vi books covered with parchment. containing vi setts in a book, with songs of iiii, v, vi, vii, and viii partes

This practice may have been quite common, as a significant number of now separate part books in libraries have handwritten page or folio numbers in early seventeenth-century hands which suggest that they were at some stage bound as part of a larger sequence. A surviving collection of this type is the Royal College of Music's complete set of six bound volumes (B198), one for each part, containing the publications listed in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Contents of Composite Part Books (B198), held in the Library of the Royal College of Music

Composer	Title of work	Year of publication
Ward	<i>First Set of English Madrigals</i>	1613
Bateson	<i>First Set of English Madrigales</i>	1604
	<i>Second Set of Madrigales</i>	1618
East	<i>Third Set of Bookes</i>	1610
	<i>Fourth Set of Bookes</i>	1618
Gibbons	<i>First Set of Madrigals and Motets</i>	1612
Morley	<i>Canzonets ... to Foure Voyces</i>	1597
	<i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces</i>	1600 edn
	<i>Canzonets ... to Three Voyces</i>	1606 edn
Weelkes	<i>Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites</i>	1608
East	<i>Fift Set of Bookes</i>	1618
Morley	<i>First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces</i>	1595

These volumes are bound in vellum-covered board, with simple tooled gold decoration; traces of blue ties remain, and most of the volumes have rings or brackets for rings from which to

hang them. A list of contents is handwritten – not all in the same hand – on the verso of the cover or on the first page of each volume, along with the number of publications included.

Even though the binding together of so many publications results in thick volumes, the Royal College of Music set (B198) was clearly intended for practical performance. A continuous sequence of handwritten page numbers, which appears to be contemporary with the binding, is provided, but there are gaps in the sequence in those volumes that do not contain particular publications, so that each piece starts on the same page number in all the volumes. An example of a binding instruction is preserved in the Cambridge University Library's copy of Byrd's *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum*.¹⁰⁷ The following is written in the Contratenor part book:

binde this set
binde the lattine songes after the [rest cut off in later binding process]

Evidence of (probably later) use of the B198 set is seen in the handwritten barring of many works, and the numbering of bars in some. The barring tends to appear in the same works across the part books and has been carried out by a variety of pens and inks. Other types of annotation also indicate active use of music. One of the British Library's copies of Morley's *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces* (1594)¹⁰⁸ has instructions written into the bassus part book on the bottom of the title page. The ink is now very faded, but it appears to be an *aide-mémoire* based on hexachord practice:

To finde out *your mee*

If Beemee or befabemee be sharpe then that is all waies *your mee*
If one flatt be in Beemee or befabeemee then is *your mee* in a lamae
If be another flat in Elamee then is *your mee* in dlamiso or in dree

How to singe when *you* knowe which *your mee* is.

If mee be above then you muste singe t[his] wise la, sol, fa & then mee againe

¹⁰⁷ *Cu*, Syn. 6.59.3.

¹⁰⁸ *Lbl*, k.3.i.12.

If mee be belowe then must you singe t[his] wise – fa, sol la fa then mee againe in all cliftes & in all partes.

(The first section explains how to find the third of the hexachord (mi), whilst the second is concerned with mutation from one hexachord to another.)

Sometimes additional music was written into printed part books. Thus, two extra pieces were added to the Royal College of Music *Musica Transalpina* cantus part discussed above,¹⁰⁹ using spaces at the bottom of pages. The first is attributed in a handwritten addition to the contents page to ‘W. Bird’ and is indeed the cantus part of Byrd’s four-part setting of ‘This sweet and merry day’, published in Watson’s *Madrigalls Englished* in 1590. The words in the handwritten version are modified, though, with a much more patriotic tone than in the version published by Watson, perhaps having been reworked for an Accession Day (17 November) celebration. Both Watson’s version and this one have a refrain that opens with the same line – ‘O Beauteous Queene of second Troy’ – and this refrain is also found in one of the poems set for the 1591 entertainment for the Queen at Elvetham.¹¹⁰ The other insertion is a setting of Nicholas Breton’s ‘Phillida and Corridon’. Again, this has a possible connection with the Elvetham entertainment, which included a three-part setting of this text. The music added to the *Musica Transalpina* part book is described on the contents page as being in three parts, but no composer is named. It is not the setting by John Baldwin that Ernest Brennecke suggests was the work performed at Elvetham,¹¹¹ nor is it the version published by Michael East in his *Madrigales to 3. 4. and 5. Partes* (1604), suggested by an annotation in pencil in the cantus part book itself. It seems most likely that these additions were made by an early owner of the book during Elizabeth’s reign some time in the 1590s. Examples of similar manuscript additions to copies of English music printed between 1571

¹⁰⁹ *Lcm*, B187/1.

¹¹⁰ Ernest Brennecke, ‘The Entertainment at Elvetham, 1591’, in John H. Long (ed.), *Music in English Renaissance Drama* (Lexington : University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 39.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 44-51.

and 1632 now held in the Library of Congress and the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington are documented by David Greer.¹¹²

The bookplates in many surviving copies of printed music from around 1600 show that the books were later bought by private collectors or public institutions, particularly from the nineteenth century onwards. Some volumes, however, demonstrate several generations of use by individuals before that, sometimes extending into the eighteenth century. Inside the seventeenth-century binding of the British Library's copy of Allison's *Psalmes of David in Meter*¹¹³ 'John Parkinson His Book' has been written several times, and on the title page 'John Parkinson 1673'. 'Jack Mathew' appears faintly on the inside front cover in what may be an earlier hand, whilst inside the back cover the names 'James Bix' and 'John Hethersee' also appear. A copy of Robert Jones' *A Musicall Dreame* in Glasgow University Library¹¹⁴ has an illegibly faint name next to the date '1719', whilst on the last page is written 'Given to me by B. J. from Kings Charlton 1770'.

The notice of the sale in 1690 of what the vendor Henry Playford described as 'A Curious Collection of Musick-Books' provides a rare snapshot of what may have been a private collection, assembled over the space of the previous century.¹¹⁵ As well as the manuscript, or 'prick'd', items discussed earlier in this chapter,¹¹⁶ there were at least seventy-two printed items. Almost half of these came from the period 1588-1620, and most were sets of part books. The collection included works by Weelkes, East, Ferrabosco, Dowland (his translation of Ornithoparcus), Byrd, Gibbons, Bull, Wilbye, Morley, Campion, Damon, Ward, Holborne, Amner, Lichfield, Allison, Bennet, Farnaby and Ravenscroft. The casual style of

¹¹² David Greer, 'Manuscript Additions in Early Printed Music', *Music & Letters*, 72 (1991), 523-35; idem, 'Manuscript Additions in "Parthenia" and other Early English Printed Music in America', *Music & Letters*, 77 (1976), 169-182.

¹¹³ *Lbl*, k.7.f.10.

¹¹⁴ *Gu*, Sp Coll R.x.7.

¹¹⁵ Playford, *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books*.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 243.

the description of many of these older items in the catalogue – ‘Mr. Morley’s Fa-la’s for 5 voices, printed in quarto, two sets’, or ‘Mr. Dowland’s Introduction for singing, in folio’ – compared with the fuller descriptions of many of the newer works, suggests a continuing familiarity with the repertory.

On 5 March 1741, Frances Clare, probably a child from the evidence of her writing, wrote her name in the cantus part of Wilbye’s 1598 madrigals now held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹¹⁷ It is bound individually, but when Frances wrote her name it was probably the first item in a larger bound volume, including works by Wilbye, Weelkes, Watson, Morley and Yonge, also now in the Bibliothèque Nationale and also bound individually, but with handwritten numbering that indicates that they were once part of the same sequence. In the copy of Weelkes’ *Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces* (1598) the same hand has written ‘no bode [nobody] can sing out of this book’,¹¹⁸ suggesting that music in unbarred, unbeamed, movable type had ceased to be a practical proposition for amateur performers by the mid-eighteenth century.

It was not long, however, before the English madrigal repertory, together with items from Dowland’s *First Booke of Songes* and a selection of Byrd’s consort songs, started to appear in up-to-date editions. Morley rubbed shoulders with a range of later composers in an anthology produced around 1745, entitled *Thesaurus Musicus*,¹¹⁹ whilst from the 1770s individual madrigals appeared as supplements to *The Lady’s Magazine*. For instance, pieces by Morley appeared in the magazine in the following years: 1775 – ‘Go ye my Canzonets’; 1776 – ‘When in the break of morning’; 1783 – ‘Sweet nymph come to thy lover’; 1792 –

¹¹⁷ *F-Pn*, [Rés. Vm⁷ 649.

¹¹⁸ *F-Pn*, [Rés. Vm⁷ 653, xv.

¹¹⁹ *Thesaurus Musicus*. *Collection of two, three, and four Part Songs, several of them never before printed. To which are added some choice Dialogues. Set to musick by the most Eminent Masters ... the whole revis’d, carefully corrected and figur’d by a Judicious Master* (London: John Simpson, [1745]).

‘Now is the month of maying’ (described as a glee for five voices); 1793 – ‘Flora, wilt thou torment me’ (‘a favourite glee’). Pieces also appeared in large anthologies, such as *Apollonian Harmony: a Collection of ... Glees, Catches, Madrigals, Canzonetts, Rounds & Canons ... The Words Consistent with Female Delicacy*, (London: Thompson, [1795?-1798?]), which seem to have resulted from the formation of glee clubs in the late eighteenth century.

This activity prefigured a major revival of interest in the madrigal as choral repertoire in the nineteenth century, illustrated by the appearance of works by a range of madrigalists in the choral and part-song series of publishers such as Cassell and Novello. Byrd’s secular music was thinly represented, with the lullaby from *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* apparently most popular. Alongside these practical performing editions, a growing antiquarian interest in old music resulted in the publication of Edward Rimbault’s edition of Morley’s *First Set of Ballets for Five Voices: Scored from the Original Part Books...* in 1842 by the Musical Antiquarian Society, as well as madrigal volumes by Weelkes and others. The Society also published editions of Byrd’s Masses and the *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum*, but there were few new practical performing editions of Tudor church music. This may be because, in contrast to the secular repertory of Morley and his contemporaries, which survived in multiple printed copies, church music of the period was preserved in a small number of relatively inaccessible manuscript sources.

The revival of interest in late Tudor and early Stuart secular music is illustrated by a summary, provided as Appendix 5.4, of the British Library’s holdings of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of works by Morley. The works chosen during that period indicate a preference for the light end of Morley’s already light genres, with a preponderance of ballets and canzonets. The British Library’s collection of editions of Dowland works from

the same time period demonstrates a similar preference for the more cheerful of his works, such as 'Come away, sweet love' and 'Fine knacks for ladies'. It appears that Morley's assessment of what would suit the amateur musician of the late sixteenth century had lasting appeal.

Although Thomas Morley's publishing activities did not lead to a change in the way in which other composers earned their living, he did leave a significant legacy for the amateur musician. This was the concentrated creation, over a period of less than thirty years, of a collection of music suitable for amateur performance that was fashionable, at least at the outset, without being at the cutting edge technically or intellectually. He achieved this directly, through his own efforts as composer, arranger, publisher and monopolist, and, indirectly, by demonstrating to his contemporaries what they, also, could produce. The result for his own and the next generation was a supply of mass-produced printed music which anyone with a few shillings to spare and access to a bookseller could buy. It was no longer necessary to know someone else who owned a piece of music in order to acquire one's own copy. Surviving copies show that they were used long after the madrigal had ceased to be fashionable, and successive generations have continued to perform the music that Morley and his contemporaries provided for their urban middle-class market.

CONCLUSION

In 1593, as an established member of the Chapel Royal, Thomas Morley had reached the pinnacle of the career open to him as a church musician. On his journey there he had experienced the limited range of options open to a professional musician and had dabbled in intelligence work. His next step was to embark on a career in music publishing, probably because, as his letter to Sir Robert Cecil in 1598 suggests, he felt he ought to be able to make money from his compositions in a commercial way, not relying simply on gifts from patrons.

Detailed investigation of Morley's family in Norwich sets him firmly in an educated, urban, 'middle-class' milieu, amongst the sorts of people who would eventually be customers for his music. Moreover, the entrepreneurial traits of his father may have encouraged him to consider music from a commercial viewpoint. By 1589 he had moved permanently to London, living amongst a population of 200,000 and aware at first hand of the potential demand for music. The level of literacy in London and in cities such as Norwich, the ability of a large proportion of the urban population to live above subsistence level, and the interest of the middle echelons of society in consumer goods are all indications of a society in which amateur music-making of a serious kind might thrive. This view is supported by the evidence of probate inventories from Norwich for the period from 1584 to 1625, which show a significant level of ownership both of books other than bibles and prayer books, and of musical instruments.

Morley's visit to the Low Countries, whilst raising questions for us about his religious allegiance, provided him with an opportunity to see at first hand a well-established music

printing business. Morley undoubtedly set out to make money from publishing, and conjectural modelling based on primary evidence, particularly from the dispute over the publication of Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*, suggests that he achieved this to a considerable extent. In the process he found that the copyright rules operated by the Stationers' Company meant that he, as composer or editor, would not benefit from repeat prints of his works. This may have led him to seek and to obtain the music monopoly in 1598, two years after Byrd's monopoly expired. This acquisition gave him some control over reprints and new editions of his works, as well as another useful source of income.

Morley could undoubtedly see that there was more money to be made from publishing psalters with music than he could ever achieve from madrigals and other secular music, and for this reason he tried very hard, but unsuccessfully, to establish rights to this genre within his monopoly. This ambition may also have been the underlying reason for his essentially unsuccessful printing partnership with William Barley. However, even without the psalter, Morley had a worthwhile business with his publishing and monopoly interests, and was indeed able to achieve an income from his music. Unfortunately, he died too soon to benefit from sales of his later publications or to take advantage of the new opportunities for composers to provide music for theatrical productions. Had he lived longer, his ability to adopt and adapt new styles, his connections at court and in the city, his theatrical experience as a child at St Paul's Cathedral, coupled with his entrepreneurial drive, would doubtless have made him one of the foremost Jacobean theatrical composers, able to command substantial sums for his efforts – an experience he would surely have relished.

Whilst Morley's personal ambitions were curtailed by his early death, his publishing activities led to the creation of substantial body of nearly 170 first editions and reprints of music and music tutors suitable for domestic performance. His own work was influential in

determining what others published. English madrigals remained popular, and instrumental music grew in importance. Dowland's *First Booke of Songs* set a trend for lute songs which was picked up by Morley and others. Essentially, by the time Morley died in 1602, a mix of madrigals, lute ayres and instrumental publications had been established which was then repeated until composers no longer wrote in these genres, at which point the printing of recreational music ceased altogether for a decade. The reasons for the failure of publishers to venture to print new musical genres are complex: the most fashionable new music was too difficult for amateurs; court and London-based composers could make money more easily by writing for the theatre; and the role of publisher was increasingly taken on by booksellers who were probably not equipped to evaluate what might sell. It is difficult not to feel, though, that with Morley's death the business lost a good deal of its driving force. He might have exploited the publication of music from theatrical productions more fully than Campion and others did; he would probably have had the contacts and persuasive powers to acquire viol consort music for publication in print; he might have developed a simpler form of solo song suitable for amateurs in the same way as he had focused on the light madrigal; and, surely, as soon as he encountered religious contrafacta of his works he would have published his own versions.

Evidence from surviving copies of music printed in the decades either side of 1600 show that they were used and continued to be used for many years. Interest, particularly in the works of the English madrigalists and to a more limited extent those of Dowland and Byrd, never completely died, and performance was probably inhibited in the eighteenth century more by the archaic style of the original prints than by a lack of enthusiasm for the music itself. New editions of individual pieces started to appear in the second half of the eighteenth century, a process which accelerated through the nineteenth, culminating in the

systematic publication of the whole repertory by Fellowes and others in the last century. The transmission of this music in multiple printed copies rather than a few manuscript examples probably contributed to its accessibility and to the earlier revival of the madrigal than of Tudor church music. Of all the music printed between 1588 and 1639, Morley's was demonstrably the most popular, based on the number of reprints his volumes achieved. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editors of the works of Morley and his contemporaries chose many of the lightest and most cheerful pieces for their customers, suggesting that, so far as recreational music is concerned, Morley truly had the measure of the market.

APPENDIX 1.1

A PATENT OF THE OFFICE AND THE REVERSION OF THE MASTER AND 8 CHILDREN GRANTED TO THOMAS MORLEY

Nwr, DCN 47/3, ff. 82r.-82v.

English translation

To all the Christian faithful to whom this present writing may come George Gardyner Professor of Sacred Theology Dean of the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity at Norwich from the foundation of King Edward the sixth and the chapter of the same place Greeting in the Lord Everlasting.

Know that we the aforesaid dean and chapter of our free volition and certain knowledge by experience of good and faithful office and service to us by Thomas Morley the son of Francis Morley of Norwich beer brewer so far given and hereafter to be given with our unanimous assent and agreement for us and our successors by [these] presents have made ordained and constituted the said Thomas Morley master and instructor of eight boys singing within the said cathedral church to the honour of the Lord from time to time by us or our successors with the agreement of the same Thomas Morley or his assigns to be assigned and appointed during the life of the same Thomas Morley.

And further in compliance with the aforesaid decision we for us and our successors have given granted and by this our present writing have confirmed to the same Thomas Morley the office or performance of master and instructor of eight boys singing within the said cathedral church to the honour of the Lord from time to time by us and our successors with the agreement of the same Thomas or of his assigns to be assigned or appointed And also one house with buildings and garden adjoining the same called the Almoners houses lying at the extremity of the great barn between the granary late belonging to Miles Spenser

doctor of laws on the east side within the precinct of the said cathedral church of the Holy Trinity at Norwich and now in the occupation of Edmund Inglott to have hold enjoy occupy and to use the aforesaid office and house garden and other premises with their appurtenances to the aforesaid Thomas Morley by him or by his sufficient deputy for term of life and during the lifetime of the same Thomas Morley immediately after the death of the aforesaid Edmund Inglott now our master or instructor or the resignation retirement surrender giving up forfeiture or otherwise by whatsoever means the same office house garden and other premises next should happen to be vacant or any of them next happen to be vacant

Know furthermore that we the aforesaid dean and chapter by our unanimous assent and agreement have given granted and by [these] presents for us and our successors do give and grant to the aforesaid Thomas Morley for the execution and performance of the said office by him or by his sufficient deputy and for the maintenance and the support of the said eight boys singing in the aforesaid cathedral church to the honour of the Lord according to the tenor of the statute ordinance and custom of the same church a certain annuity or annual revenue of thirty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence of lawful money of England that is to say for the execution of the aforesaid office ten pounds and for the maintenance of the said eight boys twenty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence to be paid by equal parts at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary the Nativity of St John the Baptist St Michael the Archangel and the Birth of [Our] Lord to have to take fully and to enjoy the aforesaid annuity or annual revenue of thirty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence to be paid in the aforesaid form to the aforesaid Thomas Morley and his assigns for the term of the life of the same Thomas And furthermore we the aforesaid dean and chapter will and grant by [these] presents for us and our successors that if it should happen that the annuity or annual revenue of thirty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence or any part thereof should be in

arrears unpaid partly or wholly for the space of one month next after any feast of the aforesaid successive feasts at which as aforesaid it should be paid that then it shall be fully allowable or shall have been allowed to the aforesaid Thomas Morley and his assigns to enter into our manor of Hyldoveston in the county of Norfolk with appurtenances and also into all other our manors and hereditaments whatsoever with their appurtenances in the said county of Norfolk and in every parcel thereof and to seize remove and retain to themselves the distrained property so taken there till and until the aforesaid annuity or annual revenue of thirty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence with arrears in respect thereof if there be any together with his payments and costs sustained in this respect shall have been fully satisfied and contented to the same Thomas or his assigns

In witness whereof we have affixed our common seal to this our present writing Given in our chapter-house they being gathered together as a chapter the sixteenth day of the month of September in the sixteenth year of the reign of our Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God queen of England France and Ireland defender of the faith etc.

Translation by Hilary Marshall, B.A., amended by the author.

Transcription of Latin original

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit Georgius Gardyner Summe Theologie Professor Decanus Ecclesie Cathedralis Sancte et Individue Trinitatis Norwici ex fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti et eiusdem loci Capitulum salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Sciatis vos prefatus Decanus et Capitulum ex mero motu et certa scientia nostris intuitu boni et fidelis officii et servitii nobis per Thomam Morley filium Francisci Morley de Norwico Beerbrewer hactenus impensum et imposterum impendendum unanimi assensu et consensu nostris pro nobis et successoribus nostris per presentes fecisse Ordinasse et constituisse dictum Thomam Morley Magistrum et Instructorem Octo puerorum cantantium in dicta Ecclesia Cathedrali ad honorem Dei de tempore in tempus per nos vel successores nostros cum consensu ipsius Thome Morely aut assignatorum suorum assignandorum et providendorum durante vita ipsius Thome Morley.

