Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church: A History in Fragments



Maura Valenti
Trinity College, Oxford
Supervised by Prof. Ian McBride

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Hilary Term 2023

Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church: A History in Fragments
Abstract

Maura Valenti

Although it is informed by musicological methods and discourses, *Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church* is wholly a work of historical research. This thesis utilises a wide variety of sources from Ireland and continental Europe and unites for the first time a series of musical 'fragments' from eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history, situating them in Irish and European historical frameworks. Each of these analects is the basis for a chapter which functions as a case study on a particular aspect of Irish Catholic culture in the era of the penal laws. Rather than seeing these chapters as discrete essays or studies, each should instead be thought of as a point in a pointillistic painting. Collected together on a single canvas, these individual points suggest, but do not faithfully depict, a unified image. *Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church* is a history made up of these fragments. This thesis explores the impact of the penal laws on the Irish soundscape, paying particular attention to the use of music and sound in Protestant commemorations and situating the absence of a reciprocal culture of Irish Catholic public commemoration within the wider context of early modern Catholic history. It examines two musical performances which took place in Catholic chapels in eighteenth-century Dublin: the first at the Channel Row convent, c. 1727 and the second at the Francis Street chapel, the seat of the Archbishop of Dublin, in 1789. This thesis also discusses the use of music at the Irish continental colleges and the Bom Sucesso convent in Lisbon, utilising Irish and European sources to discuss these institutions in their local contexts.

Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church: A History in Fragments
Long Abstract

Maura Valenti

Chapters on music were dutifully included in four volumes of the *New History of Ireland* (1986-2005), but music is entirely excluded from the three edited collections of Irish historical writing which have been published in the last decade by Oxford, Princeton, and Cambridge University Presses. *Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church* seeks to re-establish music's good standing in modern Irish historiography. Although it is informed by musicological methods and discourses, it is wholly a work of historical research. This thesis spotlights a wide variety of sources from Ireland and continental Europe, and unites for the first time a series of musical analects from eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history. Each serves as the basis for a chapter which functions as a case study on a particular aspect of Irish Catholic culture in the era of the penal laws. Rather than seeing these chapters as discrete essays or studies, each should instead be thought of as a point in a pointillistic painting. Collected together on a single canvas, these individual points suggest – but do not 'faithfully' depict – a unified image. *Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church* is a history made up of these fragments.

'Ch. 1: Sonic manifestations of Ascendancy: making sense of Catholic silence in the eighteenth-century Irish soundscape' explores the impact of the penal laws on the Irish soundscape, paying particular attention to the Protestant commemorations which were held annually on 23 October (the discovery of a plot by Catholic rebels to seize Dublin Castle in 1641), 4 November (William of Orange's birthday), and 12 July (the Battle of the Boyne), marking significant events from shared Irish Protestant history. Sometimes joyful and sometimes sombre, these commemorations were opportunities for participants and observers to come together and temporarily create an idealised space for themselves. Inspired by John Blacking's definition of music as 'humanly organised sound', this chapter looks specifically at how sound was used to define and construct Protestant space in the rituals and ceremonies which were held on these commemorative occasions, taking into consideration how sounds such as bell-ringing, military-style processions, drumming, and the firing of large and small guns all combined to create a Protestant soundscape that dominated a space that was often shared with Catholic neighbours. This chapter also situates the absence of a reciprocal culture of Irish Catholic public commemoration in the eighteenth century within the wider narrative of early modern Catholic history. Understanding the global context of public Catholicism allows us to delineate the borders of this particular Catholic 'silence' in Irish history.

'Ch. 2: Italian music at Dublin's Channel Row convent, c. 1727: an accusation from the Vicar of Naas' proceeds from a pamphlet entitled *A Serious and Humble Enquiry* (1727), in which Stephen Radcliffe, the Protestant vicar of Naas, famously alleged that 'many Protestant FINE GENTLEMEN' attended a musical performance at the Dominican convent located on Channel Row in Dublin – a performance for which 'the most celebrated *Italian* Musicians help[ed] to make the Voices of the HOLY SISTERS more melodious'. Although the vicar's accusation is often cited in studies of Irish female monasticism, or in reference to the general cultural health of Ireland and its capital in this period, it has not been examined closely for what it can tell us about music and musicians in early eighteenth-century Dublin. This chapter begins with a discussion of the Dublin-based musicians and music lovers who may have been involved in this concert, whether as performers or as appreciative audience members. Using information found in Irish print sources and the personal papers of Sir John Perceval, a noted

musical aficionado, it is possible to identify the operatic soprano and music teacher Giovanna Paula Stradiotti, and the wealthy amateur musician Philip Perceval as key figures in this story. Subsequently, we are able to suggest that it was the oratorio *La Conversione di Maddalena* (1701) by Giovanni Battista Bononcini which was performed at the Channel Row convent in 1727, on the occasion of a nun's solemn profession. This chapter also discusses the ways in which music was incorporated into the cultures of other early modern convent communities, focussing specifically on the topics of strict enclosure and the effects of the dowry system on convent musical cultures. Doing so brings into greater relief the uniqueness of the Channel Row convent's history.

'Ch. 3: "*Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus*": Irish Catholic plainchant' examines three late-eighteenth-century manuscripts from Irish continental institutions which contain plainchant notation. One was made by a Fr J. O'Brien in 1776 for the Irish Franciscan College of St Anthony in Louvain, and two others were made by Sr Anna (or Ana) O'Neill sometime after she made her profession with the Bom Sucesso convent of Irish Dominican nuns in Lisbon in 1775. Studies do not often juxtapose similar sources from male and female religious houses; however, examining these sources side by side allows the confluences and divergences within the eighteenth-century Irish Catholic musical experience to emerge more clearly. Each of these choir books opens a window onto an Irish Catholic community's private devotions. In spite of the similarities between these manuscripts, it bears remembering that the communities in which they originated were very different and were destined for different vocations: the intention was for the students of St Anthony's College to eventually live out in the world as ordained priests with pastoral duties and care of souls, whether in Ireland or elsewhere. Meanwhile, the nuns of Bom Sucesso observed strict enclosure, meaning that their lives under vows were destined to be lived entirely out of the public eye, separate from Irish *and* Portuguese society.

'Ch. 4: Cabinets, pipes, and bellows: church organs of the religious orders in Ireland and abroad' identifies organs which belonged to male and female Irish Franciscan and Dominican communities in the eighteenth century. This chapter also discusses the use of music by the Irish Jesuits, as it is through them that we encounter the earliest records of Catholic church organs in post-Reformation Ireland. The purpose of this chapter is not to account for each and every church organ under Catholic ownership in eighteenth-century Ireland and in Irish institutions abroad, but instead to set the ones that we *do* know about within a broader contextual framework. The metaphor of pointillism is again appropriate here: a number of isolated points placed at random on a blank canvas are unlikely to yield a coherent image; however, if these points are instead arranged so that they suggest a cohesive image across the whole canvas, then the inevitable blank spaces which remain between the isolated points begin to take on more meaning. We should think of each organ in this chapter as one point on our canvas. This chapter is as much about interpreting the blank spaces left between them as it is about adding as many points as is possible to fill in the overall picture.

'Ch. 5: Irish Protestant audiences for Catholic sacred music in the eighteenth century' concerns a service which was held in Dublin's Francis Street Chapel to celebrate George III's recovery from the serious health issues which precipitated the Regency Crisis in the spring of 1789. This event was organised and led by John Thomas Troy, the archbishop of Dublin. Troy was eager to have Dublin Protestants attend and be impressed by this show of Catholic loyalty to the Crown, and to this end he savvily engaged Tommaso Giordani, the Dublin-based composer, musician, and sometime impresario, to compose a *Te Deum*, a hymn of thanksgiving, for the occasion. The *Freeman's Journal* breathlessly reported on this event, telling its readers that many notables – the Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Tyrone amongst them – were present

and ‘the entire performance gave universal satisfaction, and the audience went away delighted, both with the music and the occasion of it’ (7 May 1789). This royal thanksgiving service blurred the distinction between Catholic liturgical activity on the one hand, and a fashionable musical performance on the other. This chapter will examine the phenomenon of Irish Protestants attending Catholic services to hear performances of sacred music in the eighteenth century. This was a common practice throughout the period, both in Ireland and abroad. Irish travellers on the Grand Tour visited churches and cathedrals to hear the newest and finest Italian sacred music and, as audience members, they were passive listeners rather than active participants in worship, and as such they formed a non-antagonistic Protestant minority in Catholic spaces. This chapter also suggests that the concept of a ‘model minority’ is a new paradigm by which Archbishop Troy’s actions in the late eighteenth century can be understood.

Contents

	Acknowledgements	ii
	List of Figures	iii
	Introduction: Historiographical Challenges and Irish History Without the Harp	1
Chapter 1	Sonic Manifestations of Ascendancy: Making Sense of Catholic Silence in the Eighteenth-Century Irish Soundscape	44
Chapter 2	Italian Music at Dublin's Channel Row Convent, c. 1727: An Accusation from the Vicar of Naas	74
Chapter 3	'*Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus*': Plainchant at Irish Continental Institutions	110
Chapter 4	Cabinets, Bellows, and Pipes: Church Organs of the Religious Orders in Ireland and Abroad	149
Chapter 5	'The entire performance gave universal satisfaction, and the audience went away delighted': Irish Protestant Audiences for Catholic Sacred Music in the Eighteenth Century	189
	Concluding Thoughts	212
	Appendices	217
	Bibliography	226

Acknowledgements

It is a surreal pleasure to write these (surely inadequate) acknowledgements.

I must begin by thanking Ian McBride, whose calm belief that this thesis would be completed was rarely, if ever, shared by its author. I am fortunate to have spent so many years benefitting from his puckish intellect and great generosity of spirit.

I also wish to thank Catriona Kennedy and Liam Chambers for being patient, gracious, and thorough examiners.

For many years, Patrick Griffin has been an enthusiastic reader and inspirational interlocutor. To him and everyone I have met through the Notre Dame Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies: thank you.

Throughout my time at Oxford, I received help and encouragement from a truly kind and welcoming community of academics. For this and for all the good times, I wish to thank Robin Adams, Lia Brazil, Deirdre Foley, Lauren Jean, Rachel Kowalski, Christian Leitmeir, Brian Mac Cuarta, Alexa McCall, John McCafferty, Marc Mulholland, Tim Murtagh, Seamus Nevin, Thomas O'Connor, Richard Parfitt, Senia Paseta, Charles Read, Josie Richardson, Thomas Robinson, and Gregory Stacey.

My last thanks go to my husband and feline co-parent, Patrick Hollebon, who has shared his home with a writing-up goblin for far too long. This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Matthew and Barbara Valenti. I simply would not be here without any of these wonderful people.

List of Figures

1. Francis Wheatley, *The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4th November 1779* (1779-80) 43

2. Excerpt from Stephen Radcliffe's *A Serious and Humble Enquiry* (1727) 73

3a. *Gaude felix parens* antiphon for the Feast of St Dominic from Bom Sucesso choirbook (c. 1775) 108

3b. *Sanctus* from *Missa de Angelis* in St Anthony's College choirbook (1776) 109

4a. Two views of a chamber organ built by John Snetzler (1764) 147

4b. Chamber organ built by Groet & Vool (1777) 147

4c. Robustelly organ (c. 1769), Onze-Lieve Vrouwkerk/Église Notre-Dame de Herent, Belgium 148

5. '*A Card*', printed in *Freeman's Journal*, 7th May 1789 188

INTRODUCTION

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CHALLENGES AND IRISH HISTORY WITHOUT THE HARP

In the autumn of 1827, a Dublin auction house advertised a lot to be sold from the library of the late Rev Richard Kenrick (1781-1827) of the Francis Street chapel. Listed among the items is a

> MESSA PONTIFICALE; or, Grand High Mass, for Forty-eight Voices, distributed in Twelve Choirs, 1 vol. MS. in imperial folio, bound in Morocco. This astonishing composition was purchased in the dispersion of Giordani's Musical Library, about twenty-six years ago in Dublin. It is the Chef d'Oeuvre of Ballabene, Maestro di Capella at Bologna, and was made by him, as an Ex-voto, or accomplishment of a vow for some certain providential deliverance, as is testified at the end.

The lengthy catalogue description of the manuscript concludes with the statement that 'There is no reasonable cause for thinking, that this stile of Church Music may not be successfully introduced into Catholic Cathedrals in Ireland […] But wheresoever introduced, its effect will be portentous'.[1] What are we to make of this?

Gregorio Ballabene (1720-c.1803) was a Roman composer of sacred music.[2] He was *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral in the Perugian town of Gubbio – not Bologna, as the auction

---

1 *Catalogue of the Select Library of the late Rev. Richard Kenrick, PP, of Francis Street Chapel … which are to be sold by auction at the Chapel-House on Tuesday next, October 9, 1827 …*, Charles Sharpe, Auctioneer, 33, Anglesea-Street, pp. 11-12 (lot 144*). Reproduced in Richard Sharpe's 'Tommaso Giordani, Gregorio Ballabene's *Messa a dodici cori con organo* and Sacred Music in Late-Eighteenth-Century Dublin,' in *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* 11 (2015-16): p. 32.

2 *Oxford Music Online*, 'Ballabene [Bellabene], Gregorio,' by Siegfried Gmeinwieser, accessed 1 April 2023, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

catalogue would have it. His *Missa a dodici cori con organo* is indeed written for forty-eight voices; they are divided into twelve choirs, each consisting of four singers, exemplifying a style of music that later musicologists have called the 'colossal baroque'.[3] Even though the 'colossal' style had fallen out of fashion by the late eighteenth century, Ballabene's mass was performed once in Rome in 1776. Unfortunately for the composer, it was regarded as little more than a gimmick and was not sung again. Ballabene laboured in musical obscurity for the rest of his career.[4]

It is unknown how a manuscript copy of the score for this musical novelty came to be in the possession of Tommaso Giordani (c. 1730-1806), from whence it found its way into the library of Fr Kenrick. However, the Neapolitan Giordani lived and worked in Dublin for over twenty years in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and on at least one occasion he wrote music for and performed at the Francis Street chapel.[5] Richard Sharpe has suggested that John Thomas Troy (1739-1823) was responsible for bringing the manuscript to Ireland when he left his post as prior of the Irish Dominican college of San Clemente in Rome to take up his new role as bishop of Ossory in 1777.[6] Like so many other records and artefacts of eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history, the score is now considered to be lost, and there is no evidence that a performance of Ballabene's *Mass* ever took place in Ireland.[7] Without these

---

3 Graham Dixon, 'The Origins of the Roman "Colossal Baroque",' in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1979-80): pp. 115-28. This 'colossal' polychoral style has its origins in the *cori spezzati* ('split choirs') compositions written for sixteenth-century Venetian churches. See: David Bryant, '*Cori Spezzati* in Composition and Sound,' in *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, ed. Katelijne Schultz (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 371-94.

4 Florian Bassani, *Gregorio Ballabene's Forty-Eight-Part Mass for Twelve Choirs (1772)* (London: Routledge, 2021).

5 This event will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

6 Sharpe, 'Sacred Music in Late-Eighteenth-Century Dublin,' p. 33.

7 Bassani, *Gregorio Ballabene's…Mass*, p. 105. I believe that the missing score can be identified as the 'extraordinary musical *tour de force*, namely, a 48-part Mass, arranged for twelve choirs of four voices each' described by the Irish musicologist W.H.G. Flood (1857-1928) in an American Catholic periodical in 1905. Flood writes that it was part of a collection of musical manuscripts which belonged to Fr Peter Kenney SJ, the founder of Clongowes Wood College. It is plausible that Kenney could have purchased the score at the auction of Kenrick's library in 1827, as he was in Ireland serving as rector of Clongowes at that time. See: Flood, 'Notes on the Origin of the Melody of the "Adeste Fideles",' in *The Dolphin: An Ecclesiastical Review for Educated Catholics* 8 (December 1905): p. 709; and *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 'Kenney, Peter,' by Patrick Maume, accessed 1 April 2023, https://www.dib.ie. Flood is, however, an unreliable scholar, as we will see in the course of this thesis. His claims are to be trusted, but

types of evidence or information – the standard fare of historical musicology – it would seem that there is little basis for pursuing the matter any further. However, to dismiss the whole case as a minor curiosity in Irish history would be to miss an opportunity to engage with and challenge past assumptions about the wider musical and cultural histories of Irish Catholicism. What does the presence of this 'colossal baroque' sacred musical score in Ireland tell us about the musical resources, abilities, and aspirations of the Irish Catholic Church on the eve of political Emancipation?

Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church: A History in Fragments will demonstrate that the story of music and the Catholic Church in Ireland during the time of the penal laws can be told from analectic evidence like the auction notice for Ballabene's *Messa a dodici cori*.

Music and Irish Revisionism

Ever since the publication in 1925 of Daniel Corkery's *The Hidden Ireland: A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century*, in which Catholic Ireland under the eighteenth-century penal laws was described as being 'sunk so deep in filth and beggary that its people have been thrust, as torpid and degraded pariahs should, beyond the household of the law',[8] nationalist narratives emphasising Irish Catholic suffering under English Protestant oppression have weighed particularly strongly on depictions of this period of Irish history. The academic response spearheaded by T.W. Moody (1907-84) and the *Irish Historical Studies* journal in the 1930s

verified. Unfortunately, the manuscript he describes has disappeared from the Clongowes collection. I am grateful to John Bird, the college's archivist, for his kind assistance.

8 Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland: A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Gill, 1925), p. 20.

brought quantitative data to bear upon evocative narratives like Corkery's in a self-declared 're-visioning' of Irish history.

Moody led the initiative to establish the *IHS* journal, which sought to promote the 'scientific study of Irish history'.[9] By invoking science, he was not so much advocating for the study of Irish history based on hypothesis, rigorous experimentation, and exhaustive analysis of the results, as he was signalling the journal's intention of cultivating Irish history as a profession held separate from the prevailing political ideologies of the day. Specifically, Moody plotted a course correction for Irish historians away from the nationalist sentiments towards a degree of professionalization which aligned them with their counterparts in Britain and Europe.[10] It must be said that music has not often appeared in the pages of *IHS*. A search of the journal's tables of contents reveals only one article written explicitly about music in the journal's long and estimable history of publication.[11] Searches for 'song', 'anthem', and 'sound' are similarly unproductive. It would seem that music was not seen to be a suitably 'scientific' topic for the first re-visioning of Irish history; given the close emotional connection between music and Irish identity and nationalism, it should not be difficult to see why it was held to be a topic around which scientific objectivity could not be achieved.

---

9 T.W. Moody and Robert Dudley Edwards, 'Preface,' in *Irish Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (March 1938): p. 2. For scholarly analyses of the Moody/Edwards school, see: D.W. Hayton, 'The Laboratory for "Scientific History": T.W. Moody and R.D. Edwards at the Institute of Historical Research,' in *Irish Historical Studies* 41, no. 159 (May 2017): pp. 41-57, and Ian McBride, 'Ireland's History Troubles,' in *Field Day Review* 3 (2007): pp. 205-13. For the debate over revisionism, see: Ciaran Brady, ed, *Interpreting Irish History: The Debate on Historical Revisionism 1938-1994* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994); and D. G. Boyce and Alan O'Day, eds, *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy* (London: Routledge, 1996).

10 Alvin Jackson, 'Irish History in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 5.

11 That article is: Ewan Morris, '"God Save the King" Versus "The Soldier's Song": The 1929 Trinity College National Anthem Dispute and the Politics of the Irish Free State,' in *Irish Historical Studies* 31, no 121 (May 1998): pp. 72-90.

The classic work of Maureen Wall is among the first to apply the methods and motivations of revisionism to eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history. Her well-supported conclusions about the Catholic experience of the penal laws overturned inherited historical narratives which depicted unabating persecution and the dignified suffering of the faithful. Her monumental study *The Penal Laws, 1691-1760* (1961)[12] closes with a riposte to no less than Thomas Davis, the Young Ireland leader and balladeer. Taking exception to Davis's poem 'The Penal Days' which depicts, amongst other things, a ferocious dog trained to sniff out friars, Wall offers instead a clear-eyed analysis of the penal era:

> The heroism and glory of martyrdom were part of the history of previous centuries, but the eighteenth century witnessed the tenacity of a clergy who were prepared to face the daily grind of poverty and humiliation ministering to the spiritual needs of an outlawed population. The eighteenth-century bishops abstained from politics and stayed at their posts, and did without the pomp and splendour associated in those days with the episcopal office.[13]

Wall professionalised the study of this aspect of Irish history.[14] Her work soberly acknowledges the difficulties of Irish Catholic life in the eighteenth century, doing greater justice to the lived experience of the penal laws through methodical research and cool analysis than the selective readings and occasional purple prose of earlier works like Corkery's *Hidden Ireland*. Another early and quintessential study in this vein is L.M. Cullen's methodical demolition of the concept

---

12 Originally published by the Dundalgan Press, Dundalk for the Dublin Historical Association. Reprinted in *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century: collected essays of Maureen Wall*, ed. Gerard O'Brien (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1989), pp. 1-60.

13 *Collected Essays of Maureen Wall*, p. 60.

14 Ultán Gillen, 'Ascendancy Ireland, 1660-1800,' in *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, ed. Richard Bourke and Ian McBride (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 57-8.

of the 'hidden Ireland' in 1969.[15] In *The Hidden Ireland: Re-assessment of a Concept*, Cullen lays bare the pitfalls of reading poetry as factual evidence of a community's economic conditions, political allegiances, and social aspirations which, indeed, is precisely how Corkery interpreted Irish-language poetry in the enormously influential *Hidden Ireland*. Both Wall's and Cullen's dispassionate, thoroughly revisionist approaches to the contentious topic of Irish Catholic life under the penal laws were instrumental in laying a solid foundation for further study of eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history, confirming the existence of a comfortable, even prosperous, Catholic middle class in a period when nationalist narratives and popular lore described only poverty.

While Cullen briefly mentions popular song in his study (in that it is another unsuitable source for gaining accurate insight into the 'problems or conditions of the ordinary people'),[16] Wall, perhaps alone amongst her colleagues, incorporates music and the liturgy into her depiction of Irish Catholicism under the penal laws. The above quotation's allusion to the absence of 'pomp and splendour' has a musical dimension to it which will be explored in this thesis. Even more directly relevant is the (sadly unattributed) description of traditional harpers' involvement in celebrations of Mass. She writes that 'it is interesting to find that Torlough O'Carolan (who died in 1738) frequently played his harp and sang at Mass on feast days; and accounts survive of other harpers who provided church music in various parts of the country'.[17] This fascinating detail will be discussed much further below. First, though, it is important that we continue to follow the progression of music in professional Irish historiography as it has developed in the past century.

---

15 L.M. Cullen, *The Hidden Ireland: Re-assessment of a Concept* (Mullingar: Lilliput Press, 1988). Originally published under the same title in *Studia Hibernica* 9 (1969): pp. 7-47.

16 Ibid. (1988), p. 16.

17 *Collected Essays of Maureen Wall,* p. 51.

In addition to *IHS*, a further strand of Moody's envisaged professionalization of Irish historical research was the *New History of Ireland* series, publication of which began in the 1980s. In a sense, the entire history of music in Ireland, from prehistoric times to the late twentieth century, is told in the *New History*. It can be read chronologically by first compiling the relevant specialist chapters, all written by eminent Irish musicologists, which appear in four of the series' volumes. For this thesis, the most relevant of these studies appears in the fourth volume of the *New History* (*Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691-1800*), which was first published in 1986. This volume includes two chapters on music by Brian Boydell. To date, Boydell's contribution to the *New History* comprises the only available general overview of music in Ireland for this period.[18] The material presented in his study is drawn mainly from printed sources (principally newspapers), reflecting the overall spirit of the revisionist approach. However, in adhering to only the most available and unassailable sources, Boydell's chapter inadvertently favours the world of Ascendancy Ireland in its narrative of Irish music history; most of the material that is discussed concerns the concert-going habits of Dublin-based Protestant aristocrats. Unsurprisingly, Boydell's chapter does little to inform our understanding of the role of music in Irish Catholic (or Dissenting, for that matter) liturgical practice in the eighteenth century.

In his blistering review of the eighteenth-century volume of the *New History*, Thomas Bartlett draws attention to the obvious danger of relying too heavily upon Ascendancy-derived sources to tell the history of the whole of Ireland – namely, that the prerogative of the elite governing class will ultimately dictate how the history of the governed is told. He writes

---

[18] Brian Boydell, 'Music before 1700,' and 'Music 1700-1850,' in *A New History of Ireland, Vol. IV: Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691-1800*, ed. T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 542-67 and pp. 568-628. In chronological order of subject matter, the other chapters on music included in the *New History* are: Ann Buckley, 'Music in Prehistoric and Medieval Ireland,' in *Vol. I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (2005), pp. 744-913; Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music and Society, 1850-1921,' in *Vol. VI: Ireland Under the Union, II 1870-1921*, ed. W.E. Vaughan (1996), pp. 500-22; Joseph Ryan, 'Music in Independent Ireland Since 1921,' and Roy Johnston, 'Music in Northern Ireland Since 1921,' in *Vol. VII: Ireland, 1921-84*, ed. J.R. Hill (2003), pp. 621-49 and pp. 650-70.

specifically of how the revisionists' reliance upon supposedly scientifically objective sources led to the production of 'essentially the story of the rise and fall of the Irish parliament', and he forcefully critiques this methodological approach as it was applied to the bulk of eighteenth-century history as it is presented in this volume.[19] He does not, however, discuss this fault in relation to the 'specialist' chapters on Irish art and music, writing only that they 'seem likely to prove of lasting value'.[20] This is wholly indicative of how Boydell's work – though certainly commendable – has not come under the same level of scrutiny as the rest of the *New History*. A further discussion of Boydell's musicological work will follow below, but for now we will continue with the topic of music and Irish revisionist historiography.

In the same decade that Cullen's and Wall's foundational work on eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history was reprinted for a new and wider audience, Roy Foster published his *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (1988), which has more recently been described as being 'the most comprehensive single-volume overview of Irish history for a generation'.[21] Throughout his deservedly celebrated body of work, Foster has remained coy on the topic of music. In his declaratory piece 'We Are All Revisionists Now' (1986), he paints an exasperated picture of the 'zealots' who dismiss the work of professional historians in Ireland in favour of a mawkish nationalism:

> The abrasive queries of Raymond Crotty, Joseph Lee, Vincent Comerford or Paul Bew carry little resonance in Camden Town – where one is told that the only work of 'real history' to have come out of Ireland is Gerry Adams's *Falls Memories*, and where any discussion of

[19] Thomas Bartlett, 'Review article: A new history of Ireland,' *Past & Present* 116 (August 1987): pp. 206-19, quote at p. 210. Bartlett's own book, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: The Catholic Question in Ireland 1690-1830* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1992) follows the approach of the *New History of Ireland* more closely than his criticisms might suggest.
[20] Ibid., p. 218.
[21] Richard Bourke, 'Historiography,' in *Princeton History of Modern Ireland,* p. 282.

> the (largely unknown and unwritten) history of 1916-1922 will be deflected into sentimental reminiscences of 'the songs we sang in my auntie's front room'.[22]

Here we see an updated depiction of the same tensions which were at work five decades earlier, between uncritical nationalism and Moody's reforming vision for professional Irish historiography. Music is invoked as an ironic flourish in much of Foster's writing. In 'History and the Irish Question', for example, the Short Strand Martyrs Memorial Flute Band appears at the culmination of an increasingly absurd list of 'old-Republican' types who were disturbed by the restrained nature of the Easter Rising's seventy-fifth anniversary commemorations in Dublin.[23] In a review, Colm Tóibín notes that 'no one can remember "the members of the Short Strand Martyrs Memorial Flute Band" being in Dublin for the 1991 commemoration', but nevertheless, 'the inclusion of the Flute Band in Foster's list is extremely funny'.[24] Foster's musical references speak to the larger question of why Irish historiography since *IHS* has been silent on music. If the 1930s saw the first wave of revisionism in Irish studies, then the second wave came, by Foster's calculations, 'somewhere between the death of the Pope [1963] and Thin Lizzy's first LP [1971], if local references are desired'. This 'second wave' was heavily influenced by the outbreak of the Troubles.[25] Between the first and second waves of Irish revisionism, the original wish for a hermetic objectivity evolved into an urgent desire to engage with the 'traditional pieties'[26] of the Irish experience whilst not succumbing to them. The *IHS* model is built upon an inherent scepticism of nationalist historical narratives, and this is manifested in Foster's writing as a wariness of their uncritical acceptance, balanced with an

---

22 R.F. Foster, 'We Are All Revisionists Now,' *The Irish Review* 1 (1986): p. 3.
23 Ibid., 'History and the Irish Question,' in *Paddy & Mr Punch: Connections in Irish and English History* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), p. 17.
24 Colm Tóibín, 'New Ways of Killing Your Father,' *London Review of Books*, 18 November 1993, pp. 3-6.
25 Foster, 'Theme-parks and Histories,' in *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making It Up in Ireland* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), p. 27. Here again, music is referred to for comedic effect.
26 Ibid., 'Leland Lyons and the Reinterpretation of Irish History,' in *The Irish Story*, p. 44.

openness to treating with them in pursuit of expanding and enriching contemporary understanding of Irish history. The examples of the Martyrs Memorial Flute Band and 'the songs we sang in my auntie's front room' strongly suggest that to Foster and his generation, music remained a notorious 'piety' and was therefore unsuitable as a topic of serious historical enquiry.[27]

A similar level of disassociation between Irish musical and historical studies has persisted through to the present day. At the level of the major general history collections which have been produced in the last decade – including the *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (2014), the *Princeton History of Modern Ireland* (2016), and the omnibus *Cambridge History of Ireland* (2018) – music is entirely absent as a topic. This makes music one of the few subject areas in Irish historical studies about which we can say that the state of its scholarship has actually *deteriorated* in the decades since the first volumes of the *New History* were published. Recently, though, there have been positive signs that attitudes towards music are changing amongst Irish historians: for example, the work of scholars like Richard Parfitt and Katie Barclay successfully foregrounds music in the wider study of Irish political and social history in the long-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, demonstrating that music was integral to the formation and expression of a range of modern Irish identities.[28] Furthermore, the early modern historian Raymond Gillespie has written about music from Irish diverse Irish confessional traditions.[29] Finally, the leading

---

[27] Foster *does* write about Irish popular music in the essay 'How the Short Stories Become Novels'. Here too, though, music is held at arm's length, serving as an example of the 'exploitation of a post-modern notion of "Celticism"' (p. 154) for commercial purposes. See: Foster, *Luck and the Irish: A Brief History of Change c.1970-2000* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), pp. 147-55.

[28] Richard Parfitt, *Musical Culture and the Spirit of Irish Nationalism, 1848-1972* (London: Routledge, 2019), and '"Rise and Follow Charlie": Rebel Songs and Establishment Politicians in the Republic of Ireland, 1969-1998,' in *Irish Political Studies* 34/3 (2019): pp. 400-19; Katie Barclay, 'Sounds of Sedition: Music and Emotion in Ireland, 1780-1845,' in *Cultural History* 3/1 (2014): pp. 54-80, 'Singing, Performance, and Lower-Class Masculinity in the Dublin Magistrates' Court, 1820-1850,' in *Journal of Social History* 47/3 (2014): pp. 746-68, and 'The Sound of Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland,' in *Journal of British Studies* 60 (2021): pp. 389-402.

[29] Raymond Gillespie, 'Seventeenth-Century Irish Music and Its Cultural Context,' in *Irish Musical Studies 10: Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), pp. 26-39; 'The Jesuits and Music in Early Modern Ireland,' in *The Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland, 1560-1760*, ed. Mary Ann Lyons and Brian Mac Cuarta SJ (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2022), pp. 123-38; and 'Music

musicologist Harry White has recently published on Irish musical historiography,[30] and his intellectual provocations will likely prove to be generative amongst scholars across historical and musicological disciplines. Revisionist ideals may have delayed the acceptance of music as a worthy topic in studies of the history of modern Ireland, but we may finally be approaching a time when music can be discussed alongside Irish literature, theatre, art, and so many other topics which have found wide favour in Irish historical studies.

Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholicism

Students of eighteenth-century Irish history meet with a thorny historiography upon which layers of controversy and revision have accrued and calcified, some drawing strength from contemporaneous political conditions and others studiously shunning them. In this climate, Foster's introduction to eighteenth-century Ireland reads almost like a warning: 'The Irish eighteenth century arouses strong feelings'.[31] For confirmation, one need look no further than the dramatic murals which were emblazoned on gable walls in the predominantly Republican Ardoyne district (lately of *Milkman* fame) in North Belfast in the 1990s. Alongside house-sized images of emaciated women and children that proclaim '*An Gorta Mór: Britain's Genocide by Starvation – Ireland's Holocaust 1845-1849*',[32] one could also find a mural depicting impoverished, barefoot children attending a lesson (presumably *as Gaeilge*) at a hedge school in the shadow of Cave Hill – really no more than a clearing with rocks for seats and a notice reading 'Penal Law, Education' affixed to a dead and gnarled tree.[33] A further Ardoyne mural

and Song in Early Eighteenth-Century Belfast,' in *Irish Provincial Cultures in the Long Eighteenth Century: Making the Middle Sort. Essays for Toby Barnard*, ed. Gillespie and Foster (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 155-69.

30 Harry White, '"After Long Silence": Examining Long Paradigms for an Unwritten History,' in *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 50 (2019): pp. 47-70.

31 Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London: Allen Lane, 1988), pp. 167.

32 Marianne Elliott, *The Catholics of Ulster: A History* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), plates 10a and 10b.

33 Ibid., plate 5a.

shows the evocative image of the mass rock: in the foreground, worshippers kneel in reverence as a priest raises the Eucharist at a makeshift altar erected in the open air. Snow covers the ground. In the distance, priest hunters and British redcoats are in pursuit.[34] These depictions of supposed Catholic life in eighteenth-century Ireland are in this case quite literally emblematic of the nationalist interpretation of this contentious and complicated period of Irish history. In light of this, S.J. Connolly's 2008 conclusion that Irish penal legislation amounted to a series of 'petty tyrannies'[35] imposed on the Irish Catholic populace by the Protestant government can perhaps be viewed as the culmination of several decades' worth of 'scientifically objective' revisionist studies intended to counterbalance the emotional impact of nationalist historical narratives, or what McBride has termed the '"pain" in Irish history'.[36]

Connolly's assessment may make a certain amount of sense when we consider that it was made at the culmination of his study of parliamentary statutes, court filings, and the abundance of socio-economic data which confirm the existence of a comfortable Irish Catholic middle class in this period. Connolly's assessment does not, however, account for the *cultural* experience of the effects of the penal laws. In his now-classic chapter on 'How Catholic Ireland Survived' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (2009), Ian McBride reminds readers that 'the penal laws *were* successful in limiting the *public* expression of Catholicism'.[37] Far from being petty, the effects of the penal laws on the liturgical culture of the eighteenth-century Irish Catholic Church were significant and far-reaching. This fact has been alluded to in reference

---

[34] Ibid., plate 6a. This mural appears to be an adaptation of *A Christmas Mass in the Penal Days—The Alarm!*, an illustration by John Dooley Reigh featured in the 20 December 1884 issue of the *United Ireland* newspaper. See: Diarmait Mac Giolla Chríost, *Jailtacht: The Irish Language, Symbolic Power and Political Violence in Northern Ireland, 1972-2008* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), p. 133; and Hilary Joyce Bishop, 'Memory and Legend: Recollections of Penal Times in Irish Folklore,' in *Folklore* 129/1 (2018): p. 34. I am very grateful to Josie Richardson taking the time to answer my questions about the Ardoyne murals.

[35] S.J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 259.

[36] McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009), p. 21. See also: idem., 'The Whole People of Ireland?', *Field Day Review* 5 (2009), pp. 140-149.

[37] Idem., *Isle of Slaves*, p. 217.

to the material culture of early modern Irish Catholicism; for example, Toby Barnard has commented that Catholic households tended to 'treasure the odd and precious possession', in contrast to the conspicuous consumption regularly displayed in the 'big houses' of the Protestant Ascendancy.[38] The liturgical music of the eighteenth-century Irish Church (or the fact of its scarcity) has yet to be seriously studied by those seeking to better understand Catholics' day-to-day lived experience of the penal laws. This thesis, therefore, represents a step forward in the study of the cultural history of Irish Catholicism in the penal era, and eighteenth-century Irish cultural history, generally.

Fortunately, *Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church* has been able to draw upon the excellent work of a generation of historians who have looked beyond the local Irish sources favoured by 'classic' revisionists to inform a much broader and more accurate understanding of the history of the early modern Irish Catholic Church. In addition to McBride, Irish historians including Thomas O'Connor, Mary Ann Lyons, and Liam Chambers have done exciting and valuable work in continental archives uncovering the histories of the early modern Irish Catholic diaspora – the so-called 'Wild Geese'.[39] O'Connor has written engagingly on the Irish in France, Flanders, Rome, and the Iberian kingdoms[40] and, together with Lyons, he co-edited the *Irish in Europe* series, which succeeded in assembling an impressive amount of scholarship on Irish commercial, religious, and military presence in continental

---

[38] T.C. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 150. See also: Barnard, 'Fabrics of Faith: The Material Worlds of Catholic Ireland and Protestant Ireland, 1500-1800,' in *Franciscan Faith: Sacred Art in Ireland, AD 1600-1750*, ed. Raghnall Ó Floinn (Dublin: Wordwell, 2011), pp. 21-32.

[39] An excellent overview reflecting current scholarship can be found in: Liam Chambers, 'The Irish in Europe in the Eighteenth Century, 1691-1815,' in *The Cambridge History of Ireland, vol. 3: 1730-1880*, ed. James Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 569-92.

[40] Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: Religion and Politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008); and *Irish Voices from the Spanish Inquisition: Migrants, Converts and Brokers in Early Modern Iberia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Europe in the early modern period.[41] Chambers has published extensively on the network of Irish continental colleges, focussing particularly on the Irish colleges in France.[42] McBride's ongoing work on eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history – not the least of which is the section on 'The Penal Era: Religion and Society' in *The Isle of Slaves* – is especially notable for its use of sources from Rome and the Vatican.[43] All of this scholarship employs European sources to paint a fuller picture of Irish history, though none so far has looked specifically at music. I follow this methodology by looking beyond Ireland's borders to locate sources which enable us to form a better understanding of what the musical culture of the Catholic Church in Ireland was like in the eighteenth century.

Merchants, soldiers, and students were the three major demographic groups of the early modern Irish Catholic diaspora.[44] Of these, it is the last group which is of the most interest to the present study. Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, extraterritorial colleges began operating in Catholic regions on the continent, meeting the needs of Catholic students hailing from newly Protestant regions for whom further education in their home territories was no longer an option; the first of these, the Collegium Germanicum, was founded in Rome in 1552. Irish colleges of this type began appearing on the continent in the second half of the sixteenth century, with foundations in Spain, Portugal, France, Rome, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Low Countries. These Irish colleges operated throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth

---

41 The *Irish in Europe* series is published by Four Courts Press (Dublin) and comprises: *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815*, ed. Thomas O'Connor (2001); *Irish Migrants in Europe After Kinsale, 1602-1820*, ed. O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (2003); *Irish Communities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. O'Connor and Lyons (2006); and *The Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe: Refashioning Irish Identities, 1600-1800*, ed. O'Connor and Lyons (2010).

42 See: Liam Chambers, 'Knowledge and Piety: Michael Moore's Career at the University of Paris and Collège de France, 1701-20,' *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 17 (2002): pp. 9-25; 'Revolutionary and Refractory? The Irish Colleges in Paris and the French Revolution,' in *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 2/1 (2008): pp. 29-50. With Thomas O'Connor, Chambers is co-editor of: *College Communities Abroad: Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), and *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots and English College Networks in Europe, 1568-1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

43 McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, pp. 157-270.

44 Chambers, 'The Irish in Europe in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 570.

centuries, and we will encounter many of them in this study of the musical culture of eighteenth-century Irish Catholicism. Music and musical matters are, however, rarely mentioned in the secondary literature on these Irish continental colleges. At first glance this can be attributed to what Chambers has cautiously called 'the apparent lack of source material' in his thorough and even-handed overview and historiography of the early modern Catholic colleges.[45] After all, no outstanding musical figures are known to have been associated with the early modern Irish colleges; we are, for example, lacking an Irish equivalent to a musician like Hugh Facy (1598-1649), an Exeter-born composer, chorister and organist associated with the English colleges at Douai and St Omer who left behind a clutch of original sacred choral and instrumental works in manuscript.[46] The source material for a study of music at the Irish continental colleges is undoubtedly thin, but it cannot be said to be completely lacking. Rather, insights into the musical activities (and sometimes aspirations) of these colleges emerge pointillistically across two centuries of history, from sources scattered from Dublin to Prague and many places in between. They show beyond a doubt that musical training was often a part of the education offered by the Irish continental colleges to students training for the priesthood and, in many cases, a return to Ireland and the Catholic mission there.

There is a fast-developing body of literature about the Irish colleges which has, again, all but ignored music. The *Irish in Europe* series features numerous in-depth studies on specific aspects of the Irish colleges in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but none pays music more than a passing glance. The same can be said of the recent edited collections *College Communities Abroad* (2017) and *Forming Catholic Communities* (2017), which include studies of the

---

45 Chambers, 'Introduction,' in *College Communities Abroad*, p. 23.

46 Andrew Cichy, 'Lost and Found: Hugh Facy,' in *Early Music* 42/1 (Feb 2014), pp. 95-104. Facy also appears in Cichy's thesis *'How Shall We Sing the Song of the Lord in a Strange Land?' English Catholic Music After the Reformation to 1700: A Study of Institutions in Continental Europe* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2013), pp. 51-62.

Irish colleges set in the wider context of early modern 'national' colleges. More targeted studies of individual colleges like the work of Patricia O'Connell,[47] the *San Clemente Miscellany* (1977-78),[48] the excellent *Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1629-1786* (English version, 2015),[49] and a number of short journal articles[50] offer useful descriptions which occasionally feature a musical detail or two, but the work of contextualising these insights has yet to be done. Because music does not feature prominently in this specialist literature, it is no surprise to find that it is entirely missing from the discussions of the continental colleges which appear in the survey chapters by Chambers, O'Connor, and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin in the *Cambridge History of Ireland* (2018) which are concerned with Irish Catholic history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[51]

Although the current body of literature does not directly address music at the Irish colleges, music and sound are nevertheless implicit in the ways we conceive of the daily experience of students at these colleges. For example, when Chambers writes that '[m]ost eighteenth-century Irish bishops passed through the continental colleges before returning to Ireland, bringing with them their experience of late baroque Catholicism',[52] it should be recognised that there was a sonic element to this 'experience', as music and sound were integral to the expression of Catholic confessional identity in early modern Europe.[53] Similarly, in *The*

---

47 The following volumes by Patricia O'Connell are published by Four Courts Press, Dublin: *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares, 1649-1785* (1997); *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834* (2001); *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela, 1605-1769* (2007).

48 Leonard E. Boyle and Luke Dempsey, eds, *San Clemente Miscellany*, 2 vols. (Rome: S. Clementem, 1977-8).

49 Jan Pařez and Hedvika Kuchařová, *The Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1629-1786*, trans. by Jana Stoddart and Michael Stoddart (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2015).

50 Micheline Kerney Walsh, 'The Irish College of Alcalá de Henares,' and 'The Irish College of Madrid,' in *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 11/2 and 15 (1985 and 1993), pp. 247-57 and pp. 36-50; Monica Henchy, 'The Irish College at Salamanca,' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 70, no. 278/9 (1981), pp. 220-7.

51 Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Counter-Reformation: the Catholic Church, 1550-1641,' in *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Vol. 2: 1550-1730*, ed. by Jane Ohlmeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 171-95; O'Connor, 'The Catholic Church and Catholics in an Era of Sanctions and Restraints, 1690-1790,'and Chambers, 'The Irish in Europe in the Eighteenth Century, 1691-1815,' in *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Vol. 3: 1730-1880*, ed. by James Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 257-79 and pp. 569-92.

52 Chambers, 'The Irish in Europe in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 579.

53 Alexander J. Fisher, 'Music and Religious Change,' in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 6: Reform and Expansion, 1500-1660*, ed. by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 386-405.

Isle of Slaves, McBride considers 'the cultural distance that separated Ireland from the continent', contrasting the austere life of priests 'on the run' in Ireland with their experiences of Catholic southern Europe, where 'public spaces were dominated by Catholic cathedrals and churches, where the habit was publicly worn, where religious confraternities were a vital part of the social fabric, and the annual calendar was organised around fasts and feast-days'.[54] Sound is present in this description, as well: the faithful would have been called to prayer by the bells of those cathedrals and churches, and confraternities were often enthusiastic participants in the bombastic, music-filled processions which were held on feast-days in early modern Catholic cities and towns.[55]

Irish Priest-Historians

Although a great deal of the work on Irish Catholic ecclesiastical history was written concurrently with the wider project of Irish revisionism, this body of work was influenced less by Moody and *Irish Historical Studies* than by the tradition of writing the history of the Irish Catholic Church, an area of historical research whose origins date back to the nineteenth century.[56]

Irish revisionist historians examined the Irish Church from the civil perspective, examining such topics as Catholics' economic circumstances, legal standing, and professional activities under the penal laws. They did not, in the main, focus much attention on the history

---

54 McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, p. 247.

55 This sound-based approach to studies of early modern Catholic culture is exemplified by Fisher in his *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). On early modern confraternal musical cultures specifically, see: Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550-1650* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1995); and Jonathan Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

56 An overview of this historiography can be found in: Chambers, 'Patrick Boyle, the Irish Colleges and the Historiography of Irish Catholicism,' in *Studies in Church History* 49 (2013): pp. 317-29.

of the Church itself; when priests and bishops appear in these revisionist studies it is usually only when they have come into contact with one or another of the apparatuses of the state or civil society. To better understand the internal workings of the Irish Church, we must turn instead to the work of Irish priest-historians who, working directly from Catholic ecclesiastical sources in Ireland and abroad, reveal much more of the institutional history of the Church than do revisionists working mainly from Protestant sources. The value of this body of literature to academic historians is indisputable. However, it is important for us to bear in mind the fact that this work does not necessarily reflect academic best practices as we understand them today. It is imperative that we understand the limitations of this literature from the outset; doing so will allow us to utilise it effectively whilst being respectful of its origins.

The tradition of historical writing which began with Irish clerics like P.F. Moran,[57] Patrick Boyle,[58] and William M'Donald[59] is an immense and indispensable literature, albeit one that exists slightly out of step with modern academic historical research. This is not said in a spirit of judgement or gatekeeping; many aspects of this vast body of research which might seem troubling to an academic historian working today are the result of a completely different intellectual environment to that of the university history department. To take a particularly illustrative example: this body of work is overwhelmingly masculine, both in terms of its focus and its authors.[60] This is true of church history on a grand scale; by no means is it a uniquely

---

57 P.F. Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense: A Collection of Original Letters and Papers Illustrative of the History of the Irish Church*, 3 vols (Dublin: W.B. Kelly, 1874). Moran was the bishop of Ossory at the time of publication; he would later be appointed archbishop of Sydney and raised to the purple in the space of a year. He was an early editor of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1864-1968). See: *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 'Moran, Patrick Francis,' by John Molony, accessed 15 December 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

58 Patrick Boyle, *The Irish College in Paris From 1578 to 1901* (London: Art and Book Company, 1901). Boyle, a Vincentian, was superior of the Irish College in Paris from 1889 to 1926, though he continued to teach there until 1932. See: Chambers, 'Patrick Boyle,' p. 318.

59 Beginning with William M'Donald, 'Irish Ecclesiastical Colleges Since the Reformation: Salamanca I,' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 10 (1873): pp. 353-66. M'Donald (or McDonald) was a superior of the Irish College in Salamanca.

60 The exception that proves the rule is the collection of modern convent histories written by nuns: Máire Kealy OP, *From Channel Row to Cabra: Dominican Nuns and Their Times, 1717-1820* (Dublin: The Columba Press, 2010); Honor McCabe OP, *A Light Undimmed: The Story of the Convent of Our Lady of Bom Sucesso, Lisbon, 1639-2006* (Dublin:

Irish circumstance. The Church historian Diarmaid MacCulloch has written that 'the great distorting factor in Christian history, which transcends denominational and many other ecclesiastical divisions, is that most of it has been written by men',[61] and this is a reality we must be aware of when we approach these sources – primary *and* secondary. Disrupting accepted narratives and reading sources 'against the grain' may come naturally to most academic historians working today, but it should be easy to see how this may not be the preferred *modus operandi* of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Catholic priests approaching the history of their own Church. It is important that we keep in mind that Irish priest-historians had a 'dual commitment to archive-based history and the edification of the faithful' and that their early work, especially, was often heavily influenced by national and confessional pride.[62] The work of scholars like Moran, Boyle, and so many others influenced further generations of Irish priest-historians. As academics, it is important that we recognise these origins, so that we will be prepared to critically approach mediated source material. We should not, however, fail to appreciate the importance of this kind of work in making a wealth of material – much of it from continental archives – widely available to scholars outside of the Church.

On into the second half of the twentieth century, priest-historians including Hugh Fenning, OP, Brendan Jennings, OFM, Cathaldus Giblin, OFM, and Benignus Millett, OFM continued to uncover, identify, calendar, transcribe, edit, occasionally translate, and prepare for publication enormous amounts of primary source material in journals like *Archivium Hibernicum* (1912-18; 1941-present) and *Collectanea Hibernica* (1958-2006). Monumental

Dominican Publications, 2007); Rose O'Neill OP, *A Rich Inheritance: Galway Dominican Nuns, 1644-1994* (Galway: Dominican Sisters, 1994). In general, the work of female scholars like O'Connell, Kerney Walsh, and Henchy on the Irish colleges, cited above, has been more local in scope than that of their masculine counterparts.

61 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), p. 197.

62 Chambers, 'Patrick Boyle,' p. 317; quote at p. 325.

compendiums like Jennings's *Louvain Papers*[63] and Giblin's catalogue of Irish material in the Vatican's *Nunziatura di Fiandra* papers[64] are evidence of the patient care and obvious enthusiasm with which they approached these studies and we, as academic Irish historians, benefit from their institutional knowledge and expertise in a number of ways. To take just one example: Fenning spent most of his early career as a historian living in Rome, and he regularly worked in archives throughout the city.[65] The lion's share of his work is based on material from San Clemente, the archives of the Dominican Master General at Santa Sabina, and of course the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (now the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano) and the Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide. The cost of visiting these archives would be prohibitive for many Irish historians, and access is not always granted to outside researchers, especially in the cases of smaller institutions which may not have the staff necessary to support external users. The linguistic challenges can also be forbidding; most of the documents Fenning drew upon were written in Latin or Italian – languages in which he, an ordained priest living in Rome, was comfortable working but which might not be in the gift of a lay historian.

In all, this thesis's debt to these Irish priest-historians will be evident in the preponderance of their work listed in the bibliography. It bears mentioning, though, that much of this material has been available in print and online for decades. It has much to tell us about the history of music and eighteenth-century Irish Catholicism, but it is only now being investigated for the first time.

Music in eighteenth-century Ireland: the view from musicology

---

63 Brendan Jennings OFM, *Louvain Papers, 1606-1827* (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1968).

64 Cathaldus Giblin, 'Catalogue of Material of Irish Interest in the Collection "Nunziatura di Fiandra," Vatican Archives,' in *Collectanea Hibernica* 1, 3-5, 9-15 (1958, 1960-62, 1966-72).

65 John Cunningham OP, 'Obituary and Bibliography of Hugh Fenning OP,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 73 (2020): pp. 395-8.

The study of 'music history' has conventionally been the preserve of musicologists, and one would expect a written history of music in Ireland to emerge from their midst. It is therefore surprising to find that the leading Irish musicologist Harry White chose to begin his landmark study of Irish musical and cultural history by stating unequivocally that '*The Keeper's Recital* is not a history of music in Ireland. That would be another day's work'.[66] It has been more than two decades since White's book was first published, and there is little chance that writing a history of music in Ireland will become today's work, either. This section will look closely at the challenges of writing a history of music in Ireland from the musicological perspective.

From Thomas Moore's *Dear Harp of My Country* to the Gaelic League's Feis Ceoil, music has been synonymous with Irish identity in the modern era. At the more benign end of the spectrum, this easy equation of music with Irishness accounts for the extensive inventory of penny whistles, bodhráin, and 'Best Irish Traditional Pub Songs' CDs sold at Irish souvenir shops throughout the nation, and it is surely behind Ed Sheeran's 2017 single 'Galway Girl' (in Sheeran's own words: '…there's 400m people in the world that say they're Irish, even if they're not Irish…and those type of people are going to fucking love it').[67] Things take a sinister turn when Irish traditional music (more commonly called 'trad' music) is overtly politicised and made a shibboleth for membership in the Irish community. The celebrated ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes recounts the story of a man who brought a guitar to an Irish trad session organised by the GAA in Belfast in the early 1990s. The group did not see the guitar as being

66 Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), p. ix.

67 Alexis Petridis, 'Interview with Ed Sheeran: I Got Hammered and Cracked Justin Bieber in the Face With a Golf Club,' *The Guardian*, 2 March 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2017/mar/02/ed-sheeran-i-got-hammered-and-cracked-justin-bieber-in-the-face-with-a-golf-club.

sufficiently 'trad' and ejected the man from the session. The following day he was allegedly attacked and maimed by a masked man wielding an axe.[68]

By the early eighteenth century, a clear distinction had emerged between different musical cultures in Ireland. White has written of the discrete categories of 'music in Ireland' and 'Irish music', which correspond to European 'art' music and Irish trad music, respectively.[69] As with so many other aspects of Irish culture, this division – at least as it is currently portrayed in the available literature – corresponds with confessional fault lines, but is also determined by geographic, economic, and linguistic factors. The world premiere of Handel's *Messiah* in Dublin in 1742 and the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792 are two of the most widely known Irish musical events dating from any period, not just the eighteenth century. Each in its own way is emblematic of a very different aspect of eighteenth-century Irish history, embodying the now long outdated 'two Irelands' dichotomy infamously presented in Corkery's *Hidden Ireland*: the music played by the blind and aged harpers in the Belfast Exchange Rooms in 1792 is supposed to have emerged from the 'hidden Ireland', representing the ancient bardic culture native to Ireland which had been reduced from its former glory to relative poverty by the eighteenth century; meanwhile, Handel's oratorio belonged to the privileged world of the 'big house', and became a ubiquitous feature of so-called Ascendancy Irish life throughout the eighteenth century. The work done by many Irish historians since Corkery has questioned the viability of this 'two Irelands' narrative and uncovered a vastly more nuanced view of eighteenth-century Ireland, making it both possible and necessary to view that period in less

---

[68] Martin Stokes, 'Introduction,' in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Stokes (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994), 8-9.

[69] 'Art music' is a term which comes preloaded with Adornian baggage, and much intellectual energy has been expended arguing for or against the phrase's validity. To stay current with the ongoing discussion about Irish musical historiography, I follow White's use of the term 'art music'. See White's 'After Long Silence,' pp. 47-70. See also: White, *The Progress of Music in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005).

starkly black-and-white terms than those depicted by Corkery. The study of the history of music, however, has not followed a similar trajectory.

In the field of musicology, as well, Handel and the harpers represent two once-disparate worlds: in this case, those of historical musicology and ethnomusicology. In practice, these have long functioned as independent sub-disciplines, with each hewing to a different methodological (some would also say ideological) approach. To tell the story of the *Messiah*, an historical musicologist can consult the musical score (in either printed or manuscript form), the libretto, advertisements and reports in the contemporary press, and the surviving private correspondence of those involved; in addition to Handel and the librettist Charles Jennens, Jonathan Swift, Edward Synge, and Patrick Delany all make appearances in the annals of the *Messiah*, marking this as an unmistakably Irish event in European music history.[70] These source-based methods are well suited to the study of European 'art music'. They are less effective when they are applied to the Irish traditional music that was played at the Belfast Harp Festival. While it has been possible and, indeed, productive to study the historical context of the 1792 event from text-based sources,[71] the musical sources which emerged from this project – namely, Edward Bunting's transcriptions of the traditional Irish melodies played by the harpers – do not communicate the music's essential qualities to the modern scholar or musician in the same way that a Baroque orchestral score might. The reasons for this discrepancy are rooted in the fundamental differences between the musical traditions which these two major events from Irish musical history represent.

---

[70] Donald Burrows, *Handel, Messiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 8-22. Primary sources relating to Handel's 1741-2 Dublin sojourn are abundant, although by no means do they provide an answer to every question about this extraordinary period of Irish musical and cultural history, and it is obvious that they privilege the masculine perspective.

[71] Gráinne Yeats, *The Harp of Ireland: The Belfast Harpers' Festival, 1792 and the Saving of Ireland's Harp Music by Edward Bunting* (Belfast: Belfast Harpers' Bicentenary, 1992). See also: Maura Valenti, *'Strum, Strum and Be Hanged': Resetting the Narrative of the 1792 Belfast Harp Festival* (unpublished MPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2017).

The concert-going habits and musical tastes of the Dublin Ascendancy have been closely observed by Brian Boydell, whose monographs include *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (1992) and *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760* (1988). The latter in particular aspired to be nothing less than a compilation of every advertisement or report mentioning music or musicians that appeared in the Dublin press in the given timeframe; given its sources, it depicts a selectively rosy view of life in the capital: 'The strife and disruption which characterised seventeenth-century Ireland finally came to an end after the Williamite war, and Dublin was able to settle down to a period of peace and prosperity such as it had never enjoyed before'.[72] Detailed studies have also been made of music at Dublin's (Anglican) cathedrals, which are based upon church records in combination with a rare body of surviving musical manuscripts from the eighteenth century.[73] Two recent discoveries of musical scores – both of them royal birthday odes which were performed annually at Dublin Castle – stand as reminders that the historical study of music in eighteenth-century Ireland continues to be relevant.[74] These, especially, are representative of the high level of source-based, eighteenth-century Irish research being undertaken by historical musicologists today. All of these studies, though, are concerned with the aristocratic and Protestant (specifically Anglican) world of Georgian Ireland. This is a literature filled with charitable concerts held to raise money for 'worthy'

---

72 Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), p. 11. See also: Barra Boydell, '"Whatever Has a *Foreign* Tone/We Like Much Better Than Our Own": Irish Music and Anglo-Irish Identity in the Eighteenth Century,' in *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond*, ed. Mark Fitzgerald and John O'Flynn (Farnham: Routledge, 2014), pp. 19-38.

73 Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), *Music at Christ Church before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), and '"Now That the Lord Hath Readvanc'd the Crown": Richard Hosier, Durham Ms. B. 1 and the Early Restoration Anthem Repertory at the Dublin Cathedrals,' in *Early Music* 28/2 (2000): pp. 238-51; Kerry Houston, *The Eighteenth-Century Music Manuscripts at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: Sources, Lineage and Relationship to Other Collections* (unpublished PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2002).

74 Samantha Owens, 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin,' in *Eighteenth-Century Music* 6/1 (2009): pp. 7-39 and *The Well-Travelled Musician: John Sigismond Cousser and Musical Exchange in Baroque Europe* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017); Estelle Murphy, '"Liveridge is in Ireland": Richard Leveridge and the Earliest Surviving Dublin Birthday Odes,' in *Music & Letters* 98/1 (2017): pp. 32-73.

causes, Anglican choir anthems and evensong services, and state-sponsored musical celebrations of yet another year of life lived by an Orange, Stuart, or Hanoverian monarch. In spite of the existence of this modest but not insignificant body of scholarship, White is pessimistic in his historiographical assessment, concluding that 'the prospects for a narrative history which seeks to redeem at least three centuries of Irish art music from general intellectual oblivion do not seem promising'.[75] Yet there is cause for hope: Neil Gregor has written that scholars in his field of modern German history have recently begun to take 'methodological approaches that do not necessarily include the technical apparatus and capacities of musicology's more analytical strands of research', and that they are therefore better able to engage 'with non-canonical forms of music (non-canonical in terms of western art music and its traditions, that is)' without needing 'to pass their musical objects of concern through the censorious triage of aestheticians before they proceed'.[76] *Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church* seeks to follow this methodology, moving beyond the 'conceptual binary'[77] of 'art music' vs 'traditional music' which has dominated previous studies of the history of music in Ireland. Since the 1990s, musicologists across many subspecialties have been making a conscious effort to practice what one has called 'a musicology more generously conceived'.[78] Since the rise of this self-proclaimed 'new musicology' in the 1990s it has become possible to study music in eighteenth-century Ireland without implicitly favouring one or the other of Corkery's two Irelands.[79]

The following section will examine a handful of printed and manuscript sources relating to the eighteenth-century Irish harp tradition, situating the liturgical use of the Irish harp in

---

75 White, 'After Long Silence,' p. 65.
76 Neil Gregor, 'Review Article: Why Does Music Matter?' in *German History* 34/1 (2016): p. 120.
77 White, 'After Long Silence,' p. 50.
78 Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, 'Preface,' in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Cook and Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. viii.
79 'New musicology' will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1. See below, pp. 45-9.

historical context. This discussion will serve to illustrate the limits of applying Irish revisionist historical and conventional musicological research methods to the study of Irish traditional music, especially when focussing on a period as historically remote as the eighteenth century.[80] These source-based approaches do not lend themselves well to the study of a musical tradition which was and remains predominantly based on oral transmission.[81]

A final concept from the musicological (in this case, ethnomusicological) literature which will be especially relevant to the historical study of music in Ireland is Thomas Turino's distinction between presentational and participatory types of musical performances.[82] Presentational music consists of one group performing music for another group which passively observes and does not contribute to the overall performance. Participatory music, on the other hand, comprises no artist-audience distinctions, and all who are present contribute in some audible way to the musical performance. From the earliest times up until Vatican II in the 1960s, Catholic liturgical music tended towards the 'presentational' category, whilst early Protestant leaders emphasised a much more participatory musical role for worshippers. Martin Luther believed that the congregation should be given the opportunity to sing hymns in the vernacular during the Reformed Mass; he even wrote a number of these himself. The only music permitted in Calvinist services was the unison congregational singing of biblical texts – principally the psalms – for the edification of worshippers. The use of musical instruments and the singing of any vocal music set to non-biblical texts were strictly forbidden.[83] It will be helpful

---

80 For suggestive reflections on the analogous relationship between professional historians on the one hand and antiquarians and folklore specialists on the other, see the work of Guy Beiner, most recently: *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); 'Recycling Irish Popular Culture,' in *Ordinary Irish Life: Music, Sport and Culture*, ed. Méabh Ní Fhuartháin and David Doyle (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2013): pp. 5-20; and the classic *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007).

81 Scott Spencer, 'Traditional Music: Transmission,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*.

82 Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 26.

83 Fisher, 'Music and Religious Change,' pp. 386-95.

to recall the somewhat sectarian distinctions between presentational and participatory types of sacred music.

An historiographical case study: The Irish harp as a liturgical instrument in the eighteenth century

It is my hope that this section will be seen as being in a dialogue with ethnographic and ethnomusicological studies of Irish traditional music, in both English and Irish. I hope that my contribution, which is of a historical nature, will encourage further study by scholars whose interests and expertise are different to my own. This is also a good moment to address the scarcity of Irish-language source material in this thesis. Again, this is not intended as a deliberate slight, but instead reflects the practical realities of modern postgraduate academic study. In researching this thesis, I have consulted primary and secondary sources written in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, German, and Czech. In almost all cases, the primary sources have been bureaucratic documents – account books, visitation reports, petitions, and the like – which have not required a great deal of imagination or finesse to translate and accurately interpret. Meanwhile, the Irish language sources from the eighteenth century are of a more literary nature; Irish was not the language of Church bureaucracy in the eighteenth century.[84] At minimum, proficiency in Irish (and Early Modern Irish) and a working knowledge of the relevant poetic conventions are required of scholars who wish to closely study eighteenth-century sources in Irish. For myself, a novice, even attempting to acquire a reasonable competence in these skills would have taken more time and resources than I was able to commit as a doctoral student.

---

[84] For a judicious *précis*, see: Vincent Morley, 'The Irish Language,' in *Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, pp. 320-42; especially pp. 331-6.

***

Nóirín Ní Riain's widely cited study of traditional religious songs in Irish includes, amongst other things, eighteenth-century source material pointing to the involvement of Irish harpers in liturgical or otherwise devotional contexts.[85] It is interesting to note that four of these five references are to Christmas, Easter, or other feast days. Ní Riain cites, for example, Joseph Cooper Walker's 1786 *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, which mentions that a man named Denis O'Connor 'hired a number of harpers to strike up a solemn concert at Midnight Mass (for it was Christmas Eve)'.[86] The story of Thady Elliott, discussed below, also takes place at a Christmas Mass. A humorous poem addressed to Turlough Carolan (1670?-1738) by his friend Cathaoir Mac Cába (Cahir MacCabe),[87] appears to mock the famous harper's poor command of Latin. In doing so, the poet may have left us with a valuable insight into performance practice (although we must remember to approach literary sources cautiously):

> Cogadh is cathughadh ar feadh na rioghachta
>
> Atá ag éisteach
>
> Le *cantarum gliarum glearum*
>
> Arg gach féasta.
>
> [There is dissension and trouble throughout this kingdom
>
> Which has to listen
>
> To your *cantarum gliarum glearum*

[85] Nóirín Ní Riain, 'The nature and classification of traditional religious songs in Irish: with a survey of printed and oral sources,' in *Irish musical studies 2: music and the Church*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), pp. 204-5.

[86] Ibid., p. 204.

[87] Mac Cába (c. 1670-c. 1740) was also a harper, and by all accounts he enjoyed a warm friendship with Carolan. See: *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* 'MacCabe (Mac Cába), Cathaoir (Cahir),' by Desmond McCabe, accessed 7 December 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

On every feast-day.][88]

If we allow ourselves to take Mac Cába at his word, then it would seem that Carolan sang in Latin – or at least tried to – on feast days ('arg gach féasta'). This, presumably, in addition to accompanying himself on the harp. Furthermore, according to Ní Riain, there is evidence that Carolan composed and performed at least three religious pieces in his career. Two of these ('Gloria in Excelsis Deo' and 'The Resurrection') are now lost, but were reportedly performed by Carolan at an Easter Mass. The harper's sole surviving religious piece, 'The Elevation,'[89] was not mentioned in connection with any specific feast day or service – could there be a correlation between this fact and the tune's survival in the Irish harp tradition? Based on this admittedly scant evidence, it would appear that harpers were hired for special services, but that their chapel performances were not regular occurrences. These references form a small body of rare and valuable insights into the liturgical world of penal-era Irish Catholicism.

Ní Riain's article also includes the diverting story of Thady Elliott, found in memoirs of Arthur O'Neill (1737?-1816), a harper from Co. Tyrone who participated in the 1792 Belfast Harp Festival. It would be worth reproducing at length for its entertainment value alone, but the story of Thady Elliott also reveals valuable information about the history of eighteenth-century Irish Catholic liturgical music. O'Neill, who was blind, dictated his memoirs of his life and musical career in the early nineteenth century, by which time he had settled permanently in Belfast. The story in question appears early in his account:[90] Sometime in the mid-eighteenth

---

88 Donal O'Sullivan, *Carolan: the life, times, and music of an Irish harper*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge and Paul, 1958), 1: p. 77.

89 First published more than forty years after Carolan's death in John Lee's *A Favourite Collection of the So Much Admired Old Irish Tunes* (Dublin, 1780). It might be more accurate to say that 'The Elevation' is attributed to Carolan and is a product of the Irish harp tradition of which Carolan is emblematic.

90 The following summarises an excerpt from the *Manuscript Memoirs of Arthur O'Neill*, Special Collections, Queen's University Belfast, MS 4/46. Reproduced in: Charlotte Milligan Fox, *Annals of the Irish Harpers*, ed. Sara C. Lanier (Larne: Ardrigh Books, 2008), pp. 136-7. See also: Ní Riain, 'Traditional Religious Songs in Irish,' p. 205.

century (O'Neill described himself at this point as being 'but young'), a mischievous townsperson in Navan convinced Elliott, the harper who had been engaged to play at Christmas Mass in the town's Catholic chapel, to play the dance tune 'Planxty Connor' at the Elevation. A gallon of whiskey was to be the harper's reward for committing the prank. O'Neill reports that Elliott fulfilled his part of the agreement, much to the fury of the Mass's celebrant:

> The Priest, who was a good judge of music, knew the tune, but at that solemn stage of the ceremony he could not speak to Thady, so to show his disapprobation he stamped violently where he stood at the Altar, so much so that the people exclaimed in Irish, 'Dhar Dhiah thaw Soggart a dhounsa', that is, 'By God, the Priest is dancing'.[91]

Elliott predictably lost his job accompanying the town's remaining Christmas Masses; the loss of this engagement led him to promise a share of his whiskey to any parishioner who would help him exact violent revenge upon his replacement. Whiskey and dancing aside, this tale is a rare glimpse at the state of a Catholic community in a provincial Irish town in the mid-eighteenth century, indicating that multiple Masses were celebrated there on Christmas Day (granted, anything but a typical day in the Christian year) and that at least one harper was engaged and paid to play at each service – although, to be fair, Elliott's pay was likely withheld. His violent reaction to losing the job could even be an indication that it paid especially well, although it would be unwise to draw too many inferences from Elliott's behaviour once he began enjoying his intoxicating payment.

***

[91] Fox, *Annals of the Irish Harpers*, 136-7.

The sources collected by Ní Riain are valuable proof that Irish traditional musicians participated in Catholic services in the eighteenth century. While they add legitimacy to Wall's statement that Carolan and other harpers played in Catholic chapels in eighteenth-century Ireland,[92] it is difficult to make a close study of these revelations using the source-based techniques of revisionism and historical musicology.

The revisionist approach, which relies so heavily upon institutional records and other supposedly irrefutable sources, is poorly suited to handle less 'official' sources like O'Neill's memoirs. Following 'classic' revisionist best practices, the decades-old reminiscences of a single person with a vested interest in presenting himself in the best possible light would be handled with caution, if not suspicion. Such material would be checked and cross-referenced against a wider body of contemporary sources, and only once it had been corroborated by more 'scientific' primary sources would it be admitted into the historical narrative. We cannot take O'Neill's story about Thady Elliott much further if we adhere to this methodology: to date, there are no surviving traces of related financial transactions; nobody involved in this incident came before the law, nor was it reported in any newspaper; the 'dancing' parish priest did not report this incident to his bishop; and no diary or correspondence survives which records this story. Finally, Elliott's Christmas hijinks were not memorialised in any surviving contemporary poetry or prose (in Irish or English), nor were they shown in any known painting or illustration from the mid-eighteenth century. Still, though, there is little reason to doubt that Irish harpers sometimes accompanied Catholic worship during the penal era, even though we are not able to call upon the preferred sources of the revisionists – institutional, financial, printed, manuscript – to make the inference. For a way forwards, we may look to the case of Marged *ferch* Ifan (1696-1793), a Welsh harpist and wrestler (!) who was recently added to the *Oxford*

[92] See above, p. 6

Dictionary of National Biography. The inclusion of this remarkable woman is directly attributable to her biographer's willingness to make use of sources which arose from oral tradition – sources which are, to quote from the *ODNB* entry, 'no less attractive for being impossible to verify'.[93] The positive results achieved by the methodological ecumenism of this Welsh case should encourage source-driven Irish historians to pay renewed attention to the work of ethnographers and folklorists.

Ní Riain describes 'The Elevation' – the only known piece of liturgical harp music for which there is a notated eighteenth-century source – as being 'another instance of the commonly accepted influence of Italian Baroque music on Carolan's style' (or the Irish harp style, more generally). She alludes to the piece's structural, metrical, and contrapuntal characteristics, identifying 'The Elevation Toccata' as the possible basis for the harp tune, and although she gives no further identifying information about this Italian piece in question,[94] it is most likely to be one of the pieces entitled '*Toccata per l'Elevazione*' from Girolamo Frescobaldi's *Fiori Musicali*, Op. 12 (1635), a collection of solo organ music written to accompany various Masses. There are three of these 'organ masses' in the *Fiori Musicali*: a *Messa Domenica*, *Messa degli Apostali*, and *Messa della Madonna*; each contains a toccata which is appropriately solemn and dignified in character to accompany the elevation of the Host.[95] It is difficult to say exactly which one of these three *toccate* is thought to have inspired Carolan, although the *Toccata Cromaticha per l'Elevatione* (Op. 12/16) which Frescobaldi included in the *Messa Domenica* is the least likely, as its chromaticism would not have been suited to the Irish harp, which was a

93 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 'Marged *ferch* Ifan,' by Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, accessed 11 June 2022, https://www.oxforddnb.com.
94 Ní Riain, 'Traditional Religious Songs in Irish,' p. 205.
95 A toccata is a piece of music which is meant to draw attention to its performer's manual dexterity; the name is derived from the Italian *toccare* (literally 'to touch', i.e., the player touches the keys of the keyboard, strings of the harp, etc).

diatonic instrument.[96] We sadly do not know enough about the performance practice of Frescobaldi's organ music in Ireland to be able to make productive inferences about its influence on Carolan and the Irish harp tradition, but this case raises interesting methodological issues which are worth probing.

The prospect of a direct Italian influence on Irish traditional music in a liturgical setting is intriguing, but from the existing musical sources alone, we are unable to trace deeper connections between Frescobaldi and Carolan (or the music attributed to him).[97] This is because the sources which are available to us today are too unalike to support direct comparisons which move beyond the preliminary analysis already offered by Ní Riain. This does not mean that one is of greater value than the other; these two sources simply come from different musical traditions: the music as it appears on the page in Frescobaldi's *toccata* is intended to convey the entirety of the composer's musical intentions directly to the performer. Meanwhile, the notation of a traditional harp tune is not so much a guide for the faithful recreation of a composer's intentions as it is a musical scaffolding upon which a skilled player could base a performance, drawing upon the established traditions of their musical community, as well as their own individual taste and skill. A one-to-one comparison of these two types of music based on their notated versions alone would be distorted in favour of the Italian example, for which the printed score was intended to convey the essential qualities of the music on the page. The difference between these types of musical sources is akin to that between a single-phrase scenario given to a group of experienced actors to use as the basis for an improvised

---

96 Helen Lawlor, Collette Moloney, and Barra Boydell, 'Harp, Irish,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*. On modern organological developments, see: Anne-Marie O'Farrell, 'The chromatic development of the lever harp: mechanism, resulting technique and repertoire,' in *Harp Studies*, ed. Sandra Joyce and Lawlor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), pp. 209-38.