Et ulterius ex consideratione predicta pro nobis et successoribus nostris Dedissee Concessisse et hoc presens scriptum nostrum confirmasse eidem Thome Morley Officium sive functionem Magistri et Instructoris Octo puerorum cantantium infra dictam Ecclesiam Cathedralem ad honorem Dei de tempore et tempus pro nobis et successoribus nostris cum consensu ipsius Thome aut assignatorum suorum assignandorum aut providendorum. Necnon unam Domum cum edificiis et Gardinis eidem annexis vocatis The Almoners Houses iacentibus ad finem magni horrei inter Granarium nuper Milonis Spenser Legum Doctoris ex parte oriente infra precinctum dicte Ecclesie Cathedralis Sancte Trinitatis Norwici ac modo in occupatione Edmundi Englot habendum fruendum gaudendum occupandum et exercendum predictum Officium ac Domum Gardinum ac cetera premissa cum eius pertinentiis prefato

Thome Morley per se vel per sufficientem Deputatum suum pro termino vite et durante vita eiusdem Thome Morley immediate post mortem predicti Edmundi Englot iam Magistri sive Instructoris nostri seu Dimissionem Cessionem Sursum Redditionem Fforisfacturam vel aliter quocumque modo idem Officium Domum Gardenum ac cetera premissa prope vacantia contingent seu eorum aliquid prope vacantia contingent.

Sciatis insuper nos presentes Decanum et Capitulum unanimi assensu et consensu nostris Dedisse Concessisse ac per presentes pro nobis et successoribus nostris Damus et Concedimus prefato Thome Morley pro executione et functione dicti Officii per se vel per sufficientem Deputatum suum ac per sustentationem et redditionem dictorum Octo puerorum in predicta Ecclesia Cathedrali || cantantium ad honorem Dei secundum tenorem Statutorum Ordinationum et consuetudinis eiusdem Ecclesie quandam Annuitatem sive annualem redditum Triginta et Sex Librarum Tredecim Solidorum et Quattuor Denariorum Legalis monetae Anglie videlicet pro executione Officii predicti Decem librarum et pro sustentatione dictorum Octo puerorum Viginti Sex Libras Tredecim Solidos et quatuor Denarios ad festum Annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste Sancti Michaelis Angeli et Natalis Domini per equales portiones solvendum habendum percipiendum et gaudendum predictam Annuitatem seu annualem Redditum Triginta Sex Librarum Tredecim solidorum et quatuor Denariorum in forma predicta solvendum prefato Thome Morley et assignatis suis ad terminum vite ipsius Thome. Et ulterius nos predictus Decanus et Capitulum volumus et concedimus per presentes pro nobis et successoribus nostris quod si contingat predictum Annuitatem seu annualem Redditum Triginta Sex librarum Tredecim Solidorum et quattuor denariorum aut aliquam inde parcellam a retro fore non solutum in parte vel in toto per spatium unius mensis proximi post aliquod festum festorum predictorum sequendorum quo ut prefertur solvi debent Quod tunc bene licebit et licitum erit prefato

Thome Morley et assignatis suis in Manorium nostrum de Hyldoveston in comitatu Norff cum pertinentiis necnon in omnia alia Manoria et hereditamenta nostra quocumque cum eorum pertinentiis in dicto Comitatu Norff et in quantulam eiusdem parcellam intrare et Distringere Districcionesque sic ibidem captas abducere effugare asportare importare et penes se retinere donec et quousque predicta Annuitas sive annualis Redditus Triginta Sex Librarum Tresdecim Solidorum et quattuor Denariorum cum arreragiis eiusdem si quae fuerint unacum missis et costagiis suis in hac parte sustentis plenarie fuerit satisfactus et contentus eidem Thome vel assignatis suis.

In cuius rei Testimonium huic Scripto nostro Sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus.
Datum in Domo nostra Capitulari capitulariter congregatis Decimo Sexto Die Mensis Septembris. Anno Regni Domine nostre Elizabethae Dei gratia Anglie Ffrancie et Hibernie Regine Fidei Defensoris etc. Decimo Sexto.

Transcription by David Butterworth, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, slightly amended by the author. It departs from the general practice of this thesis in that expansions of abbreviations are not shown in italics.

APPENDIX 1.2

THE PROBATE INVENTORY OF FRANCIS MORLEY

Nwr DN/INV 8/186

Be as god plessythe A Invytorye made the 23rd day of aprell *anno* 1591 of the goods & detts of Mr Francis Morley & pryssed by Nycholas Sotherton & Rychard Skettowe the day & year above sayd

the parler

A lyttell lyvery tabyll with ye clothe	iis	
A gret sellyd [panelled] chayor	iiis	
ii lyttell sellyd chayers	iis	vid
iiii turnyd chayers	xiiis	
ii framed chayers with a seat of gren	iiis	
ii stoles covered	is	
vi buffet stoles	vis	
ii greatt coshinges & v small	vis	viiid
x peckturs [pictures]	xxvis	viiid
iii carved marboldes	vs	
i ould grenn Carpet	iiis	iiiiid
i payer of Iron doges feyerpan and beloves	iiis	
Hanggenes in the same house as stayr cloth	vis	
Acobercloth with 12 cuopes pewter	vis	viiid

Summa is iii^{li} xviiis xd

in the ketchen

Imprimis awarmenpan	iiis	iiiiid
ii Candelstickes	iis	vid
i pewter salt		iiiiid
i bras ladell & 1 lardyng spon	is	
ii Ieren skewers & i Ieren fork i pauer of potthockes		xiiid
i neast of grates		vid
i ouldde coper payle		viiid
i sault box i shering knyf		iiiiid
i lettell mortar with the stock & pestell of Iron	vis	
ii hand peles [bread shovels] & rowlyng penes		viiid
i ould basket		iid
i childes chayer		iid
ii bottels & ii mustor pottes		iiiiid
i littell bolle		id
i broken spet		iiiiid

Summa is xviiis ivd

In the buttry

Imprimis i chaffyndysh		xiiid
iii ould butter dyshes	iis	
i pewter pott		vid
i chamber pott of pewter		viiid
v pewter spones		iid
i treying [?] platter 1 boll		iiid
ii pestels of wood		iiid
ii earthen potts		iid
iii barrelles stong brew	xxs	

Summa is xxvs

In the parler chamber

Imprimis i ould fetherbed a bolster & a pellow & abed matt	xxiiis	iiid
i ould coveryng of Rugg	iis	vid

Summa is xxvs xd

In another lyttell chamber

Item a sparver [bed canopy] of wood and i pece of selyng [panelling]		viiid
ii ould peces of hangyngs		vid
ii pellowes iiiii pellowberes iiiii payer of shettes	xxiiiis	
avalance and fringe for the sparver		xiiid
iii ould tabell clothes	is	vid

Summa is xxviis viiid

In another chamber over the ketchen

Item tryndell bedsted	iis	
i lettell ould fetherbed ii ould tick peloves i canves bolster of flock & a matt	xix	
ii ould coverynges i of dornex & i of lystes [patchwork a credell and aplanck	iis	vid
i ould busken gown	vs	
apayer of venysyons black	iiis	iiid
a dobblett of tany satten beser & busken behinde	vs	
i ould sadell cloth		vid

Summa is xxixs iiiid

Item in brewhouse iii eales i lyttell lader ii ould ketteles i ould flott iii rudders with divers ould bordes & iiiii stollles ther & trompery a feyer fork & a colrack & ii payers of slings		viiiis	
Item xvi severall oblygacyons of one Robart Watson of v ^{li} a pece	iiii ^{xx li}		
Item i oblygacion of John Hunt of xxxiis whearof doth remayne on payd		xxxiiis	
Item i oblygacion of Leonard Grene sealed whearof doth remayn	iiii ^{li}	xixs	
<i>William</i> Hall tayler		ls	
John Hast <i>per</i> byll		xiiiis	
Thomas Atlaw		lvs	
Robart Crup grocer		xxvis	
Rychard Cook of St Stevens		xxvs	
Mother Myller of Acolny		xxxs	
John Veryng		lvs	
<i>William</i> Deper stranger		xls	
a cardmaker		xs	
porter in Mr Collyns house		xs	
John Collyns at Whytharn		xiis	
John Danyell in St peters	iiii ^{li}		
John Waynsworth of Lynn		xiis	
Robart Barrow [one of Morley's employees]		vis	
Mr Cockes mynyster		vis	
Bassyngaw in St Andrews		iiiiis	
Thomas the barber in St Andrews		vis	
Rychard Plomerton		iiis	
a dich mann by Ihvs Inn		iis	
a dich mann in St Swithans		iis	
Mother Waller		iiis	
Henery Osborn		xxvis	viiid
Henery Elwyn		iiiiis	
<i>William</i> Morly [son or brother]	vii ^{li}		
John Curby		xxvis	viiid

Summa is of the dettes Cxviii^{li} ixv iiiid

Stuf destrayned by Mr Crusten below for the quennes magesty

Item a tabel with a cobard	vis	viiid
ix spetts	xiiis	iiid
iiii payer of hackes [pickaxes or hoes]	iiis	
ii bares for a chemni	iiis	iiid
i payer Iorn doges		viiid
i payer ?ighturs ?ackes	iiis	iiid
ii gredIrons		xviiid
ii plates candelstyckes		xiid
i payer of tonges		xiid
i yron to sett befor ye lacpan		vid
i lettell cobard	vs	
i joyned Form		xxd
a dresser bord		viiid
ii lacthpanes	iiis	
i bras pott i brass skillet	vis	viiid
i Iron pott & i copper ketel	iiis	iiid
ii ketells & i chaffer	vs	
i fryen pan		viiid
i ston mortar i lettell skelet		xxd
viii pewter dysshes small & great	vs	iiid
v lettell sasars v porrengers	iis	viiid
ii pewter pottes	iis	
i pewter bason		vid
i butter plate		viiid
ii barrell of bear	xiiis	iiid

Summa is iiii^{li} ixv vid

the holl totall Summa of all the househould stuf and detts amounteth to the

Summa of $\text{iCxxxiii}^{\text{li}}$ xs xd.

Nicholas Sotherton

By me Rychard Skottowe

APPENDIX 2.1

CHARLES PAGET'S LOCATION, 1590-1593

a) Correspondence from Paget

Reference	Date	Description	Paget's Location
State Papers (SP) 77/5/60	18/9/1590	[Paget] to Chaumont [Barnes]	Location not given, but talks of going to Antwerp: '... besides under colour of going to Antwarpe J [cipher for Paget] shalbe lesse missed for that he may quickly step to Gaunte [Ghent] and yet they will thinke he is at Antwarpe ...'
SP 12/233/82	11/10/1590	[Paget] to Chaumont [Barnes]	'I came hether yesterday, and the same day your letter that came by the post was sent by my factor here to find me in bruxelles. I hope within a day or two to have it.' This implies that he is not resident in Brussels, but was merely visiting. He has a factor to take care of things at home.
SP 77/5/61	27/10/1590	[Paget] to Chaumont [Barnes]	'As I was redy to go, from hear [or hence]...'. Signed from 'Antwerpt'.
SP 12/238/79	28/3/1591	[Paget] to Chaumont [Barnes]	Signed 'from my place accustomed'.
SP 12/238/128	30/4/1591	[Paget] to Chaumont [Barnes]	Signed from Brussels.

Reference	Date	Description	Paget's Location
SP 12/239/77	13/7/1591	[Paget] to [Barnes]	Expresses fears about correspondence being intercepted. Not addressed or signed.
SP 12/240/19	3/10/1591	[Paget] to Giles Martin [Barnes]	Mentions Morley. Signed 'from the place accustomed'.
SP 12/242/81	12/7/1592	[Paget] to Bartholomeo Rivero [Barnes]	Probable reference to Antwerp.* Signed 'from the place accustomed'.
SP 12/244/134	22/4/1593	[Paget] to Eustace Pilkington [Barnes]	Signed 'from the place accustomed'.
SP 84 /47/38 (encl)	9/9/1593	[Maycrofte alias Paget] to [Royveres alias Roger Walton]	'Adresse yor <i>lettres</i> by the name accordede betwine us to the post <i>master</i> of Anwerpe: and so they shall come suerly to mee.'

* Large parts of this document are written in cipher by Paget, with Phelippes' decoding written in above the lines. Discussing a request in a previous letter from Phelippes/Barnes that Paget might meet a potential recruit to the King of Spain's cause (and presumably an agent for Phelippes), Paget writes 'J [code for Paget] is to ould {to be caught} in a snare therefore my direction that he {come to ...}'. The words in curled brackets are Phelippes' decoding. The area where the encoded venue is written has suffered from ink spillage, bleeding or other damage, or perhaps some deliberate obliteration. Above the code, 'Br' is visible in Phelippes' hand, but the rest is hidden by ink. It has been transcribed as 'Brussels' in the Calendar of State Papers. However, Phelippes appears to have written in 'Antwerpe' above the previous line of text in a place where it makes no sense, and there is a handwritten line linking this down to the partially obliterated 'Br...'.

b) Correspondence Concerning Paget

Reference	Date	Description	Paget's Location
SP 15/32/1and 2	Jan 1591	Barnes [to Phelippes?]	Describes meeting with Paget and then having to go with him to Brussels to resolve some issues. Not clear where Paget was resident or where initial meeting took place.
SP 77/5/72	10/8/1591	[Clitherow] to Burghet [Barnes]	Reports that Paget has recovered from a serious illness. Both previous and subsequent correspondence places Clitherow in Antwerp.
SP 12/247/41	2/2/1594	Evidence given by Robert Draper	Draper went to the Low Countries the previous Easter with letters for Charles Paget in Antwerp.

APPENDIX 2.2

NON-LITURGICAL MUSIC PUBLISHED IN ANTWERP, 1581-1591

a) Phalèse Editions

Year	Composer/Compiler	Title
1582	Jean de Castro	Chansons, madrigaux et motetz
1582	Jean de Castro	Livre de chansons nouvellement compose à trois parties
1582	Orlando di Lasso	Libro de villanelle
1582	[lute anthology]	Hortulus citharae
1583	[anthology]	Musica divina
1583	[anthology – ed. André Pevernage]	Harmonia celeste
1583	[instrumental anthology]	Chorearum molliorum collectanea
1584	[lute? anthology]	Pratum musicum
1585	[anthology – ed. Hubert Waelrant]	Symphonia angelica
1586	Jean de Castro	Livre de chansons à cinq parties
1588	Jean de Castro	Madrigali
1588	Rinaldo del Mel	Sacrae cantiones
1588	Rinaldo del Mel	Madrigali
1588	Bernardino Mosto	Madrigali ... a cinque voci
1588	[anthology]	Musica divina
1589	Rinaldo del Mel	Sacrae cantiones

Year	Composer/Compiler	Title
1589	Jean de Tounout	Primo libro de madrigali
1589	[anthology]	Livre septième
1589	[anthology – ed. André Pevernage]	Harmonia celeste
1590	[anthology]	Bicinia, sive cantiones suavissimae duarum vocum
1590	[anthology – ed. Hubert Waelrant]	Symphonia angelica
1591	Jean de Castro	Receuil [sic] des chansons à trois parties, composé et nouvellement augmenté
	André Pevernage	Chansons, livre 1
1591	André Pevernage	Chansons, livre 1
1591	[anthology]	Musica divina
1591	[anthology – ed. Peter Philips]	Melodia olympica
1591	[anthology]	Il lauro verde madrigali a sei voci

Sources: *RISM, Einzeldrucke vor 1800* and *Recueils imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e Siècles*

b) Plantin Editions

Year	Composer/Compiler	Title
1581	Severin Cornet	Cantiones musicae 5. 6. 7. et 8. vocum
1581	Severin Cornet	Madrigali a cinque, 6. 7. et 8. voci
1581	Severin Cornet	Chansons françoyses à 5. 6. et 8. parties
1585	Claude le Jeune	Livre de melanges
1589	André Pevernage	Chansons ... livre premier, contenant chansons spirituelles à cinq parties
1590	André Pevernage	Livre second des chansons ... à cinq parties
1590	André Pevernage	Livre troisième des chansons à cinq parties
1591	André Pevernage	Livre quatrième des chansons à six, sept & huict parties

Sources: J. A. Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des Éditions Musicales Plantiniennes* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1949), 25; *RISM, Einzeldrucke vor 1800*.

APPENDIX 3.1

HENGRAVE HALL HOUSEHOLD RECORDS

a) Inventory of Instruments made in 1603

Items	Valued at
In ye chamber where ye musicions playe	
Hangings of blewe and yellow saye complete	iiis
One long bord with ii tressels	iis
One long joined forme and one playne forme	iis
Instreuments and Books of Musicke	
One borded chest, with locke and key, with vi vials	iiii ^{li}
One borded chest, with six violenns	iii ^{li}
One case of recorders, in number vii	xls
iiii cornutes, one being a mute cornute	xs
One great base lewte, and a meane lewte, both <i>without cases</i>	xxxxs
One treble lute, and a meane lute with cases	xls
One bandore, and a sitherne with a dooble case	xxxxs
Two sackboots, <i>with ther cases</i>	xxxxs
Three hoeboys, <i>with a curtall and a lysarden</i>	xxs
Two flewtes, <i>without cases</i>	iis vid
One payer of little virginalls	xs
One wind instrument like a virginall	xxs
Two lewting books covered with lether	
vi bookes covered <i>with parchent. containing vi setts in a book, with songs of iiiii, v, vi, vii, and viii partes</i>	iis
v books covered <i>with parchent. containing iii setts in a book, with songs of v partes</i>	iiis
vi books, covered <i>with parchent. containing ii setts in a book, with English songs of iiiij, v, and vj partes</i>	iiis
v books, covered <i>with parchent, with pavines galliards measures, and cuntry dances</i>	vs
v books of levaultoes and corrantoes	vid
v old bookes, covered <i>with parchent, with songs of v partes</i>	vid
v bookes covered <i>with black lether</i>	iis
iiii books covered <i>with parchent, with songes of iiiii partes</i>	vid
v books covered <i>with parchent, with pavines and galliards for the consert</i>	Iiis
One great booke <i>which came from Cadis, covered with red lether, and gylt</i>	xs
v books <i>containing one sett of Italyan fa-laes</i>	xviiiid

Items	Valued at
One great payer of dooble virginals One payer of great orgaynes	xxxxs v ⁱⁱ
In the winter parlor	
One payer of virginals, with irons	
In the chapel	
One payer of little orgaynes, with a board <i>which</i> they stand on.	

Sources: Included, without valuations, in a transcription by John Gage of two sets of inventories taken after the death of Sir Thomas Kytson: John Gage, *The History and Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk* (London: Carpenter, Booker and Deck, 1822), 22ff.

Also transcribed with valuations in *Music at Hengrave Hall in Tudor Times* (Bury St Edmunds: Hengrave Hall, n. d.), inside cover and 1.

Original is *Cambridge University Archives*, Hengrave MS 81.

b) Extracts from the Household Accounts, 1572-1575

Date	Description	Cost
Oct 1572	In rewarde to Johnson the musician at Hengrave	xs
	To my <i>Lord</i> of Sussex's musicians	vs
Nov 1572	For x yards carsey at iis id the yarde, and iiiid over in all, gyven by my <i>mistress</i> to the musicians at Hengrave	xxis iid
Dec 1572	For a treable violin	xxs
Jan 1573	In rewarde to the musicians at Brome	iiis
Mar 1573	In reward to the blinde harper at Ware	xiid
Apr 1573	In reward among the waughtes of London for playing at my <i>masteres</i> house there	vis
May 1573	For stringing, tuning, and fretting my <i>mistress's</i> lute	iis vid
	For passage by water, with the musicians, to Mr. Groom-porters [Sir Thomas Cornwallis]	is vid
	To Mr. Arthur Halle's man for bringing a lute from his <i>master</i> to my <i>mistress</i>	iis vid
Jun 1573	To the musicians of Swanne Alley for many times playing with their instruments before my <i>master</i> and <i>mistress</i>	vis viiid
Nov 1573	For nether stocks for the singing boys	iiis
	for silken facings and buttons for the boyes cotes and jerkins	iiis ixd
	for two girdles for them	iiiid
Jan 1574	for vij cornetts bought for the musicians	iiii ^{li}
	In rewarde to Richarde Reede, one of the wayghtes of Cambridge, for his attendance in Christmas time	xxs
Dec 1574	For an instrument called a curtall	xxxs
Jan - Mar 1575	Paid to Robert, the musician, as so much by him paid for a coople of staff torches to alight my <i>mistress</i> home on Candlemas night, supping at Mr. Townsend's	iis vid
	For a trumpet	xls
	For a payer of virginales	xxxs
	In reward to vj trumpeter at my <i>master</i> his comandment for sounding before his chamber on twelfth day	xs
	To the Queens <i>Majesties</i> trumpetters for playing before my <i>master</i> his chamber	xxs

Date	Description	Cost
Apr - Jun 1575	To one Cosen for teaching the children of the Virgenalls from Christmas until Easter In reward to Johnson, the musician, for his charges in awayting on my <i>Lord</i> of Leycester at Kennelworth	iii ^{li} xs
Oct - Nov 1575	For a song for my <i>master</i> and the ditty to the same Geven to the musiciens at the maryage of my Lord Darsye	iis iiiid xxs

Source: John Gage, *History and Antiquities of Hengrave*, 190-214; items are listed under 'foreign charges' headings. Original is *Cambridge University Archives*, Hengrave MS 82/3.