97 For a discussion of the late eighteenth-century proto-nationalist sources which link – without foundation – Carolan and his music with the famous violinist Francesco Geminiani and *his* music, see: Barra Boydell, 'Geminiani in Ireland,' in *Geminiani Studies*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2013), pp. 175-9.

scene ('In a doctor's waiting room', 'Rush hour on the Tube') and a detailed script containing dialogue and stage directions. Both the prompt and the script are texts, and both are meant to inspire dramatic performances which an audience would consider 'complete'. The printed music for 'The Elevation' and Frescobaldi's organ solo serves the same purpose for musical performances. It is in cases like this that we can clearly see the limits of studying Irish music history primarily from the notated musical sources: analytical techniques which were developed to aid the study of one are definitionally unsuited to another.

The difficulty of using source (i.e. musical 'text')-based musical analysis to identify Italian influences on Carolan's 'The Elevation' is emblematic of the broader challenge encountered by scholars attempting to compare the 'traditional' or 'folk' music of any culture with so-called Western European 'classical' or 'art' music. In brief, doing justice to both sides of the comparison would require a music scholar to be competent across two vastly different sub-specialties of musicology, a quality which few, if any, researchers possess today, and which would have been even scarcer at the time when revisionist historians were writing about the Irish penal laws. Given the lack of specialist musicological analysis to draw upon – or, to phrase it in a way which is compatible with Moody's 'scientific' ideals for revisionist history, without raw musical 'data' which had been correctly interpreted by experts in the field – it follows naturally that music was not a topic often discussed in Irish revisionist history. The field of historical ethnomusicology may reveal new insights, but this is a relatively new sub-discipline – newer, certainly, than Moody's historical laboratory.[98] The ethnomusicologist Bonnie Wade described her foundational work in this field in the 1990s as 'looking at how music *was* in order

[98] The Society for Ethnomusicology's Special Interest Group for Historical Ethnomusicology was established in 2005. See: Jonathan McCollum and David Herbert, eds., *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014).

to see how it came to be what it *is*' (emphasis added).[99] This method has yet to be systematically applied to Irish traditional music, although the thoughtful work of the Irish ethnomusicologist Adrian Scahill is a promising starting point for future research: for example, drawing on sources from folklore and oral tradition, Scahill suggests that in addition to the harp, the uillean pipes may also have been played in eighteenth-century Irish chapels.[100] Further enquiry along these lines may uncover more insights into the performance practice of Irish traditional musicians playing in Catholic liturgical settings. It would be fascinating to know more about, for instance, how often these instrumentalists accompanied singers (or sang and accompanied themselves, as Carolan was reported to have done), where they were positioned to perform in the chapels, to what extent they were able to improvise during the service, and what was the level of cooperation between the musicians and the clergy. If, as it appears from the sources discussed above, harpers were only asked to play at Mass on feast days, can we infer anything about what music may have been performed on ordinary days in their absence, or are we to assume that these services were held without music? An expert fluent in the skills of ethnomusicology and anthropology may be able to use musical sources like Carolan's 'Elevation' to answer these questions.

***

Though they make for lively and enjoyable reading, the O'Neill memoirs remain an extremely limited source, raising many questions about the lives and careers of the Irish harpers than cannot be answered by using source-based, 'classic' revisionist methods alone. And as we

---

99 Bonnie Wade, *Imaging Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. lvi.

100 Adrian Scahill, 'Towards a Reconsideration of the Place of Traditional Music in the Catholic Church,' in *A Musical Offering: Essays in Honour of Gerard Gillen*, ed. Houston and White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017), pp. 143-4. Also see Scahill's 'Irish Traditional Music and the Seventeenth Century,' in *Irish Musical Studies 10: Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Barra Boydell and Houston (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), pp. 40-61.

saw above, analytical techniques which were developed to study complete musical 'texts' cannot be applied successfully to music arising from an oral tradition. How, then are we to proceed with this historical study of the music of the eighteenth-century Irish Catholic Church?

When we focus specifically on Irish traditional musicians, who are unlikely to have travelled beyond Ireland in their lifetimes, we risk losing sight of a much wider – indeed, global – picture. Enquiries which take as their starting point Irish sources like, for example, O'Neill's memoirs or Mac Cába's poem, risk becoming fixated on the local context alone, at times even inadvertently contributing to an inaccurate narrative of Irish exceptionalism. The historiography of early modern Irish Catholicism has largely avoided this pitfall by design, as its focus typically follows Irish-born individuals to continental Europe and beyond. Using music as the point of departure, one of the goals of this thesis is to situate eighteenth-century Irish Catholic liturgical practices within the context of global Catholicism. To achieve this, *Sacred Muisc of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church* consciously follows the example set by McBride's *The Isle of Slaves*, in which Irish history is approached 'from the outside in', and in which the themes of eighteenth-century European (and, in some cases, global) history are 'mapped onto the Irish situation, complete with its sectarian and colonial fault-lines'.[101] The case of the harpers affords us the chance to test the 'outside-in' approach in practice.

To avoid misrepresenting this case as proof of Irish exceptionalism, we can ask if the participation of local traditional musicians in the celebration of Mass was, when viewed within the wider context of early modern Catholic culture, a uniquely Irish phenomenon. This is an especially important question to ask about the harp, which after all is so evocative of Irish

[101] McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, p. 20.

identity.[102] By focussing exclusively on the Irish context, we risk losing sight of the larger currents which helped to shape it. Broadening the scope of our enquiries helps us to identify new questions, the answers to which will ultimately inform our understanding of the Irish history. For instance, it may be interesting for Irish scholars to learn that the harp was known to be a vehicle for Catholicisation and Hispanicisation in the early modern Americas and in the Philippines.[103] For example, the music historian Geoff Baker drew upon extensive civil and ecclesiastical records, including a personal will, to bring to life the career of Don Joseph Ygnacio, an Andean *arpista*, who enjoyed a successful career as a cathedral musician in seventeenth-century colonial Cuzco.[104] In the Spanish colonial territories, the harp was valued for its portability as well as for the fact that, much like an organ, it could provide chordal accompaniment for a solo singer or choir. There is no doubting that it was also popular in secular contexts, but for the purposes of the present discussion it is most important to note that the harp provided 'good value' in churches that did not have an organ – of which there were many in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Americas, when Christianity was being spread across the vast territories claimed by Spanish and other European colonisers. In churches that did not have an organ, a single harp player could provide a fuller musical accompaniment for Mass than a lone violinist or wind player; in other words, a church would have to hire multiple instrumentalists to achieve a musical effect comparable to that provided by a single harp player.[105]

---

[102] Mary Louise O'Donnell, *Ireland's Harp: The Shaping of Irish Identity c. 1770-1880* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2014); Ruan O'Donnell, 'The Irish Harp in Political History,' in *Harp Studies*, ed. Sandra Joyce and Helen Lawlor (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 121-8.

[103] D.R.M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 107-8; Victor Anand Coelho, 'Music in New Worlds,' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 95-6; Javier Marín López, 'Musical Cultures in the Reinos de Indias at the Time of Isabel and Ferdinand,' in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, ed. Tess Knighton (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 341; and Alfredo Colman, *The Paraguayan Harp: From Colonial Transplant to National Emblem* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015).

[104] Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 99-101.

[105] Craig Russell, *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 46-9.

It is interesting to now return to consider the history of the harp and Catholicism in eighteenth-century Ireland, bearing in mind the knowledge that the harp fulfilled the practical needs described above in the early modern Spanish colonies. The Irish harp, too, was easily portable, and it could either be played on its own without requiring additional personnel, or it could be played to accompany singers or other solo instruments. Furthermore, the harp is a naturally quiet instrument, especially when it is compared with, for example, large church organs. These qualities would have made the harp ideally suited to the circumspect style of Catholic worship practised in early modern Ireland. Furthermore, an aspiring priest preparing for a life and career in Ireland under the penal laws would have been smart to recognise that there were certain advantages to carrying a harp. The itinerant harper was a common sight in towns and in the countryside, meaning that a person seen carrying a harp would not necessarily have attracted unwanted attention, even if they were heading to Mass in a clandestine chapel. Disguising himself as a harper would also have allowed an Irish bishop or priest with a large parish to travel widely, without attracting unwanted attention. In 1626, a Scottish priest named Cornelius Ward disguised himself as an 'Irish bard, carrying a harp' to travel from the Isle of Barra to Muckairn Castle in Argyll and Bute,[106] and it is not unreasonable to assume that priests in early modern Ireland also made use of this disguise. Perhaps with this in mind, Michael MacDonagh, the Catholic bishop of Ossory, made a gift of an Irish harp to the clerical students at his alma mater, the Irish Dominican college of San Clemente in Rome in the 1730s.[107] This might prove to be another means through which the Irish harp tradition can be connected with Italian baroque music, and it deserves serious musicological (and ethnomusicological) attention. From a historical perspective, though, there is sadly very little else that we can be sure of which can be added. MacDonagh's harp may have been a gift intended purely for recreational use –

[106] Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878* (Montrose: Standard Press, 1970), p. 23.
[107] Hugh Fenning, 'SS. Sisto and Clemente: 1677-1797,' in *San Clemente Miscellany*, pp. 1:51-2.

indeed, that is what Fenning makes of it. Perhaps MacDonagh even disguised himself as an itinerant harper as he travelled throughout his diocese in Ireland. All we know of it at this time is that it was sent to the college along with a clock for the sacristy.

The harp will be mentioned again in this thesis but, for methodological reasons, it will not be a focal point in the ensuing study. What follows will in many ways be an Irish musical history without the harp.[108]

The Structure of This Thesis

> analects, *n.* Discarded fragments of food, esp. those gathered after a meal; morsels, scraps, crumbs.
>
> pointillism, *n.* 1.) A technique of painting using tiny dots of various pure colours, which when viewed from a distance are blended by the viewer's eye. 2.) In extended use (esp. in music): a method or style of creating a representation of something (in various media) from a collection of fragments, details, brief images, etc.[109]

Studying and writing the history of the Irish Church requires an approach which is slightly different to what has worked for other 'national' churches.[110] Historians of these churches have benefitted from being able to access expansive, interconnected bodies of sources found in both church and civil archives. In such studies, sources drawn from local diocesan or

---

[108] This is a respectful homage to Cullen's storming article 'Irish History Without the Potato,' in *Past & Present* 40 (July 1968): pp. 72-83.
[109] *Oxford English Dictionary*.
[110] See, for example, the monumental histories of the early (and late-early) modern French church, including: Joseph Bergin, *Church, Society, and Religious Change in France, 1580-1730* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); and John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

even municipal archives can be complemented by, for example, material called up from the Vatican's sprawling *Archivio Apostolico* (formerly the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the forces of enlightened despotism (in the Holy Roman Empire) and liberty and reason (in France) enacted sweeping reforms – most significantly in the form of closures – across their respective national churches. Not since Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries had a state sought to confiscate so much material wealth from the church, and the fastidiousness of government officials in drawing up the final accounts of these religious institutions is imbued with a naked self-interest.[111] No such literal account was made of the Irish Catholic Church after the Boyne. The penal laws did not create a comprehensive archive of Irish Catholic sources in the way that Henrician, Josephian, or French Republican legislation did at different times in British and European history. Instead, the student of eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history must be content with making use of serendipitous survivals of, at most, small batches of letters or papers, such as the Bordeaux-Dublin letters (confiscated by a British privateer from a Dublin-bound trading vessel in 1757)[112] and the Fottrell papers (seized from John Fottrell, then the most senior Dominican priest in Ireland, when he was arrested on the shores of Lough Neagh in 1739).[113] These collections afford us rare insights into the oftentimes mundane daily fare of Irish Catholic life and bureaucracy – the kinds of insights which are the normal fare of historians of other national churches.

The structure of this thesis consciously echoes Christopher de Hamel's charming *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts* (2016). De Hamel presented *Meetings* as a series of 'celebrity

---

111 Derek Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); James Clark, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries: A New History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021).

112 Cullen, John Shovlin, and Thomas Truxes, eds., *The Bordeaux-Dublin Letters, 1757: Correspondence of an Irish Community Abroad* (London: British Academy, 2016).

113 Hugh Fenning, ed., *The Fottrell Papers, 1721-39: An Edition of the Papers Found on the Person of Fr John Fottrell, Provincial of the Dominicans in Ireland, At His Arrest in 1739* (Belfast: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 1980).

interviews', with each of the twelve chapters focussing on a single famous medieval manuscript, ranging from the Gospels of Saint Augustine (late sixth century) to the Spinola Hours (c.1515-20). This individualised approach allowed the author to 'meet' each subject in its own context and absolved him of having to artificially impose a grand narrative – beyond 'what pleasure you can have in looking at manuscripts' – across such diverse source material.[114] Although the sources for this thesis are decidedly more modest than de Hamel's starry subjects, this thesis spotlights a wide variety of sources in a similar way, in this case collecting for the first time a series of musical analects from eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history. Each of these crumbs then serves as the basis for a chapter which functions as a case study of a particular aspect of Irish Catholic devotional practice and experience in this period, allowing us to evaluate each source individually and follow it where it seems to want to take us, be that the workshop of a Flemish master organ builder in the 1760s, or the fraught arena of Irish Catholic political loyalism in the wake of the Regency Crisis, to take just two examples. Rather than think of the chapters of this thesis as discrete essays or studies, I prefer instead to think of each as a point in a pointillistic painting, with all of them united in the broadest sense on a single canvas. *Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church* is a history in (and of) fragments.[115]

I have opted to present this research in this way because it avoids the unnecessary imposition of an artificial, teleological narrative over diverse and diffuse source material. In the following chapters, this thesis will explore the impact of the penal laws on the Irish soundscape, paying particular attention to the use of music and sound in Protestant commemorations and situating the absence of a reciprocal culture of Irish Catholic public commemoration within the

---

[114] Christopher de Hamel, *Meetings With Remarkable Manuscripts* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), pp. 1-2; p. 8.
[115] This conceptual framework is not without precedent. See, for example: Richard Vinen, *A History in Fragments: Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London: Abacus, 2002); Sarah Knott, *Mother is a Verb: An Unconventional History* (New York: Sarah Crichton Books, 2019); and Jayne Persian and Karen Agutter, 'European Post-War Migrants and Indigenous Australians: A History in Fragments,' in *History Australia* 18/1 (2021): pp. 112-29.

wider context of early modern Catholic history (Chapter 1, 'Sonic manifestations of Ascendancy: making sense of Catholic silence in the eighteenth-century Irish soundscape'). It will examine in detail reports of two musical performances which took place in Catholic chapels in eighteenth-century Dublin: the first at the Channel Row convent, c. 1727 (Chapter 2, 'Italian music at Dublin's Channel Row convent, c. 1727: an accusation from the Vicar of Naas') and the second at the Francis Street chapel, the seat of the Archbishop of Dublin, in 1789 (Chapter 5, '"…the entire performance gave universal satisfaction, and the audience went away delighted": Irish Protestant audiences for Catholic sacred music in the eighteenth century'). '"*Laetabundus exsultet fidelis chorus*": Irish Catholic plainchant' (Chapter 3) discusses three late-eighteenth-century manuscripts from Irish continental institutions which contain musical notation, and 'Cabinets, pipes, and bellows: church organs of the religious orders in Ireland and abroad' (Chapter 4) identifies organs which belonged to male and female Irish Franciscan and Dominican communities in the eighteenth century. This chapter will also discuss the use of music by the Irish Jesuits, as it is through them that we encounter the earliest records of Catholic church organs in post-Reformation Ireland.



Fig. 1 – Francis Wheatley, *The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4th November 1779* (1779-80)

CHAPTER 1

SONIC MANIFESTATIONS OF ASCENDANCY: MAKING SENSE OF CATHOLIC SILENCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IRISH SOUNDSCAPE

The 'remarkable' source which is this chapter's point of departure is a celebrated eighteenth-century painting which now hangs in the National Gallery of Ireland. Francis Wheatley's *The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4th November 1779* (1779-80) is an excellent record of how the Volunteers' infamous 'A free trade…or else' demonstration sounded and is emblematic of the soundscapes of many other Irish Protestant commemorations of the eighteenth century. Although Catholics made up what was by far the largest confessional grouping in the Irish population, they were effectively excluded from actively participating in the shared public soundscapes of eighteenth-century Ireland. Because the task of describing an absence brings with it very obvious challenges, I will spend much of this chapter discussing the ways in which the Protestant Ascendancy claimed the Irish soundscape as its own. Doing so will enable us to delineate and better understand how Catholics experienced the Irish soundscape in the time of the penal laws.

The idea of the soundscape is integral to this chapter. A soundscape comprises all of the audible features of a given space, just as a landscape is composed of a space's visible characteristics. Although this is a familiar concept in urban studies,[1] this chapter's discussion of eighteenth-century Irish soundscapes is based upon musicological literature: the foundational

[1] See, for example: Mags Adams, Trevor Cox, et. al., 'Sustainable Soundscapes: Noise Policy and the Urban Experience,' in *Urban Studies* 43/13 (December 2006): pp. 2385-98; Francesco Aletta, Jian Kang, Östen Axelsson, 'Soundscape Descriptors and a Conceptual Framework for Developing Predictive Soundscape Models,' in *Landscape and Urban Planning* 149 (May 2016): pp. 65-74; and Craig Adams, David Moore, Don Knox, 'Experience Sampling: Assessing Urban Soundscapes Using In-situ Participatory Methods,' in *Applied Acoustics* 117, Part B (February 2017): pp. 227-35.

musicological texts on soundscapes include R. Murray Schafer's *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (1993) and Reinhard Strohm's *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (1990, revised edition). It is of particular interest to the present study how, in the years since the publication of these seminal works, many historians (and music historians in particular) have fruitfully studied how Protestant and Catholic confessional identities were expressed in early modern soundscapes, for example through the pealing or tolling of bells, the clamour and hubbub of religious processions, and other ways of sonically delineating 'the rhythm of urban life'.[2] This is a fast-developing body of literature, but to date only limited scholarly attention has been paid to the soundscape as a topic in studies of early modern Ireland.[3] This chapter will examine how expressions of Protestant identity dominated the urban soundscapes of eighteenth-century Ireland – to the exclusion of comparable Catholic activity. Before addressing the sonic implications of Wheatley's *Dublin Volunteers*, it will be interesting to first place this discussion within the contexts of recent historical and musicological work.

'New musicology' and the idea of the soundscape

It is impossible not to notice certain parallels and similarities which exist between the developments of the musicological and Irish historical literatures over the past four decades. The emergence of the so-called 'new musicology' in the 1980s echoes that of the second wave

---

[2] Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 3. The following is merely a selection of exemplary works from this area of study: Alexander Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19th-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (London: Papermac, 1999); Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); John Craig, 'Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: The Soundscape of Worship in the English Parish Church, 1547-1642,' in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 104-23; Emilie Murphy, 'A Sense of Place: Hearing English Catholicism in the Spanish Habsburg Territories, 1568-1659,' in *Sensing the Sacred in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Robin Macdonald, Emilie Murphy, and Elizabeth Swann (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 136-57.

[3] Raymond Gillespie has briefly considered the soundscape of the Jesuit mission in Ireland. See his chapter on 'The Jesuits and Music in Early Modern Ireland,' in *The Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland, 1560-1760*, ed. Mary Ann Lyons and Brian Mac Cuarta (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2022), p.124.

of Irish historiographical revisionism in the 1960s, in that both were reforming reactions to the prevailing intellectual trends of their respective fields.[4] Earlier musicological best practices were characterised by 'a reliance on positivism in historical research…with primary attention still focused almost exclusively on the canon',[5] an approach which has an analogue in the 'marked tendency to fetishize the archive and the manuscript primary sources'[6] which characterised the approach taken by T.W. Moody and the *New History* school.

In his enormously influential article 'How We Got Into Analysis, and How to Get Out' (1980), Joseph Kerman takes aim at the practices of the musicological establishment which he accuses of striving 'to achieve the objective status and hence the authority of scientific inquiry', going further to say that its 'intellectual milieu' is 'not science but ideology'.[7] He argues that musicologists lose sight of the bigger picture by fixating too narrowly on 'the music itself', to the exclusion of the many extramusical factors which contribute to a completed musical work. To illustrate this, he cites a famous musical analysis of the song '*Aus meinen Thränen sprießen*', from Robert Schumann's 1840 song cycle *Dichterliebe*, which is a musical setting of sixteen poems by Heinrich Heine. This analysis is a complex, detailed account of the song's harmonic structure, which maps out the hierarchies of different notes and tonalities and diagrams their relationships. It is based solely on the musical notes; it takes no account at all of the song's text. Kerman contends that this piece of analysis ultimately misses out on the song's 'prime feature': a descending two-note motif is heard persistently throughout the song. Harmonically, it is unremarkable, and it is not accounted for in the musical analysis. However, the closing lines of

---

4 On Irish revisionist historiography, see pp. 4-11 above.

5 Richard Leppert and Susan McClary, 'Introduction,' in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*, ed. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. xii

6 Alvin Jackson, 'Irish History in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, ed. Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 6.

7 Joseph Kerman, 'How We Got Into Analysis, and How to Get Out,' in *Critical Inquiry* 7/2 (1980): pp. 313-4. Kerman writes specifically of musical analysis, or the study of the various components of a musical work's internal structure.

Heine's poem are '*Und vor deinem Fenster soll klingen / Das Lied der Nachtigall*' – 'And at your window shall sing / The song of the nightingale'. The two-note motif is obviously a musical allusion to this; Kerman's point is that we will only understand this once we look beyond the musical notes.[8]

It is striking to note the similarities between Kerman's allusions to 'scientific inquiry' and 'ideology' and the language used by McBride in a more recent evaluation of Moody's methodology: 'The professionalization of Irish history that began with the launch of *Irish Historical Studies*…pitted '*scientific*' research procedures against popular nationalist (or unionist) myths…' (my emphasis added). He goes on to summarise current critiques of revisionism:

> 'Revisionist' history was not simply, as its practitioners imagined, a re-evaluation of received opinions in the light of new evidence, but was itself an *ideological construct*. And revisionist accounts of the past, for all their commitment to *objectivity*, turn out to be just as partial and self-serving as the old nationalist works they had replaced.[9] (my emphasis added)

'How We Got Into Analysis' was followed by Kerman's monograph *Musicology* (1985), and it is on the strength of these publications that he is widely credited with setting the so-called new musicology into motion.[10] Henceforth, musicological horizons were broadened beyond the study of the so-called canon of Western art music, such that by 1987, leading musicologists were writing that 'the artefacts considered worthy of analysis and the questions asked of

---

8 Ibid., pp. 323-30.

9 Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009), p. 4.

10 Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, 'Preface,' in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. v-xii.

canonized works of art have changed radically'.[11] For the present chapter, the most important of these reforms is the fact that musicology as an overall discipline has assimilated many of the concerns of ethnomusicology in order to practice what has been called (not without a whiff of self-congratulation) 'a musicology more generously conceived'.[12] The ethnomusicologist John Blacking's definition of music as 'humanly organised sound'[13] has proven influential in redirecting the musicological gaze beyond the canon of western musical masterpieces,[14] and it would aid in the conceptualization of the soundscape.

The intellectual reforms of the new musicology imbued the musicological discipline with an elasticity which can be fruitfully applied to the study of music in Irish history. Previous studies of music in Ireland – perhaps best exemplified by Brian Boydell's chapters in the *New History*[15] – have tended to uphold the static art music/Ascendancy versus traditional music/'hidden Ireland' (and Catholic, by implication) categories. Much of the musicological work being done in and about Ireland today preserves these distinctions, although the leading Irish musicologist Harry White is an enthusiastic devotee of the new musicology,[16] to the point that he was responsible for inviting Kerman himself to address the first academic conference dedicated to the study of music in Ireland in 1995.[17] White's own interest has primarily been in exploring the relationship between music and literature in Ireland since the nineteenth century; his monograph *Music and the Irish Literary Imagination* (2008) lavishly exceeds the limits of traditional definitions of music, treating Moore, Yeats, Synge, Shaw, Joyce, Beckett, Friel,

---

11 Leppert and McClary, *Music and Society*, p. xi.
12 Cook and Everist, *Rethinking Music*, p. viii. See also: Leppert and McClary, *Music and Society*, p. xviii.
13 John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973), pp. 11-2.
14 On historical (and music-historical) applications of Blacking, see: Britta Sweers, 'Bach in a Venda Mirror: John Blacking and Historical Musicology,' in *The Musical Human: Rethinking John Blacking's Ethnomusicology in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Suzel Ana Reily (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 171-92.
15 See above, p. 7.
16 Harry White, '"Variations on an Air": The Discourse of Musicology in Ireland,' in *The Progress of Music in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), p. 147.
17 Kerman, 'Musicology in Transition,' in *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995: Selected Proceedings, Part One*, 2 vols., ed. Patrick F. Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 19-33.

and Heaney as musical creators. His insistence that '[i]n the new Irish literature in English, the idea of music…proved itself so expressively futile that the inherent cultivation of an art music was silently neglected'[18] does, however, reflect more conventional musicological preoccupations.

My choice to use Francis Wheatley's painting of the Dublin Volunteers as the starting point for a discussion of the Irish soundscape is an *hommage* to Strohm's 'Townscape – Soundscape', the evocative introduction to his celebrated study of music in late medieval Bruges. In it, he consults the paintings of Hans Memling and Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, finding that they reveal valuable insights into a musical culture from the past which we can no longer hear. 'The very precision of the great Flemish paintings', he writes, 'has made us forget that they are longing for completion in life, motion and sound. They are silent mirrors of music'.[19] Wheatley's painting is another such 'silent mirror' which, in this case, reflects the soundscape of an eighteenth-century Irish Protestant commemoration.

Sound in Wheatley's *Dublin Volunteers*

Most of the soldiers stationed in Ireland in the late 1770s were sent abroad by the Crown to fight in the war in America. In their absence, the Irish Volunteers were established to guard Ireland against invasion by the French, who had entered the war against the British in 1778.[20] The Volunteer movement has been memorably described as 'a massive rush of

[18] White, *The Keeper's Recital*, p. 159. See also: Idem., *Music and the Irish Literary Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 3.
[19] Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, pp. 8-9.
[20] Ultán Gillen, 'Ascendancy Ireland, 1660-1800,' in *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, ed. Richard Bourke and Ian McBride (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 64-5; McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, pp. 310 and pp. 347-8.

oxygen to the collective head of the Protestant nation',[21] and this is perhaps most apparent in the way in which the Volunteers took up the army's ceremonial duties in Ireland, such as the annual birthday salute to the statue of William of Orange on College Green. In Wheatley's painting, we see the Dublin Volunteers enthusiastically assuming this particular responsibility, while simultaneously advancing their own political ends ('A FREE TRADE—or ELSE! ! !'). This section will discuss the sonic clues found in this famous painting. We will look first at the sounds which are depicted explicitly in Wheatley's *Dublin Volunteers* before turning to discuss those which are implied.

The sound which is most explicitly shown in this painting appears in its foreground, where we see a small cannon being fired, and another being prepared. The smoke which delineates the entire lower third of the painting tells us that the Volunteers have also recently fired their muskets. These weapons were fired on the order of William Fitzgerald, the duke of Leinster, who commanded the Dublin Regiment of the Volunteers.[22] He is shown in the centre of the painting, standing with his left arm raised, poised to unleash another volley. Wheatley also painted drummers; they are shown wearing light-coloured uniforms, holding dark green drums.

In addition to Wheatley's outstanding visual record of this Volunteer review, a lengthy report printed in the *Freeman's Journal* describes the day's events in vivid detail.[23] This written account gives us further access to the soundscape of this spectacular display, and it allows us to pinpoint the exact moment of the proceedings which has been captured by the artist. The report narrates that 'three grand discharges' were fired by the companies of the Dublin

---

[21] McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, p. 377.
[22] *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 'Fitzgerald, William Robert,' by Patrick Geoghegan, accessed 1 November 2018, https://www.dib.ie.
[23] *Freeman's Journal*, 4 November 1779. The complete text of the report is reproduced in Appendix I.

Volunteers and County Volunteers, arrayed at the north and south sides of College Green – this arrangement would have produced an antiphonal effect. The newspaper editorialised that '[s]o much order and regularity were seldom observed, even among veterans, nor was the uniform precision of their firing, perhaps, to be surpassed by any troops in Europe'. The cannons were fired (as shown in the painting) at the culmination of this apparently impressive display. We are informed that these weapons were supplied by the Goldsmith's Company. The Volunteers (and their horses) did not spontaneously materialise on College Green on this November day. They had in fact paraded there from St Stephen's Green, processing along an indirect route which took them past the two Dublin cathedrals. The *Freeman's Journal* reported that 'The numbers of spectators on this occasion were almost incredible. Every avenue that leads into College-green were so crowded, that all free intercourse subsided until the whole was over'. The sounds which accompanied this parade would have dominated the city's soundscape.

We can infer from the written report that the 'order and regularity' of the martial display were points of pride for spectators. Onlookers and participants alike would also have been impressed by the sound of the Volunteers' well-drilled, precise marching along the parade route. The pace would have been communicated by drummers to their companies. Historically, drummers and fifers (the latter of whom are not visible in Wheatley's painting) played signals to soldiers both on and off the field of battle.[24] Just as the Volunteers' spectacular uniforms – described down to the waistcoat by the *Freeman's Journal* – and regimental flags could be taken as visual markers of the cohesion and competence of these companies, the sound of the field drums, more than anything else, would have achieved the same effect sonically, lending the appearance (or, properly, the sound) of martial legitimacy to the proceedings. Irish

[24] *Oxford Music Online*, 'Military music' by Jeremy Montagu, et. al; and 'Military Calls,' by Peter Downey, accessed 2 November 2018, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Volunteer leaders would not have considered sending improperly attired companies out on parade, and they also would not have neglected to ensure that their companies were 'dressed' with the sonic accoutrements of the battlefield. Additionally, we can take into account the prevalence of 'improving' and modernising urban projects in eighteenth-century Ireland, which included the Dublin Wide Streets Commission and Paving Board (established in 1757 and 1774, respectively),[25] it would be reasonable to infer that the sound of synchronized footsteps falling on clean and orderly streets would have appealed to Ascendancy sensibilities.

Louder still would have been the sound of 'all the bells of the city', which were rung to mark the start of the day's events. The noise and din of this ringing throughout the city could have been truly extraordinary, especially west of College Green, around St Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals.[26] The sound of Trinity College's bell, visible in the upper-right of Wheatley's painting, would have greeted the Volunteers when they arrived at College Green. Because they so effectively dominated the soundscapes of their environs, access to bells was a restricted privilege, and the sound of bellringing on this occasion would have audibly signalled that an official event of state was being held. In pre-industrial societies, bells were often the most efficient means of mass communication. They could efficiently spread joyful or doleful news, and they were used to signal emergencies (like fires).[27] In early modern Britain and Ireland, it was the practice for bells to be rung to celebrate royal birthdays and accession dates, making bellringing, in the words of one historian, 'a convenient vehicle for expressing loyal enthusiasm'.[28] As William III's accession date was somewhat ambiguous (and in any event

---

25 David Dickson, *The First Irish Cities: An Eighteenth-Century Transformation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021), pp. 158-9; and Finnian Ó Cionnaith, *Exercise of Authority: Surveyor Thomas Owen and the Paving, Cleansing and Lighting of Georgian Dublin* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016).

26 Adrian Gebruers and Eimhin Walsh, 'Bells and Bell-Ringing,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*.

27 Corbin, *Village Bells*, pp. 191-201.

28 David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 52.

would have been shared with Mary II), official Williamite commemorations – like that which is depicted in Wheatley's *Dublin Volunteers* – were held on 4 November, his birth date. On this anniversary, William was celebrated 'as monarch rather than deliverer'.[29] The city's bells were rung because this was a state occasion, rather than a popularly organised one.

A final insight into the soundscape depicted in this famous painting is perhaps the one most worth making: the *Freeman's Journal* reported that 'At every discharge of the musketry, repeated huzzas were given by the surrounded multitude', which means that the spectators added their voices to the scene's soundscape; a number of them are seen on the left-hand side of the painting, watching from the rooftops and open windows. The notable fact that women were present as spectators is perceived far more clearly from Wheatley's painting than from the written report. In his consideration of the musical culture of late medieval Bruges, Strohm emphasises the fact that women and children were active participants in the creation of the city's soundscape.[30] The soundscape is therefore a valuable conceptual tool which enables us to hear the voices of groups, like women, who are underrepresented in written archives. Wheatley's painting helps us to more fully imagine the soundscape of the Irish Volunteers' demonstration than the written record alone can.

Sonic Manifestations of Ascendancy

Although Wheatley's *Dublin Volunteers* depicts an event which was in some ways unique (the Volunteers were soon to find different outlets for their political agitation), the sounds which

[29] James Kelly, "The Glorious and Immortal Memory": Commemoration and Protestant Identity in Ireland 1660-1800,' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 94C/2 (1994): p. 31.
[30] Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, pp. 4 and 6.

are directly and indirectly represented in the painting are characteristic of those which would have been heard at the many other anniversaries and commemorations which were observed or celebrated by those Protestants who conformed to the Established Church.[31] In his now-classic study of eighteenth-century Irish Protestant commemorations, James Kelly writes that these events 'contributed to the definition and affirmation of a distinctive Irish Protestant identity by highlighting the common history, common interests and common fears of Protestant settlers'.[32] This section will discuss the use of music and sound in these processes, examining how the Protestant Ascendancy used music and sound to consolidate a sense of collective identity amongst themselves, as well as to project their sense of their own socio-political ascendancy over others in Ireland.

The court of Louis XIV at Versailles stands in the literature as the archetypal exemplar of representational culture and the deliberate use of music and the arts to convey a sense of royal power and prestige in *ancien régime* Europe.[33] This cultural model is, however, of very little use to our present discussion of music and the cultural history of the Irish governing elite in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Early modern Ireland lacked the cultural infrastructure and professional networks which formed at and around the great European courts like Versailles; the viceroy's court at Dublin Castle simply did not have the resources, cultural capital, or institutional framework to exercise an appreciable level of cultural leadership

---

[31] Church of Ireland Protestants did not hold the monopoly on commemorative displays in the eighteenth century. On the annual commemorations of the Siege of Derry, which were jointly marked by Anglicans *and* Ulster Presbyterians, see: McBride, *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997).

[32] Kelly, 'The Glorious and Immortal Memory,' p. 25.

[33] T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 29-52; Robert Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973); and Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music, Vol. 2: Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 85-138. Also discussed (briefly but effectively) in Celia Applegate's 'Music Among the Historians,' in *German History* 30/3 (2012): pp. 335-6.

in Ireland.[34] The practice of celebrating the monarch's birthday at the Castle each year by having a newly composed birthday ode performed in his or her honour is a positive example of viceregal musical patronage; there is, however, no evidence to indicate that these birthday odes were ever heard again outside of this original context, and we must conclude that their cultural impact in Ireland was minimal.[35] Eighteenth-century Ireland lacked a traditionally *ancien régime*-style culture of arts patronage, and Dublin Castle was certainly not a centre of musical production or consumption in any measurable or lasting way. However, this is not to say that music was not used as a vehicle for projecting Irish Protestant identity in the eighteenth century. What, then, were the sonic manifestations of Ascendancy?

Returning to Blacking's more expansive definition music as all 'humanly organised sound', we encounter many more examples of how Ascendancy Protestants used music (broadly defined) to dominate the soundscape and remind others in Ireland of the privileges of their social position. At no time was this more overt than during the many commemorations – some solemn, others festive – which were publicly observed by Irish Protestants in the eighteenth century. We will consider three of these dates in this chapter: 23 October, 4 November, and 12 July.[36]

---

[34] These cultural manners of the *ancien régime* are not discussed in S.J. Connolly's *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), but viceregal culture is studied in sparkling detail in Toby Barnard's *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 1-20.

[35] Repeat performances almost surely would have been mentioned in the press; however, no such notice appears in Brian Boydell's *Dublin Musical Calendar.*

[36] This is the now familiar New Style date of the Battle of the Boyne which, of course, was fought before the Gregorian calendar was locally adopted in 1752. Although annual Boyne commemorations were held on the Old Style date, 1 July, for nearly all of the eighteenth century (even after the change of calendar), I will be referring to it as 12 July or the Twelfth, as that is how it is most widely known today. See: J.G. Simms, 'Remembering 1690,' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 63 (1974): 237. On modern Orange parades and the enduring relevance of the Boyne anniversary, see: Neil Jarman, *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Berg, 1997).

23 October 1641 was the fateful day on which an Irish Catholic plot to seize Dublin Castle was discovered and thwarted. In later years, 23 October became the first date to be added to the Irish Protestant commemorative calendar. An Act of the Irish Parliament passed in 1662 proclaimed that the date would henceforth 'be kept and celebrated as an anniversary holy day in this kingdom for ever'. The text of the Act began with a provocative, anti-Catholic recapitulation of the events of the 1641 rebellion which was reminiscent of Sir John Temple's inflammatory *History of the Irish Rebellion*. This narration described the rising as 'a conspiracy so generally inhumane, barbarous and cruel', perpetuated by 'many malignant and rebellious papists and Jesuits, fryers [*sic*], seminary priests and other superstitious orders of the popish pretended clergy'. The second (and final) clause of the Act stipulates that 'after morning-prayer or preaching upon every such twenty-third of October [every minister shall] read publickly, distinctly, and plainly this present act'.[37]

It is interesting to think about how this requirement related to the Irish soundscape. What were commemorative practices such as this designed to achieve? In the absence of any sources which might detail the musical or liturgical aspects of these Protestant thanksgiving services, we are left to wonder what anthems and hymns might have been sung to mark this occasion. It is also possible that these solemn services did not include music.[38] However, the requirement that the Act's text be declaimed from the pulpit – or, to think of it another way, the requirement that it be *heard* by the assembled congregation – more or less simultaneously in every conforming Protestant church across Ireland calls our attention to a different aspect of the use of music and sound in the post-Restoration period. Unlike posting a written or printed

[37] 14 & 15 Cha. II c. 23.
[38] Printed copies of 23 October sermons which date from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries survive today, but these pamphlets do not include information about the liturgy of the accompanying services. See: Barnard, 'The Uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebrations,' in *The English History Review* 106/421 (1991): pp. 889-920.

text in a prominent location where it could be read or ignored by individuals at any point in time during its display, requiring that the text be delivered verbally at a set time and date ensured that the Anglican community in Ireland was at least temporally in sync with itself and acting in unison on this one occasion. Alain Corbin has observed that such simultaneity 'served to integrate communities' into a shared sense of identity,[39] and Duane Corpis has noted that a similar custom was practiced in confessionally diverse Augsburg in the eighteenth century, writing that a Lutheran holiday called the Day of Penance and Prayer served as a 'temporally coordinated event linking each different parish into a single, shared, imagined community that transcended the confessionally fragmented landscape of the city'.[40] Likewise, the Act of 1662 was meant to bring all members of the Church of Ireland together as an exclusive, unified body each year to remember a pivotal moment in their shared history. Sharing both physical *and* imagined space together and collectively hearing and meditating upon a virulently anti-Catholic message was a powerfully effective act in establishing and consolidating an Irish Protestant sense of identity. In a time long before simultaneous mass communication was possible, this effect had to be achieved sonically. By requiring that the text be read out at an appointed time, the Act ensured that all of the conforming Protestants across the kingdom would be as one for that moment. Each year, as their ministers reminded them from the pulpit that they lived under the constant threat of danger from their Catholic neighbours, Irish Protestant churchgoers may have taken comfort in the feeling of being part of a greater whole which synchronicity was meant to engender.

These church services were, however, only one part of the 23 October celebrations; the commemorations included out-of-doors celebrations, as well. Crucially, these marked the point

---

39 Corbin, *Village Bells*, p. 173.

40 Duane Corpis, 'Mapping the Boundaries of Confession: Space and Urban Religious Life in the Diocese of Augsburg, 1648-1750,' in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 313-4.

at which the day's commemorative programme moved beyond the interior of the church and out into the wider civic space – a space which these Protestants ostensibly shared with other confessional groups. In this, we can observe many examples of how Irish Protestants used this occasion to lay claim to the general soundscape. It was at this point in the day's commemorative activities that proceedings most sonically resembled the scene shown in Wheatley's painting of the Dublin Volunteers. By the 1680s, 23 October festivities were alive with the sounds of joyful bellringing and ritual gunfire, two actions which would have intruded into the everyday 'acoustic arena', thereby monopolising the multi-confessional soundscape for this Protestant celebration.[41] Bellringing and gunfire also served as unavoidable auditory reminders that access to belfries, firearms, cannons, and gunpowder was a privilege of Protestant authority. In addition to these well-ordered sounds, 23 October was also marked by the less organised auditory hubbub which accompanied celebratory bonfires and feasts.[42] Cressy has written that such popular rituals created 'a symphony of symbolic action' in early modern England,[43] and it is not surprising to find that Irish Protestants followed similar customs in marking their deliverance from Catholic perfidy in 1641. Although it may seem that the Irish celebrations were merely aping English examples (such as 5 November), the commemoration of 23 October was a uniquely Irish Protestant event. It is important to remember that in Ireland these proceedings functioned as what Barnard has called 'rites of exclusion',[44] dominating the local soundscape and sonically creating an ideal environment in which the perceived Catholic threat could be contained.

During the reign of James II, 23 October was de-emphasised as an Irish public holiday. In 1687, raucous street parties and bonfires were banned in Dublin, and James II's parliament

41 Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, p. 11.
42 Barnard, 'Uses of 23 October,' p. 893.
43 Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 67.
44 Barnard, 'Uses of 23 October,' p. 914.

repealed the 1662 Act.[45] Naturally, a 'spectacular relaunch' of the full programme of commemoration was effected in 1690, once Protestant authority had been re-established in the kingdom. A contemporary account of the proceedings of 23 October 1690 describes a noteworthy new feature: representatives of the government, heralds, and officers of the army assembled and processed through the streets of Dublin to attend the thanksgiving service at St Patrick's Cathedral.[46] Such processions became a mainstay of this anniversary, and they featured prominently in the way Irish Protestants marked two important additions to their commemorative calendar: the official state Williamite celebration of 4 November and the popular celebration of his victory at the Boyne on 12 July.

The famous equestrian statute of William III by Grinling Gibbons (1648-1721) was erected on College Green in 1701. This statute was the focal point of official (4 November) and popular (12 July) Williamite commemorations in the eighteenth century – and of political violence in the twentieth.[47] It is the official occasion which is the subject of Wheatley's *Dublin Volunteers*. The statute was unveiled, however, on the Boyne anniversary. To mark the occasion, a procession of Dublin city officials, accompanied by two companies of city militia and the city musicians, processed from the tholsel (located near Christ Church Cathedral) to College Green to salute the statute, at which point celebratory gunfire punctuated the occasion.[48] It is important to note that this procession included only personnel from the local municipal government; Dublin Castle sent no official representatives. The absence of bellringing on this occasion is a reminder that the Twelfth was a popular, and not a state-sanctioned, celebration;

---

45 Ibid., pp. 893-4; idem., 'Athlone, 1685; Limerick, 1710: Religious Riots of Charivaris?' in *Studia Hibernica* 27 (1993): p. 70; and Kelly, 'Glorious and Immortal Memory,' pp. 29-30.

46 *Dublin Intelligence*, 28 October 1690, quoted in ibid., p. 29.

47 The destruction of the Gibbons statute in 1929 has been described as 'explosive de-commemoration' by McBride in 'Memory and National Identity in Modern Ireland,' in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 2.

48 Simms, 'Remembering 1690,' pp. 234-5.

generally, only civil and ecclesiastical officials had or could grant access to bell towers. A description of the Dublin Protestant Society's Boyne commemorations held in 1740, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, mentions that drummers and trumpeters accompanied the procession through the city streets, adding to the sounds of loud cheers and celebratory gunfire.[49] As we have seen already with the case of the Volunteers, musicians playing military field instruments served as a sonic shortcut to the appearance of martial legitimacy, and their use in this civilian parade speaks to the paramilitary character of these Boyne celebrations.[50] In contrast to the popular Boyne commemorations, bells were regularly rung during Dublin's celebrations of 4 November, which was an official anniversary that was celebrated in Ireland throughout the eighteenth century. For this Williamite commemoration, a formal procession of the lord lieutenant (or in his absence, the ranking government official in Dublin), nobility and army regiments made its way from Dublin Castle to College Green to salute Gibbons's statute of William.[51] In addition to bellringing and ceremonial gunfire, processions were another significant way in which, by appropriating the shared soundscapes they moved through, Irish Protestants exercised their power and privilege in a diverse community – in short, how they consolidated their ascendancy.[52]

Recognising that the 'silence' of Catholics during these events and more generally throughout the year was another sonic manifestation of Ascendancy, we must also take into consideration the ways in which the penal laws impacted Irish Catholic musical culture in the eighteenth century. Before doing so, it is important that we examine the ways in which what

---

49 Kelly, 'Glorious and Immortal Memory, pp. 38-9.

50 This connection is made by David Fitzpatrick in *Descendancy: Irish Protestant Histories Since 1795* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 21. The sound of the Lambeg drum is a late-nineteenth-century addition to the soundscape of the Twelfth. See: *Oxford Music Online*, 'Lambeg Drum,' by Fionnuaghla Scullion, accessed 12 July 2020, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

51 Kelly, 'Glorious and Immortal Memory,' pp. 30-1.

52 Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, pp. 191-2.

might be called Irish Catholic *secular* identity was expressed in the early modern Irish soundscape.

Along with the harp, the Irish bagpipes are closely associated with Irish Catholic identity. During the 1641 rising, the sound of this instrument reportedly accompanied acts of sectarian violence. A deposition from Kilkenny tells of how the decapitated heads of English soldiers were carried triumphantly into the city by Catholic rebels, 'their pipes for joy playing before them on horseback',[53] and in Wexford, a man testified that the rebels desecrated a Protestant church. 'And they went into the Church', he deposed, '& Cutt the Pulpit Cloth & the ministers books in peeces, & strewed them about the Church yard, & caused the Piper to play while they daunced & trampled them under their feete'.[54] The association of the pipes with the Catholic rebels was so strong that William Baily, a Protestant from Dublin, stated that he knew it was time to flee his home when he heard a piper playing in the distance.[55] These depositions may contain exaggerations or fabulations, but they show that, after 1641, the sound of the pipes was inextricably connected with the Catholic rebels in Irish Protestant minds. This perception was surely confirmed when a band of pipers playing the Jacobite song 'The king enjoys his own again' greeting James II upon his arrival in Ireland in 1689.[56] It is also worth underlining the fact that bagpipes were not played in the many Protestant processions and commemorations already discussed in this chapter.

In the eighteenth century, we find that it was Catholic agrarian groups – most notably the Whiteboys in the 1760s – who used music and sound to advance their own ends. Their

---

53 Trinity College Dublin, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript, https://1641.tcd.ie/. Deposition of Joseph Wheeler, Elizabeth Gilbert, Rebecca Hill, Thomas Lewis, Jonas Wheeler, Patrick Maxwell, and John Kevan, County Kilkenny.

54 Ibid., Deposition of Henry Palmer, County Wexford.

55 Ibid., Deposition of William Baily, County Dublin.

56 Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 360.

activities and protests, the most disruptive of which were held at night, often featured 'traditional' instruments like bagpipes and fiddles, the singing of 'treasonable' or 'disaffected' songs, and the quasi-martial sounds of marching and gunfire (it is doubtful that the Whiteboys' exercises were characterised by 'order and regularity').[57] Perhaps the most sonically interesting aspect of these organised gatherings of Whiteboys is that they occurred after nightfall, in a presumably unoccupied public soundscape. Although they were held out of doors, these disturbances ultimately ended up encroaching upon the private, interior spaces of the homes which were within audible range of them. Avner Wishnitzer, an historian of the late Ottoman Empire, has perceptively observed that '[a]s darkness descended on the Early Modern city and vision was gradually impaired, people retreated into the security of their homes. Now, it was mostly sound that brought the outside world in'.[58] These sonic intrusions from the outside world[59] would have heightened the sense of danger and menace perceived by all who heard the Whiteboys at night.

The Effects of the Penal Laws

During all of the Protestant commemorations discussed in this chapter – 23 October, 4 November, and 12 July – the sound of gunfire would have been an audible reminder to all who heard it that ownership of a firearm was a Protestant privilege under the 1695 *Act for the better securing of the Government, by disarming Papists*. Although the intentions behind this Act were

---

[57] James Kelly, 'The Whiteboys in 1762: A Contemporary Account,' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 94 (1989): pp. 22-4. On the eighteenth-century agrarian movements generally, see: McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, pp. 312-41; Maurice Bric, 'The Whiteboy Movement in Tipperary, 1760-1780,' in *Tipperary: History and Society*, ed. William Nolan (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1985), pp. 148-84; and James Donnelly, Jr, 'Hearts of Oak, Hearts of Steel,' in *Studia Hibernica* 21 (1981): pp. 7-73.

[58] Avner Wishnitzer, *As Night Falls: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Cities After Dark* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 44.

[59] Coupled, of course, with the corporeal intrusions which the Whiteboys were known to practice, wherein they dragged people from their beds late at night. See: Kelly, 'Whiteboys in 1762,' pp. 22-3.

obviously very different, we can observe here that one of its effects was to keep Catholics from being competitive within the Irish soundscape. As its title indicates, the Act forbade Irish Catholics from keeping arms, weapons, gunpowder, or ammunition, and it also forbade Catholics from owning horses worth more than £5. Adhering to these restrictions, Catholics living in eighteenth-century Ireland did not mount public parades or processions to rival the spectacular Protestant commemorations. They chose instead to maintain a strategically low profile whilst living under the penal laws, being careful not to attract the ire of their Protestant neighbours. In 1745, an anonymous Irish Catholic apologist wrote that they

> […] were content so that they got the needful, that is to say, the hearing of Mass on Sundays and Holy Days, which it self [*sic*] they take care to have over as soon as possible, for fear of being taken Notice of by the respective Congregations or giving the least Umbrage to the higher powers.[60]

To stage elaborate patronal or Corpus Christi processions in the streets of Ireland's mixed-confessional cities would have been a provocation to Irish Protestants. Eighteenth-century Irish Catholic leaders were well aware of the fact that, in McBride's words, 'Protestant authorities…could not stomach…popery *with attitude*' being exercised around them,[61] and they conducted themselves accordingly, in a way which is reminiscent of what Cathy Park Hong has called 'tak[ing] up apologetic space'.[62]

---

60 *An apology for the Roman Catholics. Most humbly addressed to His E[xcelle]n[c]y P[hi]l[i]p, E[ar]l of Ch[este]r[fiel]d, L[or]d L[ie]u[tenan]t of Ireland &c.* ([Dublin, 1745?]), pp. 4-5. This passage is reproduced by McBride in *Isle of Slaves*, p. 239.

61 McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, p. 239.

62 Cathy Park Hong, *Minor Feelings: An Asian American Reckoning* (New York: One World, 2020), p. 7.

Before discussing a rare example of a documented eighteenth-century Irish Catholic public procession, it is necessary to first gain and appreciation for what Counter-Reformation processional culture sounded like elsewhere in the Catholic world. The feast of Corpus Christi, during which the Catholic faithful parade through city streets behind the magnificently displayed Eucharist, is particularly instructive in this regard. In early modern Bavaria, for example, Catholic civic leaders effectively controlled the soundscape, and they saw to it that Corpus Christi was observed with particular zeal following the Catholic victory at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. Here, the annual procession featured elaborate ecclesiastical music, together with secular and even martial instruments; the religious procession was combined with displays of state authority. In 1660, it was reported that the cannon fired by troops accompanying the procession in Weiden was so loud that the sonic repercussion caused several nearby windows to shatter.[63] In colonial Cuzco, the procession included native Andean Christians performing their 'traditional' music and dance alongside the European and *criollo* faithful who sang plainchant and sacred polyphony from atop a silver carriage.[64] And in late-cinquecento Rome, the processions organised by San Giacomo degli Spagnoli were so spectacular (on one occasion even meriting a papal rebuke for 'excessive display') that other nearby churches, 'knowing they could not compete, arranged not to commence their Corpus Christi procession until after that of San Giacomo…had finished'. The Spanish congregation spent lavishly on music for these occasions, hiring singers from several choirs, wind and stringed instruments, and artillery.[65] Tadhg Ó Cianáin and the Ulster earls witnessed and participated in similar public Catholic ceremonies upon their arrival in Rome in 1608: most spectacularly, the earls were given the honour of holding the canopy over the Eucharist in the pope's own

---

63 Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, pp. 245-75. The 'provocative aural assault on the sensibilities of Weiden's population' is described on p. 253.

64 Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 35-57.

65 Noel O'Regan, 'Processions and Their Music in Post-Tridentine Rome,' in *Recercare* 4 (1992): pp. 63-4.

Corpus Christi procession that year.[66] In his diary, Ó Cianáin is revealed to have been an attentive and appreciative observer of the grand Counter-Reformation culture of Rome, a city which was 'ruled by a church very conscious of the importance of music (with the visual arts) in attracting people – and particularly educated and influential people – to churches and to liturgical ceremonies'.[67] Describing the services for Pentecost at the church of Santo Spirito, he wrote:

> The princes came to Mass and vespers there. There was a divine service, the most beautiful in all Christendom , in the church, with many worthy priests and exalted prelates, and a singing choir the most excellent in the world; also two or three pairs of sweet musical organs, and many instruments of music and harmony besides.[68]

This is all very different, however, to how Catholic identity was experienced and expressed in early modern Ireland. It is against the background of such bombastic post-Tridentine public Catholicism, so comfortably and proudly practiced elsewhere in Europe and around the world, that we must view the history of Catholicism in early modern Ireland.

---

66 Nollaig Ó Muraíle, ed., *Turas na dTaoiseach nUltach as Éirinn (From Ráth Maoláin to Rome): Tadhg Ó Cianáin's Contemporary Narrative of the Journey Into Exile of the Ulster Chieftains and Their Followers, 1607-8 (The So-Called 'Flight of the Earls')* (Rome: Pontifical Irish College, 2007), 296-9.

67 O'Regan, '"Blessed with the Holy Father's Entertainment": Roman Ceremonial Music as Experienced by the Irish Earls in Rome, 1608,' in *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), p. 55.

68 '*Do-dheachadar na maithe-se chom aifrinn agus easparta ann. Seirvís Dé ar onórachas na Críostaidheachta go huilidhe isin eaglais go n-iliomad sagart ro-onórach agus do phreaghláidibh príviléideacha gusan gcóraigh channtaireachta ba lór dianfheabhas isin domhan go ndá phéire nó a trí d'orgánaibh ceólmhara comh-mbinne go ro-iomad d'ionstramaintibh múisice agus ciúil geanmothá sin*.' Ó Muraíle, *From Rath Maoláin to Rome*, pp. 276-7.

In 1760 Richard Lincoln, the archbishop of Dublin (in office 1757-63), wrote with concern to John Purcell in Rome,[69] complaining that members of the religious orders in Dublin were acting 'puffed…up' and 'very insolent'. He expressed his concern that their

> […] pecuniary sodalities, expositions of the Blessed Sacrament perhaps twice a week *ad nauseum populi* to swell their collections at the door, processions of three or four score lubberly fellows with scapulars about their shoulders, the same of the Belt with wax tapers in their hands, and the *Venerabile* at the rear of these monthly processions to the great scandal of the heretics [i.e. Protestants] who constantly attend these as spectators to turn our holy religion into ridicule.[70]

Subsequently, in April 1761 Lincoln issued a set of seven new ordinances for religious regulars living in his archdiocese to follow. The first of these is relevant to this chapter because it forbade all further processions, making concessions only in the cases of the octave of Corpus Christi and Holy Thursday [of Easter Week]. He was adamant that, even on these special occasions, religious processions be conducted 'modestly' ('*modeste deferentes*'); his regulations allowed for participants to carry nothing more than lighted candles in their hands, and barred them from wearing scapulars, belts ('*Cingulum*'), and any other insignia of their Orders – interestingly, these are the same religious paraphernalia which he had complained about to Purcell a year earlier. Most consequentially, this ordinance stipulated that these humble processions were to be conducted entirely indoors, within chapel walls, so that Catholics would not be mocked or

---

69 Purcell was the Vatican-appointed permanent Roman agent of the Irish Catholic hierarchy from 1750-76. See: Hugh Fenning, *The Undoing of the Friars of Ireland: A Study of the Novitiate Question in the Eighteenth Century* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1972), p. 208.

70 Dublin, 16 February 1760, Lincoln to Purcell. English original. Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide, CP 126, f. 372r. Fenning quotes from this letter but omits Lincoln's complaint about 'puffed…up', 'insolent' friars. See: *Undoing of the Friars*, p. 284.

viewed with contempt by Protestants.[71] It is disappointing that these sources do not indicate if the 'lubberly fellows' sang or played musical instruments in the processions which were witnessed by Lincoln, nor if music had a place in the toned-down, indoor-only ceremony sanctioned by the archbishop. Elsewhere in the Catholic world, nuns who observed strict enclosure conducted processions with music within the walls of their convents, so there is precedent for the latter; however, the interior of a small eighteenth-century Irish mass house cannot be expected to have been a sonically forgiving environment.[72] It is most interesting to observe that by the early 1760s, the archbishop of Dublin was concerned that the friars' renegade Catholic processions would attract nothing more serious than mockery and ridicule from Irish Protestants.

For evidence of continental-style Catholic public ceremonial being conducted in early modern Ireland, we must look further back in time to the seventeenth century. The Irish political situation in the late 1640s briefly created opportunities for Irish Catholics to occupy the soundscape. For rare evidence of elaborate Catholic public ceremonial, we can look to the tenure of Giovanni Battista Rinuccini (1592-1653) as Papal Nuncio to Ireland. Rinuccini, who was also the archbishop of Fermo, was resident in Ireland from 1645-9, during which time he deliberately conducted himself in a way which reflected the splendour of his senior position and of the Church itself.[73] This included the use of music: in Kilkenny, he led a public service which featured prayer, a sermon preached on the Passion, and musical accompaniment.[74] In

---

71 APF, CP 126 f. 373r. '*Primo, ut nulla in posterum fiant Processiones S.S. Sacroriis solum exceptis, quo in die aut infra Octavam Corporis Xte, aut feria quinta in [coena Domini] fieri solo quibus interesse poterunt Confratres candelas in minibus accensas modeste deferentes sed nullum exter gestabunt sive Cingulum, sive Scapulare, sive aliud Ordinis Insigne, quod Hareticis ludibrio, Catholicum contemptui esse poterite; ista autem Processiones fiant semper intra Ipsos Sacelli Parietes*'.

72 See, for example: Jonathan Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theatres?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 179-81.

73 Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645-1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 248-9.

74 '*Intanto per introdurre la divozione dei venerdi di Marzo, insolite in questo Regno, Monsignor Nunzio ha cominciato in detti giorni una orazione pubblica accompagnata con musica, ed in fine egli medesimo sermoneggia sopra la passione. Kilchennia, 12 Marzo*

Limerick, he organised a spectacular procession through the city streets including himself, the Archbishop of Cashel, and the Bishops of Limerick, Clonfert, and Ardfert accompanied by soldiers armed with muskets. Townspeople watched on from the streets and from their windows, and a *Te Deum* '*dalla musica del Nunzio*' was sung once the procession arrived at the cathedral.[75] However, subsequent events – the defeat of the Catholic Confederation by Oliver Cromwell and later the Restoration Settlement which re-established the Anglican Church of Ireland as the national Church – made the continued practice of Rinuccini's triumphant public ceremonial impracticable for Irish Catholics. There was a brief resurgence of public Catholicism with the accession of James II: there are accounts of Mass being celebrated openly in Ireland during his reign; for example, the chapel at Trinity College Dublin was briefly re-consecrated in 1689 at the behest of the college's Catholic provost, Michael Moore, and Mass was celebrated there for a short time.[76] Interestingly, there is evidence that a Bavarian 'Gregorian and instrumentalist' (the former term referring to Gregorian chant, or plainchant) named Johann Abraham Baumeister was employed by James II, first at his Catholic chapel at Whitehall, and later in exile. It is interesting to wonder if Baumeister also accompanied the Stuart king to Ireland.[77] All of these Catholic musical activities were silenced, though, following the Williamite victory at the end of the seventeenth century.

As we have seen, the *Act for…disarming Papists* had unintended effects, namely, the suppression of the public expression of Catholic identity and its elimination from the eighteenth-century Irish soundscape. It is possible to describe in similarly abstracted terms how

---

1646'. In: G. Aiazzi, ed., *Nunziatura in Irlanda di Gio Batista Rinuccini, Arcivescovo di Fermo, negli anni 1645 a 1649* (Florence: Dalla Tipografia Piatti, 1844), 117.

75 Stanislaus Kavanagh, ed., *Commentarius Rinuccianus, de sedis apostolicae legatione ad foederatus Hiberniae catholicos per annos 1645-9,* Vol. II (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1932-49), pp. 165, 496, and 568.

76 Lesley Whiteside, *The Chapel of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin: Chapel Committee, Trinity College Dublin, 1998), p. 4.

77 Peter Leech, 'Music and Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686-1688: In Memory of Jean Lionnet,' in *Early Music* 39/3 (August 2011): p. 384.

another of the penal statutes, the *Act to prevent the further growth of Popery* (1703) limited the progress of Catholic musical culture in Ascendancy Ireland. By creating economic conditions under which neither the Catholic Church in Ireland nor private Catholic citizens could afford to be significant patrons of the arts and music, the Act had a significant and detrimental impact on the musical world of Catholic Ireland. It stipulated that Catholic inheritance would be dictated by gavelkind – that is, a deceased Catholic parent's estate would be divided equally amongst all of the family's children instead of passing intact to the eldest son under the right of primogeniture. Furthermore, if any of the children conformed to the Established Church of Ireland, *they* would inherit the estate to the loss of their non-conforming siblings. The 1703 Act also forbade Irish Catholics from purchasing new land, restricting them instead to leasing land for a maximum of thirty-one years. The terms of the *Act to prevent the further growth of Popery* necessitated a tightening of Catholic purse-strings which had wide-reaching social and economic consequences which had a chilling effect on Irish Catholic material culture in the eighteenth century: Thomas O'Connor has written of how, for Catholics of this period, the need 'to squirrel away capital for foreign education or a marriage dowry, or to purchase a career for a son, imposed a frugal, even bleak lifestyle',[78] and Toby Barnard has described the Catholic tendency towards 'treasur[ing] the odd and precious procession', which contrasted with the conspicuous consumption regularly found on display in Ascendancy 'big houses'.[79] Both historians have also commented on the starkness of Irish Catholic chapels and mass houses in the penal era. The effects of this austerity on Catholic musical practices can best be understood by again setting the Irish case within the context of wider Catholic practices. Focussing on just one illustrative example of the Church's financial investment in music and

[78] O'Connor, 'The Catholic Church and Catholics in an Era of Sanctions and Restraints, 1690-1790,' in *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Vol. 3: 1730-1880*, ed. James Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 266.
[79] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 150.

musicians in the eighteenth century will help us to better appreciate the realities of the penal-era Irish case.

The Catholic Church invested significant amounts of money and resources in each of the choirboys it trained. The choir schools of the cathedrals and royal chapels of the Catholic world provided both a general and a musical education to the boys as well as seeing to their bed and board, clothing, and medical expenses. John McManners has observed that being a choirboy was one of the few 'worthwhile employments' which was 'awarded exclusively on the basis of ability',[80] showing a striking independence from the early modern class system and providing a degree of stability of boys (and their families) from non-aristocratic backgrounds. Even when a choirboy's voice broke, the Church continued to provide for him. In France, the boys would be furnished with a trousseau of clothes, they would be set up in outside apprenticeships, or if they decided on a career in the Church their ecclesiastical studies would be paid for. If they chose to continue as church musicians they could sing the lower parts in the church choir, work as organists and instrumentalists, or even turn to composition, adding to the repertoire of sacred music performed at the cathedrals that employed them. The smaller or more remote churches occasionally elected to send their most talented composition students to hone their craft by studying with the masters in Rome. An especially gifted choirboy from Liège was sent to Rome to study in 1728, and upon his return home he was granted a benefice while he waited for a suitable musical position to become available (it did – seven years later).[81] Three of the most influential composers of eighteenth-century Portuguese church music were sent to Rome on royal scholarships once they had outgrown their local positions. When they returned

[80] John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France, Vol. 2: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 452.
[81] Ibid., p. 448.

to Lisbon, they were put to work training the next generation of church musicians.[82] Music education was also a key aspect of the Catholic missions overseas, with respect to its use as a tool for evangelisation and as a method of teaching language and catechism through religious songs. In the later eighteenth century, students of the Santa Iglesia Cathedral's Colegio de Niños Tiples in Manila studied music and were later incorporated into the ecclesiastical profession as orchestral musicians and singers.[83] Meanwhile, under the financial constraints imposed by the *Act to prevent the further growth of Popery*, no such choir school foundations could exist in eighteenth-century Ireland. Even abroad, young Irish singers were not likely to have been favoured for placement in existing, well-funded continental programmes, as competition among locals for positions was already understandably fierce. We can only imagine how such extraordinary educational and professional opportunities within the Church would have changed the cultural topography of eighteenth-century Irish Catholicism.

This chapter has explored how Irish Protestants came to monopolise the eighteenth-century Irish soundscape. A secondary effect of the penal laws was the creation of conditions under which, especially on days which commemorated heroes and events from their collective history, Irish Protestants occupied the sonic space in Ireland to the exclusion of their Catholic neighbours. Some of these gatherings were joyful, like those celebrating the Williamite victory, but others, like the 23 October commemoration, were more sombre, involving long and solemn church services where parishioners were reminded that they were under a constant threat from their Catholic neighbours. Bell-ringing, militaristic processions through the city streets, drumming, the firing of large and small guns, singing Protestant songs, and making all of the

---

[82] Louise Stern, 'The Iberian Peninsula,' in *Music and Society: The Late Baroque Era From the 1680s to 1740*, ed. George Buelow (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994), pp. 427-8; *Oxford Music Online*, 'Portugal, Republic of,' by Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco and Manuel Carlos De Brito, accessed 4 Dec 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[83] D.R.M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 166-9.

noises which naturally arise when a large group of like-minded (and possibly intoxicated) people come together were all sonic manifestations of Ascendancy; they also delineated the Catholic 'silence' which legislation like the *Act for…disarming Papists* and the *Act to prevent the further growth of Popery* created.

Eſpecially, if the GOVERNMENT ſhould come to know, that under Colour of this PRETENDED CONNIVANCE, you have erected MONASTERIES and NUNNERIES, in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom; and particularly, a famous CONVENT of the latter, in *CHANNEL-ROW, DUBLIN*; where the moſt celebrated *Italian* Muſicians help to make the Voices of the HOLY SISTERS more melodious; and many Proteſtant FINE GENTLEMEN have been invited, to take their Places in a *convenient Gallery*, and hear the Performance.

Fig. 2 – Excerpt from Stephen Radcliffe's *A Serious and Humble Enquiry* (1727)

CHAPTER 2

ITALIAN MUSIC AT DUBLIN'S CHANNEL ROW CONVENT, C. 1727: AN ACCUSATION FROM THE VICAR OF NAAS

This chapter takes as its starting point a rare contemporary source which describes a musical performance at Dublin's Channel Row convent. Ironically, the origins of this valuable insight into the cultural history of eighteenth-century Irish Catholicism lie in a public dispute which erupted between two Anglican divines in late 1725.[1] The few lines of relevant text are found at the very end of this controversy's final publication. In 1725, the youngest of the Church of Ireland's three Edward Synges (1691-1762) delivered a sermon before the Irish Parliament. The topic he chose for this occasion was religious toleration, and afterwards the sermon was printed and sold as *The Case of Toleration Consider'd With Respect Both to Religion and Civil Government*, it quickly provoked a negative response from Stephen Radcliffe, the vicar of Naas. A pamphlet debate between the two men ensued, with their public exchanges also eliciting an intervention in print from anonymous Catholic readers in the spring of 1727.[2] The quarrel ended with Radcliffe's *A Serious and Humble Enquiry* (1727), a sixty-three paged tract challenging Synge. Appended to this are a further ten pages by the same author, now addressing his Catholic adversary in a response titled *An Answer to a Letter by an Anonymous Popish Author*. It is here that we encounter the Dominican sisters of Channel Row: '…you have erected MONASTERIES and NUNNERIES, in several parts of the Kingdom', Radcliffe writes,

---

1 The Synge/Radcliffe debate is summarized in Patrick Fagan, *Dublin's Turbulent Priest: Cornelius Nary (1638-1738)* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1991), pp. 163-76. See also: Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009), pp. 207-12.

2 *A Letter to the Revd. Stephen Radcliffe, Vicar of Naas* (Dublin, 1727). Cornelius Nary has been convincingly identified as one of the authors. See: Fagan, *Dublin's Turbulent Priest*, 163-6.

> …and particularly, a famous CONVENT of the latter, in *CHANNEL-ROW, DUBLIN*; where the most celebrated *Italian* Musicians help to make the Voices of the HOLY SISTERS more melodious; and many Protestant FINE GENTLEMEN have been invited, to take their Places in a *convenient Gallery*, and hear the Performance.[3]

This accusation has been widely cited by historians as proof of the cultural vitality of eighteenth-century Dublin, but none so far has looked deeper into the details of Radcliffe's claims.[4] Before assessing the veracity of these claims, it will be helpful to situate what we know of the Dublin convent within the wider context of post-Tridentine female monasticism. In particular, this chapter will begin by looking to the rich history of music at early modern European convents to better inform our understanding of musical life at Channel Row.

Channel Row: an atypical early modern Dominican convent

It cannot be said that the eighteenth-century Channel Row convent functioned in the same way as a typical early modern Dominican convent. This discrepancy is partly attributable to the comparatively later foundation date of the Dublin convent, as well as its greater distance from the centres of Counter-Reformed Catholicism. Ultimately, though, it was the impact of the penal laws on the women of Channel Row and their families which most significantly influenced the development of this female monastic community in the midst of the Irish capital.

---

3 Stephen Radcliffe, *A Serious and Humble Enquiry* (Dublin, 1727), p. 69.

4 David Dickson, *The First Irish Cities: An Eighteenth-Century Transformation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021), p. 145, and *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London: Profile Books, 2014), p. 157; Michael Griffin, *Live from the Conniving House: Poetry and Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2019), pp. 5-6; Patrick Fagan, *The Diocesee of Meath in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 106. Radcliffe's accusation is also understandably featured in studies dedicated to Channel Row. See: Kealy, *From Channel Row to Cabra* (Dublin: The Columba Press, 2010); and Bernadette Cunningham, *Gentlemen's Daughters in Dublin Cloisters: The Social World of Nuns in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2018).

Presently, the existing literature only views Channel Row in an Irish context. For example, Fenning frequently discusses the convent as one site where Irish Catholic (and specifically Irish Dominican) history unfolded;[5] Sr Máire Kealy's *From Channel Row to Cabra* (2010) is an institutional history which deals mainly with the convent and its community from an inside perspective; and Bernadette Cunningham's excellent *Gentlemen's Daughters in Dublin Cloisters* (2018) discusses the convent and how it related to its Dublin surroundings. Rarely, though, is the Channel Row convent situated within the longer historical narrative of international (indeed, global) post-Tridentine female monasticism.[6] Recalling McBride's 'outside in' method of studying eighteenth-century Irish history,[7] this chapter will look to the rich histories of early modern continental convents – and to their musical histories, as well – to begin the work of contextualising the alleged musical performance at Channel Row which so alarmed the vicar of Naas in 1727. Before addressing this specific Irish case, this chapter will discuss certain aspects of the physical and social structures of 'typical' early modern convents in Catholic Europe; specifically, it will highlight the effects of strict enclosure and the convent dowry system on convent musical cultures. Doing so will provide a more substantial foundation for examining the Channel Row case than the local context alone can furnish.

Female Christian monasticism[8] has been practiced ever since the earliest days of church history. The rules governing convent life were first codified in 1298 by Boniface VIII in

---

5 Fenning, *The Irish Dominican Province, 1698-1797* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1990).

6 Jo Ann McNamara's wide-ranging history of Catholic nuns briefly mentions '[a] convent established in Dublin in the 1720s in defiance of the penal laws supported itself by educating young women', but this information is used only to illustrate the enduring vitality of Christian female monasticism in the eighteenth century. See: McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 528. Covering an earlier period, the work of Bronagh McShane shows an awareness of the wider British and continental contexts for studying Irish women's religious history. See especially: McShane, 'Negotiating Religious Change and Conflict: Female Religious Communities in Early Modern Ireland, c.1530-c.1641,' in *British Catholic History* 33/3 (2017): pp. 357-82.

7 McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, p. 20.

8 The following paragraphs draw upon many excellent and invaluable studies of this movement in addition to McNamara's *Sisters in Arms*. See also: Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life, 1450-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), and Amy E. Leonard, 'Female Religious Orders,' in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 237-54. The topic of female monasticism

Periculoso (Lat. 'dangerous'); in the sixteenth century, the Council of Trent breathed new life into *Periculoso* in response to Lutheran criticism of convents. Monastic enclosure was of course also practiced by men at the same time, but in the case of nuns the Tridentine justification for reform on this question was couched in paternalistic language about 'protecting' women from the corrupting influences of the wider world. The male Catholic leaders who developed the early modern programme which reformed convent life were especially concerned that nuns' chastity be protected; this is the vanishing point approached by many of the Tridentine reforms on female monasticism. Of these changes, the architectural requirements of strict enclosure had the most interesting effect on early modern convent musical culture.

The physical changes to convent architecture which were required by Trent were designed to more comprehensively facilitate the total withdrawal of nuns from the outside world, further emphasising their vows of chastity.[9] These architectural updates increased the number of physical barriers which were erected to separate nuns from their worldly visitors. Outside passersby would have recognised convents by the high, windowless walls which completely surrounded the women living inside, and the double gates which minimised all chances of contact between the nuns and outsiders delivering food, supplies, and medicine. The only publicly accessible spaces inside a convent were the church and the parlour. Nuns observing strict enclosure came closest to the outside world in these spaces, but this contact took place through grilled windows which were installed to keep the nuns on one side separate from their visitors on the other. In convent churches, called double-churches, a wall with an inset grille separated the interior church space of the nuns – complete with altar and choir seating – from a publicly accessible church. The grille allowed the nuns to attend and actively

is also incorporated into the broader narrative of early modern Catholic history in Hsia's *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 34-42.