APPENDIX 3.2

INSTRUMENTS AND MUSIC MENTIONED IN CAMBRIDGE INVENTORIES, 1540-1614

Year	Name of deceased	Occupation	Music listed	Instruments	Value of instruments
1540	Bullar, Richard	Fellow, Christ's		a payre of virginals a lute with a case	viiis iiiis
1545	Alyn, Thomas	Fellow, Corpus Christi, and Vicar of Grantchester		a lute with a case	iiiis
	Wygan, Edward	Regius Professor of Divinity		a payre of clavycordes	iis
	Thomas, John	Surgeon		a bugle horne	iid
	Perman, John	Surgeon		a lute in a case an olde harpe	vs vid
1546/7	Greenwood, Thomas	Fellow, Clare	2 lutynges bookes (iiiid) a songe booke (iid or iiiid)	a lute with the case	iis vid

Year	Name of deceased	Occupation	Music listed	Instruments	Value of instruments
1547	Levyns, Christopher	Undergraduate		a payre of vyrginalles couered with lether	xxis
1549	Stapley, Thomas	At Trinity Hall	3 luting books		
	Townley, Robert	Fellow & Bursar, Peterhouse		a lute with a case	iiiiis
	Spring, Henry	Scholar, Trinity Hall, and Rector of Icklingham		a payre of clavycordes	xxd
1551	Benyngworth, Hugh	Fellow, Jesus	a luting book (iid)		
	Gonas, Ralph	Student?, Clare		a lute with the case	iis
	Pickering, Robert	Fellow, Kings	a luting book (iid)		
1552	Gosynell, Richard	Innholder and MA		a lute with the case	vs
1553	Bernard, John	Fellow, Queen's		a payre of clavicordes	iiiiis
1554	Bygrave, Walter	Fellow, Queen's		a payre of clavycordes	iiis iiiid

Year	Name of deceased	Occupation	Music listed	Instruments	Value of instruments
1556	Wyer, John	Fellow, Trinity Hall		a lute withowte a case	iis
1556/7	Peerpoynt, Edmund	Master, Jesus		a payre of vyrgynalles	liiis iiiid
<1558	No name – labelled Anon 3 by Leedham-Green			a lute with the case	vis viiid
	No name – labelled Anon 15 by Leedham-Green			a lute with the case	vid
1558	Gockman, William	Fellow, St John's; Parson of Halstow, Kent		a payer of clavicordes	-
1559	Edyll, Richard	Fellow, Jesus		one payer of virgynals	xxs
				one payer of clavycordes	vs
				one lutt	vs
	Bateman, John	Fellow, Gonville & Caius		a payer of clavicordes	xxd

Year	Name of deceased	Occupation	Music listed	Instruments	Value of instruments
1559/60	Walker, John	Butler, Peterhouse		a gittourne	xiid
1561	Allsope, George	Fellow, St John's; Curate St Giles, Cambridge		a gyttourne	xxd
1576	Sharpe, Nicholas	Fellow, Trinity	a lute book (id)	a lute & a case	vis viiid
1579	Mydson, William	MA; pensioner, Pembroke		a lute & the case	iiiis
1581/2	Hawford, Edward	Master, Christ's		a payre of virginals a lute with a case	xxvis viiid xiiis iiiid
1585	Johnson, John	Fellow, Jesus; property owner and lessor of shops	liiiior [4] singyng bookes (iis vid)		
1586	Bound, Thomas	Fellow, Corpus Christi	a sett of Songe bookes iis vid	a payre of virginals in deskewise	xiiis iiiid
1589	Perne, Andrew	Master, Peterhouse; and Dean of Ely; 5 times vice- chancellor of the university; had 2000 books	Ciconia Psalms a sett of songe bokes 4o (vid) a songe boke ruled 4o (iiiid)	a winde Instrument of box broken a lute with a case a bandora	vs xs

Year	Name of deceased	Occupation	Music listed	Instruments	Value of instruments
1591	Lorkin, Thomas	Regius Prof of Physick	a cittarn book (id)	a payre of virginals	xs
			psalms in 4 parts (xvid)	a lute with a case & 2 gittornes	xxs
1592/3	Gardner, Robert	Fellow, King's	a luting book		
1593	Cocke, John	Fellow, Emmanuel		a payre of virginals	xxs
1608	Walsall, Godwin	Fellow Corpus Christi; Hebrew lecturer	Dowlandes songes in 2 volumes. Sticht (xiid) benetes songes in 4. partes. 4o sticht (viiid)	a lute & a lute case	vis viiid
1614	Tyndall, Humphrey	Various university positions; Dean of Ely from 1591		A paire of Virginalls	xiiis iiiid

Source: Elizabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Booklists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

APPENDIX 3.3

MUSICAL EXPENDITURE AT TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, 1585-1597

Year	Folio	Description	Cost
1585	17v	for pricking of songes	xxs
1586	46r	for 8 quire of [?]ruled paper at 8d the quire	5s 4d
		for bynding 8 books	3s
		for pricking 8 bookes and 2 before	20s
		for ten bookes readie pricked bought of <i>Mistris Baker</i>	10s
	46v	To hughe mending the instrument and virginalls	5s
1587	77r	For pricking songes	20s
	79r	For a sett of cornutes & recorders	£8
1588	110r	Songe bookes to <i>Mistris Baker</i>	20s
1590	158r	To Mr Hurlston for 4 song bookes for the Chappell and pricking the same	10s 2d
1592	212r	Geven to <i>William Hewett</i> who did sing in the chapple	6s 8d
	212v	Mending the recorders	2s
	212v	For a new Service book & binding the olde	4s 6d
1593	233r	to Mr Overall for xij Psalters	22s
1594	262v	to Mr Hilton for mending the Colledges vyolles a shaggebutt and other instruments	15s
	263r	for xij new psalters	24s
		To Hughe Rose for the Organe	£6 13s 4d
		To Andrewe Chapman for the frame of the Organe	£24
		For Mr Doolayes Organe	£3
		Nayles etc for the Organe	4s 6d
		For yron worke belonginge to the organe as appeareth by a byll of particulars	47s 2d
[total cost of organ added up separately in ink at £36 5s]			

Year	Folio	Description	Cost
1595	285v	for a sett of newe vialls	£8
		to Mr Hilton for divers settes of singing bookes	33s
		to him for viall stringes and mending the colledge instrumentes	12s
		for setting up the instrument given by Mr Ball	6s
		For a sackbutt and the cariage	£4 11s
	286r	To Hughe Rosse for the Organes	£5
1596	306v	To Mr Hylton for vioall stringes	17s 8d
		To Wilson for singing in ye Chappell	30s
		To Mr Sledd for singing bookes of Mr Morleys delivered to Mr Hylton for the College	30s
	307r	to Hughe Rose for finishing ye Organes	£5
		a cornett bought for ye Chappell	20s
1597	326v	Half a duzen service bookes in quarto bought for the Chappell	12s
	327r	paid to Mr Hilton for Lute and Viall stringes	13s 4d
		to Mr Morley for certaine singing bookes by appoyntment of <i>our</i> Maister & Seniors	£2 13s 4d
	327v	to Hughe Rosse for tuning the organes	6s 8d

Source: *Ctc Archives*, Senior Bursar's Accounts, 1585-1597, by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

APPENDIX 3.4

BOOKS MENTIONED IN NORWICH CONSISTORY COURT INVENTORIES, 1584-1625

Year	Name	Occupation	Inventory value	Debts owed to deceased	Net goods and cash	Value of books	Bible	Service	Devotional	Vocational	Other	Unspecified	Description of unspecified books, and extra notes
1584	Hubberd, John		£31		£31	1s 8d						✓	3 old books
1584	Roberts, Thomas	preacher	£98		£98	£15 13s 2d						✓	his books; some already dispersed as bequests
1584	Mundes, Robert	wait	£6		£6		✓					✓	not in inventory but in will
1587	Dunham, William	innkeeper	£94	£51	£43	5d?						✓	9 books
1587	Keye, Richard	grocer	£20	£0	£20	11s 0d	✓		✓			✓	other old books
1588	Billingforde, Katharine	widow	£137	£35	£102	3s 0d	✓						
1588	Tettart, Giles		£83	£25	£58	6s 0d	✓						
1588	Atkins, Stephen	gentleman	£801	£530	£271	> £11 4s 0d						✓	56 great books in folio £10; 24 quarto books 24s?; a box of books -value illegible
1589	Tomson, James	mason	£7	£1	£6	6s 8d	✓	✓					(psalm book in meter)
1589	Styngate, John	keelman	£95		£95	5s 0d						✓	4 old books
1589	Woodcrofte, William sen	grocer	£40		£40	£1 3s 8d	✓	✓				✓	one other books
1589	le Poultre, Jacob	worstead weaver	£8		£8	10d	✓					✓	2 French Bibles; 3 other books
1590	Pecke, John	baker	£69	£14	£55	13s 4d	✓						
1590	Tugges, Adam	minister	£6		£6	£1 10s 0d						✓	certain books
1590	Modie, Thomas	plumber	£16		£16	5s 0d	✓	✓					
1590	Boij, John	alien; weaver	£7		£7	4s 6d	✓	✓					
1591	Pleasance, Robert	barber	£26		£26	4s 0d						✓	8 books
1591	Smithe, Thomas		£4		£4	mostly torn off	✓				✓	✓	70 books, incl. volumes in Latin; philosophy; generally described by size rather than content
1591	Batever, George		£9		£9	15s 8d	✓	✓	✓			✓	20 books altogether
1592	Cobb, Jeffery	gentleman; mercer	£168	£23	£145	£1 14s 6d	✓		✓		✓		
1592	Allyn, Edmund	weaver	£16		£16	5s 0d	✓						
1592	de Gaver, Peter	alien	£11		£11	3s 0d	✓						
1592	Hood, Leonard	joiner	£26		£26	4s 0d	✓						
1592	Shene, Margaret	widow	£13	£7	£6	part lot	✓						
1592	Lowe, John		£23		£23	7s 0d	✓	✓				✓	8 small books
1592	Webster, John	tailor	£7		£7	6s 8d						✓	certain old books
1592	van Sabele, George	alien	£15		£15	12s 4d	✓		✓			✓	three books
1592	Stile, Edmond	grocer	£38		£38	6s 4d	✓	✓					

Year	Name	Occupation	Inventory value	Debts owed to deceased	Net goods and cash	Value of books	Bible	Service	Devotional	Vocational	Other	Unspecified	Description of unspecified books, and extra notes
1593	Munford, Thomas	carpenter	£23		£23	6s 0d	✓						
1593	Reade, Robert	clerk	£7		£7	£1 10s 0d						✓	diverse sorts of old books
1593	Neale, Charles		£11		£11	> 1s 0d	✓					✓	4 small books
1593	Debucker, George	stranger	£8		£8	1s 0d	✓						
1593	Kitchinman, William	tailor	£4	£1	£3	5s 1d	✓					✓	a book
1593	Haby, Robert	merchant	£253	£185	£68	£2 13s 10d	✓		✓		✓	✓	2 great Latin books; certain other books one with another
1593	Cooke, Richard	cordwainer	£47		£47	10s 0d	✓		✓				
1594	Balden, Martin	stranger; clothier	£6	£2	£4	6s 8d	✓	✓				✓	6 other books
1595	Bulwer, Thomas	yeoman	£121	£27	£94	3s 0d						✓	3 books
1595	Morley, William	carpenter	£4	£1	£3	8d					✓	✓	diverse old primers and other old books
1595	Dunham, Henry		£38	£18	£20	8s 0d	✓						
1595	Browne, William	grocer; Chandler	£181		£181	£1 0s 0d	✓	✓					
1595	Ashewell, John	worstead weaver	£44		£44	Illegible	✓						
1595	Headd, William	gentleman	£897	£700	£197	£1 0s 0d	✓					✓	certain other books
1595	Rooke, Robert	baker	£98	£35	£63	14s 0d	✓						
1595	Borough, Katherine	widow; shopkeeper	£18		£18	8d	✓					✓	certain books and other stuff
1595	Coesse, Adrian	alien; husbandman	£189	£4	£185	13s 4d	✓		✓				
1595	Brane, Gyles	alien; weaver	£16		£16	1s 6d						✓	certain books
1596	Nutt, Rowland	preacher	£44		£44	£15 14s 6d	✓					✓	books in the study
1596	Albye, Henry	tailor	£19	£5	£14	4s 0d	✓						
1597	Allen, Richard	worstead weaver	£3		£3	4d							books
1597	Withers, Robert	clerk	£11		£11	13s 4d							42 books, little and great
1598	Parker, Thomas sen	husbandman	£22		£22	part lot	✓						
1598	Backowe(s), Susan	widow	£65		£65	9s 0d						✓	9 printed books
1599	Eives, Henry	painter	£5		£5	6s 8d	✓				✓	✓	8 old small books some without closures; 2 books of arms
1599	Hacon, Henry	esquire	£534	£50	£484	part lot					✓	✓	a press with singing books therein; diverse books and other small things; books and other things
1601	Walden, Elizabeth	widow	£37		£37	8s 0d	✓		✓		✓		2 small play books; 2 apothecary books
1601	Burton, Seth	clerk	£14		£14	6s 0d	✓					✓	something unreadable
1601	Lynye, Henry	minister	£37		£37	£1 13s 4d						✓	his books
1601	Thomas Birde					£2 11s 10d	✓	✓			✓	✓	has about 100 books, listed in detail
1602	Blackhead, John	yeoman	£494	£338	£156	£1 2s 0d	✓		✓			✓	an old ? Book

Year	Name	Occupation	Inventory value	Debts owed to deceased	Net goods and cash	Value of books	Bible	Service	Devotional	Vocational	Other	Unspecified	Description of unspecified books, and extra notes
1602	Borrowghs, Symon	singleman; schoolmaster	£47	£35	£12	3s 4d	✓						
1602	de Beers, Michael		£24		£24	6s 0d	✓					✓	other books
1602	Harvy, Robert		£13		£13	6s 8d						✓	books
1603	Banfled, William		£24		£24	part lot						✓	basket with books and other things
1603	Bygodt, Jean	alien; singlewoman; sayer	£51		£51	1s 0d							one old book
1603	Ployer, Matthew	silkweaver; alien	£157		£157	8s 0d							
1603	Lynes, Thomas		£11	£7	£4	4d							diverse old books
1603	Borough, Richard	clothier; weaver	£120	£60	£60	8s 0d			✓				
1603	Ormesbye, John	innkeeper	£184		£184	part lots	✓		✓				one bible and book of martyrs provided in The George (one of his many pubs) with desks to read them at; further bible in lodgings
1603	Fisher, James	barber-surgeon	£227	£173	£54	10s 0d	✓	✓					
1603	Burrough, Simon	goldsmith	£79		£79	1s 8d	✓					✓	
1603	Holmes, Robert	brewer	£371	£210	£161	1s 6d	✓						
1603	Seffery, Robert	tailor	£20		£20	part lot	✓						
1603	De Coake, John		£111		£111	4s 6d	✓					✓	4 other books
1605	Pouwel, William	silkweaver	£113		£113	4s 0d	✓	✓					
1606	Beeton, Agnes	widow	£7		£7	part lot	✓						
1606	Ives, Herbert	tanner	£18		£18	Illegible	✓	✓	✓				
1606	Ansell, John	carpenter	£154	£40	£114	part lot	✓					✓	other small books
1606	Dunnock, Nicholas		£113		£113	part lot						✓	one little box for books - doesn't mention the books separately
1606	Maxe, John	cooper	£2		£2	5s 0d	✓					✓	something I can't read
1606	Found, Henry	carrier	£153	£45	£108	7s 0d+ a fair bit more			✓			✓	8 books covered with leather; 5 others covered in parchment; 2 old grammars; 4 old little books
1606	Norfforth, Thomas	beer brewer	£1,241	£450	£791	10s 0d	✓					✓	other books
1608	Balls, Henry	joiner	£32		£32	5s 0d	✓						
1608	Battaille, John	alien; weaver	£48		£48	7s 7d	✓	✓	✓				
1608	Blome, Robert	barber; possibly cordwainer	£122	£12	£110	8s 0d	✓	✓					
1608	Farvaque, Everard	alien; weaver	£476	£82	£394	part lots	✓	✓				✓	other books; 2 little books
1608	Balles, Stephen	tailor	£17	£3	£14	5s 8d	✓					✓	another little book
1610	Cozen, Giles	tailor	£227		£227	£2 10s 0d	✓					✓	other certain books

Year	Name	Occupation	Inventory value	Debts owed to deceased	Net goods and cash	Value of books	Bible	Service	Devotional	Vocational	Other	Unspecified	Description of unspecified books, and extra notes
1610	Lambe, Lawrence	glover	£37		£37	5s 0d	✓						
1610	Newarke, Robert	grocer	£21		£21	5s 0d	✓						
1610	Lambe, Clement		£40		£40	5s 0d	✓						
1610	Abraham Cawston	carpenter	£74		£74	5s 0d	✓						
1610	Mann, Morgan		£9	£0	£9	part lot						✓	2 little old books
1610	Graver, Matthew	tailor	£10	£4	£6	5s 0d	✓						
1611	Elwyn, Robert	merchant	£464	£300	£164	14s 0d	✓	✓					
1611	Edmonds, Richard	painter	£7		£7	10s 0d	✓					✓	certain other old books
1611	Maye, Thomas	yeoman	£155	£61	£94	6s 8d	✓						
1611	Newhouse, Thomas	clerk; preacher	£370	£208	£162	£5 0s 0d	✓		✓			✓	certain other small books
1611	Sherman, John	clothweaver	£52		£52	part lot	✓						
1611	Salne, Jacob		£4		£4	part lot	✓	✓				✓	a few other small books
1611	Skelton, John	merchant	£145	£62	£83	10s 0d	✓						
1611	Flecher, Robert	saddler	£38		£38	12s 4d	✓					✓	4 small books
1612	Mill, Geoffrey		£13		£13	£1 0s 0d						✓	13 books one with another
1613	White, John	feltmaker	£42		£42	can't read	✓	✓					a other little book
1613	Yeong, George	pewterer	£531	£104	£427	can't read		✓					
1613	Pease, Lancelot	minister	£7		£7	10s 0d						✓	his books
1613	Weld, John	merchant	£97	£50	£47	£3 0s 0d						✓	an old chest and certain books
1613	Brathett, William	draper	£477	£393	£84	2s 0d						✓	certain old books
1613	Bevis, Thomas	butcher	£73	£27	£46	part lot	✓						
1614	Cousar, Margaret	alien	£3		£3		✓						
1614	Sydnor, Dorothy	gentlewoman	£254	£200	£54	part lot						✓	books
1614	Norgate, Mathew	weaver	£33		£33	8s 0d	✓		✓				
1614	Bridge, John	glover	£102		£102	part lot	✓	✓					
1614	Brome Thomas	schoolmaster	£15		£15	11s 8d	✓						certain old books
1614	Scallyt, Rowland	alien; weaver	£929	£599	£330	part lot							certain books
1614	Alderred, Robert	tiler	£452	£144	£308	£1 0s 0d	✓					✓	2 other books
1614	Ludkyn, Nicholas	tailor	£59	£20	£39	part lot	✓						
1614	Hauet, John	alien; clothweaver	£726	£324	£402	£2 0s 0d	✓					✓	other little books
1615	Carter, John	weaver	£62	£42	£20	5s 0d	✓						
1615	Masters, Alexander	joiner	£20		£20	2s 6d	✓						
1615	Gibson, Henry	gentleman; lawyer	£63		£63	£8 0s 0d				✓		✓	52 law books, 30 other books and some others of some sort
1615	Garrad, Thomas	curryer	£43	£3	£40	part lot	✓					✓	old books
1615	Smethsonne, Gilbert		£18		£18	2s 6d	✓						a latin bible
1615	Butts, William	yeoman	£31		£31	part lot		✓					
1617	Leamon, Abraham	baker	£245		£245	6s 8d	✓						

Year	Name	Occupation	Inventory value	Debts owed to deceased	Net goods and cash	Value of books	Bible	Service	Devotional	Vocational	Other	Unspecified	Description of unspecified books, and extra notes
1617	Barnes, John	yeoman	£66	£40	£26	10s 0d	✓					✓	other small books
1617	Boudry, Gideon		£72		£72	3s 0d						✓	all his books
1617	Downes, John	gentleman	£552	£486	£66	15s 0d	✓				✓	✓	a grammar and 5 other small books
1617	Duglas, Robert	worstead weaver	£151	£57	£94	12s 0d	✓					✓	other small books
1617	Jefferies, Edward	musician	£35		£35	£1 10s 0d	✓			✓	✓	✓	20 old and new singing and music books; 2 french books; diverse old books
1617	Heylett, Daniel	M A gent	£212	£120	£92	£21 1s 7d					✓	✓	books in the library; 7 music books
1617	Downing, George	alderman & citizen; grocer	£1,138	£603	£535	16s 0d	✓					✓	Bible is in his warehouse with a desk (for his workers?); certain old books
1617	Sheardley, Henry	hosier; draper	£445		£445	10s 0d						✓	certain books
1617	Eden, John	joiner	£43		£43	6s 8d	✓						
1617	Geyton, Paul	worstead weaver	£234	£100	£134	3s 4d	✓						
1617	Drake, Thomas	clerk	£113	£6	£107	10s 0d	✓		✓				
1618	Gooch, Jeremy	maltster	£119	£6	£113	£3 0s 0d						✓	his books
1618	Garneys, Thomas	gentleman	£2,024	£1,396	£628	£3 0s 0d					✓	✓	books, latin and English
1618	Francklin, Robert	woollen draper	£148		£148	5s 0d	✓						
1618	Rushe, Walter	hatband maker	£85	£5	£80	6s 0d	✓						
1619	Bradich, Simon	basket maker	£70		£70	6s 0d						✓	certain books
1619	Fuller, Edward	husbandman	£31	£7	£24	part lot						✓	one old book
1619	van Tarra, Garrad	stranger; weaver	£20		£20	10s 0d	✓					✓	3 other books
1621	Butler, Edward		£29	£15	£14	6s 8d	✓					✓	some other little books
1621	Call, John	singleman	£8		£8	part lot						✓	three old books
1621	Crome, Thomas sen	baker	£106		£106	10s 0d	✓						
1621	Mortellett, Abraham		£14		£14	12s 5d	✓						french and dutch
1621	Pipe, Nicholas sen		£36		£36	part lot						✓	6 books
1621	Nightingale, Francis	mercier	£305	£84	£221	5s 0d	✓					✓	other old books
1621	Cates, John	feltmaker	£45		£45	13s 4d	✓					✓	other books
1621	Balliston, John sen	cooper	£27		£27	5s 0d	✓					✓	other small books
1625	Welham, Richard	yeoman	£10		£10	10d	✓						
1625	Jeffrys, John		£74	£25	£49	8s 0d	✓					✓	other books
1625	Hovell, Stephen	worstead shearman	£90		£90	part lot	✓						
1625	Chickering, Francis		£44	£25	£19	3s 0d	✓						dutch
1625	Downyng, Susan		£830	£406	£424		✓					✓	diverse little books
1625	Nickloe, Mordochee		£68	£40	£28	6s 8d						✓	certain books
1625	Alleson, Robert	clerk	£125		£125	£13 6s 0d						✓	his books

Year	Name	Occupation	Inventory value	Debts owed to deceased	Net goods and cash	Value of books	Bible	Service	Devotional	Vocational	Other	Unspecified	Description of unspecified books, and extra notes
1625	Jefferies, Susan	widow	£35		£35	10s 0d	✓					✓	diverse other old books; music is now bundled with the instruments
1625	Hambling, Richard		£179	£54	£125	part lot	✓						
1625	de Witte, widow	widow	£20		£20	1s 0d	✓					✓	other dutch books
1625	Swanson, James	brewer	£692	£463	£229	part lot						✓	certain books

Sources: *Nwr*, DN/INV 2-32; NRO, MC 146/44, *Norwich Survey: Computer Analysis of Norwich Probate Inventories 1584 to 1730* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1964).