9 A general overview of early modern interior and exterior conventual architecture and its history can be found in: Evangelisti, *Nuns*, pp. 41-65.

participate in publicly celebrated Masses and other services without violating the rules of strict enclosure. These new architectural features had a demonstrable effect on early modern nuns' musical lives. Further considering the ways in which these architectural adjustments affected the musical cultures of early modern women's religious houses will enable us to make a more informed study of the eighteenth-century Channel Row case.

Many of the fine studies of the history of music at early modern convents present the physical infrastructure of strict enclosure as something which nuns were able to overcome or circumvent using music.[10] The grilles are especially interesting in this regard, as they visually obscured the nuns from their visitors and prevented physical contact between the two groups, but they could do nothing to interfere with nuns' ability to *hear* their visitors and, of course, vice versa. For example, it was common for an outside music teacher to be engaged to teach a professed nun, unless there was a nun already living in the convent who could give music lessons. These sessions would be conducted through the grille, with no possibility of physical contact between teacher and student.[11] Early modern nuns were encouraged to cultivate their musical abilities not only for their own spiritual benefit, but also as preparation for performing liturgical music for public audiences, who would listen through the convent church's grille. Hearing unseen women's voices singing liturgical music would have been a unique experience

---

[10] The literature on music at early modern European convents is vast and dynamic. Early work focussed mainly on Italian houses, but more recent studies have looked further afield. See: Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord Within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Kimberlyn Montford, 'Holy Restraint: Religious Reform and Nuns' Music in Early Modern Rome,' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 37/4 (Winter 2006): pp. 1007-1026; Jonathan E. Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theatres? Venetian Nunneries and their Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Barbara Eichner, 'Sweet Singing in Three Voices: A Musical Source form a South German Convent?' in *Early Music* 39/3 (August 2011): pp. 335-47; and Janet K. Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). A brief, adequate overview of the topic can be found in: Evangelisti, *Nuns*, pp. 112-9. *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Monson (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992) was a seminal collection of studies in the cultural history of early modern convents.

[11] Those with experience of studying singing or a musical instrument will appreciate how challenging this arrangement would have been for both parties.

for many visitors to convents like those of Santa Radegonda in Milan and Santa Cristina della Fondazza in Bologna, which were famous in the early modern period for their musical offerings.[12] For the women who lived as cloistered nuns, singing, playing, and even composing sacred music were some of the few ways in which they were permitted to engage with the world outside their convents; music is often presented as having been a rare vehicle for nuns' agency in the early modern period. In his history of English convents in continental Europe, James E. Kelly plainly states that music was a 'potential avenue for securing support or, at the very least, a prominent profile for the English convents'.[13] 'Nuns', the musicologist Craig Monson writes,

> found numerous ways…to open windows in convent walls without demolishing them. Music was, I suggest, a powerful tool for partial deprivitization of architectural spaces – one deliberately employed by nuns to forge affective and, in the broad sense, political links with networks in the outside, public sphere.[14]

The restrictive architectural features of post-Tridentine convents, including the double-churches and the grilles, stimulated the development of the unique musical practices of many early modern continental houses. To the best of our knowledge, the house on Channel Row did not have the same structural characteristics, and therefore our study of the community's musical activities must also account for these variations.

---

[12] These convents are main subjects in Kendrick's *Celestial Sirens* (1996) and Monson's *Disembodied Voices* (1995), respectively.

[13] James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c.1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 105.

[14] Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, p. 11. This theme is made even more explicit in Monson's work for general audiences, including *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy* and *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010 and 2012, respectively), which reworks the technical musicological analysis found in *Disembodied Voices* for a wider readership. Despite their sensational titles and cover art, these are well-researched, valuable studies.

The convent itself was located on what is now North Brunswick Street around Smithfield, just north of the Liffey. The Dominican community which took up residence in 1717 comprised eight women, led by Mary Bellew, who came as a group from the older Dominican house in Galway. They remained at the Channel Row address until 1808. 41 sisters in total were professed during this period, and as many as 13 took their vows prior to 1727 (the number could be as high as 17; some exact dates were not recorded).[15] The Channel Row house was briefly home to a community of Poor Clare nuns in 1712, before they settled into a permanent residence on North King Street. Before them, the 'Irish Dames of Ypres' occupied the property; this Benedictine community had been encouraged to return to Ireland from the continent in the 1680s by James II's Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Tyrconnell. It is rumoured that James himself attended the house's dedication as a convent in 1689, but the Benedictines returned to Ypres after his defeat at the Boyne.[16] The house itself no longer exists; what we know of its layout and structure comes from written descriptions and the building plans for the surgical hospital which took over and converted the property in the 1830s. As far as we know, the Channel Row house did not have the standard post-Tridentine architectural features discussed above.[17] This makes sense, as high and forbidding convent walls and a church with a large grille in one wall would have likely attracted unwanted attention from Dublin Protestants. Julia Browne, a Channel Row sister who tried to establish a breakaway Irish Dominican community in Brussels in the 1730s, is reported to have set up a chapel with a grille in her Belgian house; it is interesting to wonder if the grille, and the observance of strict enclosure that its presence implies, was her idea or that of one of her (male) continental backers, like the Cardinal-Archbishop of Malines (Mechelen), Thomas Philip Wallrad de Hénin-Liétard

---

15 Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, pp. 103-4.

16 Ibid, pp. 28-30.

17 *State and Condition of R.C. Chapels in Dublin, Both Secular and Regular, A.D. 1749*, ed. Nicholas Donnelly (Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1904), pp. 11-40. See also: Nuala Burke, 'A Hidden Church? The Structure of Catholic Dublin in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 32 (1974): pp. 81-92; Cunningham, *Gentlemen's Daughters in Dublin Cloisters*, p. 7.

d'Alsace (1679-1759).[18] Physical differences are not, however, the only factors setting the Channel Row convent apart from other European houses. An important feature of the social structure of early modern convents directly impacted a community's musical capabilities but, as will become obvious, could not be implemented in eighteenth-century Ireland.

To ensure the financial viability of these monastic communities, nuns were required to pay dowries to the convents they entered.[19] That money would then be combined with the convent's other financial assets and invested appropriately; the income generated by these investments would ensure that the general financial needs of the community would be met on a long-term basis. The majority of the women (and girls) who entered early modern convents came from aristocratic or otherwise wealthy backgrounds and, as nuns, they often expected to maintain a certain quality of life, even after taking their required vows of poverty. Although convent dowries were not as expensive as marriage dowries, their cost could still be prohibitively high for many women aspiring to enter a convent, especially given that these funds were expected to support lifestyles that many of them would not have enjoyed in their lives outside of the convent. The solution which met the needs to women from diverse social backgrounds was, essentially, to preserve their former class differences inside the convent. Women were often allowed to pay a lower dowry to enter a convent if they did so as *converse*, or servant nuns. They did all of the domestic work for the community on a daily basis (cooking, cleaning, etc), which allowed the wealthier members of the community to live more comfortably in pious contemplation as choir nuns – so called because they were responsible for reciting the Divine Office in choir each day.[20] This discussion of dowries and servant nuns

---

[18] Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, pp. 53-5; Fenning, *Irish Dominican Province*, pp. 158-63.

[19] On dowries and the social structure of convents, see: Evangelisti, *Nuns*, pp. 19-33.

[20] 'Choir' here refers to the space within the church where the singing choir sits during services. It is also where members of religious orders are required to meet throughout the day to recite the Divine Office. References to services happening 'in choir' do not necessarily have a musical connotation, as the prayers could be spoken, not sung. Confusingly, though, parts of the Divine Office could be and often were sung by a musical choir (sitting in

becomes immediately relevant to the present study with the knowledge that musical talent was another means by which women could enter post-Tridentine convents with a reduced dowry payment. It is noteworthy that they did so not as lower-status *converse*, but as more privileged choir nuns, showing how highly these religious communities valued their musical reputations. We find references to this practice in the annals of many convents across early modern Europe, especially in Spanish and Italian houses.[21] There are no obvious indications that the Channel Row community followed this system; although there are records of dowry payments made to the convent throughout the period, they do not allow us to determine if the community included a blend of *converse* and choir nuns, nor if any of its members received a 'discount' on her dowry in recognition of her musical abilities.[22]

A convent dowry was meant to be a one-time payment that, when properly invested, would meet a nun's lifetime expenses within the community. In Ireland, the *Act to prevent the further growth of Popery* (1703) placed well-to-do Catholic families under considerable financial strain, undoubtedly causing many to question whether they could afford such a large, up-front expense. By upending how Catholic estates could be disbursed – and adding the threat that a sibling could convert to the Established Church and claim an entire estate – the 1703 *Act* would have had a serious impact on how families thought about paying out a large dowry for a daughter entering a convent. This is of course not quantifiable – after all, we cannot calculate exactly how many Irish women intended on entering convents in the eighteenth century, only to be prevented from doing so by financial circumstances. However, it is notable that the means of lowering the cost of a convent dowry which were available to nuns elsewhere in the Catholic

choir), most notably Vespers. *Oxford Music Online,* 'Choir,' accessed 4 December 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[21] Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 39; Evangelisti, *Nuns*, p. 113; and Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, p. 2.

[22] Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, pp. 39-41.

world do not seem to have been options open to the nuns at Channel Row (and likely at other Irish convents, as well). Elsewhere, a prospective nun who could not afford the choir nun's expensive dowry still had a chance of professing at a convent if she joined as a *converse* sister or, interestingly for us, if she had musical talent that she was willing to use for the benefit of the community. These options do not seem to have been available to women hoping to enter Irish convents, and although we cannot know for certain if (or how many) musically talented women were denied a place at Channel Row because they could not afford the dowry. We cannot know how many musically talented women who were denied – or did not even enquire after – a place at Channel Row because they could not afford the dowry, but it is not impossible to imagine that there were not cases of musically gifted Irish women who did not follow a genuine religious calling because they could not afford to enter into a life in religion in the eighteenth century.

The dowry system was in place at Channel Row, but the modest income it generated was not enough to financially support the whole community. Not only did this mean that the convent could not afford to accept new members who could not pay a full dowry, but it also meant that the convent's income needed to be supplemented through additional means. The Dominican nuns at Channel Row ran a boarding school and housed parlour boarders – Catholic gentlewomen in pious retirement from society.[23] The income generated by these necessary adjustments to convent life enabled the Channel Row community to preserve as much of the Dominican way of life as was possible under the social and economic conditions created by the penal laws. Having so many unprofessed women and girls living amongst them

[23] The Channel Row boarding school will be discussed further below. Meanwhile, the most notable parlour boarder who lived amongst the Dominicans at Channel Row was Frances Jennings, the Duchess of Tyrconnell, who was in residence on and off between 1708-30. The indispensable study of the duchess is: Frances Nolan, *The Jacobite Duchess: Frances Jennings, Duchess of Tyrconnell, c. 1649-1731* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021); an account of her years at Channel Row can be found on pp. 168-91.

was not the typical practice of an early modern Dominican community, but it was thought that keeping boarders helped to disguise the true nature of the convent from the Protestant authorities, and it provided a much-needed source of income for a community of women religious living with under challenging economic circumstances which had no analogue in post-Tridentine continental convents.[24]

These changes to the regular pattern of Dominican female monasticism meant that the Channel Row community more closely resembled one of the newer active religious orders than other early modern Dominican convents. In the history of female monasticism, different religious orders are categorised as being either 'active' or 'contemplative'. Women who made their profession with the contemplative orders (which included the Benedictines, Poor Clares, and Dominicans – all of which were active in Ireland, or with the Irish abroad) took solemn vows, which required them to completely withdraw from worldly life, exchanging it for days devoted to prayer and contemplation. Women who joined the newer active orders (such as the Ursulines and Visitandines) committed instead to simple vows which allowed them to remain un-cloistered, enabling them to teach the poor, care for the sick, or perform other charitable acts in their communities.[25] The contemplative orders were required to recite the Divine Office daily; meanwhile, active orders prioritised teaching, charity, and other good works. Understandably, the active orders were not known for having elaborate liturgical cultures. The Dominicans of Channel Row maintained a culture which hybridised the traditional 'active'

---

[24] Cunningham, *Gentlemen's Daughters in Dublin Cloisters*, pp. 15-6; Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, p. 41.

[25] The distinction between contemplative and active orders is clearly summarised by Leonard in 'Female Religious Orders', pp. 238-43. In Ireland, active religious orders (most famously the Sisters of the Presentation of this Blessed Virgin Mary, also known as the Presentation Sisters) were established and encouraged by Nano Nagle (c. 1718-84) and Theresa Mulally (1728-1803). See: Jessie Castle and Gillian O'Brien, '"I Am Building a House": Nano Nagle's Georgian Convents,' in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* 19 (2017): pp. 54-75; Séamus Enright, 'Women and Catholic Life in Dublin, 1766-1852,' in *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, ed. James Kelly and Dáire Keogh (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 268-93; Rosemary Raughter, 'A Discreet Benevolence: Female Philanthropy and the Catholic Resurgence in Eighteenth-Century Ireland,' in *Women's History Review* 6/4 (1997): pp. 465-87 and 'Pious Occupations: Female Activism and the Catholic Revival in Eighteenth-Century Ireland,' in *Religious Women and Their History*, ed. Raughter (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), pp. 25-49.

and 'contemplative' categories, which undoubtedly effected the development of the community's liturgical observances. We know from looking at the convent's account books that music and dancing masters were brought in to teach the boarding students, and that accessories like sheet music and strings for instruments were occasionally purchased.[26] However, this information does not contribute much to our understanding of the 'contemplative' side of the convent's musical and liturgical culture. This chapter will look at how we may begin to understand how the active and contemplative aspects of Channel Row's culture were reconciled, and how music was a part of that process.

Finally, before moving on to discuss Radcliffe's comments, I must note here a perplexing popular belief that is widely held about music and the Channel Row convent. Kealy writes that '[t]here is a traditional belief, not authenticated by any written evidence, that the first occasion on which the "*Adeste Fideles*" was sung publicly in Dublin, was in the Dominican chapel in Channel Row'.[27] The origins of this idea seem to lie in the work of the Irish musicologist W.H. Grattan Flood (1857-1928). Leading Irish musicologists have recently written of Grattan Flood that 'his patriotic desire to place Ireland at the centre of European musical history in particular led him to make unfounded and sometimes fantastic claims and assumptions', and that his work has been 'remaindered…to the realm of wishful thinking'.[28] His claim that the hymn *Adeste Fideles* was first sung in Ireland in the chapel at Channel Row is characteristically unsubstantiated,[29] although the musicologist Bennett Zon generously records

---

[26] National Library of Ireland, Microfilm P 3787, Dominican Account Book.

[27] Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, p. 65.

[28] Barra Boydell, 'Flood, W[illiam] H[enry] Grattan,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*; and Harry White, '"After Long Silence": Examining Paradigms for an Unwritten History,' in *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 50/1/2 (June-December 2019): p. 53.

[29] Grattan Flood first wrote of this in 'Notes on the Origin of the Melody of the "Adeste Fideles",' in *The Dolphin: An Ecclesiastical Review for Educated Catholics* 8 (December 1905): pp. 707-12. He repeated the claim ten years later in 'Notes on the History of "Adeste Fideles",' in *The Musical Times* 56/868 (1 June 1915): pp. 360-2.

a small piece of circumstantial evidence which supports the popular, though unlikely, tradition which connects the hymn and the Dublin convent.[30]

Music at Channel Row: Addressing Radcliffe's Allegations

We can now return to Stephen Radcliffe's outraged description of a musical performance at the Dominican convent. To get a sense of where on the premises this alleged concert might have taken place, we can look to a 1749 Protestant report on the 'State and Condition of R.C. Chapels in Dublin'. This is particularly useful because it's written from an 'outside-looking-in' perspective; it describes the chapel's interior in almost ethnographic detail, mentioning that paintings of the crucifixion, the Virgin Mary, and Sts Dominic and Catherine of Siena hang on the walls, in addition to a surprisingly high number of silver lamps and candlesticks. The report states that 'the gallery serves for a choir, and has many stalls in it' – this would seem to be the 'convenient gallery' alluded to by Radcliffe – and concludes by remarking that the chapel contained 'a very sweet organ, the gift of Mrs Mary Bellew'.[31] We know that this organ made the move with the Dominican community when they relocated to Clontarf in 1808,[32] but after that point it disappears from view.[33] The convent's account books record a payment to a Mr Holeston in December of 1725 or '26 (it's unclear) 'for mending ye Organ' – this is the first such entry in an account book which commences in 1719.[34] This name should most likely read 'Hollister': the Hollister family of instrument makers built and maintained organs in and around Dublin for three generations. Thomas Hollister built the organ at St Werburgh's church in 1719, and his son Philip (d. 1760) serviced several Dublin

30 Bennett Zon, 'The Origin of "Adeste Fideles",' in *Early Music* 24/2 (May 1996): pp. 282-3.
31 *State and Condition of R.C. Chapels in Dublin*, p. 19. This instrument was in fact a gift to the community from Sir Edward Bellew, a relative of the prioress. See: Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, p. 57.
32 Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, p. 91.
33 I am very grateful to Sr Mary O'Bryne, Congregation Archivist, who enquiring into this matter on my behalf.
34 NLI, Microfilm P 3787.

church organs, including those at the two cathedrals. Given the date of the entry, it seems possible that either one of them was the 'Mr Holeston' who appears in the Channel Row account book.[35] This information tells us that the nuns paid to fix their organ – possibly for the first time since they moved into the house nearly a decade earlier – at precisely the same period of time as the Synge/Radcliffe controversy. We will turn now to address one of the larger questions raised by Radcliffe's accusation: *who*, exactly, is implicated? Specifically, who were the celebrated Italian musicians? Who were the Holy Sisters? And who were the Protestant fine gentlemen?

Contemporary sources confirm that at least three Italian musicians were active in Dublin at the time of Synge and Radcliffe's debate: the violinist and composer Francesco Scarlatti,[36] the *castrato* singer Benedetto Baldassari,[37] and Giovanna Paula Stradiotti, a singer described by the Irish music historian Brian Boydell as 'the first Italian *prima donna* to sing in Ireland'.[38] All three gave performances which were publicised in Dublin newspapers.[39] Arguably the most famous Italian-born musician who settled in Ireland in the eighteenth

---

[35] Brian Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, p. 260; Paul McKeever, 'Hollister Family,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*.

[36] Michael Talbot, 'From "Sonate a quattro" to "Concertos in Seven Parts": The Acclimatization of Two Compositions by Francesco Scarlatti,' in *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, ed. Geza zur Nieden and Berthold Over (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2016), 311-22. The Scarlattis were a musical family; the most famous of them were Alessandro (Francesco's brother) and Domenico (his nephew). See also: Estelle Murphy, 'Scarlatti, Francesco,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

[37] Winton Dean, 'Baldassari, Benedetto' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 28 Nov 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. Baldassari first appears in the sources in 1708 in the employ of Johann Wilhelm II, the Wittelsbach Elector Palatine. He was personally recruited by Handel for the London stage in 1711, and he performed in Dublin in the autumn of 1725. Dean also mentions (without attribution) that Baldassari was engaged by the Elector and Agostino Steffani (a noted composer, and the Church's Apostolic Vicar in northern Germany) to serve as a Catholic agent in the Prussian court tasked with converting Frederick I and Sophia Louise, the queen consort. This interesting detail is laden with tantalising but sadly unverifiable possibilities regarding the time he spent in Britain and Ireland. T.J. Walsh describes him as a 'second-rate castrato singer' in *Opera in Dublin, 1705-1797: The Social Scene* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1973), p. 22.

[38] Brian Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, p. 42. It is perhaps relevant (and amusing) to note that an opera lover described Stradiotti as 'a very bad Singer' in a personal 'register of operas' he kept which documented performances he attended in London from 1712-34. British Library, Add. MS 11258, ff. 18v-32r, reproduced in Konrad Sasse, ed., 'Opera Register from 1712 to 1734 (Colman-Register),' in *Händel-Jahrbuch* 5 (1959): pp. 199-223. See also: R.W. Babcock, 'Francis Colman's "Register of Operas", 1712-1734,' in *Music & Letters* 24/3 (1943): pp. 155-9.

[39] Brian Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, pp. 38-46.

century was Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762), a renowned violinist, pedagogue, and composer. However, he only arrived in Dublin in 1733 – well after our period of enquiry.[40]

It is also very likely that we can count the London-born, Dublin-based violinist Matthew Dubourg amongst Radcliffe's supposed 'celebrated Italian musicians'. Bearing in mind that Radcliffe was only likely, at best, to have been a second-hand witness to the event, we should allow for the possibility that only one member of the ensemble was ethnically Italian, or indeed that none of these musicians was Italian, and instead that they were either performing Italian music or otherwise playing in an 'Italian' style – a quality which it is fair to associate with Dubourg, as he had studied violin with Geminiani from an early age. Dubourg's debut as a professional musician was in London in 1712 when, at age nine, he performed a solo by Arcangelo Corelli, requiring a stool to stand upon so that he could be seen by the audience. He is known to have visited Dublin in 1724. His whereabouts between then and 1728 are not firmly established, but there is still room for the possibility that he was professionally active in Dublin at the time of the alleged concert at Channel Row.[41] How likely was it that Dubourg (or any of these other musicians) lent his time and talents at the convent in Dublin?[42] The precedent, as practiced by many early modern European convents, of hiring male musicians to assist their choirs either as teachers or as instrumental performers, would suggest that either or both of the two violinists are the most likely to have been involved with Channel Row.[43] However, those

---

[40] George Frideric Handel's brief but spectacular Irish sojourn lasted for less than a year, from 1741-2. Meanwhile, Geminiani lived and worked in Ireland from 1733-40, and again from 1759 until his death in 1762. Donald Burrows, *Handel: Messiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 12-22; Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani, 1687-1762* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); and Barra Boydell, 'Geminiani in Ireland,' in *Geminiani Studies*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2013), p. 159.

[41] 'Dubourg, Matthew' by Anthony Ford in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* accessed 30 November 2021, https://www.oxfroddnb.com.

[42] There is an intriguing open question about Dubourg's own confessional identity: the famed Irish antiquarian Joseph Cooper Walker privately mused of him: 'of his religion I cannot speak with certainty'. Boydell, 'Geminiani in Ireland,' p. 161, citing Royal Irish Academy MS 12.B2.20.

[43] On early modern convents engaging outside professional musicians, see: Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven*, pp. 23-69; Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna*, pp. 45-7; Reardon, *Holy Concord*, pp. 36-9; and Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, pp. 56-70.

examples come from convents which enjoyed active and long-established musical cultures – manifested principally in their choirs – for whom the hiring of outside musicians only served to burnish their already resplendent musical offerings. We find ourselves in musically uncharted territory when we are discussing early modern Irish convents, and at this point there is no reason not to consider the possibility that a professional vocalist was asked to join them.

Turning now to the Italian singers we know to have been active in Dublin at the time that Radcliffe was writing his *Serious and Humble Enquiry*, I am confident that Baldassari can be ruled out as one of the notorious 'celebrated Italian musicians'. The fact that he was a *castrato*[44] would actually have made him – perhaps counterintuitively – an unlikely visitor to an early modern convent. Contrary to what the modern mind may assume about the erotic capabilities of men who were forcibly emasculated for musical purposes before puberty, eighteenth-century societies were captivated by lurid tales of their pathological sensuality and astonishing virility. In the English-speaking press specifically, it was widely editorialised that *castrati* embodied all that was 'morally corrupting' and 'sexually degenerate' about Italian opera;[45] in this context, 'the very effeminate attributes of opera and the…castrato…were used partly to define and valorise – by opposition – those masculine virtues that were thought to constitute the British

[44] A *castrato* was an adult male singer who was surgically castrated before reaching puberty to preserve his high voice. John Rosselli, 'Castrato', in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 1 February 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[45] A satirical poem written in the same year as Radcliffe's pamphlet reads, in part: 'They know that Eunuchs can their Wants supply,/And more than Braggadocios satisfy;/Whose Power to please expires so very fast,/They find too soon the happy Moment past,/When *S-----no* stands it to the last.' *F---na's answer to S---no's epistle* (London, 1727). See also: Suzanne Aspden, '"An Infinity of Factions": Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain and the Undoing of Society,' in *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9 (1997): pp. 1-19, especially pp. 7-10; Thomas McGeary, '"Warbling Eunuchs": Opera, Gender, and Sexuality on the London Stage, 1705-1742,' in *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 7 (Summer, 1992): pp. 1-22. On the physiological effects of primary hypogonadism caused by prepubescent emasculation, see: Enid Rhodes Peschel and Richard E. Peschel, 'Medical Insights into the Castrati in Opera,' in *American Scientist* 75/6 (November-December 1987): pp. 578-83.

political, cultural, and social identity'.[46] In light of this, it is extremely unlikely that Baldassari was ever involved with the Channel Row community.[47]

Having ruled out Baldassari as a possible performer on this occasion, we are left with the case for the soprano Stradiotti. We know that she retired from her career as a singer sometime in the late 1720s. Her last publicly recorded performance took place at Dublin's Theatre Royal (in Smock Alley) in December 1725, when she sang the premiere of *Dove sei dolce mia vita*, an original composition by Philip Perceval, Esq – of him, more below. We know little of Stradiotti's life and career in Dublin from that time onwards, and indeed, we know that she was based in London by 1730, when the birth of her daughter Elisabetta is recorded. That said, it is possible to build a compelling circumstantial case around Stradiotti being the mystery Italian musician at Channel Row. Her involvement with the musical performance at Channel Row needn't necessarily have been performing as a singer, though of course that is the most obvious way in which she would have been involved. It is also possible that she (in the words of Radcliffe) 'help[ed] to make the voices of the Holy Sisters more melodious' by serving as a music teacher for members of the convent community. Additionally, thanks to the commonplace book of John Sigismond Cousser, the Master of the State Music in Ireland from 1716-27, we know that Stradiotti lived at an address on Usher's Quay.[48] After retiring from her stage career, Stradiotti came to be recognised for her accomplishments as a music teacher,[49]

---

46 McGeary, 'Warbling Eunuchs,' p. 1.

47 I would be remiss if I failed to mention the sensational scandal which was caused in eighteenth-century Ireland (later, though, than the period we are looking at in this chapter) when the *castrato* singer Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (c. 1735-90) eloped with Dorothea Maunsell, the daughter of a Dublin barrister. A carefully curated account of their relationship can be found in *A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr and Mrs Tenducci* (London, 1768), which was supposedly authored by Mrs Tenducci. See: Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Tenducci, Giusto Ferdinando,' in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 2 February 2022, https://www.oxfroddnb.com.

48 Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn Music MS 16, *Commonplace Book*. Samantha Owens is the authority on Cousser. See: *The Well-Travelled Musician: John Sigismond Cousser and Music Exchange in Baroque Europe* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017) and 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin,' in *Eighteenth-Century Music* 6/1 (2009): pp. 7-39.

49 William Hayes, *The Art of Composing Music by a Method Entirely New, Suited to the Meanest Capacity* (London, 1751).

and it is thought that she provided early training for her daughter Elisabetta de Gambarini who was, herself, the first female composer to publish a collection of her own keyboard music in Britain.[50] It is not unreasonable to wonder if Stradiotti was ever involved with the Channel Row convent as a music teacher. We know that she was capable of teaching students both to sing and play keyboard instruments, as she billed herself as a singer and harpsichordist at her first benefit concert in London, held in 1714.[51] We should also remember that the Dominican nuns paid for their organ to be repaired at around the same time that Stradiotti was living in Dublin.

It is difficult to know if the Channel Row nuns would have wanted music lessons for themselves, but there is another compelling reason why a music teacher may have visited the convent: namely, the boarding school which they ran from October 1719. Sister Máire Kealy writes in her history of the convent that '[t]he education the girls received was deemed suitable for young ladies of their social status who would take their places afterwards as cultured and accomplished women'. There were thirteen such students at Channel Row in 1725, almost all of them daughters of the 'Old English' Irish nobility.[52] The nuns' account books do occasionally record payments made to outside music teachers for their boarding students – for example, 15 shillings to 'Miss Dolly Egan's Musick Master' in November of 1732 – but I should note here that Stradiotti never appears in the accounts.[53] However, it is still possible that Stradiotti taught either student or adult members of the Channel Row community; the explanation is unconventional, but compelling.

---

50 Alison DeSimone, 'Musical Virtue, Professional Fortune, and Private Trauma in Eighteenth-Century Britain: A Feminist Biography of Elisabetta de Gambarini (1730-65),' in *Journal of Musicological Research* 40/1 (2021): pp. 5-38; Winton Dean, 'Gambarini, Elisabetta de,' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 29 November 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

51 DeSimone, 'A Feminist Biography of Elisabetta de Gambarini,' pp. 11-2.

52 Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, pp. 76-9, at p. 77; Cunningham, *Gentlemen's Daughters in Dublin Cloisters*, p. 17.

53 NLI, Microfilm P 3787.

In the spring of 1726, the *Dublin Weekly Journal* reported that Stradiotti married fellow countryman Carlo Gambarini at 'St Nicholas's Church' on 25 April.[54] Contradicting Grattan Flood, who believed that the wedding took place in 'the little Catholic Church in Francis St',[55] the marriage between 'Charles' Gambarini and 'Jane' Stradiotti is in fact recorded in the register of the Church of Ireland's parish of St Nicholas Within.[56] The newspaper mentions (and Grattan Flood omits) that the marriage was 'agreed' to by all parties except for Stradiotti's father, only '[a]fter different Consultations between the Divines of the Protestant Church, and several Councils amongst the Divines of the Church of Rome'. This is a very peculiar report; eighteenth-century Irish newspapers did not regularly report on Catholic weddings. The Gambarini marriage was, however, of interest to Dublin polite society: the *Weekly Journal* informed its readers that Stradiotti and Gambarini were 'Both Famous, the Lady for her Singing, and the Gentleman in all sorts of Polite Literature, and Arts, call'd Liberal'.[57] This report leads us to wonder: could there have been some sort of informal deal agreed between Stradiotti and the 'Divines of the Church of Rome', wherein she gave music lessons *gratis* at Channel Row, in exchange for the Church's agreement to 'look the other way' when the Established Church conducted her wedding? This would have been a beneficial arrangement for her in more than one way: in addition to gaining her Church's cooperation in gaining legal recognition for her marriage, the professional benefit would have been in having a laboratory of sorts in which to develop her teaching method. She was withdrawing from public performance by this point in her career and may have been keen to cultivate another income stream.

---

54 *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 21 May 1726.
55 W.H.G. Flood, 'Eighteenth-Century Italians in Dublin,' in *Music & Letters* 3/3 (July 1922): p. 274.
56 Irish Genealogy.ie, 'Church Records – Dublin (COI) – St Nicholas Within – Marriage of Charles Gambarini of N/R and Jane Stradiotti of N/R on 5 April 1726'. Accessed 20 January 2022. https://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/.
57 *Dublin Weekly Journal*, 21 May 1726.

Learning more about the event which might have been the occasion for a musical performance at the convent will help us to identify further participants – musicians and audience members. By the eighteenth century, there was a well-established precedent on the continent that a woman's solemn profession – the ceremony in which she 'took the veil' and renounced the outside world to live as a cloistered nun – would be accompanied by elaborate music, both as part of the liturgical rite and afterwards, in a semi-private celebration which typically included the woman's family and guests. As the nuns were considered to be the brides of Christ, this gathering often took on the character of a wedding reception; nuns' families and convents often went to great lengths to celebrate these occasions, which were known to include lavish musical performances both during and after the actual ceremony. In Venice, families were known to rent portable organs to be placed (and played) upon specially constructed platforms outside the convents during these celebrations.[58] Janet Page writes that members of the imperial family attended one young woman's profession at the Köninginkloster in seventeenth-century Vienna: the empress loaned her own jewellery to the postulant, and musicians from the Hofkapelle accompanied the service.[59] And in Seicento Milan, the clothing ceremony for Benedictine nuns at the Santa Radegonda convent included no fewer than eight pieces of music.[60] Comparably detailed information about how profession ceremonies at Channel Row were conducted and celebrated has not come to light (nor is it likely to). We can be reasonably sure that the circumspect eighteenth-century Irish nuns did not host extravagant profession ceremonies to the accompaniment of *al fresco* organists and imperial trumpet players; however, the need for discretion would not have precluded the possibility that music would

58 Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven*, p. 93.
59 Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna*, pp. 18-23.
60 Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, pp. 132-7. Further accounts of convent procession ceremonies and the music they occasioned can be found in: Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, pp. 185 and 226; Glixon, *Mirrors of Heaven*, pp. 116-7; Reardon, *Holy Concord*, p. 50.

have been performed at Channel Row to mark such an important moment for the woman and the community she was entering.

Table 1. Possible Professions at Channel Row, c. 1725-27[61]

Name	*Date of Profession*
Mary Daly	Possibly 1720s (exact date unknown)
Sarah/Sally Dillon	c. 1725
Mary Welsh/Walsh	1724/5
Catherine Reily	Possibly 1720s (exact date unknown)
Catherine Catto/Kelly	1725
Jane Bodkin	Possibly 1720s (exact date unknown)
Eleanor Fottrell	1725
Margaret/Peggy Horish	c. 1726
Mary Maguire	c. 1727

There were at least six, and possibly as many as nine, professions which happened during the period we've been looking at. One of these women could have studied singing with Stradiotti, either through the convent boarding school or by other means before taking her vows at Channel Row; notably, though, none of these names appears on the 1725 list of boarding students.[62]

It also bears mentioning here that Channel Row, uniquely amongst early modern convents, hosted the consecrations of a number of Irish bishops in the early eighteenth century.

61 Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, pp. 103-4.
62 Ibid., p. 77.

This is unusual because, of course, the presence of men in convent space was meant to be kept to a minimum. Kealy implies that the 1725 consecration of Stephen MacEgan (which falls within our period of enquiry) as bishop of Clonmacnoise was held at Channel Row.[63] However, MacEgan was actually consecrated by Benedict XIII at the Quirinal palace in Rome on 29 September 1725.[64] The Dublin convent did, however, host the consecrations of Colman O'Shaughnessy and Lawrence Richardson as bishops of Ossory and Kilmore, respectively, in the 1730s.[65] Even though these episcopal events do not have a direct bearing upon our enquiries into the musical performance that was alleged by the vicar of Naas, they speak to the prominence of the Channel Row convent, not only in eighteenth-century Irish Catholic culture, but in the wider cultural world of eighteenth-century Dublin. I hasten to mention the latter because we should remember that Radcliffe's printed accusation also implicated 'Protestant fine gentlemen' who reportedly attended the concert at Channel Row and listened from comfortable seats in the gallery. A nun's solemn profession is the most likely event to have attracted an interdenominational audience to the convent; it is quite unlikely that any Ascendancy gentlemen would have attended the consecration of a Catholic bishop in Dublin – no matter how good the musical accompaniment may have been – as his presence may have been construed as approval or an endorsement of a Catholic bishop's elevation, in direct contravention to the Bishops' Banishment Act. Granted, friars and nuns (and all members of religious orders) were also 'banished' by the penal legislation of the 1690s, but it would have been easier for an Ascendancy Protestant to accept a woman swearing to live out her life in religious seclusion than a bishop claiming ecclesiastical jurisdiction and an active presence over an Irish diocese. This digression should not distract from the likelihood that the musical

63 Ibid., p. 65.
64 John Monahan, *Records Relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise* (Dublin, 1886), p. 123. See also: Patrick Fagan, *The Diocese of Meath in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 98.
65 Kealy, *Channel Row to Cabra*, p. 65.

performance alluded to by Radcliffe in *A Serious and Humble Enquiry* accompanied the profession ceremony of an Irish Dominican nun at the Channel Row convent.

Returning now to the question of who might have attracted the Anglican vicar's attention by performing in this concert, we now have a few ideas of who might have been involved: the violinists Francesco Scarlatti and (possibly) Matthew Dubourg, the singer Stradiotti, and her vocal students, whether from the convent's boarding school or perhaps from amongst the six (possibly nine) women who took their vows at the Dominican convent in the period between 1725 and 1727. If we are indeed discussing a nun's solemn profession, then we can safely assume that members of her family would have been in the audience. What, though, of the 'Protestant fine gentlemen' who Radcliffe has accused of attending? We have already encountered our most likely suspect, Philip Perceval – recall that Stradiotti performed an Italian vocal piece written by him at the Smock Alley theatre in December of 1725. An introduction to Perceval will lead us to a possible answer to the question of what music was performed on this occasion.

Sir John and Philip Perceval, and Bononcini's 'Excellent Oratorio'

Philip Perceval lived in Dublin, where he and his wife were known in society for the 'belle assemblies' they held at their fashionable home on St Stephen's Green.[66] His older brother was Sir John Perceval (later first earl of Egmont), who lived much of the time in London. The brothers' correspondence is rich with evidence of their shared love of music – especially Italian music. Such was Philip's fondness for music that he once sent his brother, who

[66] A.C. Elias, ed., *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, 2 vols (London,1997), I, pp. 22-3. See also: T.C. Barnard, '"Grand Metropolis" or "The Anus of the World"? The Cultural Life of Eighteenth-Century Dublin,' in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840*, ed. Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (Oxford: The British Academy, 2001), p. 185.

was then travelling in Amsterdam, a letter asking that he send back word about the new stock and prices to be found at a Dutch music shop. This in itself would not be noteworthy or peculiar, but what makes this letter stand out is the fact that this rather mundane request follows Philip's account of the recent death of his young son.[67] This letter poignantly illustrates the extent of Philip's love for music. In their correspondence, the Perceval brothers often share details with each other of their most recent musical activities. A possible connection to the Channel Row concert can be found in one such exchange, dating from 1717.