APPENDIX 3.5

INSTRUMENTS AND MUSIC MENTIONED IN NORWICH WILLS AND PROBATE INVENTORIES, 1584-1625

Year	Name	Occupation	Stated inventory value	Books	Music	Keyboard (value)	Wind (value)	Plucked (value)	Bowed (value)	Other instruments; (other notes)
1584	Thomas Roberts	preacher	£98	yes		virginals (20s)				
1584	Robert Mundes	Musician	£6	yes		virginals (10s)	trumpet (5s)			
1587	Richard Keye	Grocer	£20	yes			pipe	lute (valued with pipe at 5s)		
1589	Robert Thacker	Musician	£23	no					violente to playe one (6s 8d)	
1592	Edmund Stile	Grocer	£38	yes		virginals (30s)	base recorder (20d?)	bandora (20s)		
1595	Robert Rooke	Baker	£98	yes				cittern (6s 8d)		
1598	William Blome					virginals				
1599	Hubert Hacon's house at Wheatacre	Gentleman	£534	yes		virginals and stand in the parlour (40s) virginals in the dining chamber (20s)	8 cornetts 3 flutes sackbut (13s 4d)	8 lutes, 2 of which belong to John Hacon bandora and 9 string orpharion (£3? - illegible)	bass viol (20s)	(the 8 lutes, 8 cornetts and 3 flutes valued together at £4)
	Hacon's house in Norwich				a press of singing books (10s)	virginals + table with cupboards underneath in the kitchen chamber (40s) virginals and table in the dairy chamber (10s)	cornet and recorder (valued with books and other things)	bandora and orpharion (valued with books) 2 x 14 string lutes (40s)	treble, tenor & mean vyallin (10s)	
1601	Henry Syndeton	Innkeeper	£55	no				Bandore cittern (15s the two)		
1603	Robert Harvye	?	£13	yes				cittern (6s)		

Year	Name	Occupation	Stated inventory value	Books	Music	Keyboard (value)	Wind (value)	Plucked (value)	Bowed (value)	Other instruments; (other notes)
1603	John Ormesbye	Innkeeper	£184	yes		old virginals (10s)				
1603	James Fisher	barber surgeon	£227	yes		virginals (20s)				
1609	Richard Loveday					virginals				
1615	Robert Aldred	Tiler	£452	yes		virginals (24s including a looking glass)				
1615	William Buttes	Yeoman	£31	yes		virginals (valued with black bill and prayer book at 13s 4d)				
1617	John Runnell	Joiner	£137	no		virginals (10s)				
1617	Robert Douglas	worsted weaver	£151	yes		virginals (20s)				
1617	Edward Jefferies	Musician	£35	yes	20 old & new of singing & music books (20s)		flute bandora	old lute	treble violin (this and bandora valued at 13s 4d) violin (15s) treble viol bass viol (the two viols valued at 25s)	2 old instruments (these plus old lute and flute valued at 6s)
1617	Daniel Heylett	gentleman MA	£212	yes	7 music books (3s 4d)			old cittern (3s 4d) orpharion (10s)	viol (6s 8d)	
1617	John Eden	Joiner	£43	yes						10 instruments of music (£4)
1618	Thomas Garneys	Gentleman	£2,024	yes		virginals (20s)		old lute	bass viol treble viol little kit	(the stringed instruments valued at 26s 8d)
1618	Sir Edward Blenhaysett					Virginals		lute		

Year	Name	Occupation	Stated inventory value	Books	Music	Keyboard (value)	Wind (value)	Plucked (value)	Bowed (value)	Other instruments; (other notes)
1621	Roger Geywood	citizen & alderman	£722	no		virginals with form on which it stands (30s)				
1621	John Balliston	Cooper	£26	yes		virginals - valued with 5 cushions and a muskett at (30s)				
1622	Richard Man	Merchant				virginals with the frame belonging to them				
1625	Mordochee Nickloe	?	£68	yes						Drum
1625	Robert Alleson	Clerk	£125	yes		Virginals (valued with a desk at 40s)				
1625	Susan Jefferies	widow of Edward Jefferies	£35	yes						as Edward Jefferies + a lute (£3)

Sources: *Lna*, PCC Wills; *Nwr*, DN/INV 2-32.

APPENDIX 4.1

THOMAS MORLEY'S MUSIC PRINTING PATENT

Lna, C 66/1486/18

Petition pro Thomas Morley gentleman [1598]

Elizabeth by the grace of God &c. To all manner printers and booke sellers and to all and singuler maiors sherriffes baylyffes constables hedboroughes and all other our officers ministers and subjectes to whom it shall apperteyne greetinge knowe ye that wee for the speciall affeccion and good will that wee have and beare to the science of musick and for the advauncement thereof of our especiall grace and certeyne knowledge and meere mocion have geven and graunted priviledge and licence and by these *presentes* for us our heires and successors wee geve and graunte full priviledge and licence unto our welbeloved servaunte Thomas Morley one of the gentlemen of our Chappell and to his assignes that he the saide Thomas Morley and his assignes and his and their deputies factors and servauntes onelie and none others for and duringe the space of twentie and one yeres next ensuyng the date of this our licence shall and maye by him or themselves imprinte or cause to be imprinted anye and as manye sett songe and songes in partes as to him or them shall from tyme to tyme seeme expedient in the Englishe laten frenche and Italien Tonges and in *everye* or anye one of the same tonges or in anye other tonge tonges or languages that maye serve for the musick ether of Churche or chamber or other wise to be songe or played And shall and maye rule and cause to be ruled by impression all *everye* or anye paper suche as maye serve for the printinge or pricking of anye songe or songes either to be songe or played in Churche chamber or otherwise And shalle and maye sell or utter or cause to be soulded or uttered anye printed bookes or papers of anye songe or songes in anye of the tonge or tongues aforesaide or otherwise to be songe or played as is aforesaide And all *everye* or anye bookes or quiers of

suche ruled paper imprinted as is aforesaide wherefore by these our *letteres* patentes for us our heires and successors wee do straightlye forbidd and *prohibite* alle and singuler other *person* and *persons* as well printers and booke sellers as all and *everye* others whatsoever beinge either our subjectes or strangers other then the saide Thomas Morley and his assignes and his and their deputies factors and *servauntes* that they nor anye of them duringe the saide terme of twentie and one yeres in anye manner of wise shall imprint or cause to be imprinted anye sett songe or songes in partes or otherwise to be songe or played as aforesaide or rule or cause to be ruled by impression anye paper as is aforesaid but onlye the said Thomas Morley his *servauntes* deputies factors or assignes nor shall bring nor cause to be broughte into or within anye our Realmes or dominions nor in the same shall sell utter or putto sale or cause to be sould uttered or putt to sale or otherwise dispose anye of the saide sett songe or songes in partes made or printed in anye forein Contrye or anye of the saide ruled paper uppon payne of our highe indignacion and displeasure And of such peynes penalties and imprisonmentes as by the lawes or statutes of this our Realme of Englande can or maye be imposed on them or anye of them for their wilfulle contempte in breakinge of our *commaundement* and *prerogative* Royall and also uppon payne that *everye* offendor doinge contrarie to the effecte and true meaninge of these *presentes* shall for *everye* suche offence forfeit and lose to the use of us our heires and successors the some of tenne poundes of lawfull Englishe money and shall also moreover forfeit and loose to the saide Thomas Morley and his assignes all *everye* and suche bookes quires and papers of songe and songes in partes as is aforesaid & suche imprinted paper so ruled as shalbe imprinted ruled sould uttered or transported contrarie to the true intent and meaninge of these *presentes* And to the ende that this our graunte and priviledge maye from tyme to tyme take good effecte and be fullye performed accordinge to our good intent and meanynge therein conteyned wee do by these *presentes* geve full and free

licence libertie power and authoritie unto the saide Thomas Morley and his assignes That they and *everye* of them taking with him or them an officer lawfullye authorised for the keeping of the peace shall and maye at all convenient tyme and tymes and in suche due manner as by the lawes of this our Realme is required serche for seeke and fynde out all and *everye* suche sett songes papers bookes and other *premisses* as shalbe imprinted *transported* or uttered contrarie to the tenor and true meaning of this our graunte And the same so founde out to seise and take according to the order of our lawes to the use before in these *presentes* mencioned willing therefore and *commaunding* as well the master and wardens of the misterie of stacyoners in our Cittie of London as also all mayors Sheriffes Baylyffes Constables Hedboroughes and all other our officers ministers and subjectes whatsoever to whome it shall apperteyne as they tender our favore and pleasure and will avoyde our displeasure and indignacion for the contrarie that they and *everye* of them at all tymes when neede shall requier during the saide terme do aide and assiste the saide Thomas Morley and his assignes and his and their factors deputies and *servauntes* and *everye* of them in the due exercisinge and execucion of this our *present* licence and priviledge with effecte according to the true meaninge of the same Althoughe expresse mencion &c. In witness whereof &c. Witnes our selfe at Purforde the eighte and twentithe daye of September [1598].

Per breve de private sigillo.

APPENDIX 4.2

RETAIL PRICES FOR MUSIC IN ENGLAND C. 1600

This appendix compares the price for publications paid by the Cavendish family with a ‘calculated price’ based on Thomas East’s proposed retail price of 2d a sheet for unbound music. Information regarding the Cavendish family’s purchases is drawn from a transcription and interpretation by Lynn Hulse in ‘Musical Patronage’, 329-337. In many cases the two prices are very similar; where there are large differences it may be that the Cavendish purchases included the cost of binding.

a) Individual Volumes purchased by the Cavendish Family

Composer	Title	Year purchased	Calculated price		Price paid	
			s	d	s	d
Cavendish	<i>14. Ayres in Tabletorie</i> (1598)	1600	2	0	4	8
Morley	<i>A Plaine and Easie Introduction</i> (1597)	1601	4	9 *	3	0
Morley (ed.)	<i>Triumphes of Oriana</i> (1601)	1601	3	8	3	6
Jones	Either <i>First</i> or <i>Second Booke of Songes and Ayres</i> (1600 and 1601)	1601	2	0	3	6
Hume	<i>First Part of Ayres ...</i> (1605)	1605	2	8	4	0
Weelkes	<i>Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites</i> (1608)	1609	3	0	3	4
Wilbye	<i>Second Set of Madrigales</i> (1609)	1609	4	6	6	0
Morley	<i>First Booke of Ayres</i> (1600)	1612	2	0	2	0
Coperario	<i>Funeral Teares</i> (1606)	1612	0	10	1	0
Dowland	<i>Pilgrimes Solace</i> (1612)	1612	2	0	2	6
Ward	<i>First Set of English Madrigals</i> (1613)	1613	3	6	5	6
Coperario	<i>Songs of Mourning</i> (1613)	1613	0	10	1	0

Byrd, Bull and Gibbons	<i>Parthenia</i> (n.d.)	1613	2	0		8	0
Morley	<i>A Plaine and Easie Introduction</i> (1608 ed.?)	1614	4	9	*	5	0

Assumption: * The calculated price for *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* has been based on 1d a sheet as much of it is text, which was less expensive to set. The maximum price for books without illustrations was limited by the Stationers' Company to ½d a sheet in 1598 (see Chapter 4, p. 175).

b) Bundles of Volumes purchased by the Cavendish Family

Works Purchased	Year Bought	Calculated price			Price paid		
		£	s	d	£	s	d
Morley: <i>Canzonets ... to Three Voyces</i> (1593) <i>Canzonets to Two Voyces</i> (1595)	1598	3	11		5	0	
Morley: <i>First Booke of Balletts</i> (1595) <i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces</i> (1594) <i>Canzonets ... to Foure Voyces</i> (1597)	1598	8	8		12	6	
Byrd & Tallis: <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> (1575) Yonge: <i>Musica Transalpina 1 & 2</i> (1588 – poss East reprint c. 1594; & 1597)	1599	18	0		8	0	
Wilbye: <i>First Set of English Madrigals</i> (1598) Yonge: <i>Musica Transalpina 1 & 2</i> (1588/1594 & 1597) Weelkes: <i>Balletts and Madrigals</i> (1598); <i>Madrigals</i> (1600) Bateson: <i>First Set of English Madrigales</i> (1604) Farnaby: <i>Canzonets to Fowre Voyces</i> (1598) Carleton: <i>Madrigals to Five Voyces</i> (1601)	1604	1	9	4	1	9	2
Watson: <i>Italian Madrigalls Englished</i> (1590) Weelkes: <i>Madrigals to 3.4.5. & 6. Voyces</i> (1597) East: <i>Madrigales to 3. 4. and 5. Parts</i> (1604) Dowland: <i>Third ... Booke of Songs</i> (1603) Rossetter: <i>A Booke of Ayres</i> (1601) Robinson: <i>Schoole of Musicke</i> (1603)	1604	15	7		1	19	4
Dowland: <i>Lachrimae</i> (1604) Jones: <i>Ultimum Vale</i> (1605) Greaves: <i>Songes of Sundrie Kindes</i> (1604)	1605	6	0		11	0	
Ferrabosco: <i>Ayres</i> (1609) Alison?: <i>Psalmes of David in Meter</i> (1599)	1612	7	4		6	0	

APPENDIX 4.3

CONJECTURAL LIFETIME INCOME FOR MORLEY FROM PUBLISHING HIS WORKS

Title	Production costs			Assumed print run	Assumed sales	Revenue @ 1½d per sheet			Profit (loss)		
	£	s	d			£	s	d	£	s	d
<i>Canzonets ... to Three Voyces</i>	35	8	6	1000	1000	103	2	6	67	14	0
<i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces</i>	28	10	4	1000	1000	125	0	0	96	9	8
<i>The First Booke of Balletts</i>	28	10	4	1000	1000	125	0	0	96	9	8
<i>Il primo libro delle ballette</i>	28	10	4	1000	150	18	15	0	(9	15	4)
<i>Canzonets to Two Voyces</i>	9	19	7	1000	300	13	2	6	3	2	11
<i>[Italian version of above]</i>	9	19	7	1000	200	8	15	0	(1	4	7)
<i>A Plaine and Easie Introduction</i>	58	9	7	1000	300	50	12	6	(7	17	1)
<i>Canzonets ... to Foure Voyces</i>	17	2	2	1000	300	22	10	0	5	7	10
<i>Canzonets ... to Five and Sixe Voices</i>	28	3	3	1000	300	37	0	7	8	17	4
<i>Madrigals to Five Voyces</i>	24	19	1	1000	300	32	16	3	7	17	2
<i>First Booke of Ayres</i>	17	2	2	1000	200	15	0	0	(2	2	2)
<i>Triumphes of Oriana</i>	34	17	5	1000	200	27	10	0	(7	7	5)
Totals	321	12	4			579	4	4	257	12	0

Basis of calculations

- Production costs are based on the charges made by East to Eastland for printing 1,000 copies of Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*, which comprised 12.5 sheets. These rates (set out in Chapter 4, p. 176, Table 4.2) are applied proportionately to the number of pages in each of Morley's publications, and include paper, printing costs and monopoly payments. Costs are for an entire print run of 1,000.
- A monopoly payment to Byrd, based on the rates later charged by Morley, is included only for the *Canzonets ... to Three Voyces*, since the remaining works published before Byrd's monopoly lapsed do not describe East as Byrd's assign.
- A lower charge for labour but not paper has been assumed for *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, as it has less music and more text than the other works. Selling prices for books were lower than for music, and evidence of retail prices paid suggests that the production costs would have needed to be lower for the volume not to have made a loss on every sale.
- Assumed sales are for the period from publication to Morley's death and are conjectural. Volumes known to have been reprinted during Morley's lifetime are assumed to have sold out.
- It is not known whether contributors to *The Triumphes of Oriana* were paid a fee. In 1575, the accounts of Hengrave Hall record the payment of 2s 6d for a song (both words and music).¹ If Morley paid for contributions, perhaps at a rate of perhaps 3s 4d (allowing for some inflation), he would have spent £3 10s 0d for the twenty-two songs contributed by others. This sum has been included in the costs.

¹ Gage, *Hengrave*, 206.

- Revenue for Morley is calculated at 1.5d a sheet, based on applying discounts to a retail price of 2d for both the printer (for handling sales) and to intermediary booksellers. The revenue per volume is calculated and applied to the assumed sales volume to arrive at a total. A selling price of 4s 6d has been assumed for *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*.
- Profit is revenue less production costs.
- Morley's *Consort Lessons* have been excluded, as he did not pay for the production costs and it is not clear who benefited from the sales. It is likely that he would have taken a fee for compiling and editing the work, if not a share in any profits as well.

APPENDIX 4.4

DEDICATEES OF MORLEY'S MUSIC PUBLICATIONS

Title	Date	Dedicatee	Notes
<i>Canzonets ... To Three Voyces</i>	1593	Mary, Countess of Pembroke	Mary Herbert, sister of Sir Philip Sidney; in 1593 she produced her edition of <i>Arcadia</i> . Morley's comments on her singing voice suggest he may have known her. At forefront of artistic and intellectual activity. An ideal advocate for up-to-date Italianate music.
<i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces</i>	1594	Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Seal	Misfired dedication that had to be withdrawn, possibly because Puckering had 'dedication fatigue'. ¹ First of Morley's books dedicated to influential statesmen. Morley established at court and establishing himself as a publisher.
<i>The First Booke of Balletts</i>	1595	Robert Cecil, Privy Councillor	Another influential statesman, would be important in monopoly negotiations; soon to become Secretary of State and Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster.
<i>Il primo libro delle ballette</i>	1595	Robert Cecil	as above.
<i>The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces</i>	1595	Lady Peryam	Recent employer of Susan, Morley's wife. Lord Peryam, as Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was another major office holder.
<i>Canzonets ... to Foure Voyces</i>	1597	Henry Tapsfield, grocer and citizen	A personal contact, but also a broadening of Morley's scope to include the wider market for his music.
<i>A Plaine and Easie Introduction</i>	1597	William Byrd	Teacher, esteemed colleague. Surely chosen to give credibility to Morley's book.
<i>Canzonets ... to Five and Sixe Voices</i>	1597	George Carey, Baron Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain	Carey became Lord Chamberlain in early 1597 and may have welcomed opportunities to enhance his profile. The Lord Chamberlain held the role of Dean of the Chapel Royal and thus was Morley's direct employer at court; it appears that Morley had been absent ill and may have felt the need to remain visible.

¹ Thurston Dart, 'A Suppressed Dedication for Morley's Four-Part Madrigals of 1594', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 3 (1963), 401-405.