In his letters to his brother, Philip often mentions the private musical gatherings he held either at his home on Stephen's Green or at Wood-Park, his country house. In the summer of 1717, he reported that he was planning to perform 'an excellent Oratorio of Bononcinis for 4 Voices' with his friends.[68] An oratorio is, effectively, an opera which portrays a religious story, performed without costumes, scenery, or staging. The composer 'Bononcinis' could be one of two men: Giovanni Battista Bononcini (1670-1747) or Antonio Maria Bononcini (1677-1726). The two were brothers and, confusingly, they were not the only composers in their Modenese family: their father and brother (both named Giovanni Maria) also wrote music, although neither composed an oratorio for four voices.[69] Giovanni Battista, who was by far the family's most prolific composer, produced twelve oratorios, only two of which were written for four voices: *S. Nicola di Bari* (1693) and *La Conversione di Maddalena* (1701). Antonio Maria, meanwhile, wrote four oratorios, only one of which, *L'interciso* (1711) is known to have been written for four voices. The music for his first oratorio, *La Maddalena* (1705) is now lost;[70] it remains possible

---

67 Philip Perceval to Sir John Perceval, 24 June 1718, British Library, Egmont Papers, Add MS 47028, f. 466v.

68 Philip Perceval to Sir John Perceval, 18 July 1717, British Library, Egmont Papers, Add MS 47028, f. 195r; 'Bononcini, Giovanni,' by Lowell Lindgren in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 16 December 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

69 Lowell Lindgren, 'Bononcini, Giovanni' and 'Bononcini, Antonio Maria,' in *Oxford Music Online,* accessed 16 December 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

70 Essential information about these musical works and their early performance history can be found in the PhD thesis of the Bononcini's scholarly champion, Lowell Lindgren: *A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works set by Giovanni and his Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini* (unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1972), pp. 677-1049.

that this is the work which was performed by Perceval and his musical friends, but I believe that the most compelling case can be made for it having been Giovanni Battista Bononcini's *La Conversione di Maddalena.* It is reasonable to exclude *S. Nicola* and *L'interciso* from consideration of the basis of their subject matter: both are hagiographical portrayals of Catholic saints, which would have held only doubtful appeal for a Protestant audience.[71] Meanwhile, Mary Magdalene, the central role in both Giovanni Battista's *La Conversione* and Antonio Maria's *Maddalena*,[72] was a Biblical figure whose portrayal would have been recognisable (and acceptable) to audiences from either denomination. Between these two Magdalene possibilities, evidence from the Percevals' personal history indicates that *La Conversione* is the more likely of the two to have come into Philip Perceval's possession.

John and Philip Perceval spent their early lives in the care of their great-uncle, Sir Robert Southwell, who oversaw their education by engaging private tutors and sending the boys to fine London boarding schools. Although Richard Ansell's thorough account of their early studies makes no mention of music, we can be sure that their shared love for music was inculcated when they were young.[73] In earlier times, aristocratic young men (as the Percevals were) were sometimes made to study singing to improve their elocution; this may have been the Percevals' first experience of musical training, as well.[74] Few of Philip Perceval's individual biographical details are known; this is not entirely unexpected, as he was the younger of the

---

Additionally, the Bononcini Project has catalogued the complete works of Giovanni Battista in a convenient, searchable online database. http://www.bononcini.org/index.php?option=com_ricercaen&Itemid=10&lang=en accessed 2 Feb 2022.

[71] *L'interciso* depicts St James Intercisus, a fifth-century Christian martyr from Persia. Lindgren, *Bibliographic Scrutiny*, p. 1001. A description (in English) of the saint's passion can be found in: Leo Carruthers, 'A Persian Martyr in a Middle English Vernacular *Exemplum*: The Case of St James Intercisus,' in *Medieval Sermon Studies* 55(2011): pp. 13-30.

[72] We will err on the side of caution and consider this lost musical work alongside the Bononcinis' other oratorios for four voices, despite not knowing exact details about its cast and instrumentation.

[73] Richard Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen: Educational Travel and Family Strategy, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 31-2.

[74] Barra Boydell, 'The Earl of Cork's Musicians: Music and Patronage in Early Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Irish Society,' in *Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, ed. idem and Kerry Houston (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), p. 83.

two brothers. We know far more about Sir John, including that he went on the Grand Tour from 1705-7.[75] This information may explain how 'an excellent Oratorio of Bononcinis for 4 voices' came to be performed in Philip Perceval's private concert in 1717.

The Grand Tour is a well-known feature in the narrative of eighteenth-century British and (mostly Ascendancy) Irish history. The stereotypical picture of the young aristocrat who journeys to the continent, visits a number of predetermined architectural wonders (ancient and modern) and other cultural attractions, sits for a portrait by Pompeo Battoni, and then returns home affecting an accent has of course been complicated and expanded upon by modern historians of eighteenth-century European art and culture.[76] It does, however, ring fairly true of Sir John's experience of the Grand Tour (although, to be fair, we do not know if he spoke with a different accent on his return, and no Grand Tour portrait of the future earl is known to exist). Sir John departed England in July of 1705 and returned in October of 1707; in between, he spent time in Utrecht, Hanover, Padua, Venice, Rome, Florence, Leghorn, Genoa, and Turin.[77]

The time that Perceval spent in Florence is of special interest to us in this chapter because it is possible that it coincided with a performance of Bononcini's *La Conversione di*

---

[75] 'Perceval (Percival), Sir John,' by John Bergin, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (accessed 18 January 2022); John Ingamells and Brinsley Ford, 'Perceval, Sir John, 5th Bt,' in *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven, CT and London: Published for the Paul Mellon centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1997).

[76] John Wilton-Ely, '"Classic Ground": Britain, Italy, and the Grand Tour,' in *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28/1 (2004): pp. 136-65 is a fairly recent survey of Grand Tour literature. Jeremy Black's *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud and Sutton, NY: S. Martin's Press, 1992) is a classic of the genre. For Irish tourists, see: Barnard, *Marking the Grand Figure*, pp. 310-26, and Cynthia O'Connor, *The Pleasing Hours: The Grand Tour of James Caulfeild, First Earl of Charlemont (1728-1799), Traveller, Connoisseur, and Patron of the Arts* (Cork: The Collins Press, 1999). For English and Irish Catholic tourists, see, respectively, Liesbeth Corens, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 96-103, and McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, pp. 120-1.

[77] Ingamells and Ford, 'Perceval, Sir John, 5th Bt,' in *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*.

Maddalena in 1707 in the city's (male) Dominican San Marco convent .[78] It is quite possible that he could have attended this performance, or perhaps heard favourable reports of it if he missed the performance itself. Meanwhile, the only known performance of Antonio Maria's *Maddalena* took place in Vienna in 1711 – long after Sir John's Grand Tour ended, and in a city he never visited.[79] The text and libretto of *La Conversione* were printed in Florence at the time of the oratorio's performance there in 1707; as far as we know, the musical score and parts remained in manuscript only at the time of Sir John's Grand Tour. However, as a wealthy and musically educated tourist, he could have gained access to the score and either copied it himself or paid to have the job done by someone else, thus enabling him or anyone he cared to share it with to perform the oratorio. There is one other way in which Perceval might plausibly have come into possession of a manuscript of Bononcini's oratorio: when he visited Florence in the spring of 1707, he was an honoured guest of Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici. The Southwells (and Percevals) enjoyed a warm, multigenerational friendship with the Medici in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; over the years, the two families exchanged gifts which included Tuscan wine, Irish whiskey, and wolfhounds.[80] It is possible that Medici could have arranged to have the music copied and sent on to Perceval as a souvenir of his visit. Ansell has written that souvenirs 'were part of a wider investment in travel', which allowed Grand Tour alumni to reap the social benefits of their period of travel long after they returned home.[81] A manuscript musical score of *La Conversione* would have been a fitting and thoughtful gift for the Grand Duke to give Perceval, and it would have allowed the young traveller and his family to maintain a tangible connection with the Tuscan court long after his return from the continent. The coincidence of Sir John's presence in Florence in the same year as a known performance of *La*

---

78 We know of this performance from a printed libretto. The title page reads: *La Conversione di Maddalena. Oratorio a quattro Voci. Da cantarsi nella Vener. Compagnia della Purificazione di Maria Vergine e di S. Zanobi detta di S. Marco* (Firenze: Vincenzio Vangelisti, 1707).

79 Lindgren, *Bibliographic Scrutiny*, p. 1001.

80 Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen*, pp. 179-81.

81 Ibid., pp. 222-3; quote at p. 222.

Conversione creates a near-tangible connection between the Percevals and a four-voice oratorio by Bononcini. It also makes *La Conversione* the most likely of the oratorios by either Giovanni Battista or Antonio Maria Bononcini to have come into the Percevals' possession. There is no evidence that Philip went on the Grand Tour. However, he could have come into possession of the Bononcini score at any time between his brother's return in 1707 and the private performance he organised at his Dublin home in 1717. Perhaps Sir John even organised a private performance of his own amongst his friends and associates in London before he passed the score on to his younger brother; he was later to become a core member of the Academy of Ancient Music in London, a musical club of which Bononcini himself was also briefly a member, until a plagiarism scandal drove him to leave London in 1732.[82] There is no record that this musical society ever performed *La Conversione* – perhaps because the musical score had already travelled by Dublin by the time the Academy was founded in 1726?

There is not enough known evidence at this time for us to be absolutely certain that the 'excellent Oratorio' about which Philip Perceval wrote to his brother in 1717 was, in fact, *La Conversione di Maddalena*. As we lack further information about Philip Perceval's history of international travel, the performance history of any of the Bononcini oratorios we have been discussing, or about the existence and circulation of musical scores, it would be irresponsible to present this possibility as a firm conclusion. The evidence presented above is, if not definitive, at least persuasive, and it should not be ignored. If true, it would mean that the manuscript musical score for *La Conversione* was in Dublin by 1717 and that the oratorio was known to a select Irish audience.

[82] H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726-1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes,' in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 51 (2020): p. 5.

La Conversione di Maddalena and Channel Row

If we accept the connection between Philip Perceval and *La Conversione*, then we can also connect the oratorio with the singer Stradiotti and, possibly through her, with the Channel Row community and the musical performance alleged by Stephen Radcliffe to have taken place at the convent in the mid-1720s. We know that professional musicians were sometimes invited to Perceval's musical gatherings. In a letter dated 3 May 1714, he wrote to his brother:

> Our Season for our Consort is now over, we perform'd ye Serenata wth great applause & when we go to Wood-park, we shall not forget, for I believe we shall have Viner,[83] Cousser, Cousin Ushers, Cosen Cowly, all of whom together wth y^r^ humb. Servt will be able to furnish out a good consort there in our great Dining room, as good in its kind, as ye hall.[84]

As we saw above, Stradiotti's last known public performance was of an Italian song written by Perceval at the Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin. It is plausible that Perceval would have invited the singer to one of his musical soirées. Stradiotti's Smock Alley performance took place in December of 1725; it was in the spring of 1726 that the *Dublin Weekly Journal* introduced the singer and her husband to Irish society, describing them as a cultured and sophisticated couple. It seems plausible that this ringing endorsement could have been based upon social connections forged at Perceval's 'belle assemblies'. Assuming that Perceval was in possession of a manuscript copy of the musical score to *La Conversione*, then we can draw a connection between this fact

---

83 William Viner (d. 1716) was Master of the State Music in Ireland before Cousser. Brian Boydell, 'Viner, William,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

84 Philip Perceval to Sir John Perceval, 3 May 1714, British Library, Egmont Papers, Add MS 47027, f. 105v. See also: Owens, *The Well-Travelled Musician*, pp. 145-6.

and the Channel Row community. Recalling Stradiotti's possible connection with the convent, we can see her as the link between Perceval's manuscript and the Dominican nuns.

To perform *La Conversione*, four singers are required to sing the roles of Mary Magdalene, her sister Martha, Divine Love (*Amor Divino*), and Profane Love (*Amor Profano*). All but Profane Love are sung by high voices – that is, by women, boys, or *castrati* – meaning that only one adult male singer is required to perform this oratorio. Mary and Divine Love are sung by sopranos, and Martha is sung by an alto. Perhaps meeting Stradiotti, an operatic soprano, in 1725 reminded Perceval of Bononcini's oratorio and prompted him to seek out an opportunity to organise a performance. This oratorio would have been an appropriate piece of music for the women of Channel Row to perform. The work's dramatic contents would have been especially fitting for a nun's solemn profession ceremony (although the story would have resonated strongly with nuns at any stage of their lives in religion), as it portrays a woman (Mary) being tempted by worldly pleasures, only to renounce them in favour of a life of spiritual devotion. The contrast between Mary's first and last arias is illustrative. She begins by singing:

Del favellar divino
serbo pur anche impressi
ne l'alma i sensi, e nell'orecchio il suono;
ma ch'io sul fior degli anni
deggia del viver mio la miglior parte
segnar col pianto, e calpestar col piede.
Con si rigida legge,
La senil gravità sol viene astretta,
Ma l'età giovenil non è soggetta.

I still nurture the

sensations of divine speech
impressed in my soul, and the sound in my ear;
but should I, in the flower of my years
desire for myself to live the best part
scarred by tears, and trampled underfoot?
Only grave maturity is constrained
with such rigid laws,
but the age of youth is not subject to them.

By the oratorio's end, though, her outlook has changed:

Sì sì, di pianto amaro
volo a rigar del pio Giesù le piante
le tergerò co'l crine,
le imprimerò co'baci,
v'aggiungerò le stille
de'balsami più rari, e più pregiati;
che può col Nume offeso
del mio cordoglio il sospirar loquace
mercer perdono, e stabilir la pace.

Yes, yes,
I fly to mark pious Jesus' feet with bitter tears.
I will wipe them with my hair,
I will imprint them with kisses,
I will add to them drops of the
most rare and precious ointments;
because the verbose sigh
can obtain absolution with the offended idol of

my grief, it can establish peace.[85]

The quartet of singers is accompanied by a small instrumental ensemble comprising a minimum of four string players, plus a keyboard instrument like a harpsichord or an organ, the latter of which we know the Channel Row convent owned and paid to have repaired and tuned in the mid-1720s.

We can now return to Radcliffe's accusation about Italian musicians performing at Channel Row, having formed a reasonable theory that the music which was played (and sung) was Bononcini's four-voice oratorio *La Conversione di Maddalena*. Who were the musicians who participated, and who may have been in the audience? We have already determined that the violinists Francesco Scarlatti and Matthew Dubourg are likely possibilities. The keyboard part could have been filled by a musician from the convent; seeing as they owned a working organ, it would be reasonable to suppose that someone from the community could play it. The remaining instrumental parts (lower stringed instruments) could have been filled by members of Perceval's musical coterie. The same might be true of the role of Profane Love, which must be sung by a mature man, although this would have been questionable practice for a community of Dominican nuns, even one as extra-Tridentine as Channel Row's. Another intriguing possibility is that the part of Profane Love could have been sung by a priest with a connection to the convent; Stephen MacEgan, who was the nuns' confessor in the 1720s, is one possibility, although nothing is currently known about his musical abilities.[86] A male singer may also have come from the community of friars based at the Dominican chapel on nearby Bridge Street; we know from a later source that good singers were highly valued by the local

[85] Liner notes for *Giovanni Bononcini: La conversion di Maddalena*, La Venexiana, directed by Gabriela Palomba, recorded September 2019, Giossa, 2020, CD, pp. 27 and 43.
[86] Fagan, *Diocese of Meath*, 105-6.

Dominican canons.[87] As for the high-voice roles of Mary, Martha, and Divine Love, we can reasonably assume that Stradiotti was a participant, and also that at least one of the women of Channel Row (boarding student or professed nun). Given the character's dramatic arc, the role of Mary is most likely to have been filled by a singer from the convent, or by a woman making her solemn profession at Channel Row. Aside from singing, Stradiotti's contributions to the performance may also have included training the Channel Row women in the vocal arts. She would have been able to advise on musical technique and affect, as well as Italian pronunciation. We can expect that the families of the singers would have been in the audience, especially if the occasion for the performance was a woman's solemn profession at the convent. The community's confessor, Stephen MacEgan, may have attended (if he was not participating, himself), perhaps as well as Stradiotti's husband, Carlo Gambarini. Sir Edward Bellew may have come to hear the organ he donated to the convent played in a public performance. As for the 'Protestant fine gentlemen' who stand accused of having attended this performance, Philip Perceval almost certainly would have been present, along with other members of his musical coterie.

Conclusion

> To spend such long periods facing the texts of the past can be dizzying,
> and it is not always a voyage of reason; the longer one pursues the past,
> the more unusual the coincidences one observes.[88]

[87] Fenning, 'The Mission to St Croix in the West Indies: 1750-1769,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 25 (1962): 93, quoting Hyacinth Kennedy OP to Charles O'Kelly OP, 20 September 1760.

[88] Doireann Ní Ghríofa, *a ghost in the throat* (Dublin: Tramp Press, 2020), p. 255.

I am aware that the speculations I offer in this chapter about *La Conversione* and the Channel Row community may come to be seen as being just as widely off the mark as Grattan Flood's were a century ago. Even if my conjectures are eventually proven wrong, though, the real take-away of this chapter is that as early as the 1720s, at a time when the issue of Catholic toleration was still being debated in Ireland, it is still possible to see in the available evidence a plausible chain of coincidences revealing a scenario in which a wealthy Protestant music lover, a semi-retired Italian operatic soprano, and a community of Irish Dominican nuns cooperated to stage a performance of Giovanni Battista Bononcini's *La Conversione di Maddalena*.

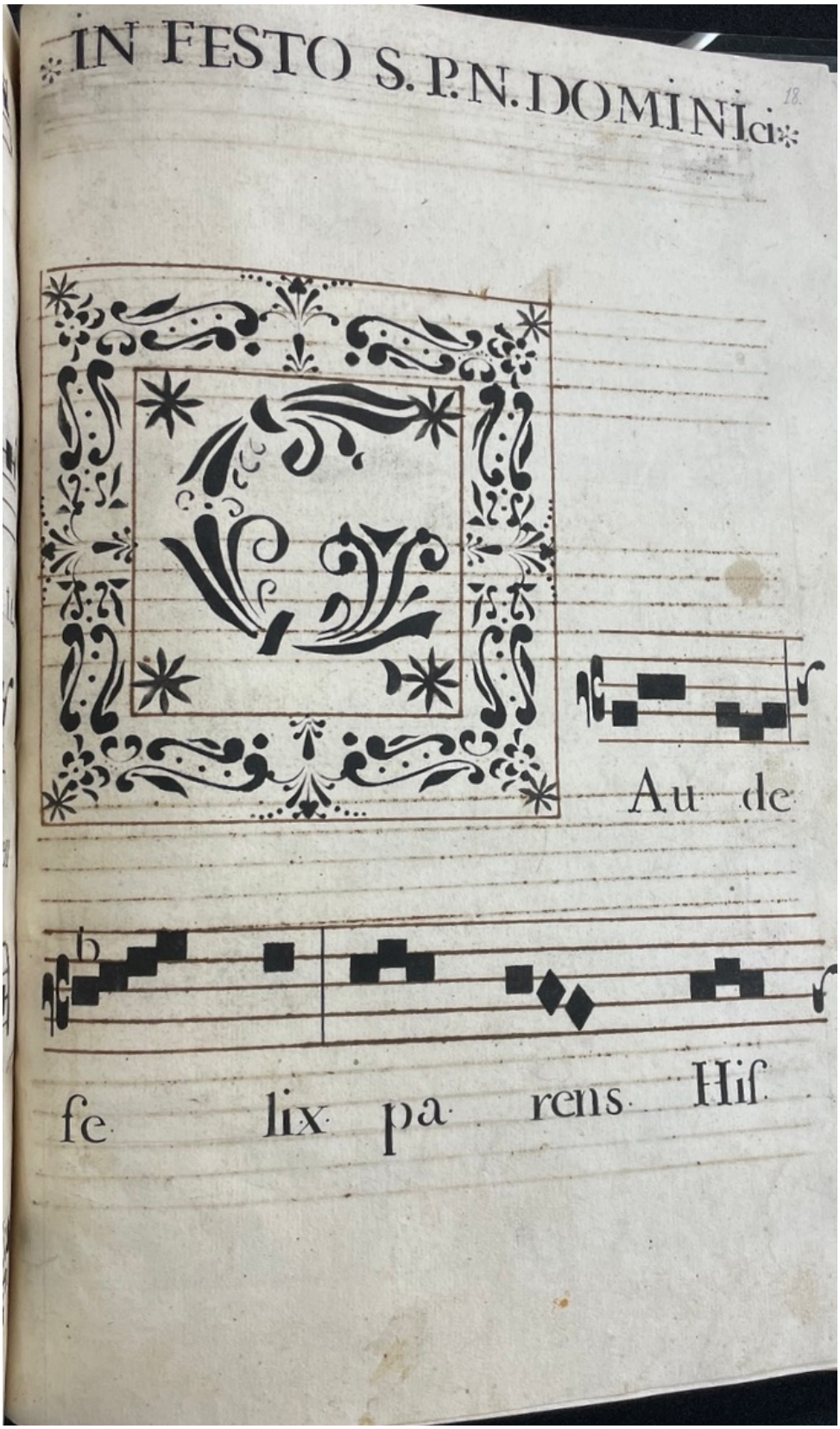


Fig. 3a – *Gaude felix parens* antiphon for the Feast of St Dominic from Bom Successo choirbook (c. 1775)

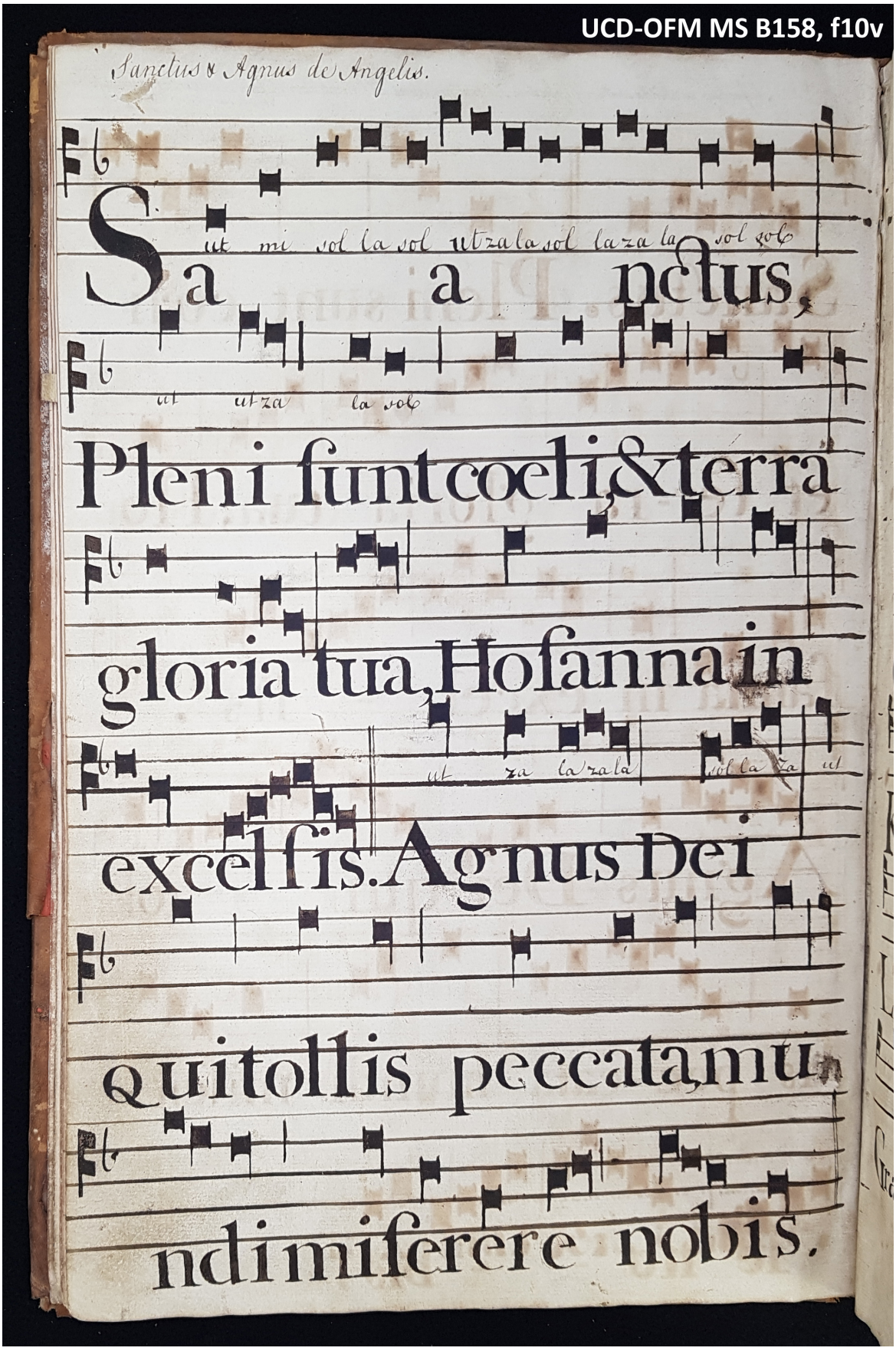


Fig. 3b – *Sanctus* from *Missa de Angelis* in St Anthony's College choirbook (1776)

CHAPTER 3

'*LAETABUNDUS EXSULTET FIDELIS CHORUS*': PLAINCHANT AT IRISH CONTINENTAL INSTITUTIONS

The starting point for this chapter is a set of hand-stencilled books of plainchant music which were made by and for continentally based Irish Catholic communities in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. One was made by a Fr J. O'Brien in 1776 for the Irish Franciscan College of St Anthony in Louvain,[1] and two others were made by Sr Anna (or Ana) O'Neill sometime after she made her profession with the Bom Sucesso convent of Irish Dominican nuns in Lisbon in 1775.[2] Studies do not often juxtapose similar sources from male and female religious houses, but I believe that examining these sources side by side allows the confluences and divergences within the eighteenth-century Irish Catholic musical experience to emerge more clearly.[3] Each of these choir books opens a window onto an Irish Catholic community's private devotions. In spite of the similarities between these manuscripts, it bears remembering that the communities in which they originated were very different and were destined for different vocations: the intention was for the students of St Anthony's College to eventually live out in the world as ordained priests with pastoral duties and care of souls, whether in Ireland or elsewhere (as often ended up happening); meanwhile, the nuns of Bom Sucesso observed

---

1 University College Dublin Archives, Franciscan MS B158 (UCD OFM MS B158). This book was catalogued by Ignatius Fennessy in 'The B Manuscripts in the Franciscan Library Killiney' in *Dún Mhuire, Killiney, 1945-95: Léann agus Seanchas*, ed. by Benignus Millett and Anthony Lynch (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1995), 150-251. I am the first to write about it in a historical context. See: Valenti, 'Portable Organs and Stencilled Plainchant: Music at Irish Continental Colleges in the Eighteenth Century,' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 37 (2022): pp. 142-3. Parts of this chapter adapt material which first appeared in this article.

2 Trinity College Dublin, Manuscripts 6405 and 6406 (TCD MSS 6405 and 6406).

3 Anne Bagnall Yardley's common-sense assertion that '[d]iscussions of "the monastic tradition" should mention the roles of both nuns and monks' also informed how I chose to structure this chapter. See Yardley's '"Ful Weel She Soong the Service Dyvyne": The Cloistered Musician in the Middle Ages,' in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 30.

strict enclosure, meaning that their lives under vows were destined to be lived entirely out of the public eye, separate from Irish *and* Portuguese society.

Plainchant: History and Historiography

Grove Music Online[4] defines plainchant as '[t]he official monophonic unison chant (originally unaccompanied) of the Christian liturgies', and it was an intrinsic part of Christian worship from the earliest times.[5] The term 'monophonic' (literally meaning 'single voice') describes music which is played or sung by a single voice (i.e. a singer or a single-voiced instrument like a flute or clarinet), or by a group singing or playing together in unison. The study of chant is its own discrete subspecialty of musicology, requiring at minimum an extensive knowledge of liturgical practices and how they mutated and varied across time and distance, the ability to read chant notation, and a willingness to make inferences about past practices based on what can be observed from living tradition still being practised today. I must stress from the outset that I do not intend for this chapter to emulate this kind of scholarship. These fascinating Irish sources most assuredly deserve attention from musicologists and liturgists; my contribution towards their study will focus on situating them in their various historical contexts – musical, liturgical, and pedagogical, for example – with the ultimate goal of positioning them in the context of eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history. The first challenge of this undertaking lies in the fact that the history of chant between, roughly, the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries is under-represented in both the grand narrative of European music history and the more specialist work on plainchant. As it pertains to this chapter, with its focus

---

4 Formerly the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.*

5 Kenneth Levy, et al., 'Plainchant,' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 5 November 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. In the context of Roman Catholicism, the term 'plainchant' is used more or less interchangeably with 'Gregorian chant'.

on sources dating from the very end of this enigmatic period in chant history, this is no small obstacle to be overcome.

Our first task is to better understand the nature of this lacuna in music historiography. The narrative of the earliest days of European music history is dominated by plainchant. Monophonic chant is ascendant until the narrative reaches the twelfth century or so, at which point plainchant's primacy is undermined by the advent of composed polyphony (and from the music historians' point of view, the creation of polyphonic musical sources) in the twelfth century.[6] Ruth Solie has famously written of how musicologists often conceive of music history in teleological terms, viewing it as a 'determinate, developmental process' through which musical creation has evolved organically over time.[7] Influenced by this metaphor of organic growth, the widespread European music-historical narrative – as exemplified in, for example, Richard Taruskin's monumental *Oxford History of Western Music* (6 vols., 2005) – has relegated monophonic plainchant to the role of the seed from which the flowering tree of more complex polyphonic music was to grow.[8] Even chant experts, who entertain a less reductively horticultural view of this area of music history, seem conspicuously uninterested in chant history after the medieval era; early modern chant is a woefully under-researched topic by all but the most devoted specialists. Tellingly, David Hiley's magisterial study of Gregorian chant devotes roughly 200 pages to the topic of pre-Tridentine chant, spending a mere ten pages discussing later developments (including Solesmes).[9] Even though it may have been overtaken in general music historiography by more complex forms of music, plainchant has remained a central

---

6 Polyphonic=multiple voices. See: Richard Taruskin, 'Polyphony in Practice and Theory,' in *The Oxford History of Western Music, Vol. 1: Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 147-68.

7 Ruth A. Solie, 'The Living Work: Organicism and Musical Analysis,' in *19th-Century Music* 4/2 (Autumn, 1980): p. 154.

8 Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music, Vol. 1*, pp. 1-68.

9 David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). The relevant chapter, entitled 'New chants for new times: from the sixteenth century to the present; aspects of performance', can be found on pp. 208-18.

feature of the Roman Catholic liturgy since before the period of the earliest surviving sources of notated music, and through to the present day. It was and continues to be a living tradition. It is, in Hiley's elegant words, the 'sacred sound to match the sacred space in which it is sung' – a sonic vestment, as it were, which has not gone out of use in the many centuries of the Church's history.[10] If the metaphorically organic view of European music history's progress allows us to roughly account for and delineate the early limit of the music-historiographical lacuna on plainchant in the early modern era, then we must look to the so-called 'Solesmes revival' of the nineteenth century to better understand its later edge. For the purposes of this chapter, which has at its heart a set of plainchant sources dating from the late eighteenth century, it is important to have clarity about the history and use of chant just prior to the drastic intervention made by the Benedictine monks of Solesmes. The persistent characterisation of this work as a 'revival' or 'renaissance' of plainchant further complicates the understanding of early modern chant. It implies that the practice had somehow become inert or even died out prior to the nineteenth century, when this is in fact far from having been the case.[11]

Solesmes Abbey was founded in the 1830s by Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805-75) on the site of a much older, ruined church. He and his followers sought to reintroduce the monastic way of life in France after the upheaval caused by the Revolution; to this end, they committed themselves to follow the strict Rule of St Benedict. Early on, the Solesmes monks began wearing the black Benedictine habit, and it became the work of the community's first choirmaster, Dom Joseph Pothier (1835-1923), to ensure that they *sounded* like monks, as well.[12] Pothier felt that

---

10 Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, p. 4.

11 In Taruskin's view, the Solesmes movement was a 'process of zealous stylistic restoration and revival'. In *Oxford History of Western Music, Vol. 4: Music in the Early Twentieth Century*, pp.59-130. Elsewhere, Robert F. Hayburn writes of the 'full renaissance of Gregorian chant' in his *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1979), p. 69. See also: Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998).

12 Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, p. 15.

the then-current way of singing liturgical chant was disconnected from earlier practice. 'It must be said', he wrote,

> In our era, especially since the sixteenth century, the liturgical melodies are no longer what they used to be. They are neither understood nor enjoyed in the way our forefathers understood and enjoyed them, nor are they interpreted in practice as our forefathers interpreted them. We have arrived at a heavy and monotonous style of performance, one that deprives the chant of all rhythm and colour, that destroys the charm – how shall I say it? – the very essence of the melody.[13]

Pothier strongly objected to the style of plainchant which had developed in France since the Council of Trent and sought, through his work at Solesmes, to re-establish the primacy of the pre-Tridentine Roman Rite – what he felt was 'the chant of out forefathers' – in French churches and beyond. His success ultimately inspired a deliberate break with what was then the common practice in plainchant study and performance in France.

Neil Gregor, writing as a historian with an interest in music, has noted that 'historians and musicologists seem to find it easier to find common intellectual ground when discussing (supposedly) bad, indifferent or musically uninteresting music',[14] and although I am loathe to imply that early modern plainchant belongs to any of these unappealing musical categories, Gregor's frank observation gives hope that the history of early modern plainchant may yet find

---

13 '*Il faut toutefois l'avouer: à notre époque, depuis le seizième siècle surtout, les melodies liturgiques ne sont plus ce qu'elles étaient autrefois; ells ne sont plus ni comprises ni goûtées comme les comprenaient et les goûtaient nos pères, et surtout ells ne sont plus interprétées dans la pratique comme nos pères les interprétaient. On en est arrive, sous ce dernier rapport, à une execution lourde et monotone, qui enlève au plain-chant tout rhythme et toute couleur, qui anéantit le charme, que dis-je? L'essence même de la mélodie…*' Dom Joseph Pothier, *Les melodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition* (Tournai, 1881), p. 9. The English translation can be found in Rev Robert Skeris's introduction to Dom Pierre Combe's, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore Marier and William Skinner (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), p. xii.

14 Neil Gregor, 'Why Does Music Matter?' in *German History* 34/1 (2016): p. 120.

its scholarly champion. That sorely needed music-historical work goes well beyond the brief of this chapter, but we will make some necessary inroads as we discuss the Irish plainchant books from the College of St Anthony's, Louvain and the Bom Sucesso convent in Lisbon.

Late Eighteenth-Century Irish Plainchant Choirbooks

The first thing to note about these Irish manuscripts is that they are above all *functional*, rather than beautiful and intended for display. Elaborate choirbooks with sumptuous illuminations can be counted amongst the great treasures of Church; to produce one required a major investment in resources (vellum, ink, tempera, gold leaf), and in the time and talents of the copyists and illuminators. In contrast, the Irish choir books are bound in undecorated leather and cloth,[15] and they were made with only pen and ink on plain paper. Most interestingly, each was made using a stencil set, a practice which had been common in France and the German-speaking lands from the early seventeenth century, and which was strongly associated with liturgical books.[16] This semi-automated process was far less time consuming than hand-lettering and required less skill, further speaking to the functional rather than aesthetic value of these manuscripts. The Dominican book features some modest stencilled embellishments, while the Franciscan book is not decorated at all (only a few words are rendered in red ink). Both books are approximately A3-sized (297 x 420 mm), and they are bound so that the pages lie flat when they are opened. This strongly suggests that they were meant to be set on a stand in common view of all choir members so that all could see and sing from it. This had been standard practice in monasteries and convents since the advent of

[15] The Franciscan book has unornamented leather binding, whilst the Dominican books both have simple cloth bindings.