Title	Date	Dedicatee	Notes
<i>Madrigals to Five Voyces</i>	1598	Sir Gervase Clifton	A representative of a wider gentrified market; no obvious connection with Morley. Knighted in 1591 and MP for Huntingdonshire.
<i>The First Booke of Consort Lessons</i>	1599	Sir Stephen Some, Lord Mayor of London, and the aldermen of the city	The senior dignatories in the City where Morley lived and employers of the Waits for whom the repertory would have been ideal.
<i>The First Booke of Ayres</i>	1600	Ralph Bosville; Bradbourne, Kent	Personal benefactor and supporter of musicians. Also knew Byrd (see Harley, "'My Lady Nevell' Revealed', 2005).
<i>The Triumphes of Oriana</i>	1601	Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham; Lord High Admiral; privy councillor	Probably chosen to distance the publication from the Essex faction. ²

² See Chapter 2, pp. 64-69.

APPENDIX 5.1

EDITIONS OF MUSIC PRINTED IN ENGLAND, 1588-1639

This appendix provides the details of a self-contained corpus of music publications produced in England between 1588, when Thomas East and William Byrd started to operate the latter's monopoly, and 1639, when the publication of madrigals and lute ayres had run its course.

SOURCES

The data are based on *STC2*, cross-referenced against the following additional secondary sources:

François Lesure (ed.), *Répertoire international des sources musicales, Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, 14 vols (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971-2003)

David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009 reprint), 209-213 (Appendix A: An Index of Music Publications 1563-1632)

Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 135-142 (Appendix 1: Tables)

Karlheinz Schlager, Otto E. Albrecht, Ilse and Jürgen Kindermann, (eds.), *Répertoire international des sources musicales, Recueils imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e Siècles* (Munich-Duisburg: Henle, 1960)

Robert Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1903), 93-100 (Synopsis of Known and Doubtful Editions).

SCOPE

All printed music publications in the timeframe are included, except for volumes of straightforward psalm settings published under the control of Day's patent. Those psalm settings published by East, Morley and Barley in the 1590s outside the psalter patent are included, but further prints of East's *Whole Booke of Psalmes* after 1603 are excluded, as its position was then regularised within the psalter patent, with control passing to the Stationers'

Company. Later volumes including selected psalms with instrumental accompaniment, usually amongst other types of music, have been included. Two volumes of church service music for which their authors obtained specific royal privileges have been excluded: George Wither's *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (London: [Wither], 1623), with simple settings provided by Gibbons, and George Sandys' *Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (London: [A. Hebb], 1638), with settings by Henry Lawes.

'Ghost' publications which do not survive, but to which there are contemporary references, have been excluded, as the bulk of the analysis relies on inspection of the publications themselves. An example of a ghost publication is the Italian version of Morley's *First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces*. Although no copies survive, it is included in the list of publication copy rights transferred from Thomas East's widow to John Browne, Matthew Lownes and Thomas Snodham in 1611 (see Chapter 5, p. 245).

'Hidden' editions have been listed. These are publications that show the date of a previous edition but which can be demonstrated by analysis of the typeface and paper, and sometimes from corrections, to come from new print runs. Information on these comes from Smith (who introduced the term 'hidden' for such editions¹), for music printed by Thomas East, and from references in *STC2* to additional issues or reissues. There are two possible reasons for hidden editions. Firstly, corrections and modifications may have been made before the completion of the original print run, as is probably the case with the three surviving variants of Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs* all produced in 1588. Secondly, a new print run may have been carried out covertly, presumably to meet sales demand, and without changing the date, in order to avoid monopoly difficulties or uncertainties. This is particularly a characteristic of East's operation.

¹ Smith, *Thomas East*, 43.

STRUCTURE OF APPENDIX

Different styles of print are used to indicate the various kinds of edition:

- i. **Bold print** is used for first editions.
- ii. Plain print is used for acknowledged subsequent editions and reprints.
- iii. *Italic print* is used for hidden editions.
- iv. Lighter print is used for what appear to be separate editions, but are probably not. These may occur where only the title page, or other prefatory material has been reset, either in order to change some details or in an attempt to stimulate flagging sales. Examples of such reissues survive for both volumes of Byrd's *Gradualia* and for the keyboard collection, *Parthenia*. The three surviving 1588 versions of Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs* are probably the result of a rigorous proofing process rather than unprecedented sales demand. For this reason, only one of them has been treated as a full edition.

The appendix is divided into four sections:

- a) Publications details. This provides the basic details for all publications.
- b) Contents and format. This summarises the nature of the contents and their scoring, and the format of each volume. It includes all publications except those in category iv above.
- c) Composers and dedicatees. This provides information about composers and the people to whom they dedicated their publications. As this information does not change from one edition or reprint to the next, only first editions have been listed.
- d) Secular vocal genres. This summarises the types of secular vocal music included in publications. Only those publications which contain music of this type are listed.

Each item is numbered in section (a), and this numbering is retained in the remaining three sections of the appendix.

EXEMPLARS OF PRINTS EXAMINED

At least one copy of every publication included in the analyses has been examined. If a copy is held in the online reference resource *Early English Books in Print (EEBO)* this has generally been used; in the rare case where *EEBO* does not have a facsimile, an original copy has been consulted. A list of collections consulted in the course of this research project is given in the bibliography.

APPENDIX 5.1

EDITIONS OF MUSIC PRINTED IN ENGLAND, 1588-1639

a) Publication details

Title	Year shown on title -page	Year actually printed	Composer	Publisher	Basis for identification of publisher	Printer	Sold by/at	Printed at	STC2	Patent mentioned	'Cum priv'	St. Co. Reg.
1 Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs	1588	1588	Byrd, William	Byrd	Byrd 'put in print'	Thomas East	T East's house by Paul's Wharfe		4253		✓	1587/1596
2 <i>Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs (hidden edition probably generated in process of correcting the print)</i>	1588	1588	Byrd, William	Byrd	Byrd 'put in print'	East	T East's house by Paul's Wharfe		4253.3		✓	
3 <i>Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs (hidden edition probably generated in process of correcting the print)</i>	1588	1588	Byrd, William	Byrd	Byrd 'put in print'	East	T East's house by Paul's Wharfe		4253.7		✓	
4 Musica Transalpina	1588	1588	Ed. Yonge, Nicholas	Yonge	published by	East			26094	Byrd	✓	1596
5 Liber primus sacrarum cantionum	1589	1589	Byrd, William	[Byrd]	consistent with other publications	East		T East's house in Aldersgate	4247	Byrd	✓	1596
6 Songs of Sundrie Natures	1589	1589	Byrd, William	Byrd	'I do now publish for thee'	East	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St		4256	Byrd	✓	1596
7 The First Sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished	1590	1590	Ed. Watson, Thomas			East	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St		25119	Byrd	✓	1596
8 Of Duos, or Songs for Two Voices	1590	1590	Whythorne, Thomas	[Whythorne]	According to his autobiography, he published his first set in 1571	East		T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St	25583	Byrd		
9 Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum	1591	1591	Byrd, William	[Byrd]	consistent with other publications	East		East living at Aldersgate	4248	Byrd	✓	1596
10 The Former Booke of the Musicke	1591	1591	Damon, William	W Swayne	'I was brought to publish them'	East			6220	Byrd		
11 The Second Booke of the Musicke	1591	1591	Damon, William	W Swayne	'I was brought to publish them'	East			6221	Byrd		
12 Divers & Sundry Waies of Two Parts in One	1591	1591	Farmer, John	Farmer	for sale at his house	East	The author's house		10698	Byrd	?	

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13 Whole Booke of Psalmes	1592	1592		East	Prefatory material	East	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St	2482	Byrd		
14 Mass a 4	n/d	1593	Byrd, William			[East]			4250			
15 Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs to Three Voyces	1593	1593	Morley, Thomas	Morley	published by	East	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St		18121	Byrd		1596
16 <i>Musica Transalpina (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1588	1593/94	Ed. Yonge, Nicholas	[East]	clandestine publication by printer	East			26094.5	Byrd	✓	
17 Whole Booke of Psalmes	1594	1594		East	Prefatory material	East	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St	2482	Byrd		
18 Mass a 3	n/d	1594	Byrd, William			[East]			4249			
19 Songs and Psalmes	1594	1594	Mundy, John			East		T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St	18284	Byrd		1596
20 Madrigalls to Foure Voyces	1594	1594	Morley, Thomas	Morley	published by	East		Black Horse Aldersgate St	18127			1596
21 The First Booke of Balletts	1595	1595	Morley, Thomas	[Morley]	consistent with previous publications	East			18116			1596
22 Il primo libro delle ballette	1595	1595	Morley, Thomas	[Morley]	consistent with previous publications	East			18118			1596
23 The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces	1595	1595	Morley, Thomas	[Morley]	consistent with previous publications	East			18119			1596
24 Mass a 5	n/d	1595	Byrd, William			[East]			4251			
25 A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song	n/d	1596	Bathe, William			East			1589			1596
26 The Pathway to Musicke	1596	1596	[Barley, William]	Barley		[John Danter]	Barley's shop at Gracious St, near Leadenhall		19464			
27 A New Booke of Tabliture	1596	1596	Various	Barley	Printed for; also talks about publishing it in dedication	[Danter]	Barley's shop at Gracious St		1433			

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28 <i>Songs of Sundrie Natures (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1589	1596/ 97	Byrd, William	[East]	clandestine publication by printer	East	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St		4256.5	Byrd	✓	1596
29 <i>Canzonets ... to Three Voyces (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1593	1596/ 97	Morley, Thomas	[East]	clandestine publication by printer	East	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St		n/a	Byrd		1596
30 Le premier livre de chansons & airs	1597	1597	Tessier, Charles			East	Edward Blount's shop in front of North Porch in St Paul's Churchyard		23918			
31 The First Set of English Madrigalls	1597	1597	Kirbye, George	Kirbye	published by	East		East living in Aldersgate St	15010			1596
32 Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. & 6. Voyces	1597	1597	Weelkes, Thomas	Weelkes	published by	East			25205			1603
33 Musica Transalpina. The Second Booke	1597	1597	Ed. Yonge, Nicholas	Yonge	published by	East			26095			
34 The Ciththarn Schoole	1597	1597	Holborne, Anthony			Peter Short		Star Bredstreet Hill	13562			
35 The First Booke of Songes	1597	1597	Dowland, John			Short		Star Bredstreet Hill	7091			1597
36 A Plaine and Easie Introduction	1597	1597	Morley, Thomas	Morley	'I publish ...'	Short	Star Bredstreet Hill	Star Bredstreet Hill	18133			1596; registered by Short and W. Hoskins 1597
37 Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs to Foure Voyces	1597	1597	Ed. Morley, Thomas	[Morley]	consistent with previous publications	Short	Star Bredstreet Hill	Star Bredstreet Hill	18125			
38 Canzonets or Little Short Aers to Five and Sixe Voices	1597	1597	Morley, Thomas	[Morley]	consistent with previous publications	Short		Star Bredstreet Hill	18126			1597
39 Novae ... cantiones suavissime	1598	1598	Lasso, Orlando di	[East]		East			15265			1598
40 Madrigals to Five Voyces	1598	1598	Ed. Morley, Thomas	[Morley]	consistent with previous publications	East			18129			1598
41 Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces	1598	1598	Weelkes, Thomas	Weelkes	published by	East			25203			1598
42 The First Set of English Madrigals	1598	1598	Wilbye, John			East			25619.5			1598
43 Canzonets to Fowre Voyces	1598	1598	Farnaby, Giles			Short		Star Bredstreet Hill	10700			1597
44 14. Ayres in Tabletorie	1598	1598	Cavendish, Michael			Short		Star Bredstreet Hill	4878			

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45 The First Booke of Consort Lessons	1599	1599	Ed. Morley, Thomas	set forth at the cost and charges of a gentleman for his private pleasure and...his friends		[H Ballard for]William Barley	Barley's shop in Gracious St	Little St Helens	18131	Morley	✓	
46 Whole Booke of Psalmes	1599	1599		[Barley and/or Morley]		Barley	Gracious St	Little St Helens	2495	Morley	✓	
47 The Psalmes of David in Meter	1599	1599	Allison, Richard	Allison	sold at his house	Barley	Allison's House - Duke Place near Aldersgate		2497	Morley - has text of patent	✓	
48 Madrigalls to Foure Voyces	1599	1599	Bennet, John	Bennet	published by	[Henry Ballard for]Barley		Little St Helens	1882	Morley	✓	
49 The First Set of English Madrigals	1599	1599	Farmer, John	Farmer	implied in letter to reader	[Ballard for]Barley	Barley's shop in Gracious St	Little St Helens	10697	Morley	✓	
50 Pavans, Galliards, Almains and other Short Aeires	1599	1599	Holborne, Anthony			[Ballard for]Barley	Gracious St	Little St Helens	13563	Morley	✓	
51 Psalmes, Sonets & Songs	n/d	1599/1600	Byrd, William	[East]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint	East		East living in Aldersgate St over by the sign of the George	none			1596
52 <i>Mass a 4 (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	n/d	1599/1600	Byrd, William			[East]			4250.5			
53 <i>Mass a 3 (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	n/d	1599/1600	Byrd, William			[East]			4249.5			
54 The Second Booke of Songs	1600	1600	Dowland, John	Eastland, George	published by	East	Eastland's house near the Green Dragon and Sword in Fleet Street		7095	Morley		1600
55 First Book of Balletts	1600	1600	Morley, Thomas	[East]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint	East			18117	Morley		
56 Madrigals of 5. and 6. Parts	1600	1600	Weelkes, Thomas	Weelkes	published by	East			25206	Morley		1603

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57 Madrigalls to Foure Voyces ... Now Newly Imprinted	1600	1600	Morley, Thomas	[East/Morley]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint, but Morley must have been involved in new edition	East			18128	Morley		
58 The First Booke of Ayres	1600	1600	Morley, Thomas	Morley	Printed by his business	[Ballard for]Barley	Barley's house in Gracious St	Little St Helens	18115.5	Morley	✓	
59 The First Booke of Songes ... Newly Corrected	1600	1600	Dowland, John	[Short/Dowland]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint, but Dowland may have been involved in corrections	Short	Star Bredstreet Hill		7092	Morley		
60 The First Booke of Songes & Ayres	1600	1600	Jones, Robert			Short	Star Bredstreet Hill		14732	Morley		
61 Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana	1601	1601	Ed. Morley, Thomas	Morley	published by	East			18130	Morley	✓	1603
62 Madrigals to Five Voyces	1601	1601	Carleton, Richard	Carleton	published by	Morley		Morley dwelling in Little St Helens	4649		✓	
63 The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres	1601	1601	Jones, Robert	Matthew Selman	printed for Selman;but Jones also uses term 'publish' in his letter to reader	Short	Inner Temple Gate		14733	Morley		
64 A Booke of Ayres	1601	1601	Rosseter, Philip & Campion, Thomas	Rosseter		Short	Rosseter's House in Fleet Street near to the Greyhound		21332	Morley		
65 Canzonets... to Three Voyces ... Now Newly Imprinted	1602	1602	Morley, Thomas	[East/Morley]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint, but Morley may have been involved in new edition	East	T East's house - sign of the Black Horse in Aldersgate St		18122	Morley	?	
66 The Schoole of Musicke	1603	1603	Robinson, Thomas	Simon Waterson	printed for	East	Simon Waterson at the sign of the Crown, St Paul's Churchyard		21128			

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67 The Third and Last Booke of Songs	1603	1603	Dowland, John	Thomas Adams	printed for	Short	at the sign of the White Lion in St Paul's Churchyard		7096	Morley		1603
68 The First Booke of Songs ... Newly Corrected	1603	1603	Dowland, John	[Short]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint	Short	Thomas Adams		7092.5		?	
69 Madrigales to 3. 4. and 5. Parts	1604	1604	East, Michael	Michael East	'for publishing them'	East			7460			1604
70 Lachrimae	1604	1604	Dowland, John	Dowland	'under my own allowance'	John Windet	Dowland's house in Fetter Lane near Fleet Street	Windet's house - sign of the Cross Keys, Paul's Wharf	7097			1604 registered by Adams
71 The First Set of English Madrigales	1604	1604	Bateson, Thomas			East			1586			1603
72 Songs of Sundrie Kindes	1604	1604	Greaves, Thomas			Windet	Cross Keys, Pauls Wharfe	Cross Keys, Pauls Wharfe	12210			1604
73 Gradualia	1605	1605	Byrd, William	[Byrd]	consistent with other publications	East			4243.5		?	
74 The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. Parts	1605	1605	Pilkington, Francis			East	T East's house in Aldersgate St		19922			1604
75 The First Part of Ayres, French, Pollish and Others	1605	1605	Hume, Tobias			Windet		Cross Keys, Pauls Wharfe	13958			
76 Ultimum Vale	1605	1605	Jones, Robert			Windet	Simon Waterson at the sign of the Crown, St Paul's Churchyard		14738			
77 <i>First Booke of Balletts (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1600	1605/06	Morley, Thomas	[East]	clandestine publication by printer	East			none	Morley		
78 <i>Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1601	1605/06	Ed. Morley, Thomas	[East]	clandestine publication by printer	East			18130.5	Morley	✓	
79 <i>The First Set of English Madrigals (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1598	1605/06	Wilbye, John	[East]	clandestine publication by printer	East			25619			1598
80 Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice	1606	1606	Danyel, John	Thomas Adams	printed for	East	At the sign of the White Lion in St Paul's Churchyard		6268			1606

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81 Canzonets ... to Three Voyces ... Newly Imprinted	1606	1606	Morley, Thomas	[East]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint	East			18123	Barley		
82 An Howres Recreation in Musicke	1606	1606	Allison, Richard			Windet	[J Harrison] Golden Anchor, Paternoster Row		356	Barley		
83 The First Booke of Songs ... Newly Corrected	1606	1606	Dowland, John	[Lownes]	took over Short's business when he died	Humphrey Lownes		Star Bredstreet Hill	7093			
84 The Second Set of Madrigales	1606	1606	East, Michael			Windet			7461	Barley		
85 Funeral Teares. For the Death of the Right Honorable the Earle of Devonshire.	1606	1606	Coprario, John	J Browne	printed for	Windet	John Browne's shop at St Dunstans Churchyard in Fleet St		5679	Barley		
86 A Booke of Ayres with a Triplicite of Musicke	1606	1606	Bartlet, John	J Browne	printed for	Windet	John Browne's shop at St Dunstans Churchyard in Fleet St		1539			
87 Psalmes, Sonets & Songs	n/d	1606/07	Byrd, William	[East]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint	East		East living in Aldersgate St over by the sign of the George	4254			1596
88 Gradualia ... Liber secundus	1607	1607	Byrd, William	[Byrd]	consistent with other publications	East			4244.5	Barley		1607
89 The First Set of Madrigals	1607	1607	Jones, Robert			Windet			14737			
90 The Discription of a Maske	1607	1607	Campion, Thomas	J Browne	printed for	Windet	Browne's shop at St Dunstans churchyard in Fleet St		4538			
91 Musicke of Sundrie Kindes	1607	1607	Ford, Thomas			Windet at the assignes of Wm Barley	John Browne's shop at St Dunstans Churchyard in Fleet St		11166	Barley		1607 registered by Browne
92 Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke	1607	1607	Hume, Tobias			Windet			13957			
93 Musica Sacra: to Sixe Voyces.	1608	1608	Croce, Giovanni	RH	I have adventured to publish these	East			6040	Barley		1607
94 Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces	1608	1608	Weelkes, Thomas	[East]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint	East			25204	Barley		
95 Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites	1608	1608	Weelkes, Thomas	Weelkes	published by	[Windet for] Barley	Barley's shop in Gracious St		25202		✓	

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96 Canzonets	1608	1608	Youll, Henry			East			26105	Barley		1607
97 A Plaine and Easie Introduction	1608	1608	Morley, Thomas	[Lownes]	normal practice for printer (previously Short) to hold rights after first imprint	Humphrey Lownes		Star Bredstreet Hill	18134			
98 A Musicall Dreame	1609	1609	Jones, Robert			Assignes of William Barley [J Windet]	[Simon Waterson] at the sign of the Crown, St Paul's Churchyard		14734	Barley		
99 A Musicall Dreame (a second issue - unlikely to have sold out)	1609	1609	Jones, Robert			Windet	Simon Waterson at the sign of the Crown, St Paul's Churchyard		14735			
100 The Second Set of Madrigales	1609	1609	Wilbye, John	J Browne	printed for	East alias Snodham	John Browne's shop at St Dunstons Churchyard in Fleet St		25619a			1609
101 New Citharen Lessons	1609	1609	Robinson, Thomas			[Windet for] Barley	Barley's shop in Gracious St		21127		✓	
102 Lessons for Consort	1609	1609	Ed. Rosseter, Philip	J Browne	printed for	East alias Snodham			21333		?	1609
103 Ayres	1609	1609	Ferrabosco, Alfonso	J Browne	printed for	Thomas Snodham	Browne's shop at St Dunstons churchyard in Fleet St		10827			1609
104 Lesson for 1. 2. and 3. viols	1609	1609	Ferrabosco, Alfonso	J Browne	printed for	Snodham	Browne's shop at St Dunstons churchyard in Fleet St		10828			1609
105 Andreas Ornithoparchus His Micrologus	1609	1609	(tr Dowland, John) Ornithoparchus	Thomas Adams	printed for	[Snodham]	at the sign of the White Lion in St Paul's Churchyard		18853			1609
106 Deuteromelia	1609	1609	Ravenscroft, Thomas	Thomas Adams	printed for	[Snodham]	At the sign of the White Lion in St Paul's Churchyard		20757			
107 Pammelia	1609	1609	Ravenscroft, Thomas	R B[onian] and H W[alley]	printed for	Barley [Windet]	Spread Eagles, North Door, St Paul's		20759		✓	
108 The Muses Gardin for Delights	1610	1610	Jones, Robert			[Stanesby] assignes of William Barley			14736	Barley		

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109 Songs of Sundrie Natures	1610	1610	Byrd, William	[for] Lucretia East		[William Hall & Thomas Haveland]	House of L East in Aldersgate near the gate		4258	Barley		
110 Gradualia. Lib. Primus. Editio secunda (reissue with new title page only)	1610	1610	Byrd, William	R Redmeri	printed for	H Lownes	Golden Star St Paul's Churchyard		4244		?	
111 Gradualia ... Liber secundus (reissue with new title page only)	1610	1610	Byrd, William	R Redmeri	printed for	H Lownes			4245		?	
112 The Third Set of Bookes	1610	1610	East, Michael			Snodham	M Lownes, at the sign of the Bishop's Head in St Paul's Churchyard		7462			
113 Varietie of Lute-lessons	1610	1610	Ed. Dowland, Robert	T Adams	printed for	[Snodham]			7100			
114 A Musicall Banquet	1610	1610	Ed. Dowland, Robert	T Adams	printed for	[Snodham]			7099			
115 Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Viol	1610	1610	Corkine, William	J Browne	printed for	William Stansby	Browne's shop at St Dunstons Churchyard in Fleet St		5768			
116 A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counter-point		[1610]	Campion, Thomas	J Browne	for	Snodham			4542		?	
117 <i>The First Set of English Madrigals (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1598	1610/11	Wilbye, John	[Snodham]	clandestine publication by printer	[Snodham] operating as East after his death			25619.3			1598
118 <i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1600	1610/11	Morley, Thomas	[Snodham]	clandestine publication by printer	[Snodham] operating as East after his death			none		?	
119 Psalms, Songs and Sonnets	1611	1611	Byrd, William	[Byrd]	consistent with other publications	Snodham			4255	Barley		
120 The First Booke of Consort Lessons ... Newly Corrected	1611	1611	Ed. Morley, Thomas	J Browne	printed for	Snodham	Browne's shop at St Dunstons Churchyard in Fleet St		18132	Barley		
121 Musica Sacra: to Sixe Voyces (reissue with new title page only)	1611	1611	Croce, Giovanni	M Lownes	printed for	H Lownes			6041			
122 Melismata	1611	1611	Ravenscroft, Thomas	Thomas Adams	printed for	Stansby			20758			
123 The XII. Wonders of the World	1611	1611	Maynard, John	J Browne	printed for	Snodham	Browne's shop at St Dunstons Churchyard in Fleet St		17749			

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124 A Pilgrimes Solace	1612	1612	Dowland, John	Snodham, Lownes and Browne	printed for	[Snodham]			7098	Barley		1611
125 The First Set of Madrigals and Motets	1612	1612	Gibbons, Orlando			Snodham			11826	Barley		
126 The Second Booke of Ayres	1612	1612	Corkine, William	Snodham, Lownes and Browne	printed for	[Snodham]			5769	Barley		
127 The First Booke of Songs	1613	1613	Dowland, John	[H Lownes]	normal practice for printer to hold rights after first imprint	H Lownes		Star Bredstreet Hill	7094			
128 The First Set of Madrigals and Pastorals	1613	1613	Pilkington, Francis	Snodham, Lownes and Browne	printed for				19923	Barley		
129 The First Set of English Madrigals	1613	1613	Ward, John			Snodham			25023			
130 Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the Untimely Death of Price Henry	1613	1613	Coprario, John (texts Campion)	J Browne	printed for	[Snodham]	St Dunstans Churchyard		4546			
131 The First Set of Madrigals of 5. Parts	1613	1613	Lichfild, Henry	Snodham, Lownes and Browne	printed for				15588	Barley		
132 The First Booke of Ayres and Second Booke of Ayres (two separate title pages but combined contents page)	n/d	[1613?]	Campion, Thomas	Lownes and Browne	printed for	Snodham			4546.5		✓	
133 Two Bookes of Ayres (Combined title and contents pages; two separate dedications - another issue of above?)	n/d	[1613?]	Campion, Thomas	Lownes and Browne	printed for; Campion also talks about publishing his songs	Snodham			4547		✓	
134 Parthenia	n/d	[1613?]	Byrd, Bull, Gibbons	Mrs Dorothy Evans	engraved for	G Lowe (engraved by William Hole)	By G Lowe at his house in Lothbury		4251.5		✓	
135 Parthenia (probably a reissue with original dedication removed when it became out of date; probably done in early 1614)	n/d	[1613 - 16]	Byrd, Bull, Gibbons	Mrs Dorothy Evans	printed for	G Lowe (engraved by William Hole)	By G Lowe at his house in Lothbury		4252		✓	
136 Prime musiche nuove	1613	1613	Notari, Angelo			engraved by William Hole			18697		✓	

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137 The Description of a Maske and Ayres made by Severall Authors	1614	1614	Campion, Thomas et al	Laurence Lisle	printed for	E A[llde & Snodham]	Laurence Lisle dwelling at the sign Tiger's Head in St Pauls Churchyard		4539 & 4540			
138 A Brief Discourse	1614	1614	Ravenscroft, Thomas	Thomas Adams	printed for	Edward Alde			20756		✓	
139 The Maske of Flowers	1614	1614	Indexed under Coperario by Early English Books	Robert Wilson	printed for	N[icholas] O[kes]	Wilson's shop at Gray's Inn New Gate		17625			
140 The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule	1614	1614	Ed. Leighton, Sir William			Stansby			15434			
141 Sacred Hymnes	1615	1615	Amner, John			Alde		near Christ Church	563		✓	
142 Sacred Hymnes	1615	1615	text Sir Edwin Sandys; settings by Robert Tailour	Stationers Co		Snodham			21723	Stationers' Company [psalms]		
143 The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres	n/d	[1617?]	Campion, Thomas			Snodham			4548		✓	
144 The Second Set of Madrigales	1618	1618	Bateson, Thomas	Lownes and Browne	printed for	Snodham			1587		✓	1611
145 The Fourth Set of Bookes	1618	1618	East, Michael	Lownes and Browne	printed for	Snodham			7463		✓	
146 The Fift Set of Bookes	1618	1618	East, Michael	Lownes and Browne	printed for	Snodham			7465		✓	
147 The Ayres that were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle	1618	1618	Mason, George & Earsden, John			Snodham			17601		✓	
148 Pammelia	1618	1618	Ravenscroft, Thomas	Lownes and Browne	printed for	Snodham			20760		✓	
149 The First Set: Beeing Songs	1619	1619	Vautor, Thomas	Lownes and Browne	printed for	Snodham			24624		✓	
150 The Fourth Set of Bookes	1619	1619	East, Michael	Lownes and Browne	printed for	Snodham			7464		✓	
151 The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces	1619	1619	Morley, Thomas	Lownes and Browne	printed for	Snodham			18120			1610;1611
152 Fantazies of III. Parts	n/d	[1620?]	Gibbons, Orlando			engraved - no name			11823			
153 Fantazies of III. Parts (another state of the initial issue)	n/d	[1620?]	Gibbons, Orlando			engraved - no name	At the Bell in St Paul's Churchyard [T or E Adams]		11824			

Title	Year shown on title -page	Year actually printed	Composer	Publisher	Basis for identification of publisher	Printer	Sold by/at	Printed at	STC2	Patent mentioned	'Cum priv'	St. Co. Reg.
154 Fantasies of Three Parts (another issue with a new title page)	n/d	[1620?]	Gibbons, Orlando			engraved - no name	At the Bell in St Paul's Churchyard [T or E Adams]		11825			
155 Private Musicke. Or the First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues	1620	1620	Peerson, Martin			Snodham			19553			
156 Courtly Masquing Ayres	1621	1621	Adson, John	Browne	printed for	Snodham	St Dunstan's Churchyard, Fleet St		153			
157 Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts	1622	1622	Tomkins, Thomas	Lownes, Browne and Snodham	printed for	[Snodham]			24099		✓	
158 The First Booke of Ayres of Foure Parts	1622	1622	Attey, John			Snodham			901		✓	
159 The Sixt Set of Bookes	1624	1624	East, Michael	L[ownes] and A Browne	printed for	Snodham			7466			
160 The Second Set of Madirgals and Pastorals	1624	1624	Pilkington, Francis	L[ownes] and A Browne	printed for	Snodham			19924			
161 Parthenia In-Violata	n.d.	1620s	Ed. Hole, Robert	Pyper, John	printed for	engraved [by Hole]	Pyper's shop – Cross Keys at Paul's Gate		13567a		✓	
162 Ayres, or, Fala's for Three Voyces	1627	1627	Hilton, John	[Latham, G]	sold by	H Lownes	Latham's shop – Bishop's Head, St Paul's Churchyard		13508			
163 French Court-aires, with their Ditties Englished	1629	1629	Ed. Filmer, Edward			Stansby			10869		✓	
164 Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique	1630	1630	Peerson, Martin			Stansby			19552			
165 Canzonets ... to Three Voyces ... Newly Imprinted	1631	1631	Morley, Thomas			Stansby, William Hawkings and G Latham			18124		✓	
166 A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Arte of Musicke	1631	1631	Bevan, Elway			R. Young		Star, on Breadhill St	1986			
167 Madrigales and Ayres	1632	1632	Porter, Walter			Stansby			20124.5		✓	
168 The Seventh Set of Bookes	1638	1638	East, Michael	Stansby and Latham	printed for	[T Harper]			7467		✓	
169 The First Set of Psalmes of III. Voyces	1639	1639	Child, William			engraved; James Reave			5137			

b) Contents and Format

Title	Year used for analyses	Content				Scoring					Format			
		Didactic	Sacred	Secular	Mixed sacred & secular	Vocal	Instrumental	Voice(s) & instruments	Apt for voices & viols	Part books	Oriented table book	Single opening - like choir book	Single instrument	Text
1 Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs	1588				✓	✓		✓						
4 Musica Transalpina	1588			✓		✓								
5 Liber primus sacrarum cantionum	1589		✓											
6 Songs of Sundrie Natures	1589				✓	✓								
7 The First Sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished	1590			✓		✓								
8 Of Duos, or Songs for Two Voices	1590				✓	✓	✓		✓					
9 Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum	1591		✓											
10 The Former Booke of the Musicke	1591		✓											
11 The Second Booke of the Musicke	1591		✓											
12 Divers & Sundry Waies of Two Parts in One	1591	counter-point												✓
13 Whole Booke of Psalmes	1592		✓					✓					✓	
14 Mass a 4	1593		✓					✓				✓		
15 Canzonets ... To Three Voyces	1593			✓				✓				✓		
16 Musica Transalpina (hidden edition to meet demand?)	1593			✓				✓				✓		
17 Whole Booke of Psalmes	1594		✓					✓					✓	
18 Mass a 3	1594		✓					✓				✓		
19 Songs and Psalmes	1594				✓			✓				✓		
20 Madrigalls to Foure Voyces	1594			✓				✓				✓		
21 The First Booke of Balletts	1595			✓				✓				✓		
22 Il primo libro delle ballette	1595			✓				✓				✓		
23 The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces	1595			✓				✓	✓			✓		
24 Mass a 5	1595		✓					✓				✓		
25 A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song	1596	singing; rudiments												✓
26 The Pathway to Musicke	1596	singing; rudiments												✓
27 A New Booke of Tabliture	1596	lute		✓				✓						✓
28 Songs of Sundrie Natures (hidden edition to meet demand?)	1596				✓			✓				✓		
29 Canzonets ... to Three Voyces (hidden edition to meet demand?)	1596			✓				✓				✓		
30 Le Premier Livre de Chansons & Airs	1597			✓				✓				✓		

Title	Year used for analyses	Content				Scoring					Format			
		Didactic	Sacred	Secular	Mixed sacred & secular	Vocal	Instrumental	Voice(s) & instruments	Apt for voices & viols	Part books	Oriented table book	Single opening - like choir book	Single instrument	Text
31 The First Set of English Madrigalls	1597			✓		✓				✓				
32 Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. & 6. Voyces	1597			✓		✓				✓				
33 Musica Transalpina. The Second Booke	1597			✓		✓				✓				
34 The Ciththarn Schoole	1597			✓			6 pieces by brother	cittern				✓	✓	
35 The First Booke of Songes	1597			✓		✓		1 lute duet	✓		✓			
36 A Plaine and Easie Introduction	1597	singing; comprehensive instruction in music			✓	✓					✓			✓
37 Canzonets ... to Foure Voyces	1597			✓		✓					✓			
38 Canzonets ... to Five and Sixe Voyces	1597			✓		✓			includes lute part in cantus book		✓			
39 Novae ... cantiones suavissime	1598		✓			✓		✓			✓			
40 Madrigals to Five Voyces	1598			✓		✓					✓			
41 Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces	1598			✓		✓					✓			
42 The First Set of English Madrigals	1598			✓		✓					✓			
43 Canzonets to Fowre Voyces	1598			✓		✓					✓			
44 14. Ayres in Tabletorie	1598			✓					✓			✓		
45 The First Booke of Consort Lessons	1599			✓				✓			✓			
46 Whole Booke of Psalmes	1599		✓					✓					✓	
47 The Psalmes of David in Meter	1599		✓						✓			✓		
48 Madrigalls to Foure Voyces	1599			✓		✓					✓			
49 The First Set of English Madrigals	1599			✓		✓					✓			
50 Pavans, Galliards, Almains and other Short Aeires	1599			✓				✓			✓			
51 Psalmes, Sonets & Songs	1599				✓	✓				✓	✓			
52 <i>yMass a 4 (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1599		✓					✓			✓			
53 <i>Mass a 3 (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1599		✓					✓			✓			
54 The Second Booke of Songs	1600			✓		✓		piece for viol + lute	✓			✓		

Title	Year used for analyses	Content				Scoring					Format			
		Didactic	Sacred	Secular	Mixed sacred & secular	Vocal	Instru-mental	Voice(s) & instrum-ents	Apt for voices & viols	Part books	Oriented table book	Single opening - like choir book	Single instru-ment	Text
55 First Booke of Balletts	1600			✓		✓				✓				
56 Madrigals of 5. and 6. parts	1600			✓		✓				✓				
57 Madrigalls to Foure Voyces ... Now Newly Imprinted	1600			✓		✓				✓				
58 The First Booke of Ayres	1600			✓			orig pav + galliard	✓			✓			
59 The First Booke of Songes ... Newly Corrected	1600			✓		✓	1 lute duet	✓			✓			
60 The First booke of Songes & Ayres	1600			✓		✓		✓			✓			
61 Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana	1601			✓		✓				✓				
62 Madrigals to Five Voyces	1601			✓		✓				✓				
63 The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres	1601			✓				✓			✓			
64 A Booke of Ayres	1601			✓				✓			✓			
65 Canzonets ... to Three Voyces ... Now Newly Imprinted	1602			✓		✓				✓				
66 The Schoole of Musicke	1603			✓			lute etc				✓			✓
67 The Third and Last Booke of Songs	1603			✓						✓		✓		
68 The First Booke of Songes ... Newly Corrected	1603		✓							✓		✓		
69 Madrigales to 3. 4. and 5. Parts	1604			✓		✓			✓	✓		✓		
70 Lachrimae	1604			✓			✓				✓			
71 The First Set of English Madrigales	1604			✓		✓				✓		✓		
72 Songs of Sundrie Kindes	1604			✓		✓			✓		✓			
73 Gradualia	1605		✓			✓				✓		✓		
74 The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. Parts	1605			✓		✓		✓		✓		✓		
75 The First Part of Ayres, French, Pollish and Others	1605			✓			✓	✓		✓		✓		
76 Ultimum Vale	1605			✓		✓			✓		✓			
77 <i>First Booke of Balletts (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1605			✓		✓		✓		✓		✓		
78 <i>Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1605			✓		✓				✓		✓		

Title	Year used for analyses	Content				Scoring					Format			
		Didactic	Sacred	Secular	Mixed sacred & secular	Vocal	Instrumental	Voice(s) & instruments	Apt for voices & viols	Part books	Oriented table book	Single opening - like choir book	Single instrument	Text
79 <i>The First Set of English Madrigals (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1605			✓		✓				✓				
80 Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice	1606			✓				1 lute piece	✓			✓		
81 Canzonets ... to Three Voyces ... Newly Imprinted	1606			✓		✓					✓			
82 An Howres Recreation in Musicke	1606				✓	✓				✓	✓			
83 The First Booke of Songs ... Newly Corrected	1606			✓		✓		1 lute duet	✓			✓		
84 The Second Set of Madrigales	1606			✓		✓				✓	✓			
85 Funeral Teares. For the Death of the Right Honorable the Earle of Devonshire.	1606			✓					✓			✓		
86 A Booke of Ayres with a Triplicitie of Musicke	1606				✓				✓			✓		
87 Psalmes, Sonets & Songs	1606				✓	✓				✓	✓			
88 Gradualia ... Liber secundus	1607		✓			✓					✓			
89 The First Set of Madrigals	1607			✓		✓			✓		✓			
90 The Discription of a Maske	1607			✓					✓			✓		
91 Musicke of Sundrie Kindes	1607			✓				lyra viol duets	✓			✓		
92 Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke	1607			✓				✓	✓			✓		
93 Musica Sacra: to Sixe Voyces.	1608		✓			✓					✓			
94 Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces	1608			✓		✓					✓			
95 Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites	1608			✓							✓			
96 Canzonets	1608			✓		✓					✓			
97 A Plaine and Easie Introduction	1608	✓			✓	✓						✓		✓
98 A Musicall Dreame	1609			✓					✓			✓		
100 The Second Set of Madrigales	1609			✓		✓				✓	✓			
101 New Citharen Lessons	1609	cittern		✓				✓				✓	✓	✓
102 Lessons for Consort	1609			✓				✓			✓			
103 Ayres	1609			✓					✓			✓		
104 Lesson for 1. 2. and 3. viols	1609			✓				✓				✓		
105 Andreas Ornithoparchus His Micrologus	1609	theory												✓
106 Deuteromelia	1609			✓		✓							✓	
107 Pammelia	1609			✓		✓							✓	
108 The Muses Gardin for Delights	1610			✓					✓			✓		
109 Songs of Sundrie Natures	1610				✓	✓					✓			
112 The Third Set of Bookes	1610				✓	✓		✓		✓	✓			
113 Varietie of Lute-lessons	1610	lute		✓				✓					✓	

Title	Year used for analyses	Content				Scoring					Format			
		Didactic	Sacred	Secular	Mixed sacred & secular	Vocal	Instrumental	Voice(s) & instruments	Apt for voices & viols	Part books	Oriented table book	Single opening - like choir book	Single instrument	Text
114 A Muscally Banquet	1610			✓			✓						✓	
115 Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Viol	1610			✓			✓	✓			✓			
116 A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint	1610	counterpoint												✓
117 <i>The First Set of English Madrigals (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1610			✓		✓				✓				
118 <i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	1610			✓		✓				✓				
119 Psalms, Songs and Sonnets	1611				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
120 The First Booke of Consort Lessons ... Newly Corrected	1611			✓			✓			✓				
122 Melismata	1611			✓		✓							✓	
123 The XII. Wonders of the World	1611			✓			✓	✓			✓			
124 A Pilgrimes Solace	1612			✓			✓	✓			✓			
125 The First Set of Madrigals and Motets	1612			✓		✓			✓	✓				
126 The Second Booke of Ayres	1612			✓			✓	✓			✓	✓		
127 The First Booke of Songs	1613			✓			✓	✓			✓			
128 The First Set of Madrigals and Pastorals	1613			✓		✓				✓				
129 The First Set of English Madrigals	1613			✓		✓			✓	✓				
130 Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the Untimely Death of Price Henry	1613			✓				✓			✓			
131 The First Set of Madrigals of 5. Parts	1613			✓		✓			✓	✓				
132 The First Booke of Ayres and Second Booke of Ayres (two separate title pages but combined contents page)	1613				✓			✓			✓			
134 Parthenia	1613			✓			✓						✓	
136 Prime musiche nuove	1613			✓				✓					✓	
137 The Description of a Maske and Ayres, made by Seuerall Authors	1614			✓				✓			✓			✓
138 A Brief Discourse	1614	rudiments		✓		✓							✓	✓
139 The Maske of Flowers	1614			✓		✓							✓	✓
140 The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule	1614		✓					✓			✓			
141 Sacred Hymnes	1615		✓					✓		✓				
142 Sacred Hymnes	1615		✓					✓					✓	
143 The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres	1617			✓				✓					✓	
144 The Second Set of Madrigales	1618			✓		✓			✓	✓				