[16] Hellmut Rosenfeld, 'Der Gebrauch der Schablone für Schrift und Kunst seit der Antike und das schablonierte Buch des 18. Jahrhunderts,' in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 48 (1973), pp. 71-84; Eric Kindel, *Stencil: A Descriptive Bibliography*… (Reading: Éditions à jour, 2019): pp. 4-8.

notated music in the Middle Ages. Finally, it is important to note that these kinds of choirbooks were not usually meant to be used in 'performance' (i.e. during a service). Their purpose was more to help singers learn the chants they would be required to sing from memory in various liturgical contexts – often, it should be said, during processions, in which it would be especially impractical for all of the singers to be reliant upon a single large choirbook.[17]

Having 'met' these manuscripts, as Christopher de Hamel might say,[18] and familiarised ourselves with their physical characteristics, we are now in a better position to discuss their musical contents. The Bom Sucesso choir books are 'cleaner' than the specimen from St Anthony's: the few scribal errors have had clean paper carefully pasted over them and the pages are ordered correctly. Meanwhile, the choir book from Louvain has missing pages and pages appearing out of order, and copious musical and spelling errors or inconsistencies (the spellings '*Kirie eleison*' and '*Kyrie eleyson*' appear in the *Missa de Angelis* and *Missa Regalis*, respectively). In one conspicuous instance, a music student or teacher has even handwritten solfège syllables as an aid for learning to sing a difficult musical passage.[19] Of course, what was decidedly bad practice on the part of this anonymous singer from St Anthony's in the eighteenth century is a boon to historians and musicologists studying this manuscript today. Much like an Old Irish gloss in the Würtzburg Pauline Epistles can reveal important information about the vocabulary, syntax, and even pronunciation of Irish in the mid-eighth century to modern linguists and philologists,[20] the solfège annotations found in the Louvain choir book allow us to make inferences about how plainchant was practised and perhaps taught at this Irish college. This

17 Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, p. 215.
18 See above, p. 41.
19 Solfège is a pedagogical tool in which a syllable (typically *do* or *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si* or *ti*) is assigned to each note of a musical scale. See: Andrew Hughes and Edith Gerson-Kiwi, 'Solmization,' in *Oxford Music Online,* accessed 30 March 2020, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.
20 Elliott Lash, Fangzhe Qiu, and David Stifter, eds., *Morphosyntactic Variation in Medieval Celtic Languages: Corpus-Based Approaches* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2020).

chance survival affords us a rare glimpse into the famous college's liturgical practices and helps us to situate them within a much wider European context. We will examine the Bom Sucesso and St Anthony's choirbooks in turn. These discussions will follow more general introductions to these institutions, in order to better understand the role of plainchant at each.

Plainchant at the Bom Sucesso Convent, Lisbon

We will look first at the choirbooks from the Irish Dominican convent of Bom Sucesso. By the end of the seventeenth century, there were three female monastic foundations on the continent which were created especially for Irish women: there were Irish convents in Dunkirk (Poor Clare, founded 1626), Lisbon (Dominican, founded 1639), and Ypres (Benedictine, founded 1682).[21] However, despite having this significant presence on the continent, nuns are almost entirely absent from the expansive literature on Irish Catholic migrants to early modern continental Europe. There is not even one chapter on nuns in the *Irish in Europe* series (2001-10). The nature of convents and the sources they generate may explain why these institutions have not received the same level of scholarly attention as, for example, the Irish colleges. Convent communities are insular by design; nuns do not occupy space in what we might call the Catholic public sphere in the same way that male clerics do. Given the general lack of scholarship on the Irish continental convents, it will perhaps not be surprising to find that the choirbooks discussed in this chapter are the first known musical sources to come to light from any of these institutions. Although there are fine studies of individual convents,[22] the wider

[21] Mícheál Mac Craith, 'Seraphic Sparks: The Irish Franciscan and Capuchin Colleges on the Continent,' in *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots and English College Networks in Europe, 1568-1918*, ed. Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 39.

[22] Patrick Nolan, *The Irish Dames of Ypres: A History of the Royal Irish Abbey of Ypres, and Some Account of Irish Jacobitism* (Dublin, 1908); Honor McCabe OP, *A Light Undimmed: The Story of the Convent of Our Lady of Bom Sucesso Lisbon, 1639-2006* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 2007).

history of Irish nuns in early modern Europe has yet to be written.[23] These rare sources from Bom Sucesso remind us of the important role that music had in female monastic life, and this chapter's discussion of them will hopefully inform and encourage further study of musical life in early modern Irish convents, both in Ireland and in Europe.

The foundation of the Irish Dominican convent of Nossa Senhora do Bom Sucesso was brought about principally through the machinations of Daniel O'Daly, a Kerry-born friar and skilled diplomat, and Iria de Brito, a wealthy and pious Portuguese noblewoman. The convent's foundation day (12th November 1639) was celebrated with an elaborate High Mass which blended liturgical splendour with the pomp of the Portuguese viceregal court. Royal approval was evident from the presence and participation of the vicereine, Margaret of Mantua, her courtiers, and personnel from the chapel royal, including the royal choir.[24] Although a timespan of more than a century separates this ceremony from the tenure of Ana O'Neill as prioress of the convent, it is interesting to wonder if a musical thread may connect these two parts of Bom Sucesso's history.[25]

Only one of the two choirbooks features a title page identifying the maker, '*Da Madre Soror, D. Anna de Iesus Onel*', i.e. Ana O'Neill. Although the other manuscript is technically anonymous, we can reasonably deduce that it shares similar origins, especially given the

---

[23] A complete survey of Irish continental convents to complement James E. Kelly's *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c. 1680-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020) has yet to be written, although we can look forward to the publication of Bronagh McShane's *Irish Women in Religious Orders, 1530-1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, forthcoming), which will include important new work based on the Bom Sucesso archives.

[24] Margaret Mac Curtain, *Ambassador Extraordinaire: Daniel O'Daly, 1595-1662*, 2nd ed (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2019), pp. 83-110; McCabe, *A Light Undimmed*, pp. 36-52. Accounts of the Bom Sucesso Foundation Day service can be found on p. 97 and pp. 49-50, respectively.

[25] The Bom Sucesso archives are now kept in the Portuguese national archives (Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo). Further study of this material may reveal valuable information about musical education, performance, and culture in the convent and its environs. Sadly, the disruptions caused by the Covid pandemic prevented me from travelling to Lisbon during my DPhil studies. I am grateful to Congregation Archivist Sr Mary O'Byrne, OP and Bronagh McShane for their kind assistance with my many emailed enquires about Bom Sucesso.

similarities in stencil-work. Ana O'Neill's father, João (Shane) O'Neill (1720-88), was one of the Irish 'Wild Geese' migrants who left Protestant-controlled Ireland for Catholic Europe. He arrived in Lisbon in 1740, where he was introduced to his future wife, Valentina Maria Josefa Ferreira Palyart, by Brian Brulaughan, the rector of the Irish Dominican college of Corpo Santo. Three of their children are known to have survived to adulthood; their daughters, Cecilia and Ana, both entered Bom Sucesso and served as prioresses in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Although Cecilia seems to have been a family name (João/Shane's mother was named Cecilia O'Hanlon), the potential for nominal determinism could mean that music was part of the girls' lives as they were growing up: St Cecilia is famously the patron saint of music and musicians.[26] Unfortunately, we do not know details about the music education received by the O'Neill sisters before they entered Bom Sucesso. Based on these manuscripts, it is evident that Ana O'Neill could read Latin[27] and specialised chant notation. We can reasonably further extrapolate that she was literate in her native language (presumably Portuguese), and she could likely read more conventional music notation, as well. As hers is the only name which appears in either source, it seems probable that these books were for her own use, telling us that she was able to sing.

We will look first at the manuscript with Ana O'Neill's title page. The words '*Madre Soror*' indicate that it was made during the period when she was leading the community.[28] This short choirbook (there are only 11 folios of notated music) contains three sequences, for Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, respectively.

---

[26] Patricia O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), pp. 137-8; McCabe, *A Light Undimmed*, p. 119.

[27] Latin literacy was not universal amongst early modern nuns, but it would not have been an unusual skill for a woman of Ana O'Neill's social standing (and standing within the convent community) to possess. See: Electa Arenal and Stacey Schlau, *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in Their Own Works*, 2nd ed, translated by Amanda Powell (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), pp. 129 and 144-6; and Evangelisti, *Nuns*, pp. 8, 31, and 164.

[28] This was either in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Convent records tell us that Cecilia and Ana O'Neill both professed in 1775. McCabe, *A Light Undimmed*, p. 248.

Table 1. Contents of Bom Sucesso Choirbook I (c. 1775) TCD MS 6406

Title Page	f. 1r
1. *Laetabundus exultet fidelis chorus*	ff. 2r – 5v
2. *Victimae paschali laudes* ('In Festo Paschae')	ff. 6r – 8v
3. *Veni Sancte Spiritus* ('In Die Penthecostes')	ff. 9r – 12r

In this context, a sequence is a plainchant setting of a sacred Latin text, usually sung after the alleluia at Mass. It has been described of being 'of ample dimensions'.[29] All three sequences are older plainchant melodies taken from extant collections; they are not Ana O'Neill's original compositions.[30] The second, more extensive Bom Sucesso choirbook contains antiphons – short musical settings of prose texts, usually consisting of a verse or less from the Bible, sung before or after a musical setting of a longer sacred text.[31] The first seventeen folios consist of antiphons for Holy Week services, specifically the Triduum of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. The final selection (ff. 18r-20r) is the antiphon (with a non-Biblical text) '*Gaude felix parens Hispania*' for the Feast of St Dominic – an appropriate choice for this Dominican convent.

Table 2. Contents of Bom Sucesso Choirbook II (c. 1775) TCD MS 6405

1. Antiphons for Maundy Thursday	ff. 1r – 6v
2. Antiphons for Good Friday	ff. 7r – 13r
3. Antiphons for Holy Saturday	ff. 13r – 17v
4. Antiphon for the Feast of St Dominic	ff. 18r – 20r

[29] Richard L. Crocker, John Caldwell, and Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Sequence', in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 4 December 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[30] Cantus Index (cantusindex.org) and the Portuguese Early Music (PEM) Database (pemdatabase.eu) were indispensable in identifying these antecedents.

[31] Michel Huglo and Joan Halmo, 'Antiphon,' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 29 November 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Both of these manuscripts reflect cultural trends in the wider eighteenth-century Portuguese Church. We will see in the next section of this chapter that the Louvain choirbook is representative of a much different culture of liturgical music. The reasons for this are more likely to have been influenced by the prevailing norms in the cities and dioceses in which the Irish institutions were located, rather than by any differences in liturgical practice between the male and female communities.

João V (r. 1706-50) oversaw an extensive programme of reform designed to 'Romanise' the culture of the Portuguese Church in the early eighteenth century, during the course of which his royal chapel was raised to the level of a Patriarchal Church in 1716 by Clement XI. This suited the monarch's political and, presumably, spiritual needs, as well as those of the Bragança dynasty at large. The steps which were taken to ensure Portuguese musical alignment with Roman practices were financed directly by the Crown and included bringing Roman church musicians to Lisbon to train Portuguese students (principally singers), as well as importing music books which were produced in Rome. Additionally, three Portuguese composers were sent abroad to learn to compose sacred music in the Roman style. The Portuguese court also engaged the Italian Gabrielle de Cimballi to teach 'Roman chant' to the singers of the Patriarchal Church.[32] There is some evidence that João personally had a special affinity for plainchant, or at least that is what the papal nuncio in Lisbon reported to the Vatican; sources report that plainchant was used extensively throughout the services of the Triduum which were held at the Patriarchal Church, deliberately echoing the 'long-established

[32] João Pedro d'Alvarenga, '"To Make of Lisbon a New Rome": The Repertory of the Patriarchal Church in the 1720s and 1730s,' in *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8/2 (2011): pp. 180-1; Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco and Manuel Carlos De Brito, 'Portugal, Republic of,' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 4 December 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

use in the Papal Chapel'.[33] Interestingly, we know from Ana O'Neill's choirbooks that plainchant was also heard at Bom Sucesso's Holy Week services. We do not know at this time whether the convent was following Roman use, or Roman use via the Lisbon Patriarchal Church, but the lingering influence of João's ultramontane efforts may partly help to explain the seemingly unremarkable contents of the late eighteenth-century choirbooks from Bom Sucesso.

Without knowing more about the convent's musical and liturgical practices in the eighteenth century, it is difficult to determine whether or not this plainchant would have been the only music sung by the Bom Sucesso nuns. We know that music was one of the few means by which cloistered nuns came into contact with the outside world,[34] and that it could be an important means through which convent communities could burnish their reputations and attract possible support and future postulants. This was especially important for expatriate foundations, which were not always able to draw upon long-established (often familial) ties with their surrounding communities.[35] Did the Irish nuns at Bom Sucesso look to impress Portuguese locals by singing the plainchant found in Ana O'Neill's choirbooks? Musically austere chant seems at odds with the ornate interior of the convent's church.[36] Generally speaking, the music which early modern nuns living elsewhere performed for such purposes was fashionable, elaborate polyphony, and not simple plainchant. However, we should allow for the possibility that João's musical preferences (which, as we have seen, reportedly included plainchant) may

---

33 '…*l'uso inveterato della Cappella Pontificia*'. Taken from the *Breve rezume de tudo o que se canta en cantochaõ, e canto de orgaõ pellos cantores na santa igreja patriarchal*, quoted in d'Alvarenga, 'To Make of Lisbon a New Rome,' p. 184.

34 See above, pp. 78-9.

35 Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe*, pp. 105-8.

36 The church's interior is described by McCabe in *A Light Undimmed*, pp. 60-3, which also includes colour photos.

have influenced wider tastes amongst Portuguese elites over the period of his long reign; this was a common pattern of cultural diffusion in *ancien régime* societies.[37]

The Bom Sucesso choirbooks offer us a valuable glimpse of how the community conducted its liturgy on the holiest days of the year. It is, however, only a glimpse – and a fragmented one, at that. We cannot draw many firm conclusions without knowing more about the wider context in which this music was sung. It is possible that this plainchant could have been the only sung component of the service; it is also possible that it was interspersed with choral polyphony and instrumental music.[38] Further research may reveal more pieces of this musical puzzle.

Plainchant at St Anthony's College, Louvain

Founded in 1607 by Flaithrí Ó Maoil Chonaire (Florence Conry), St Anthony's College, Louvain (Leuven) was one of the oldest of the Irish continental colleges. Ó Maoil Chonaire secured both permission to open the college and crucial financial support from the Spanish king, Felipe III (r. 1598-1621). His intention was for St Anthony's to be a Gaelic-Irish, Franciscan counterweight to the network of Old English, Jesuit and Jesuit-run Irish colleges already established in Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, St Anthony's was the linchpin of the Irish Franciscan network in northern Europe.[39] The college met its founding mandate of 'train[ing] Franciscans to combat heresy in

---

[37] T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 28-52.

[38] A fine example of this kind of presentation is Tomás Luis de Victoria's *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (1585).

[39] Mary Ann Lyons, 'The Role of St Anthony's College, Louvain in Establishing the Irish Franciscan College Network, 1607-60,' in *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon OFM, and John McCafferty (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), pp. 27-9; Mac Craith, 'Seraphic Sparks,' pp. 39-46.

Ireland'[40] in two main ways: first, it provided training to generations of Irish Franciscans, ostensibly preparing them for the particular rigours of the priesthood in early modern Ireland. Secondly, St Anthony's maintained an Irish-language printing press which produced Catholic religious texts ranging from the catechetical to the densely theological.[41]

One aspect of the college's history – a third way in which the college maintained its identity throughout its long existence – has received considerably less attention: the fact that it was home to members of a community who were sworn to follow the Rule of St Francis. Although St Anthony's College was not a fully monastic community, in that Franciscan friars had freedom of movement to preach and quest for alms, they were still bound to participate in the daily communal recitation of the Divine Office, which is especially interesting for us as this cycle of prayers could be spoken or sung. Indeed, we know from the college's 1700 statutes that vespers (the evening prayers of the Divine Office) were meant to be sung in the eighteenth century; even earlier than that, we know that a more elaborate style of Catholic worship was expected to be practised at St Anthony's College than was likely to have been experienced in Ireland at the time: the 1616 constitutions of the college state that incense was to be used, vestments worn and, notably, singers were to accompany celebrations of the principal feasts in the life of the college (including the feasts of St Patrick, St Anthony, and St Francis).[42] The updated statutes were more comprehensive,[43] comprising a total of eighty-four rules laid out under eight headings, with the first sixteen rules falling under the heading '*De Divino Officio et Choro*'. Nearly half of these statutes concern the participation of singers or chanters (*cantores*) and choir (*choro*) at the celebration of Mass and at vespers within the college. For example, one

---

40 Lyons, 'Role of St Anthony's,' p. 29.
41 Gillespie, 'The Irish Franciscans, 1600-1700,' in *Irish Franciscan*, p. 49; Mac Craith, 'Seraphic Sparks,' p. 44.
42 Brendan Jennings, *Louvain Papers, 1606-1827* (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1968), pp. 45-9. '*2. Quod acolithi et thuriferarius utantur superpelliciis, cantores, etc.* …'
43 Ibid., pp. 397-410.

statute states that on all feast days high Mass was to be sung with a deacon and sub-deacon assisting.[44] Other rules listed in this section make clear the continued importance of elaborate ceremonial in the college community's religious observances: incense was still to be used and the surplice to be worn,[45] and at sung vespers acolytes were to process into the chapel carrying candles.[46] In this context it can be seen that music was intended to be a key facet of the continental style of Catholic worship to which Church leaders sought to expose the students of the Irish colleges. This point is further underlined by the clause that all students were to study singing, further stating that anyone who neglected their duty to learn to sing would be required to wash the dishes ('*lavare utensilia*') of the students who had to step in and take their places (presumably in choir).[47] Knowing about these requirements helps us better understand the role of plainchant and ecclesiastical singing at St Anthony's, as well as the general context in (and for) which Fr O'Brien made his choirbook in 1776. Before moving on to discuss this source in greater detail, it is worth taking a moment to look at how the St Anthony's statutes compare with those of other Irish colleges.

It is worth comparing the Louvain statutes with those of other French and Flemish Irish colleges in order to gain a sense of attitudes towards plainchant beyond this single institution. We are fortunate that the statutes from four other Irish colleges have been recovered: Douai (founded 1596), Antwerp (in existence by 1608), Bordeaux and Toulouse (both founded in 1618). The Douai college's statutes were updated in 1767; of the 53 rules, only one pertains to singing or music. It orders students to make a 'diligent' study of plainchant, seeming to indicate

---

44 '*2. Diebus festivis cantetur summum sacrum cum diacono et subdiacono; et aliis omnibus diebus celebrator missa conventualis ad intentionem seu pro communi utilitate ipsius communitatis applicanda, quam omnes choro adstricti audient, ad medium sextae inchoandam, pro qua sufficient sabbatis et feriis secunda missa Beatae Virginis et defunctorum*.'

45 '*3. Cum in summon sacro et divino officio fuerit usus acolytarum et thuriferii, semper induantur superpelliceis, et cantores similiter in omnibus festis primae classis ac festis solemnioribus, judicio superiorum*.'

46 '*4. Ad vesperas quoties cantantur, et ad omne sacrum solemne, praetor duos cereos quibus uti solent acolyte, quatuor cerei accendantur in summon altari; ad* Benedicta *autem et missam defunctorum feriae secundae, tantum accendantur duo*.'

47 '*15. Omnes student addiscere cantum, et qui injuncti sibi officii cantum addiscere neglexerint, debeant lavare utensilia pro eis qui eorum locum suppleverunt*.'

that the college did not even maintain a choir, although the head of the college was empowered to bring the students together to 'practice the ceremonies' ('*ceremoniis exerceantur*') at his discretion.[48] Meanwhile, the Antwerp college's rules do not make any mention at all of plainchant or singing; in fact, in two cases they specify that students were to *say* ('*dicant*' and '*dicent*') hymns and psalms.[49] At Douai, the Prime, Matins, and Lauds hours of the Divine Office were recited ('*recitabunt*'), not sung.[50] Tadgh Ó Cianáin recorded a fleeting observation that he and the rest of Hugh O'Neill's entourage 'heard High Mass that was sung, with sweet, melodious organs and numerous musical instruments, and every musician besides' at the Irish College in Antwerp as they progressed towards Rome.[51] Further information is desirable but it is not, as yet, forthcoming from the known body of available archival sources.[52] This has prompted a leading musicologist to conclude that '[t]hese must have been musicians specially brought in for the occasion as the college was very poor and could not normally have afforded such a show'.[53]

Elsewhere, the Irish colleges in Bordeaux and Toulouse also required their students to learn ecclesiastical singing. At Bordeaux, it seems that having the students be taught singing was a special priority of the college's first superior, Diarmuid MacCarthy,[54] and to this end it

---

48 '*8. Presbiteri, et ad sacrum presbiteratus ordinem anhelantes, operam diligentem in ceremoniis ecclesiasticis perdiscendis collocabunt, et, ut officiis in ecclesia cantandis apti reddantur cantum saltem firmum quem planum vocant sedulo addiscent […] omnes seminarii presbiteri tenebuntur convenire simul ut in ceremoniis exerceantur quoties id expedire judicaverit praeses*'. John Brady, 'Irish Colleges at Douai and Antwerp,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 13 (1947): p. 49. It is interesting to compare this information with what is known of musical requirements at the English College at Douai (see below).

49 Ibid., pp. 59 and 63.

50 Ibid., p. 48.

51 Nollaig O Muraíle, ed. *From Ráth Maoláin to Rome: Turas na dTaoiseach nUltach as Éirinn* (Rome: Pontifical Irish College, 2007), pp. 126-7. '*Éistid aifreann onórach canntaireachta go n'orgánaibh comhmbinne ceólmhara go n'iomad d'ionstrumaintibh múisice agus gach oirfididh archeana.*'

52 Jeroen Nilis, 'The Irish College Antwerp,' in *Clogher Record* 15/3 (1996): pp. 7-86. Additionally, the college's 1680 statutes can be found in Brady's 'Irish Colleges at Douai and Antwerp,' pp. 57-63.

53 Noel O'Regan, '"Blessed with the Holy Father's Entertainment": Roman Ceremonial Music as Experienced by the Irish Earls in Rome, 1608,' in *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), pp. 43.

54 T.J. Walsh and Jean Baptiste Pelette, 'Some Records of the Irish College at Bordeaux,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 15 (1950): p. 97. '*unus autem illorum, arbitrio superioris, cantum ecclesiasticum statutis horis docebit*'.

was stipulated that after lectures students were to be given a recreational hour to spend in learning ecclesiastical singing and 'other pious and honest exercises' as determined by the superior. It is also clear from this source that music was meant to be a part of the daily life of the college; morning prayers were to be accompanied by hymns and psalms ('*matutinas preces cum hymnis et psalmis consuetis*').[55] We can further appreciate the significance of the Bordeaux statutes, knowing that they were also followed for over a century by the Irish college in nearby Toulouse; it is therefore reasonable to assume that the study of chant was intended to be part of the Toulouse students' training from the time of its foundation. Later, in 1752, Charles-Antoine de la Roche-Aymon, the archbishop of Reims, drafted a set of statutes especially for the Toulouse college, which were subsequently ratified by Benedict XIV in 1753.[56] They include a nearly identical clause to the one from the Bordeaux statutes which required students to spend '*unam horam instar recreationis* […] *partim in addiscendo Cantu Ecclesiastico*'.[57] It is noteworthy that of all the Irish colleges we have looked at here,[58] only the Franciscan college of St Anthony's codified requirements about the use of music in the *liturgical* practices of the community in its statutes. This speaks to the intended role of music and plainchant in the lives of its students: more than a necessary exercise, the college leaders wanted music and plainchant to be part of their daily spiritual lives. Given this emphasis, perhaps it is less surprising to find that the only known manuscript of plainchant from an early modern Irish college comes from St Anthony's.

---

55 Ibid., 102. '*finita lectione, unam horulam instar recreationis singuli consumant in recreatorio seu loco ipsis ad hoc destinato, partim in addiscendo cantu ecclesiastico, partim in aliis piis et honestis exercitiis prout superiori visum fuerit*', p. 101.

56 Patrick Ferté, 'The Statutes of the Irish College, Toulouse, "Le Séminaire Royal de Sainte Anne" (1752-54)' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 63 (2010): p. 274.

57 Ibid., p. 278. See also: Patrick Boyle, 'The Irish Seminary at Toulouse (1603?), (1659-1793),' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 1 (1912): p. 138. The wider context here is interesting to note, in that the archbishop's own cathedral foundation at Reims maintained a *Maison au Pélican*, where an average of ten choirboys at a time were trained to sing in the cathedral choir – a choir which was periodically held to the highest musical standards in the land as it was a key part of the religious ceremonies which accompanied the coronation of the French monarch. This stands in stark contrast to what we know of the Irish situation. See: McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* I, pp. 450-2.

58 Sadly, the statutes from every Irish college have not survived, so our survey is, as ever, by necessity one of fragments.

The example of St Isidore's, the Irish Franciscan college in Rome, serves as a valuable reminder of the limitations of sources like college statutes. These rules were drawn up and approved by Irish and local continental Church leaders, usually in the earliest days of a college's history, and reading these documents today allows us to see what those leaders thought Irish students should be learning during their time at the continental colleges. These sometimes optimistic or ambitious goals were not always realised in practice, and we must bear in mind that reality rarely reflected the vision set forth in these documents. As we have seen, the statutes of a number of Irish colleges addressed the need for students to learn and experience Catholic liturgical music; this tells us that music was *meant* to be included in the educational programmes of these institutions. What none of these statutes can tell us, though, is what steps the colleges took to ensure that students were able to study music and, more importantly, if such steps were taken at all in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The history of liturgical music at St Isidore's illustrates the disparity which could exist between the lofty ideals of a college's founding leaders and how those ideals were realised in practice over successive generations. The college's original statutes are not available for us to consult today, but we know from other sources that liturgical music was a concern of its celebrated founder, Luke Wadding (1588-1657),[59] and we can infer from the available information that the college's statutes would have included musical requirements for the students. Music is not often mentioned in studies of Wadding's life and career, perhaps

[59] It is key here to distinguish the Franciscan Luke Wadding from the Wexford-born Luke Wadding (1628-87), bishop of Ferns. The younger Wadding is known to Irish music historians as the author of *A Pious Garland* (1684), a collection of English-language devotional texts set to traditional English and Irish melodies. See: Nóirín Ní Riain, 'The Nature and Classification of Traditional Religious Songs in Irish: With a Survey of Printed and Oral Sources,' in *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), p. 191.

unsurprisingly, as he did not to our knowledge compose music himself.[60] However, thanks to his nephew and biographer Francis Harold (c. 1617-85), we know of the steps that Wadding took to ensure that the liturgical music heard at St Isidore's would be a credit to the college. In his *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi* (1662), Harold describes how Wadding procured two bells for the college's chapel and was working to acquire a portable organ for the chapel at the time of his death, and how he commissioned a set of illuminated choir books to replace the college's existing printed collection, which had become worn out through regular use. Though he planned to have ten made, only six were completed in his lifetime.[61] Four are currently accounted for: two remain at St Isidore's (dated 1653 and 1654), one is held in the University College Dublin (UCD) Archives as part of the Franciscan manuscripts collection,[62] and one is currently undergoing restoration at UCD.[63] The art historian Giovan Battista Fidanza has described the 1653 antiphonary as demonstrating 'the attention that Wadding paid to rendering the College in the best possible way in every aspect'.[64] One wonders if the college would have maintained its religious musical culture if it had been more closely allied to Wadding's legacy.

Wadding's excellent reputation as a scholar and theologian earned him appointments to a number of the congregations of the Papal Curia in the early seventeenth century.[65] Of special interest to us is his work with the Congregation of Rites, to which he was appointed by Urban VIII in 1629 to consult on reforms to the Roman breviary. Through this work,

---

60 See, for example, the recent collection *Luke Wadding, the Irish Franciscans, and Global Catholicism*, ed. Matteo Binasco (London: Routledge, 2020), especially 'Part III: The Cultural World of Wadding,' pp. 93-164.
61 Francis Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi, Editio tertia emendatior cura Patrum Provinciae Hiberniae* (Florence: Tipografia Barbera, 1931), p. 68.
62 UCD-OFM MS B166.
63 I am grateful to Dr Frank Lawrence, Hugh McKenna, OFM, and the always helpful staff at UCD's Library and Archives for their invaluable assistance with my queries about these MSS.
64 Giovan Battista Fidanza, *Luke Wadding's Art: Irish Franciscan Patronage in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2016), p. 143; images on pp. 146-9.
65 Binasco, 'Not Only a "Hibernese" in the *Urbs*: Luke Wadding and his Entourage in Seventeenth-Century Rome,' in *Luke Wadding*, pp. 78-9.

Wadding, 'the most influential Irishman at the Papal Curia',[66] succeeded in having the Office of St Patrick added to the revised Roman breviary, ensuring that the feast day of Ireland's patron saint would be included in the universal Roman Catholic liturgical calendar.[67] When news of this achievement reached John Roche in Ireland, he excitedly wrote to Wadding in Rome, 'God reward you for procuring his feast to be put in the Roman calendar, the hymns, antiphons, responsories be them that were in the ancient office'.[68] However, I have not found any indication that hymns, antiphons, responsories, or other musical selections were included for the Feast of St Patrick in the Roman breviaries which reflected Urban VIII's reforms. Well-known medieval Patrician hymns like *Audite omnes* or *Ecce fulget clarissima* do not appear in any of the reformed breviaries, either.[69] Further study by liturgists and scholars of early modern chant may clarify Roche's comments.

A fascinating study by the Italian musicologists Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino discusses a late fifteenth-century codex of miscellaneous theological and liturgical texts found in the St Isidore's library; a handful of hymns in Latin and Italian (called *laude*) are found in this manuscript, nine of which include musical notation.[70] The authors hypothesise that this codex was one of many sent to the Irish college at Wadding's instigation when he was in the process of establishing what he hoped would be a world-class library at the Irish college.[71] According to Carboni and Ziino, this codex contains a collection of miscellaneous materials, only some of

---

66 Idem., 'Conclusion,' in *Luke Wadding*, p. 201.

67 Benjamin Hazard, 'Luke Wadding and the Breviary of Urban VIII: A Study of the Book Trade Between Rome, the Low Countries and the Spanish Empire,' in *Studia Hibernica* 39 (2013): pp. 89-92.

68 Quoted in: Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, '"The Most Adaptable of Saints": The Cult of St Patrick in the Seventeenth Century,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 49 (1995): p. 90.

69 Ann Buckley, 'From Hymn to Historia: Liturgical Veneration of Local Saints in the Medieval Irish Church,' and Senan Furlong, OSB, 'The Medieval Office of St Patrick,' in *Music, Liturgy and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context*, ed. Buckley (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2017), pp. 161-83 and pp. 185-204.

70 Carboni and Ziino, 'Polyphonic Laude and Hymns in a Franciscan Codex from the End of the Fifteenth Century,' in *Early Music History* 31 (2012): pp. 87-151.

71 Ibid., p. 91. On the library Wadding built at St Isidore's, see: John McCafferty, 'Luke Wadding: A Life In and For Books,' in *Luke Wadding*, pp. 108-9.

which happen to be notated music. It should not be taken as evidence of a systematic effort by Wadding to amass a collection of musical manuscripts for St Isidore's; as we saw above, when he *did* turn his attention to the college's musical affairs, Wadiding commissioned a set of brand-new, illuminated volumes.

As it is, however, we know from the 1782 visitation report by Cardinal Vitaliano Borromeo (1720-93) that, by the late eighteenth century, the college's liturgical affairs no longer reflected the lofty standards set by Wadding in the seventeenth century. The Italian cardinal was not impressed by what he observed at St Isidore's. 'It is publicly said by the Seculars that the Religious of San Isidoro are very much dedicated to wine, and stink in the matters of women',[72] he wrote in his report, amongst many other damning observations. Concerning musical and liturgical matters specifically, Borromeo was shocked that the more senior figures of the college set a bad example during High Mass, 'chattering unnecessarily, laughing loudly, and standing dishevelled'.[73] The chapel's breviaries and choir books were found to be worn out and useless.[74] An inventory of the college's *Libri del Coro* is included at the end of the visitation report, and of the seven books listed, three were assessed as being in poor condition.[75] The remaining four included a serviceable Roman Gradual, a modern Roman Antiphonary, a collection of modern hymns, and a book of music to accompany the annual cycle of feast days. The final two are interesting because they are *colle note* (with notated music) and are likely to have come from the collection of illuminated liturgical books commissioned for the college by Wadding in the previous century.

---

[72] '*Che pubblicamente si dice dai Secolari, che i Religiosi di S. Isidoro sono molto dediti al vino, e puzzano in materia di Donne*.' Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide (APF), Collegi Vari 51, f. 50r-v.

[73] '*…in tempo della Messa canta* […] *ciarlando inutilmente, ridendo forte, e stando scomposti*'. Ibid., ffs. 47v-48r.

[74] Ibid., f. 48r.

[75] Ibid., f. 80r.

Finally, Borromeo was shocked that the community often neglected its choral duties, writing:

> On the frequency of choir: Four Religious state under deposition that it is little frequented by those who have the obligation of attending and nothing, or almost nothing, comes from the Superior, namely the Guardian, and Vicar. Four other Religious state under deposition that choir is somewhat lacking. But all eight agree that the Superior is very [obscured by binding] in this, and one deposes that this serves as a warning and a scandal to the community.[76]

It is important to mention, however, that in this context, 'choir' ('*coro*') can refer to the space in which the community recited the Divine Office, and so Borromeo may not have been evaluating singers in this case.

In contrast to the unpromising picture painted by Borromeo, we know that the early modern English continental colleges provided extensive musical training; indeed, some of these institutions were explicitly required to do so.[77] For example, the 1579 bull of foundation for the Venerable English College, Rome, Gregory XIII required that students be instructed in ecclesiastical singing, and to that end, the records show payments to musical instructors for the

---

[76] Ibid., f. 47v. '*Della frequenza del Coro: Depongono quattro Religiosi, che pochissimo è frequentato da quelli, che ne hanno l'obbligo e niente, o quasi niente dà Superior cioè Guardiano, e Vicario. Quattro a Religiosi depongono, che v'è qualche mancanza. Tutti otto però convengono essere in questo i Superiori molto [obscured by binding], ed uno depone, ciò servire di ammonizione, e scandalo alla comunità.*' My thanks to Tania Batelli-Kneale for assisting me with this translation.

[77] The most broadly conceived study of this topic of Andrew Cichy's admirable *'How Shall We Sing the Song of the Lord in a Strange Land?' English Catholic Music After the Reformation to 1700: A Study of Institutions in Continental Europe* (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2013). Important insights about music at St Omers, specifically, can be found in Peter Leech and Maurice Whitehead's two articles: '"In Paradise and Among Angels": Music and Musicians at St Omers English Jesuit College, 1593-1721' and '"*Clamores Omnio Atque Admirationes Excitant*": New Light on Music and Musicians at St Omers English Jesuit College, 1658-1714' in *Tijdschrift van de Koniklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 61 and 66 (2011 and 2016): pp. 57-82 and pp. 133-48. On English college students' musical accomplishments, see Cichy, 'Music, Meditation, and Martyrdom in a Seventeenth-Century English Seminary,' in *Music & Letter* 97/2 (2016): pp. 205-20.

'*scolari*' and the college regularly employed an organist until 1610.[78] Meanwhile, the English College at Douai was ordered by Propaganda Fide to provide musical training to its students, and in 1628, Urban VIII decreed that no student from that college could be ordained or promoted without first demonstrating commensurate musical ability.[79] That same year, whether by design or coincidence, an Exeter-born church musician named Hugh Facy arrived at the college. He taught plainchant there for many years and came to be lauded for greatly improving the quality of the Divine Office.[80] The amount of detailed information about musical topics which can be found in the archives of the English continental colleges further underlines its comparative scarcity in Irish college archives. St Anthony's is the only Irish college from which both eighteenth-century statutes concerning music and a musical source survive.

Fr O'Brien's Choirbook

The first page of the Louvain choir book bears the inscription '*Pro Choro Fratrum min:hib: Collegii S. Antonii de Padua Lovanii, scripsit F.J. Ô Brien. 1776*'. It is possible that the scribe was Fr Jacobus or John O'Brien, a '*Dubliniensis Hibernus*' who matriculated at the University of Louvain in 1766. He was ordained at Mechlin in 1775 and by 1782 was recorded as residing at the 'Adam and Eve' Franciscan Chapel on Cook Street, Dublin. It is possible that this choir book indicates his involvement with the Friars Minor began in Louvain.[81] Hiley has indicated that choir books like the one in question were typically made and used by a foundation's cantor to

---

78 Graham Dixon, 'Music in the Venerable English College in the Early Baroque,' in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio: atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma 4-7 giugno 1992*, ed. by Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994), pp. 470-2.

79 Interestingly, the Irish College at Douai (founded 1596) required the same of its students, although this is the only music-related rule included in its statutes: the statutes make no mention of, for example, choral obligations. See: Brady, 'Irish Colleges at Douai and Antwerp,' pp. 45-57.

80 Cichy, 'Lost and Found: Hugh Facy,' in *Early Music* 42/1 (2014): p. 99 and *English Catholic Music After the Reformation to 1700*, p. 47.

81 Nilis, 'Irish Students at Leuven University, 1548-1797 (With Index),' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 60 (2006/7): p. 229. See also: Reginald Walsh, 'A List of Ecclesiastics That Took the Oath of Allegiance,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 1 (1912): p. 60.

aid in teaching chant to other members of the community.[82] In Catholic practice, the cantor was responsible for teaching new singers and generally overseeing liturgical matters in a cathedral or monastic foundation,[83] and we can reasonably infer from this manuscript that Fr O'Brien held this position – or one very similar to it – at St Anthony's.[84] Nor would he necessarily have been the first person to hold such a position at the college. The college's mortuary book, which accounts for deaths from as early as 1613 and as late as 1731, recorded the passing at St Anthony's on 5 December 1706 of Thomas M'Hugo, who was the choirmaster ('*rector chori*').[85] Many more people could have played a similar role at St Anthony's throughout the period covered by this source and beyond, but Fr M'Hugo was seemingly the only one to have died in post.