Title	Year used for analyses	Content				Scoring					Format			
		Didactic	Sacred	Secular	Mixed sacred & secular	Vocal	Instrumental	Voice(s) & instruments	Apt for voices & viols	Part books	Oriented table book	Single opening - like choir book	Single instrument	Text
145 The Fourth Set of Bookes	1618				✓	✓		✓	✓	✓				
146 The Fift Set of Bookes	1618			✓			✓		✓	✓				
147 The Ayres that were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle	1618			✓				✓			✓			
148 Pammelia	1618			✓		✓						✓		
149 The First Set: Beeing Songs	1619			✓		✓			✓	✓				
151 The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces	1619			✓		✓	✓			✓				
152 Fantazies of III. Parts	1620			✓			✓			✓				
155 Private Musicke. Or the First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues	1620			✓				✓			✓			
156 Courtly Masquing Ayres	1621						✓			✓				
157 Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts	1622			✓		✓				✓				
158 The First Booke of Ayres of Foure Parts	1622			✓				✓			✓			
159 The Sixt Set of Bookes	1624		✓						✓	✓				
160 The Second Set of Madrigals and Pastorals	1624			✓		✓	✓		✓	✓				
161 Parthenia In-Violata	1625			✓			✓					✓		
162 Ayres, or, Fala's for Three Voyces	1627			✓		✓				✓				
163 French Court-aies, with their Ditties Englished	1629			✓				✓			✓			
164 Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique	1630			✓		✓			✓	✓				
165 Canzonets ... to Three Voyces ...Newly Imprinted	1631			✓		✓				✓				
166 A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Arte of Musicke	1631	✓										✓		
167 Madrigales and Ayres	1632			✓				✓	✓	✓				
168 The Seventh Set of Bookes	1638			✓			✓		✓	✓				
169 The First Set of Psalmes of III. Voyces	1639		✓					✓		✓				

c) Composers and Dedictees

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
1 Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs	Byrd, William	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Byrd	Christopher Hatton	Lord Chancellor	
4 Musica Transalpina	Ed. Yonge, Nicholas	[Singer in St Paul's choir 1594 to 1618]	Yonge	Gilbert, Lord Talbot	Son of Earl of Shrewsbury	
5 Liber primus sacrarum cantionum	Byrd, William	Royal Organist, England	Byrd	Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester	Succeeded his father in 1589	
6 Songs of Sundrie Natures	Byrd, William	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Byrd	Lord Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon	Lord Chamberlain	Titular head of Chapel Royal; had shown favours to Byrd
7 The First Sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished	Ed. Watson, Thomas	Gentleman [Poet, translator. Walsingham family were patrons]	Watson	Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex	Master of the Queens Horse	
8 Of Duos, or Songs for Two Voices	Whythorne, Thomas	Gentleman	Whythorne	Francis Hastings - brother of Earl of Huntingdon		Some suggestion of personal acquaintance
9 Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum	Byrd, William	Royal Organist, England	Byrd	Lord Lumley	Major patron of arts and learning	
10 The Former Booke of the Musicke	Damon, William	late one of her majesty's musicians	Swayne	William Cecil	Lord High Treasurer	Swayne always received 'love and favour' from Cecil
11 The Second Booke of the Musicke	Damon, William	late one of her majesty's musicians	Swayne	William Cecil	Lord High Treasurer	Swayne always received 'love and favour' from Cecil
12 Divers &Sundry Waies of Two Parts in One	Farmer, John		Farmer	Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford	Lord Great Chamberlain	In de Vere's employ?
13 Whole Booke of Psalmes			East	Sir John Puckering	Lord Keeper of the Seal	
14 Mass a 4	Byrd, William					
15 Canzonets ... to Three Voyces	Morley, Thomas	B.Mus. and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Morley	Mary, Countess of Pembroke	Mary Herbert, sister of Philip Sidney; 1593 was the year she produced her edition of <i>Arcadia</i>	Morley's tone suggests he knows her
18 Mass a 3	Byrd, William					

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
19 Songs and Psalmes	Mundy, John	Gentleman, B.Mus. and one of the organists at Windsor	Mundy	Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex	Master of Queen's Horse; Knight of Garter	
20 Madrigalls to Foure Voyces	Morley, Thomas					
21 The First Booke of Balletts	Morley, Thomas		Morley	Robert Cecil	Privy Councillor	
22 Il primo libro delle ballette	Morley, Thomas		Morley	Robert Cecil	Privy Councillor	
23 The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces	Morley, Thomas		Morley	Lady Peryam	Lord Peryam was Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Lady Peryam came from Bacon family	Wife's previous employer
24 Mass a 5	Byrd, William					
25 A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song	Bathe, William	Gentleman [Irish; ended up a Jesuit priest in Spain]				
26 The Pathway to Musicke	[Barley, William]	[Bookseller]				
27 A New Booke of Tabliture	Various		Barley	Bridget Sussex	Wife of Earl of Sussex	
30 Le Premier Livre de Chansons & Airs	Tessier, Charles	Musicien de la chambre du roy [French lutenist seeking work in England via Earl of Essex]	Tessier	Penelope Rich	Sister of Earl of Essex	
31 The First Set of English Madrigalls	Kirbye, George	[Domestic musician in Jermyn household at Rushbrooke Hall near Bury St Edmunds]	Kirbye	Anne & Frances Jermin [daughters of his employer?]		Music written for dedicatees and well-received by them
32 Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. & 6. Voyces	Weelkes, Thomas		Weelkes	George Phillpot	Lived at Compton near Winchester	Undeserved love, and liberal goodwill towards Weelkes
33 Musica Transalpina. The Second Booke	Ed. Yonge, Nicholas		Yonge	Sir Henry Lennard		Yonge deeply beholden to him
34 The Cittharn Schoole	Holborne, Anthony	Gentleman and servant to her majesty	Holborne	Thomas, Lord Burgh	Knight of Garter; governor of various foreign parts, incl Ireland	
35 The First Booke of Songs	Dowland, John	Lutenist and B.Mus. from both universities [no record of Cambridge degree]	Dowland	George Carey, Baron Hunsdon	Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain	Favours towards Dowland; Carey's wife had previously been Dowland's employer
36 A Plaine and Easie Introduction	Morley, Thomas	B.Mus. and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Morley	William Byrd		Teacher and friend

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
37 Canzonets ... to Foure Voyces	Ed. Morley, Thomas	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Morley	Henry Tapsfield	Grocer and citizen	Courtesies received by Morley and friends
38 Canzonets ... to Five and Sixe Voyces	Morley, Thomas	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Morley	George Carey, Baron Hunsdon	Lord Chamberlain etc	Bound by Carey's father's favours to Morley
39 Novae ... cantiones suavissime	Lasso, Orlando di					
40 Madrigals to Five Voyces	Ed. Morley, Thomas	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Morley	Gervase Clifton		
41 Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces	Weelkes, Thomas		Weelkes	Edward Darcy	Groom of her majesty's privy chamber	Thanks Darcy 'for the entertaining into your service'
42 The First Set of English Madrigals	Wilbye, John	[Worked for Kitsons at Hengrave Hall]	Wilbye	Sir Charles Cavendish		Talks of affection, duty and goodwill towards Cavendish, but no firm link known
43 Canzonets to Fowre Voyces	Farnaby, Giles	B. Mus.	Farnaby	Ferdinando Heybourne	Groom of Privy Chamber	Manifold courtesies and loving kindness
44 14. Ayres in Tabletorie	Cavendish, Michael	gentleman	Cavendish	Lady Arbella Stuart	[Potential heir to English throne]	His second cousin. Talks of her favours to him
45 The First Booke of Consort Lessons	Ed. Morley, Thomas	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Morley	Sir Stephen Some (and the aldermen of the city)	Lord Mayor of London	Employer of the Waits, whom Morley esteems and who will play the music well
46 Whole Booke of Psalmes						
47 The Psalmes of David in Meter	Allison, Richard	Gentleman practitioner in the art of music	Allison	Anne, Countess of Warwick	Lady in Waiting at court	Husband was 'sometimes my good Lord and master'
48 Madrigalls to Foure Voyces	Bennet, John		Bennet	Ralph Assheton	JP and local dignatory in NW England	Existing patron 'in many ways'
49 The First Set of English Madrigals	Farmer, John	Practitioner in the art of music [1595-1599 Christ Church Cathedral Dublin; in London 1599]	Farmer	Edward de Vere, E of Oxford	Lord Great Chamberlain	Previous employer
50 Pavans, Galliards, Almains and other Short Aeires	Holborne, Anthony	Gentleman and servant to her majesty	Holborne	Sir Richard Champerknowne		Champerknowne has previously played many of the pieces
54 The Second Booke of Songs	Dowland, John	BMus and lutenist to the King of Denmark	Dowland	Lucy, Countess of Bedford	Learned patron of the arts	

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
56 Madrigals of 5. and 6. parts	Weelkes, Thomas	Of the college of Winchester, Organist	Weelkes	Henry, Lord Windsor, Baron of Bradenham		
58 The First Booke of Ayres	Morley, Thomas	B.Mus. and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Morley	Ralph Bosville		'Generous spirit' towards Morley
60 The First booke of Songes & Ayres	Jones, Robert	[B.Mus. Oxford 1597; joined with Rosseter and others in theatrical enterprise at White Friars]	Jones	Sir Robert Sidney	Governor of Flushing	
61 Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana	Ed. Morley, Thomas	B.Mus. and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Morley	Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham	Lord High Admiral, Privy Councillor etc	
62 Madrigals to Five Voyces	Carleton, Richard	Priest and B.Mus. [Master of Choristers at Norwich Cathedral 1591-1605]	Carleton	Thomas Fermor of Norfolk		
63 The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres	Jones, Robert		Jones	Sir Henry Leonard		Friend
64 A Booke of Ayres	Rosseter, Philip & Campion, Thomas	Rosseter - Lutenist [Court Lutenist from 1603]	Rosseter	Sir Thomas Mounson		Known to Campion and has favoured him
66 The Schoole of Musicke	Robinson, Thomas	Lutenist	Robinson	King James		Taught the Queen in Denmark
67 The Third and Last Booke of Songs	Dowland, John	B.Mus. and lutenist to the King of Denmark	Dowland	John Souch		Good friend; thanks for encouragement
69 Madrigales to 3. 4. and 5. Parts	East, Michael		East, M	Sir John Crofts		Very good friend
70 Lachrimae	Dowland, John	B.Mus. and lutenist to the King of Denmark	Dowland	Queen Anne		Sister of employer
71 The First Set of English Madrigales	Bateson, Thomas	Organist Chester Cathedral	Bateson	Sir William Norres		Good friend who had previously admired the music in looseleaf form
72 Songs of Sundrie Kindes	Greaves, Thomas	Lutenist to Sir Henry Pierrepoint	Greaves	Sir Henry Pierrepoint		Employer
73 Gradualia	Byrd, William	Royal Organist, England	Byrd	Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton	Privy Councillor; Knight of the Garter; cousin of Earl of Oxford	Byrd acknowledges part played by Howard in getting pay rise for Chapel Royal and for his patronage of his family
74 The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. Parts	Pilkington, Francis	B.Mus., lutenist; one of the cathedral at Chester	Pilkington	William, Earl of Derby, Lord Strange		Pilkington's father and brother worked for Earl's father; Francis himself worked for the Earl's brother

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
75 The First Part of Ayres, French, Pollish and Others	Hume, Tobias	Gentleman [Officer in Swedish and Russian armies]	Hume	William, Earl of Pembroke		
76 Ultimum Vale	Jones, Robert		Jones	Prince Henry		
80 Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice	Danyel, John	B.Mus. [Brother of Samuel Danyel, poet; lutenist]	Danyel	Mistress Anne Grene	daughter of Sir William Grene of Milton	Music originally written for her and they performed it together; probably her tutor
82 An Howres Recreation in Musicke	Allison, Richard	Gentleman & practitioner of music	Allison	Sir John Scudamore of Holme Lacey		Allison thanks Scudamore for 'those quiet days, which by your goodness I have enjoyed'
84 The Second Set of Madrigales	East, Michael	Address given as Ely House, Holborn [occupied by the Hattons]	East, M	Sir Thomas Gerard		East has only met Gerard recently but Gerard has been good to him
85 Funeral Teares. For the Death of the Right Honorable the Earle of Devonshire.	Coprario, John	[Well-connected patrons incl Robert Cecil; eventual service at Court]	Coperario	Offered as an appreciation of the Earl of Devonshire		
86 A Booke of Ayres with a Triplicite of Musicke	Bartlet, John	Gentleman and practitioner in this arte		Sir Edward Seymour, Baron Beacham, Earl of Hertford		Bartlet's 'singular good lord and master'
88 Gradualia ... Liber secundus	Byrd, William	Royal Organist, England	Byrd	John, Lord Petre	Lord Lieutenant of Essex; son of Sir William Petre,	These works have come from the Petres' house
89 The First Set of Madrigals	Jones, Robert		Jones	Robert, Earl of Salisbury	Principal Secretary to the King	
90 The Discription of a Maske	Campion, Thomas	Doctor of Physicke	Campion?	Addressed to King James, the bride and groom (Hayes) and Lord Walden		
91 Musicke of Sundrie Kindes	Ford, Thomas	[Court viol player]	Ford	Vocal pieces - Sir Richard Weston; viol pieces - Sir Richard Tichborne		Weston liked some of the pieces; Ford received favours from both men
92 Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke	Hume, Tobias	Gentleman	Hume	Philip, Earl of Arundel – this is puzzling as Philip had died in 1595 and current earl was Thomas		
93 Musica Sacra: to Sixe Voyces.	Croce, Giovanni					

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
95 Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites	Weelkes, Thomas	B.Mus., Gentleman of the Chapel Royal & organist at Chichester Cathedral [no record of Chapel Royal appointment, so presumably a gentleman 'extraordinary']	Weelkes	Edward, Lord Denny, Baron of Waltham		A suggestion of employment by Lord Denny
96 Canzonets	Youll, Henry	Practitioner in the art of musicke	Youll	The four sons of Mr Edward Bacon, Esquire		Suggestion that he taught them and that they know some of the music
98 A Musicall Dreame	Jones, Robert		Jones	Sir John Levinthorpe		Jones is paying his debt for Levinthorpe's many favours
100 The Second Set of Madrigales	Wilbye, John		Wilbye	Lady Arbella Stuart	By this stage a marginalised relative of the Royal Family	Wilbye's admiration of Arbella is clear; his first book was dedicated to her uncle, so it seems possible that there was some connection with the Cavendish family
101 New Citharen Lessons	Robinson, Thomas	Student in all the seven liberal sciences	Robinson	Sir William Cecil	Son of Earl of Salisbury	History of family service; also mentions friend and pupil Edward Winne, who works for Earl of Salisbury
102 Lessons for Consort	Ed. Rosseter, Philip	One of his Majesties musicians	Rosseter	Sir William Gascoyne of Sedbury		
103 Ayres	Ferrabosco, Alfonso	[Court musician - viol player, tutor to princes]	Ferrabosco	Prince Henry		
104 Lesson for 1. 2. and 3. viols	Ferrabosco, Alfonso		Ferrabosco	Henry, Earl of Southampton		Works were written for the Earl
105 Andreas Ornithoparchus His Micrologus	(tr Dowland, John) Ornithoparchus		Dowland	Robert, Earl of Salisbury	Privy Councillor, Lord High Treasurer	
106 Deuteromelia	Ravenscroft, Thomas					
107 Pammelia	Ravenscroft, Thomas					
108 The Muses Gardin for Delights	Jones, Robert		Jones	Lady Wroth		

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
112 The Third Set of Bookes	East, Michael	B.Mus.	East, M	Henry Willoughby		Ever since it pleased you to vouchsafe me your patronage...'
113 Varietie of Lute-lessons	Ed. Dowland, Robert		R Dowland	Sir Thomas Mounson		Mounson responsible for part of Dowland's education
114 A Musicall Banquet	Ed. Dowland, Robert		R Dowland	Sir Robert Sydney	Queen's Chamberlain	Sydney was Robert Dowland's godfather
115 Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl	Corkine, William		Corkine	Sir Edward Herbert & Sir William Hardy		Served the two dedicatees and they educated him
116 A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint	Campion, Thomas	Physician	Campion	Prince Charles		
119 Psalms, Songs and Sonnets	Byrd, William	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Byrd	Francis Earl of Cumberland		Refers to favours from the Earl
122 Melismata	Ravenscroft, Thomas					
123 The XII. Wonders of the World	Maynard, John	Lutenist at St Julian's School, Hertfordshire	Maynard	Lady Joan Thynne		Previous employer; music written in her house and heard there
124 A Pilgrimes Solace	Dowland, John	B.Mus. in both universities; lutenist to Lord Walden	Dowland	Lord Walden	Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain etc	Employer
125 The First Set of Madrigals and Motets	Gibbons, Orlando	B.Mus. and organist of Chapel Royal	Gibbons	Sir Christopher Hatton		Honoured friend; many favours to Gibbons; music mostly composed in his house
126 The second booke of ayres	Corkine, William		Corkine	Sir Edward Dymock	King's Champion	A personal patron in some way: 'my worthiest creditor'
128 The First Set of Madrigals and Pastorals	Pilkington, Francis	B.Mus.; lutenist; one of the cathedral at Chester	Pilkington	Sir Thomas Smith of Hough in the County of Chester		Thanks for favours received
129 The First Set of English Madrigals	Ward, John		Ward	Sir Henry Fanshawe		Employed by Fanshawe
130 Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the Untimely Death of Price Henry	Coprario, John (texts Campion)		Coperario?	Short Latin text addressed to Frederick, Elector Palatine. Over top of first song: 'To the most sacred King James'		

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
131 The First Set of Madrigals of 5. Parts	Lichfield, Henry			Lady Cheyney		Works for her; careful to say he worked on the compositions at night; says that she had heard and liked them 'presented by the instruments and voices of your own family'
132 The First Booke of Ayres and Second Booke of Ayres (two separate title pages but combined contents page)	Campion, Thomas		Campion	Francis Earl of Cumberland and his son Henry Clifford		
134 Parthenia	Byrd, Bull, Gibbons	Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal				
136 Prime musiche nuove	Notari, Angelo	[had been employed by Prince Henry, now deceased; seeking work?]	Notari	Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset		
137 The Description of a Maske and Ayres Made by Severall Authors	Campion, Thomas et al					
138 A Brief Discourse	Ravenscroft, Thomas	B.Mus.	Ravenscroft	Senators, guardians of Gresham College		
139 The Maske of Flowers	Music by Coprario		IG, WD, TB	Sir Francis Bacon		
140 The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule	Ed. Leighton, Sir William	Gentleman Pensioner to the King [Was in prison for debts at the time of publication]	Leighton	Prince Charles		
141 Sacred Hymnes	Amner, John	B.Mus; Master of Choristers and Organist at Ely Cathedral	Amner	William, Earl of Bath	Lord Lieutenant of Devon	Educated/trained in Earl's household; close relationship with one of his servants
142 Sacred Hymnes	text Sir Edwin Sandys; settings by Robert Tailour		Sandys	God		
143 The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres	Campion, Thomas		Campion	Sir Thomas Mounson		Longstanding relationship (patronage?)
144 The Second Set of Madrigales	Bateson, Thomas	B.Mus., organist and Master of children at Trinity Cathedral, Dublin	Bateson	Arthur Lord Chichester	Lord High Treasurer of Ireland; Privy Councillor	Music originally privately provided to patron; seems to be in some sort of service with him

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
145 The Fourth Set of Bookes	East, Michael	B.Mus.and Master of the choristers at Lichfield Cathedral	East, M	Robert, Earl of Essex	Lord Lieutenant of County of Stafford	East lives very close by; what better than a local patron? No real relationship though
146 The Fift Set of Bookes	East, Michael	B.Mus.and Master of the choristers at Lichfield Cathedral	East, M	Sir William Owen		A musical friend
147 The Ayres that were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle	Mason, George & Earsden, John	[Mason employed by Earl of Cumberland 1611-17; Earsden apprenticed to Mason]				
149 The First Set: Beeing Songs	Vautor, Thomas			Marquess of Buckingham	Lord High Admiral; King's favourite	Worked for Villiers mother; some of the music composed there
152 Fantazies of III. Parts	Gibbons, Orlando	B.Mus. and late organist of the Chapel Royal	Gibbons	Edward Wrayson	Groom of bedchamber	A friend
155 Private Musicke. Or the First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues	Peerson, Martin	B.Mus. [probably living in London]		Mary Holder and Sara Hart		Both had previously played and sung the music (Peerson may have been their teacher)
156 Courtly Masquing Ayres	Adson, John	[one of the London Waits]	Adson	Marquess of Buckingham		
157 Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts	Tomkins, Thomas	Organist of his Majesties Chappell Royall in Ordinary	Tomkins	William, Earl of Pembroke	Lord Chamberlain	
157 The First Booke of Ayres of Foure Parts	Attey, John	Gentleman and Practitioner of Musicke	Attey	Earl of Bridgewater and Lady Bridgewater		Taught their daughters and most of music composed under their roof
158 The Sixt Set of Bookes	East, Michael	B.Mus.and Master of the choristers at Lichfield Cathedral	East	Bishop of Lincoln	Also Keeper of the Great Seal	Bishop of Lincoln was a benefactor of East
160 The Second Set of Madrigals and Pastorals	Pilkington	B.Mus, lutenist and 'chaunter' at Chester cathedral	Pilkington	Sir Peter Leigh of Lyme		Previous employer

Title	Composer	Occupation given	Dedicated by	Dedicated to	Position/status	Relationship with composer
161 Parthenia In-Violata	Ed. Hole.					
162 Ayres, or, Fala's for Three Voyces	Hilton	B.Mus.	Hilton	William Heather	Gentleman of Chapel Royal	Taught Hilton
163 French Court-aires, with their Ditties Englished	Ed. Filmer		Filmer	The Queen		
164 Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique	Peerson	B.Mus.	Peerson	Lord Brooke		Peerson's patron
166 A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Arte of Musicke	Bevan		Bevan	Bishop of Gloucester		Has received many favours from the Bishop
167 Madrigales and Ayres	Porter	Gentleman of the Chapel Royal	Porter	Lord Digby of Sherburne	Diplomat	Porter served him in Spain
168 The Seventh Set of Bookes	East, Michael	B.Mus.and Master of the choristers at Lichfield Cathedral	East	Sir Christopher Hatton		
169 The First Set of Psalmes of III. Voyces	Child, William	Organist, St George's Chapel, Windsor	Child	King Charles (I)		

d) Secular Vocal Genres

	Title	Composer	Year used for analyses	Madrigals	Lute Ayres	Descended from consort song	Light, popular
1	Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs	Byrd	1588			✓	
4	Musica Transalpina	Yonge	1588	✓			
6	Songs of Sundrie Natures	Byrd	1589			✓	
7	The First Sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished	Watson	1590	✓			
8	Of Duos, or Songs for Two Voices	Whythorne	1590			✓	
15	Canzonets ... to Three Voyces	Morley	1593	✓			
19	Songs and Psalmes	Mundy	1594			✓	
20	Madrigalls to Foure Voyces	Morley	1594	✓			
21	The First Booke of Balletts	Morley	1595	✓			
22	Il primo libro delle ballette	Morley	1595	✓			
23	The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces	Morley	1595	✓			
28	<i>Songs of Sundrie Natures (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	Byrd	1596			✓	
29	<i>Canzonets ... to Three Voyces (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	Morley	1596	✓			
31	The First Set of English Madrigalls	Kirbye	1597	✓			
32	Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. & 6. Voyces	Weelkes	1597	✓			
33	Musica Transalpina. The Second Booke	Yonge	1597	✓			
34	The Ciththarn Schoole	Holborne	1597			✓	
35	The First Booke of Songes	Dowland	1597		✓		
37	Canzonets ... to Foure Voyces	Morley	1597	✓			
38	Canzonets ... to Five and Sixe Voices	Morley	1597	✓			
40	Madrigals to Five Voyces	Morley	1598	✓			
41	Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces	Weelkes	1598	✓			
42	The First Set of English Madrigals	Wilbye	1598	✓			
43	Canzonets to Fowre Voyces	Farnaby	1598	✓			
44	14. Ayres in Tabletorie	Cavendish	1598	✓	✓		
48	Madrigalls to Foure Voyces	Bennet	1599	✓			
49	The First Set of English Madrigals	Farmer	1599	✓			
51	Psalmes, Sonets & Songs	Byrd	1599			✓	

Title	Composer	Year used for analyses	Madrigals	Lute Ayres	Descended from consort song	Light, popular
54 The Second Booke of Songs	Dowland	1600		✓		
55 First Book of Balletts	Morley	1600	✓			
56 Madrigals of 5. and 6. parts	Weelkes	1600	✓			
57 Madrigalls to Foure Voyces ... Now Newly Imprinted	Morley	1600	✓			
58 The First Booke of Ayres	Morley	1600		✓		
59 The First Booke of Songes ... Newly Corrected	Dowland	1600		✓		
60 The First Booke of Songes & Ayres	Jones	1600		✓		
61 Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana	Morley	1601	✓			
62 Madrigals to Five Voyces	Carleton	1601	✓			
63 The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres	Jones	1601		✓		
64 A Booke of Ayres	Rosetter & Campion	1601		✓		
65 Canzonets... to Three Voyces ... Now Newly Imprinted	Morley	1602	✓			
67 The Third and Last Booke of Songs	Dowland	1603		✓		
68 The First Booke of Songes ... Newly Corrected	Dowland	1603		✓		
69 Madrigales to 3. 4. and 5. Parts	East	1604	✓			
71 The First Set of English Madrigales	Bateson	1604	✓			
72 Songs of Sundrie Kindes	Greaves	1604	✓	✓		
74 The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. Parts	Pilkington	1605		✓		
75 The First Part of Ayres, French, Pollish and Others	Hume	1605		✓		
76 Ultimum Vale	Jones	1605		✓		
77 <i>First Booke of Balletts (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	Morley	1605	✓			
78 <i>Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	Morley	1605	✓			
79 <i>The First Set of English Madrigals (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	Wilbye	1605	✓			
80 Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice	Danyel	1606		✓		
81 Canzonets... To Three Voyces ... Newly Imprinted	Morley	1606	✓			
82 An Howres Recreation in Musicke	Allison	1606			✓	
83 The First Booke of Songs ... Newly Corrected	Dowland	1606		✓		
84 The Second Set of Madrigales	East	1606	✓			

Title	Composer	Year used for analyses	Madrigals	Lute Ayres	Descended from consort song	Light, popular
85 Funeral Teares. For the Death of the Right Honorable the Earle of Devonshire.	Coprario (texts Campion)	1606		✓		
86 A Booke of Ayres with a Triplicite of Musicke	Bartlet	1606		✓		
87 Psalmes, Sonets & Songs	Byrd	1606			✓	
89 The First Set of Madrigals	Jones	1607	✓			
90 The Discription of a Maske	Campion	1607		✓		
91 Musicke of Sundrie Kindes	Ford	1607		✓		
92 Captain Humes Poeticall Musicke	Hume	1607		✓		
94 Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces	Weelkes	1608	✓			
95 Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites	Weelkes	1608	✓			
96 Canzonets	Youll	1608	✓			
98 A Musicall Dreame	Jones	1609		✓		
100 The Second Set of Madrigales	Wilbye	1609	✓			
103 Ayres	Ferrabosco	1609		✓		
106 Deuteromelia	Ravenscroft	1609				✓
107 Pammelia	Ravenscroft	1609				✓
108 The Muses Gardin for Delights	Jones	1610		✓		
109 Songs of Sundrie Natures	Byrd	1610			✓	
112 The Third Set of Bookes	East	1610	✓			
115 Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Viol	Corkine	1610		✓		
117 <i>The First Set of English Madrigals (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	Wilbye	1610	✓			
118 <i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces (hidden edition to meet demand?)</i>	Morley	1610	✓			
119 Psalms, Songs and Sonnets	Byrd	1611			✓	
122 Melismata	Ravenscroft	1611				✓
123 The XII. Wonders of the World	Maynard	1611		✓		
124 A Pilgrimes Solace	Dowland	1612		✓		
125 The First Set of Madrigals and Motets	Gibbons	1612			✓	
126 The Second Booke of Ayres	Corkine	1612		✓		
127 The First Booke of Songs	Dowland	1613		✓		
128 The First Set of Madrigals and Pastorals	Pilkington	1613	✓			

	Title	Composer	Year used for analyses	Madrigals	Lute Ayres	Descended from consort song	Light, popular
129	The First Set of English Madrigals	Ward	1613	✓			
130	Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the Untimely Death of Price Henry	Coprario, John (texts Campion)	1613		✓		
131	The First Set of Madrigals of 5. Parts	Lichfield	1613	✓			
132	The First Booke of Ayres and Second Booke of Ayres (two separate title pages but combined contents page)	Campion	1613		✓		
137	The Description of a Maske and Ayres, Made by Severall Authors	Campion et al	1614		✓		
138	A Brief Discourse	Ravenscroft	1614				✓
139	The Maske of Flowers	Coprario	1614		✓		
143	The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres	Campion	1617		✓		
144	The Second Set of Madrigales	Bateson	1618	✓			
145	The Fourth Set of Bookes	East	1618	✓			
146	The Fift Set of Bookes	East	1618	✓			
147	The Ayres that were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle	Mason & Earsden	1618		✓		
148	Pammelia	Ravenscroft	1618				✓
149	The First Set: Beeing Songs	Vautor	1619	✓			
151	The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces	Morley	1619	✓			
155	Private Musicke. Or the First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues	Peerson	1620		✓		
157	Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts	Tomkins	1622	✓			
158	The First Booke of Ayres of Foure Parts	Attey	1622		✓		
160	The Second Set of Madrigals and Pastorals	Pilkington	1624	✓			
162	Ayres, or, Fala's for Three Voyces	Hilton	1627	✓			
163	French Court-aires, with their Ditties Englished	Ed. Filmer	1629		✓		
164	Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique	Peerson	1630	✓			
165	Canzonets ... to Three Voyces ... Newly Imprinted	Morley	1631	✓			
167	Madrigales and Ayres	Porter	1632	✓			

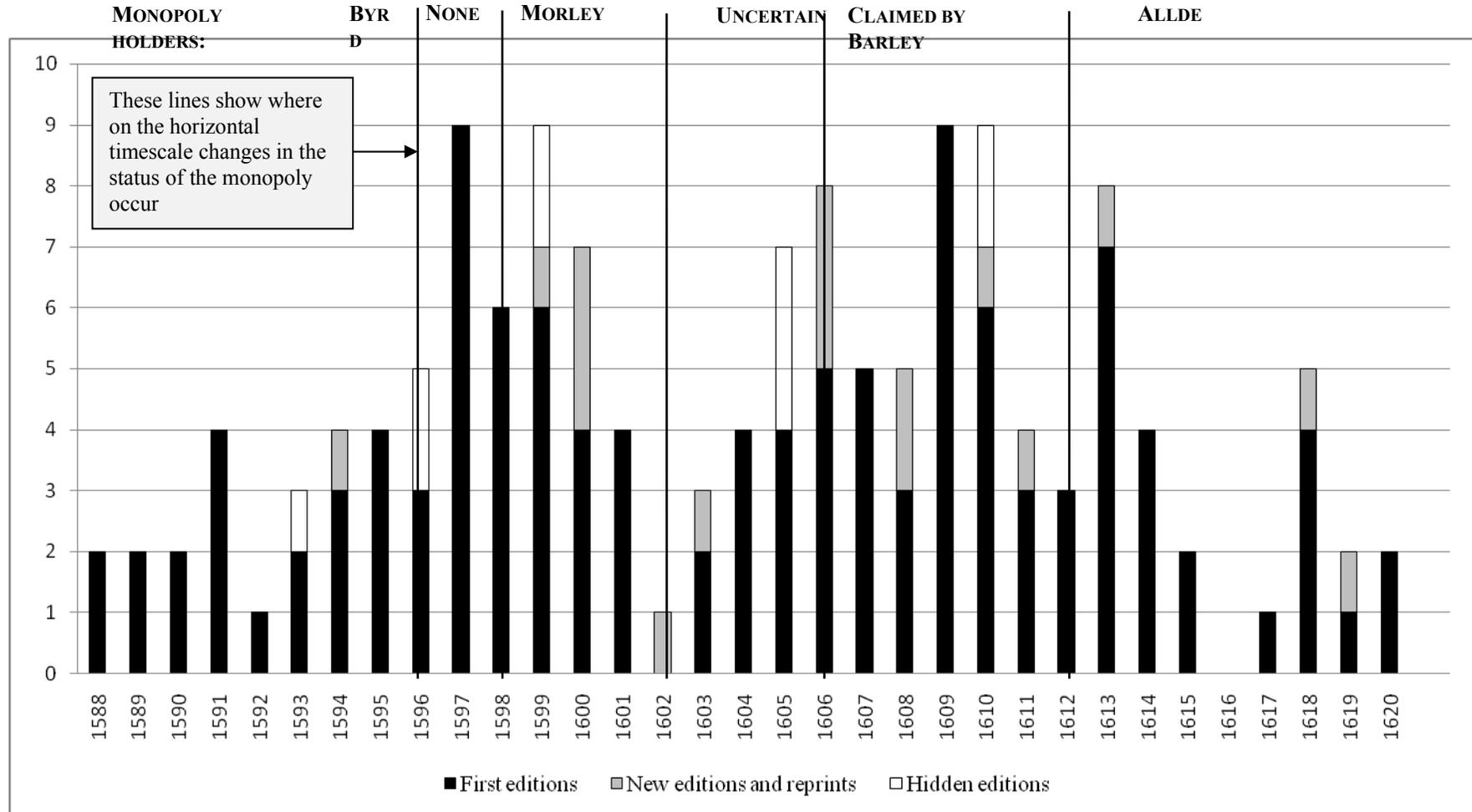
APPENDIX 5.2

EARLY LUTE AYRE PUBLICATIONS

Publication	Year	Scoring		Nature of Lute Part	
		Songs with just voice, lute and bass line	Bass line has words underlain		Additional voice parts provided
Dowland, <i>First Booke of Songes</i>	1597		✓	4 parts	Not a straight transcription of the lower vocal parts – includes idiomatic decoration and cadential passages; very few instrumental interludes
Morley, <i>Canzonets ... to Five and Sixe Voyces</i>	1597		✓	5 or 6 parts	Straightforward lute reduction of lower parts
Cavendish, <i>14. Ayres in Tabletorie</i>	1598	✓	✓	Some have 4 parts	Includes instrumental introductions and interludes, sometimes prefiguring the vocal line; some introductions for lute only without the bass part; idiomatic lute writing; the four-part settings are more like Dowland in texture
Allison, <i>Psalmes of David in Meter</i>	1599		✓	4 parts	Largely homophonic settings; lute part is a lightly ornamented reduction of lower three parts; also a cittern part

Publication	Year	Scoring			Nature of Lute Part
		Songs with just voice, lute and bass line	Bass line has words underlain	Additional voice parts provided	
Dowland, <i>Second Booke of Songs</i>	1600	✓	✓	Some have 4 parts or 5 parts	Small ensemble pieces have an independent lute part, but few interludes; for larger ensembles the lute has an ornamented reduction of lower voices
Jones, <i>First Booke of Songes & Ayres</i>	1600		✓	4 parts	Largely a reduction of lower parts
Morley, <i>First Booke of Ayres</i>	1600	✓			Introductions and interludes, prefiguring the vocal line; idiomatic writing - most like Cavendish
Jones, <i>Second Booke of Songs & Ayres</i>	1601	✓	✓		Jones provides an alternative part for lyra viol; some introductions in which lute, bass viol and bass voice may not all participate
Rosseter/Campion, <i>A Booke of Ayres</i>	1601	✓			No introductions or interludes: voice sings continuously
Dowland, <i>Third and Last Booke of Songs</i>	1603	✓	in 4-pt settings	4 part (bulk of book) + 1 lute duet with 5 voices	Tiny interludes in one or two pieces; four-part accompaniments are ornamented reductions of lower parts; no introductory passages
Greaves, <i>Songs of Sundrie Kindes</i>	1604	✓			Includes instrumental introductions
Pilkington, <i>First Booke of Songs or Ayres</i>	1605		✓	4 parts	Lute part is a reduction of the three lower parts

APPENDIX 5.3: MUSIC PRINTED IN ENGLAND, 1588-1620, SHOWING EACH MONOPOLY PERIOD



APPENDIX 5.4

SUMMARY OF BRITISH LIBRARY HOLDINGS OF EDITIONS OF MORLEY VOCAL PIECES, 1770-1899

Complete volumes	Year published
<i>The First Booke of Balletts</i>	1842
<i>Madrigales. The Triumphes of Oriana</i>	[1814]

Individual pieces	Years published				
<i>Canzonets ... to Three Voyces</i>					
Good Morrow	1851				
See, see my own sweet jewel	[1889]				
Where art thou	c. 1780				
<i>Madrigalls to Foure Voyces</i>					
April is in my mistress' face	c. 1835				
Say, gentle nymphs!	[1856]				
The fields abroad	1891				
<i>The First Booke of Balletts</i>					
Dainty fine sweet nymph	[1867]	[1869]			
Fire fire	c. 1840	[1867]	[1884]		
Lady those cherries plenty	1864	c. 1880			
My bonny lass	[1867]	[1869]			
Now is the month of maying	1792	1826	[1840]	1851	[1858]
	[1859]	[1860]	[1867]	c. 1880	
Phyllis I would fain die now	[1892]				
Shoot, false love	[1869]				
Sing we and chaunt it	1864	[1867]			
Singing alone sat my sweet Amaryllis	1864				
Those dainty daffadillies	[1869]				
What saith my dainty darling	[1867]	[1869]			
You that wont to my pipe's sound	[1859]				

Individual pieces	Years published
<i>The First Booke of Canzonets to Two Voyces</i>	
Flora, wilt ye torment me	1794
Go ye, my canzonets	1775 [1775?]
Sweet Nymph	[1775?] 1783 [1783]
When lo in break of morning	1776
Six Canzonets (London: Welcker, n.d.)	c. 1775
<i>The First Booke of Consort Lessons</i>	
O mistress mine (arranged for four voices)	1894
<i>Canzonets ... to Five and Six Voyces</i>	
Lo, where with flowery head	c. 1840

Source: British Library Integrated Catalogue [online resource] <http://catalogue.bl.uk/>, accessed 16 May 2010.

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This bibliography is subdivided into ‘manuscript sources’, ‘printed music’, and ‘books, articles and online resources’. Many of the manuscripts are official documents which run to many volumes. For these, only the manuscript class and a brief description are given below. Precise references to individual documents within these classes are provided in footnotes to the main text.

In the course of this study at least one copy of every surviving edition of music printed in England between 1588 and 1639 has been examined; full details of these publications, including bibliographical information, are given in Appendix 5.1. For this reason, these items are not also included in the bibliography unless, as in the case of Thomas Morley’s *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, they have been cited extensively in the text of the dissertation. Items listed under ‘Printed Music’ in the bibliography are limited to editions printed in continental Europe in the decades around 1600, as well as those modern editions that have been consulted. A few of these modern editions also appear, listed under the editor’s name, in the third section of the bibliography where an introductory essay has provided valuable information for this study.

A final oddity is the appearance amongst the sources of two online library catalogues. They are included because they give more than the location of library stock. John Milsom’s catalogue of the music collection in the library of Christ Church Oxford supplies a detailed physical description of each volume, including the binding and handwritten annotations on preliminary pages, which has contributed to a consideration of evidence of ownership and use

of printed music. The British Library's online catalogue has provided the source material for an analysis of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of music by Morley and his contemporaries.

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Cambridge University Archives

Vice-Chancellor's (VC) Court Inventories, Bundle 6, 1596-1604. *Probate inventories for deaths within the jurisdiction of Cambridge University.*

Cambridge University Library (Cu)

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Trinity College (Ctc) Archives

Senior Bursars' Accounts, 1585-1597.

HATFIELD

Hatfield House

Microfilm copies of the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House are held at the British Library.

LONDON

British Library (Lbl)

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MS 06667 *Parish Registers for St Andrew Holborn.*

MS 06830 and MS 06831 *Parish Registers for St Helen Bishopsgate.*

MS 06836 *Churchwardens' Accounts for St Helen Bishopsgate.*

MS 09050 *Archdeaconary of London Act Books, relating to probate and administration of wills.*

MS 09168 *Diocese of London Commissary Court Act Books.*

MS 09537 *Diocese of London Visitation Books.*

MS 25630 *St Paul's Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Registers, Nowell 2.*

London Metropolitan Archives

CLA/024 *Mayor's Court, City of London, Original Bills.*

Lambeth Palace Library (Llp)

Lambeth MS 1730 *Archbishop George Abbot's Domestic Account Book.*

The National Archives (Lna)

C 66 *Patent Rolls.*

E 179 *Lay Subsidy Rolls.*

E 190 *Port of London Records.*

PC 2 *Privy Council Registers.*

PCC *Wills Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills.*

PROB *Prerogative Court of Canterbury Probate Records.*

REQ 2 *Proceedings of the Court of Requests.*

SP 12 *State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I.*

SP 38 *Signet Office: Docquets.*

SP 77 *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Flanders.*

SP 84 *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland.*

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WAM 63854 *Extracts from Westminster Abbey Chapter Accounts referring to Westminster School.*

NORWICH

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NCR Case 8b *City of Norwich Guildhall Court Pleas.*

NCR Case 13 *City of Norwich Muster Rolls and other Military Records.*

NCR Case 16a *City of Norwich Mayor's Court Books.*

NCR Case 16c *City of Norwich Assembly Minute Books.*

NCR Case 18a *City of Norwich Chamberlain's Accounts.*

NCR Case 20a *City of Norwich Quarter Sessions Minute Books.*

OXFORD

Bodleian Library (Ob)

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B. PRINTED MUSIC

MUSIC PRINTED IN ENGLAND BETWEEN 1588 AND 1620

I have consulted all the publications listed in Appendix 5.1, using both the electronic copies held in *EEBO* and the holdings of the following libraries:

United Kingdom:

Cambridge University Library (*Cu*)
Trinity College Cambridge Library (*Ctc*)
Edinburgh University, Reid Music Library (*Er*)
Scottish National Library (*En*)
Glasgow University Library (*Gu*), British Library (*Lbl*)
Royal College of Music Library (*Lcm*)
Watson Music Library (*Mp*)

France:

Bibliothèque Nationale (*F-Pn*)

Germany:

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