Looking once more beyond the walls of St Anthony's, we are currently able to name two other cantors from Irish continental colleges in the eighteenth century. The first is James Donnelly, OP, who was *regens primarius* at San Clemente from 1715-9. During that time, he produced a manuscript choirbook which remained at the college after he left Rome and returned to Ireland.[86] The second Irish cantor we can identify is Bartholomew Fitzgerald, OFM, who was based at the small Irish Franciscan college in Boulay from 1733-6. At present, we do not know more about his musical activities there, but we can infer from the fact that he was transferred to the College of the Immaculate Conception in Prague specifically to 'train

---

[82] Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, p. 215.

[83] Joseph Dyer, 'Cantor,' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 5 November 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[84] If he can indeed be correctly identified as the same Fr O'Brien who was affiliated with the Adam and Eve Chapel in 1782, then there is the exciting possibility that he occupied the same role on Irish soil.

[85] Patrick Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense: being a collection of original letters and papers illustrative of the history of the Irish Church from the Reformation to the year 1800*, (Dublin: W.B. Kelly, 1884), III pp. 46-55; at p. 53.

[86] Fenning, 'SS. Sisto and Clemente: 1677-1797' in *San Clemente Miscellany*, ed. Leonard E. Boyle and Luke Dempsey, Vol. 1 (Rome: S. Clementem, 1977-78), p. 55. Although Fenning himself viewed this choirbook in the library at San Clemente, it is now believed lost. I am very grateful to Paul Lawlor OP and Ian McBride for looking into this matter for me in the college's archives. Donnelly's personal copy of the Dominican *Cantus Vesperarum totius anni* (Paris, 1704) survives in Drogheda. See: Fenning, 'The Library of a Preacher of Drogheda: John Donnelly, OP (d. 1748),' in *Collectanea Hibernica* 18/19 (1976/77): p. 73.

the friars in Gregorian chant'[87] that he had previously played a similar role in France.[88] His arrival in Prague came mere months before the announcement that the papal nuncio in Vienna had authorised a visitation to be carried out at the Irish Franciscan college. Although the official decree was not issued until late November of 1736, it is interesting to wonder if the college authorities hurried to bring an Irish cantor to Prague upon first hearing that this inspection was likely to be ordered. Indeed, the college community was evaluated on the 'observance of liturgical obligations' and 'the quality and observance of choral worship' and found wanting: there were only three or four singers in the choir (and Fr Fitzgerald was presumably one of them).[89] Further study in continental archives may reveal more about these two Irish cantors, but for the present we will return to Fr O'Brien of Louvain, whose manuscript choirbook we can now discuss.

Table 3. Contents of St Anthony's Choirbook (1776)

Title Page	f. 1r
1. Te Deum	ff. 1v – 5v
2. In Festo Patrocinii S. Joseph	ff. 6r – 6v
3. Missa Hispanica	ff. 7r – 8v
4. Missa de Angelis	ff. 9r – 10v
5. Missa Regalis	ff. 11r – 12r, top
6. Missa Paschalis	ff. 12r, bottom – 12v

87 Jan Pařez and Hedvika Kuchařová, *The Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1629-1786*, trans. Jana Stoddart and Michael Stoddart (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2015), pp. 134 and 184.

88 Notably, none of the known surviving documents concerning the foundation of the college in Boulay indicates that proficiency in plainchant was required or expected from members of the community. In light of this, it is difficult to determine whether Fr Fitzgerald's presence there as someone capable of teaching singing was by design or was a happy coincidence. See: Jennings, 'The Irish Franciscans at Boulay,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 11 (1944): pp. 118-53.

89 Národní Archiv, Archiv Pražského Arcibiskupství, B 65/13. I have relied on Pařez and Kuchařová's summary of the full visitation report as the Covid pandemic made it impossible for me to access it myself. See their *Irish Franciscans in Prague*, pp. 128-36.

7. [unknown fragment; Psalm 33:2 text]	ff. 13r, top – 13v, top
8. Missa S. Didaci Confessoris	ff. 13v, bottom – 14r, top
9. Missa Sacrorum Stigmatum (BNPF)	ff. 14r, bottom – f. 15r, top
10. S. Petride	ff. 15r, bottom – f. 19v
11. Hymnus, Veni Creator Spiritus	f. 20 (loose)
12. Cantores incipient psalmum; Hymnus pro Gratiarum Actione (i.e. Te Deum laudamus)	f. 21 (loose) Same as 1.

Assuming that Fr O'Brien was responsible for organising liturgical services at the college, it will be interesting to look closer at the contents of his choir book. Judging from the titles alone (Table 1), this is a collection of twelve votive masses and hymns.[90] With few exceptions, these seem to be original compositions in the Neo-Gallican style (to be discussed further below). The titles of the masses are particularly interesting: the *Missa Sacrorum Stigmata BPNF* (No. 9)[91] was of obvious significance to the Franciscan community, whilst the *Missa S Didaci Confessoris* (No. 8) honoured St Didacus of Alcalá (c. 1400-63; canonised 1588), a Franciscan saint. The mass for St Joseph (No. 2) may commemorate another Franciscan, the recently canonised St Joseph of Copertino (1603-63; canonised 1767) who was, appropriately for this community, the patron saint of students.[92] The *Missa Hispanica* is more perplexing, as Louvain was under Austrian, not Spanish, rule at the time this choir book was made.[93] The

[90] Votive masses exist outside the standard liturgical calendar and are held for specific intercessory purposes, i.e. a Requiem Mass for the Dead.
[91] An abbreviation of *Beatissime Pater Noster Francisco*.
[92] St Joseph of Copertino is perhaps most famous for the religious ecstasies which reportedly caused him to levitate. See: Michael Grosso, *The Man Who Could Fly: St Joseph of Copertino and the Mystery of Levitation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), pp. 18-20; David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 168.
[93] The twelfth mass in the Dutch collection of *Missae Novae Festis Solemnioribus Decantande* (Strichter: Utrecht, 1726), pp. 78-85 is subtitled '*vulgo Hispanica*', but its text does not depart from the Mass Ordinary and the music does not match what we find in Fr O'Brien's choirbook. This is, however, an intriguing connection from a culturally different but geographically close context which may, upon further research, reveal a different explanation than

Missa Regalis, or Royal Mass (No. 5) is another item which seems to bear no relation to the political status of the Duchy of Brabant in the late eighteenth century – surely a *Missa Imperiale* would have better acknowledged the sovereignty of the Empress Maria-Theresa? However, the college's mortuary book may hold the key to understanding the inclusion of these two masses in Fr O'Brien's choir book. After listing the names of members of the St Anthony's community who died at the college or its environs ('*obiit hic*'), the book then goes on to record the deaths of the college's benefactors,[94] including the three last Spanish Habsburg monarchs: Felipe III, whose annual grant to the college was a critical early source of funding,[95] Felipe IV, and Carlos II, each of whom followed his predecessor's example and continued to patronise the Irish Franciscan college.[96] The mortuary book records the exact dates of their deaths and, in light of this, it seems possible that the *Missa Hispanica* and the *Missa Reglais* which appear in Fr O'Brien's choir book functioned within the St Anthony's community as votive masses to be sung for the departed royal benefactors of the college, perhaps on an annual basis. The Royal Mass could also have been sung for James II, another of the college's supporters whose death is recorded in the mortuary book. The *Missa de Angelis* (No. 4) may have been sung for the same purpose, commemorating the many departed benefactors who were neither Spanish nor royalty.

Following the *Missa Paschalis* (No. 6) on f. 12, the manuscript becomes more disordered. There is a noticeable change in font and style from f. 13 onwards: the size of the musical notes and text is slightly larger than that of the first folios, and certain letters and words begin to appear in red ink. This sudden change of style in the midst of the choir book is especially

---

my own for the Irish book's inclusion of a *Missa Hispanica*. See: Rudolf Rasch, 'Use and Abuse of Gregorian Chant in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic,' in *The Di Martinelli Music Collection (KULeuven, University Archives): Musical Life in Collegiate Churches in the Low Countries and Europe, Chant and Polyphony*, ed. Bruno Bouckaert and Eugeen Schreurs (Leuven: Alamire, 2000), p. 337. Importantly, Rasch also has no explanation for the use of this subtitle.

94 Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense* III, pp. 53-5.

95 Gillespie, 'Irish Franciscans, 1600-1700,' pp. 49-50. The St Anthony's mortuary book describes him as '*Hispaniarum Rex Catholicus, hujus Colegii Fundator et Dotator*'.

96 Philip IV and Charles II are described as '*Rex Catholicus, pientissimus continuator Eleemosynae nostrae fundationis*' and '*Rex Catholicus, fundationis nostrae Continuator*', respectively.

intriguing when we remember that the manuscript was made with stencils; it clearly indicates that the two parts of Fr O'Brien's book were made under different conditions, using different stencils at the very least. The musical contents of the latter part of the book are also less orderly than what preceded them. The material for the mass for St Didacus (No. 8) begins only on the lower verso side of f. 13; the recto and upper verso sides contain a fragment (No. 7) of a plainchant setting of Psalm 33:2 ('*Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore semper laus ejus in ore meo*').[97] This seems to be the conclusion of an as yet unidentified chant, as the text on f. 13 begins with '*semper laus*'. The same psalm verse is used – this time in its entirety – in the final chant bound in the choir book, *S Petride* (No. 10). Recognising that '*S Petride*' is very likely to be '*S Petri de*' (i.e. 'St Peter of') brings us closer to making an identification of this particular chant. It seems very likely that it honours Peter of Alcántara, a sixteenth-century Spanish Franciscan saint who was admired by the Irish Franciscans.[98] The text for this chant comprises Psalm 33:2, followed by the *Gloria Patri* doxology.[99] Further analysis at this granular level is perhaps best left to chant scholars; the remainder of this chapter's discussion of the Louvain choir book will continue to situate this unique source in historical context.

I would like to return now to the *Missa de Angelis* because it contains the passage which, as mentioned above, has been partially annotated with solfège syllables. Midway through the mass, at the top of f. 10v, the word 'Sa-a-nctus' is sung as a 14-note phrase. Each of these notes is accompanied by its corresponding solfège syllable, reading '*ut-mi-sol-la-sol-ut-za-la-sol-la-za-la-sol-sol*'. This chance survival contains an important clue which helps us to better identify the musical (and music-historical) background of this choir book. Namely, the use of the syllable *za* was limited to a very specific moment in the history of plainchant and chant pedagogy, and its

97 'I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall be always in my mouth'.
98 See: Anthony Bruodin, *Synopsis vitae, virtutum, et miraculorum S. Petri de Alcantara* (Prague, 1669).
99 '*Gloria Patri, et Filio, et spiritui sancto: sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen*'.

appearance in this source is a valuable clue in deciphering the musical background of this collection of plainchant.

Za is a now obsolete solfège syllable which, when used, corresponded with the lowered seventh degree of a scale (i.e. in the key of C, *za* would denote B-flat). We encounter it mainly in sources originating in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France – specifically, we find it in sources relating to what has come to be called neo-Gallican chant. The origins of this type of chant lie in the sixteenth century, in the immediate aftermath of the Council of Trent: the Tridentine programme of liturgical reform sought to standardise liturgical practice across the Roman Catholic world by requiring all of its churches, henceforth, to follow the Roman Rite. Five years after the final meeting of the Council, Pius V issued the bull *Quod a nobis* (1568), which allowed churches to continue using their existing liturgies only if they could prove that the local use was more than two hundred years old. French churches almost universally chose to continue using their existing rites; because of this, they were more empowered to modify and 'improve' their liturgies over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than if they had followed Roman practice.[100] One French musicologist has gone so far as to say that a 'creative verve' was unleashed amongst French composers of plainchant in this period.[101] Many new chants were produced for French churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, comprising either 'improvements' upon older chants, or entirely new melodies. This is the type of music which is now known as neo-Gallican chant. Much maligned in the past by musicologists and chant scholars, this genre is only now beginning to receive serious attention

[100] Peter Bennett and Georgia Cowart, 'Music under Louis XIII and XIV, 1610-1715,' in *The Cambridge Companion to French Music*, ed. Simon Trezise (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 73-4 and pp. 82-3.
[101] '*Le concile de Trente ouvrit une porte et suscita chez les compositeurs une verve créatrice qui trouva une expression particulière dans le plain-chant.*' Marcel Perès, '*Le Plain-Chant Baroque*,' in *Le Concert des Muses: Promenade Musicale dans le Baroque Français*, ed. Jean Lionnet (Versailles: Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 1997), p. 219.

in the musicological literature.[102] Hiley himself wrote the updated *Grove* entry for neo-Gallican chant in 2012 which seems to end with a call for further study (albeit a mild one): 'By comparison with the intense research made into medieval chant books, neo-Gallican chant is practically unstudied'.[103] An important contribution to the study of neo-Gallican chant – one which, it must be said, considerably predates Hiley's published work on the topic – is Bennett Zon's *English Plainchant Revival* (1999). The title unfortunately obscures the fact that this monograph includes a substantial analysis of post-Tridentine chant from continental (mostly French) sources. According to Zon, *za* appears mainly in French pedagogical sources dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and is even found in English-language pedagogical books about plainchant in the late eighteenth century, although it should be noted that the latter postdate the St Anthony's choirbook.[104]

Without knowing more detailed information about his prior musical education and the books Fr O'Brien had access to in Louvain and elsewhere, we cannot form a very detailed or accurate picture of his musical influences – even whether, for example, he learnt neo-Gallican chant according to French or even English-language methods (provided that the latter were available in non-printed form prior to 1776). Both are possible. The use of neo-Gallican solfège in the Louvain source helps us to determine that some, though not all, of the chants are original compositions which were most likely written by Fr O'Brien himself in the neo-Gallican style.

---

[102] Rasch, 'Use and Abuse of Gregorian Chant,' p. 350. Recent scholarship has begun to tease apart the many strands of the incredibly heterogeneous history of eighteenth-century French plainchant practice, which includes but is not necessarily coterminous with neo-Gallican chant. See, for example: Deborah Kauffman, 'Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers's *Plain-chant musical* motets in the repertory of the Maison Royale de Saint-Louis at Saint-Cyr,' in *Qui musicam in se habet: Studies in honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, ed. Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), pp. 93-120; and Christopher Holman, 'Rhythm and metre in French classical plainchant,' in *Early Music* 45/4 (2017): pp. 657-64.

[103] Hiley, 'Neo-Gallican Chant,' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 20 November 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[104] La Feillée, *Méthode Nouvelle Pour Apprendre Parfaitement les Regles du Plain-Chant* (Paris, 1748), J. J. Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768), James Peter Coghlan, *An Essay on the Church Plain Chant* (London, 1782 and 1799). See also: Bennett Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 30-6 and p. 90.

Individual composers of plainchant (as opposed to nearly every other form of composed music) are almost always anonymous, so this is not a straightforward identification to make. Some musical clues point to this conclusion, for example, the way in which the first three notes outline a major triad, the use of chromaticism, and the fact that the notes are written on a five-line staff, rather than the traditional four-line staff common to earlier chant notation, but they are not definitive. Ultimately, this is a difficult identification to make as it requires one to essentially prove a negative (in this case, to prove that a particular melody never appeared in earlier chant sources). What we *can* be reasonably sure of is that the music found in the St Anthony's choirbook is mostly a product of the neo-Gallican plainchant tradition. I say 'mostly' because there are in fact at least two chants in this collection which have identifiable antecedents: the *Missa Paschalis* and *Missa de Angelis* are both found in the *Graduale Romanum*.[105] Bewilderingly, though, the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* of this second mass differ in Fr O'Brien's version from the official version contained in the *Graduale*, and it seems that these substitutions are his own neo-Gallican creations, as they do not match any other known standard plainchant melodies.[106] We can only guess at the reasons for this revision: perhaps the Roman version was too difficult to sing or was not to everyone's musical tastes. Crucially, the *Sanctus* on f. 10v contains the same musical phrase which has been annotated with solfège syllables, including the now familiar *za*. The annotations may have been made by a singer who needed extra help learning an unfamiliar melody.

It is startling to find that a mass ordinary taken straight from the *Graduale Romanum* has been altered in this way. This liberal approach to chant melodies is typical of the neo-Gallican tradition, but it is more surprising to find it being applied to a Mass copied directly from the

---

[105] *Graduale Romanum juxta missale ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum…* (Antwerp, 1774), pp. cxvi-cxviii and pp. cxxxvi-cxli.

[106] Global Chant Database (http://www.globalchant.org/) and Cantus Index (http://cantusindex.org/).

Tridentine Gradual. It would be tempting to use this small musical detail as the basis for making grand conclusions about Gallican (*contra* ultramontane) attitudes about the Tridentine liturgy at St Anthony's College. Realistically, though, there is simply not enough information available at the present time to allow us to make any useful inferences. We can, however, chart the curious afterlife of *za* and the influence of neo-Gallican plainchant on the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish Catholic Church.

In 1800, Patrick Hoey, the parish priest of Hollom Patrick and Skerries, published *A Plain and Concise Method of Learning the Gregorian Note* so that 'the little ones' in 'country places' might be able to learn to read and sing plainchant.[107] Interestingly, *za* appears in this manual, as well.[108] Information about Hoey's educational (or music-educational) background is not known at this time, so we are unable to identify the exact source of Hoey's *za*. It is possible that he picked up this neo-Gallicism from one or more of the French or English-language plainchant method books in print by 1800.[109] We can rule out the possibility that he attended St Anthony's College, as he is not identified as a Franciscan (OFM) on the title page of his *Plain and Concise Method* – although, if we have correctly traced Fr J O'Brien from Louvain to the Adam and Eve chapel, it is just possible that Hoey may have learnt plainchant from him in Dublin. Hoey's use of *za* also means that his plainchant manual is one of the possible antecedents to a number of major Irish plainchant publications dating from the later nineteenth century. These include L.J. Renehan's *Grammar of Gregorian and Modern Music* (1858), William Walsh's *Grammar of Gregorian Music* (1885; rev. ed. by Richard Hackett, 1865), and the English-language translation of Franz Haberl's *Magister Choralis* (trans. Nicholas Donnelly, 1877).[110] Regarding *za*, Donnelly's

[107] As stated in the unpaginated preface to Hoey's *Plain and Concise Method*.
[108] Ibid., p. 3.
[109] Zon, *English Plainchant Revival*, pp. 7-88.
[110] These texts are discussed by Harry White in 'Heinrich Bewerunge and the Cecilian Movement,' in *The Keeper's Recital*, pp. 76-80.

translation is especially interesting: Haberl's original version in German indicates '*für b nämlich sa und für h si wählte*',[111] whilst Donnelly's translation states, 'This syllable when it expressed B natural was written *Si*, when B flat, *Sa* or *Za*'.[112] Donnelly's choice to indicate '*Sa* or *Za*' may reflect vagaries of German pronunciation (to Anglophone ears, a German *S* sounds like an English *Z*), but it may also have been influenced by neo-Gallican pedagogy (or texts like Hoey's *Plain and Concise Method*, which use neo-Gallican solmisation but do not necessarily draw upon that wider musical language). It bears remembering that these Irish pedagogical texts would have been used by, amongst others, seminarians training for the priesthood at Maynooth. In fact, Renehan's *Grammar* was produced 'chiefly for the use of the Students of St Patrick's College, Maynooth'.[113] It is fascinating to find that this small grain of (neo)Gallican influence persisted in Ireland, even in the early stages of the implementation of Cardinal Paul Cullen's (1803-78) rigid programme to belatedly Romanise of the Irish Church.[114] It was not until the arrival of Heinrich Bewerunge in 1888 as the first Professor of Sacred Music at Maynooth that Cullen's envisioned ultramontane standardisation of plainchant pedagogy and performance in Ireland was copper-fastened.[115]

Bennett Zon has written that the 'Irish plainchant revival' began in 1777 with the appearance in Ireland of a *Missale Romanum* published under the imprint of Patrick Wogan,[116]

---

[111] Franz Haberl, *Magister Choralis: Theoretisch-praktische Anweisung zum Gregorianischen Kirchengesange*, 6th ed. (Regensberg, New York, and Cincinnati: Friedrich Pustet, 1881), p. 18. In the German musical alphabet, H=B and B=B-flat.

[112] Haberl, *Magister Choralis: A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant*… translated and enlarged by Nicholas Donnelly (Ratisbon, New York, and Cincinnati: Frederick Pustet, 1877), p. 31.

[113] Renehan, *Grammar of Gregorian and Modern Music*, revised and enlarged by Richard Hackett (Dublin: James Duffy, 1865), p. iii.

[114] On Cullen and the Synod of Thurles (1850), see: White, 'Bewerunge and the Cecilian Movement,' pp. 75-6. It is worth noting that the wide-ranging *Cardinal Paul Cullen and his World*, ed. Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011) does not include a chapter on music.

[115] On parallel developments in Great Britain, see: Thomas Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and Shelagh Noden, 'The Revival of Music in the Post-Reformation Catholic Church in Scotland,' in *Recusant History* 31 (2012): pp. 246-60.

[116] Zon, 'The Revival of Plainchant in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1777-1858: Some Sources and their Commerce with England,' in *Irish Musical Studies 5: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995, Selected Proceedings: Part Two*, ed. Patrick Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), p. 61.

which contains a very small amount of plainchant notation – only twenty-one of the missal's nearly 700 pages feature a note of music. A perhaps more significant Irish plainchant publication is *The evening-office of the church in Latin and English*… printed in Dublin in 1754 which, crucially, came bound with a primer on singing plainchant,[117] possibly enabling more of the local faithful to make use of its contents. Further research may reveal the scale of distribution and use of this collection, allowing us assess its impact on the liturgical culture of eighteenth-century Irish Catholicism.

Conclusion: Alternative Methods of Learning Plainchant

Given that choirbooks like the ones we have looked at in this chapter were made to help singers learn chants which they were then expected to perform from memory, how likely is it that some singers were instead able to learn their chants 'by ear', without using notated music? There is strong evidence to indicate that members of some of the Irish Catholic foundations abroad played and enjoyed traditional music: San Clemente received an Irish harp as a gift from a prominent alumnus, and we learn from the correspondence of Charles O'Conor that an Irish seminarian in Rome could play the music of Carolan on the fiddle.[118] There are some positive indications, also from San Clemente, that Irish students learnt plainchant by ear. Fenning suggests that at San Clemente, 'the older members of the community knew the psalms by heart and relied heavily on the succentors, positioned closest to whatever oil-lamps or

---

[117] *The evening-office of the church in Latin and English. Containing the vespers, or even-song for all Sundays and festivals of obligation. The sixth edition, corrected, with the addition of all the new-feasts, the old hymns, litanies of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Stabat Mater, and Miserere psalm* and *The art of singing: or, a short and easy method, for obtaining a perfect knowledge of the Gregorian note* (Dublin: Printed for E. Kelly in Mary's Lane, 1754). Identified by Hugh Fenning in 'Dublin Imprints of Catholic Interest, 1740-1759,' in *Collectanea Hibernica* 41 (1999): pp. 102-3.

[118] Fenning, 'SS. Sisto and Clemente,' 51-2; C. O'Conor to O. O'Conor, Easter Sunday, 1786, Clonalis, 8.4, LH 096. Referenced in: Toby Barnard, *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680-1784* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017), p. 266.

candles were available, to guide them through the more difficult parts of the sung office',[119] which tells us that the means of learning the chants via notated music *or* by ear from a succentor were both available. A letter written in 1770 by Thomas Burke to Charles O'Kelly and John Thomas Troy hints that students at San Clemente (including Troy, one of the college's most celebrated alumni) may not have availed themselves of either of those options. He wrote:

> S. Thomas's Day the Prior got Vespers sung on my account. But the cantor did not know how to go about it, & with his unfeigned Humility owned to me that he did not know the Gregorian Tones, and when I intoned the Anthem for the Prior, or Regent, & the Psalm for him, he modestly asked me whether the subsequent Psalms were to be sung in the same tone. O Fy! Fy! Had I known this sooner, I'd teach him the 8 Tones…

From this we can gather that there was an uneven mastery of ecclesiastical chant amongst the Irish Dominicans in late eighteenth-century Rome. Burke does not mention when or where he himself learned to sing plainchant, but it is especially interesting that in this letter he offers to teach the skill to O'Kelly: 'altho' your Voice is weak, it is tuneable, & you could teach him [Troy], or others'.[120] This is a rare insight: rather than through any kind of standardised curriculum or training, Burke indicates that these skills could be acquired on a more ad hoc basis, if at all. Under the penal laws in Ireland, it was a common practice for students to be ordained *before* going abroad to pursue their clerical studies. This was a pragmatic step which allowed the students to earn money for saying Masses and thus to financially support themselves whilst living away from home,[121] and it is possible that this workaround contributed to the irregular musical training received by the students at the Irish continental colleges in the

---

[119] Fenning, 'SS. Sisto and Clemente: 1677-1797,' pp. 34-6.
[120] Thomas Burke, OP to Charles O'Kelly, OP and John Thomas Troy, OP, 5 May 1770. Dublin Diocesan Archives (DDA) 29/4/2, f. 2r. I am grateful to Prof McBride for bringing this source to my attention.
[121] McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, p. 250.

eighteenth century. Although Burke's letter does not describe in more detail what style of teaching (and learning) plainchant he had in mind, it seems more likely that he was describing an oral/aural method than one based upon notated music, as he does not mention or recommend any musical sources which might have helped his friends acquire this skill.

Throughout this chapter, we have seen evidence of Irish Catholic musical literacy in the late eighteenth century. It is not nearly as abundant as evidence of the same in other Catholic communities – even those which, like the Irish in Europe, had been uprooted, displaced, or otherwise disadvantaged by the events of early modern history. Does this mean that the Irish were uniquely musically illiterate when compared with other eighteenth-century Catholic religious men and women? Perhaps that their Church was so impoverished that few of its members could not afford musical books or lessons? I wish to propose a different suggestion: that singing and playing Irish traditional music, which is best learnt and played by ear and not from the page,[122] prepared Irish priests and nuns to learn to sing plainchant aurally, without need of notation. This is a possible explanation of why there are so few sources of notated music from this period of Irish Catholic history.

[122] Scott Spencer, 'Traditional Music: Transmission,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*.



Fig. 4a – Two views of a chamber organ built by John Snetzler (1764)



Fig. 4b – Chamber organ built by Groet & Vool (1777)



Fig. 4c – Robustelly organ (c. 1769), Onze-Lieve Vrouwkerk/Église Notre-Dame de Herent, Belgium

CHAPTER 4

CABINETS, BELLOWS, AND PIPES: CHURCH ORGANS OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN IRELAND AND ABROAD

Unlike the previous chapter, which focussed primarily on sources from Irish institutions in continental Europe, this chapter will be able to discuss cases from the continent *and* from Ireland itself. The purpose of this chapter is not to account for each and every church organ under Catholic ownership in eighteenth-century Ireland (and Irish institutions abroad), but instead to set the ones that we *do* know about within a broader contextual framework. The metaphor of pointillism is again appropriate here: a number of isolated points placed at random on a blank canvas are unlikely to yield a coherent image; however, if these points are instead arranged so that they suggest a cohesive image across the whole canvas, then the inevitable blank spaces which remain between the isolated points begin to take on more meaning. We should think of each organ in this chapter as one point on our canvas. This chapter is as much about interpreting the blank spaces left between them as it is about adding as many points as is possible to fill in the overall picture.

Organs were first integrated into the Christian liturgy in the Middle Ages, and today the sound of organ music is one of the most recognisable components of the Roman Catholic liturgy.[1] The historical study of church organs embraces a diversity of disciplines, including musicology and organology (the study of musical instruments), Church history and liturgical studies, and of course the study of material culture. Acquiring, using, and maintaining an organ are all major long-term expenses for a church; owing to this, these instruments are regularly

[1] Barbara Owen and Peter Williams, 'Organs – The Classical and Medieval Organ' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 10 January 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

mentioned in ecclesiastical accounts, minute books, and other administrative records. The survival of so many of these instruments down through the centuries has enabled scholars to study them not only from these kinds of written sources, but also as objects in their own rights. In Ireland, though, such sources and artefacts dating from before the nineteenth century are exceedingly rare; they are, predictably, rarer still when only organs belonging to Catholic congregations are considered. W.H. Grindle, Barra Boydell, Denise Neary, and others have ably narrated the known aspects of the histories of the organs belonging to Irish Anglican churches and cathedrals in the early modern period. The Interregnum was, predictably, a caesura in the history of church organs in Britain and Ireland. Unsurprisingly, most of the instruments discussed by the above authors date from the post-Restoration period. Thanks to them, we are privy to a great deal of minute information about instruments belonging to Church of Ireland congregations in the eighteenth century, especially in Dublin.[2] Identifying church organs in Irish Catholic possession in the same period is, however, a considerably more difficult process. Indeed, although it is possible to speak of an early modern Irish Catholic material culture,[3] no Catholic-owned church organs are known to have survived to the present day. Lacking physical objects to study, this chapter will instead use written sources from the eighteenth century (and earlier) as the basis for our discussion of Irish Catholic church organs.

Irish Franciscan Church Organs

---

2 W.H. Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music: A History of Music at the Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1989), pp. 133-62; Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 52-7, pp. 86-7, and pp. 114-9; Denise Neary, 'Organ-Building in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Dublin and Its English Connections,' in *The British Institute of Organ Studies* 21 (1997): pp. 20-7; and Gerard Gillen, 'Organs and Organ-Building' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

3 Raghnall Ó Floinn, ed., *Franciscan Faith: Sacred Art in Ireland, 1600-1750 AD* (Dublin: National Museum of Ireland, 2011); Joseph McDonnell, ed., *Maynooth College Bicentenary Art Exhibitions: Ecclesiastical Art of the Penal Era & Art and Transcendence* (Maynooth: St Patrick's College, 1995).

There were considerably more Franciscans residing in eighteenth-century Ireland than there were members of any of the other Catholic religious orders in that period: the recorded numbers of Franciscan priests living in Ireland peaked at 410 in 1750, compared with 176 Dominicans and smaller numbers of Augustinians, Carmelites, Capuchins, and Jesuits.[4] Sources which describe Franciscan musical culture in the Ireland of that period are not, however, known to exist in similar proportions. I have found mention of only one church organ which belonged to a Franciscan community living in Ireland in the eighteenth century – this despite the existence of sources which speak to the use of liturgical music by two further Irish Franciscan communities in that period. Considerably more information is available regarding the organs found in the chapels of the Irish Franciscan continental colleges. The first eighteenth-century church organ to be discussed in this chapter belonged to the Dublin Poor Clare nuns.

The Poor Clares – properly, the Franciscan nuns of the Second Order – are widely understood to have established their first convent in Ireland in Dublin in 1629.[5] Unsurprisingly, the Irish Poor Clares did not lead a settled existence in the seventeenth century. Many of them relocated to convents in Spain during the Cromwellian years, returning to Ireland decades later.[6] In 1684, a Poor Clare community in Galway received written permission from the Franciscan provincial to receive new novices. Interestingly, he required that the ceremony be

---

4 Hugh Fenning OP, *The Undoing of the Friars of Ireland: A Study of the Novitiate Question in the Eighteenth Century* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1972), pp. 44-5. These numbers do not include professed nuns in Ireland.

5 Bernadette Cunningham, 'The Poor Clare Order in Ireland,' in *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon OFM, and John McCafferty (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), p. 159.

6 Many of these Irish nuns died whilst they were abroad. A description of the spiritually edifying death of Sr Julian Anthony Blake in the Poor Clare convent in the Basque city of Urduña (Spanish: Orduña) includes a fascinating musical detail. The Sister 'was so jocund and glad to be dying that she caused to play upon a harp for her and together therewith to sing *Te Deum Laudamus*'. It is interesting to wonder whether this was an Irish or an Iberian harp. Account quoted in: Helena Concannon, *The Poor Clares in Ireland: A.D. 1629-A.D. 1929* (Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1929), p. 59.

conducted 'privately…and without any great solemnity'.[7] There is the slightest hint here that the Galway Poor Clares may have had more extravagant tastes than the provincial thought appropriate. Had their previous entrance ceremonies included ostentatious musical performances like those held for women entering convents in continental Europe?[8] Decades later, in 1712, a Poor Clare community was re-established in Dublin, eventually coming to occupy a house on North King Street.[9] These nuns owned one of the best-documented church organs in eighteenth-century Ireland. It makes a famous appearance in Mary Delany's (1700-88) voluminous correspondence and is described in two complementary sources dating from the 1740s: the first of these is a report compiled for the Vatican in 1742 by John Kent (c. 1699-1778), the Waterford-born president of the Irish Pastoral College in Leuven,[10] while the second is an anonymous report written this time from the Protestant perspective, entitled *State and Condition of Popish Chapels in Dublin, Both Secular and Regular, A.D. 1749*.[11] The different fields of enquiry for these two reports – female religious houses across Ireland and Catholic chapels in Dublin, respectively – overlap on the topic of female monastic houses in Dublin. Kent lists three: the Poor Clares of North King Street, the Dominicans of Channel Row, and the Carmelite Theresians of Arran Quay; the Protestant report adds a fourth by naming the Augustinians of Mullinahack. Both sources state that there were organs only in the chapels of the Poor Clare and Dominican communities.

---

7 Cunningham, 'Poor Clare Order,' p. 166.
8 See above, p. 93.
9 Cunningham, 'Poor Clare Order,' pp. 168-70.
10 Kent's report was compiled and published by Fenning as 'John Kent's Report on the State of the Irish Mission, 1742,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 28 (1966): pp. 59-102.
11 This report was printed (via a nineteenth-century transcription) with an introduction and appendix added by Rev. N. Donnelly under the title *State and Condition of R.C. Chapels in Dublin, Both Secular and Regular, A.D. 1749* (Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1904), pp. 11-40. The report is discussed extensively in Nuala Burke, 'A Hidden Church? The Structure of Catholic Dublin in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 32 (1974): pp. 81-92.

The circumstances which led up to Kent's report are interesting to recount, and they allow us to situate our discussion of musical matters within the wider context of eighteenth-century Catholic history. In Rome, the pope and the cardinals of the *Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide* became especially concerned about Irish affairs after receiving a communication from the self-styled '*zelanti*' ('zealous ones') of Dublin in 1738. Their letter alleged that the non-residence of bishops in Ireland set a poor example for lower clergy who, in their negligence, left young and poor Irish Catholics exposed to the predations of Protestant Charter Schools. Having been elevated to the papacy only in 1740, Benedict XIV wished to be thoroughly apprised of the state of the Irish mission before addressing the serious accusations made by the Irish *zelanti*, and to that end Kent was instructed to travel to Ireland 'as the secret emissary of Benedict XIV'[12] and make his survey, having been provided with a list of fifteen questions the new pope wanted answered. One of these queries was about the state of female monasticism in Ireland. Kent's report duly contains a section on convents and indeed, a complete tour of the Irish houses for women religious circa 1742 would have been invaluable to scholars today. However, Kent chose to confine his investigation to Dublin and his native Waterford, relying on secondary information to inform his report on matters from Connaught, Ulster, and the rest of Munster. Whilst we have the benefit of his first-hand observations of two Dublin convents, his report unfortunately only mentions the existence of the Dominican, Poor Clare, and Augustinian convents of Galway, the Dominican convent of Drogheda (a '*communitas 17 Dominicanarum*'), and the Carmelite convents of Cork and Loughrea. It is possible that he did not visit the Dominican convent in Waterford either, despite spending time in that city; his report mentions nothing of this community's house or even if it had a chapel.[13] We should note that because Kent's report is not clear about which convents he personally visited and observed, we cannot be absolutely sure that these were the only two Irish convents which had organs in

[12] Fenning, *Undoing of the Friars*, p. 146.
[13] Fenning, 'Kent's Report,' p. 85.

the early 1740s, although the 1749 Protestant report would seem to confirm that in Dublin, at least, only the Poor Clare and Dominican convents possessed church organs. We will keep our focus on the former of these in this section.

Because it was written from an 'outside-looking-in' perspective, the anonymous Protestant source contains an almost ethnographic level of detail. Regarding the Dublin Poor Clare convent, the report reads:

> At the end of the chapel is the choir and stalls in it, over the choir a gallery for music, at the front of which is an organ, with an image of St. Claire in her nun's habit holding the remonstrance in her hands, being the donation of the Countess of Fingal [of the Plunketts of Meath].[14]

This is almost certainly the same instrument that Mary Delany played when she visited the convent in January 1751 (N.S.). Mrs Delany's voluminous correspondence is a rich source which offers us insights into Ascendancy social life. Through her acquaintance with Jane Crilly, a member of the community, she visited the convent and, being an accomplished keyboard player herself, was invited to play their chapel organ. She later described the evening in a letter to her sister:

> After dinner we carried her home, and entreated me to go in, that some of her sisterhood might gratify their curiosity by seeing me; we drank tea with them, saw their chapel, and I played on the organ: they wear no particular habit, only a black stuff nightgown and plain linen. I should like them *much better in their habit*; Bushe was very droll amongst them all, and said a thousand comical things, which they seemed not at

[14] Donnelly, ed., *State and Condition of R.C. Chapels*, p. 20.

> all offended at. They have a handsome parlour to receive their company in, and no grates belonging to them: the chapel is pretty, the altar mightily decorated with candlesticks, gilding, little statues, but terribly bad pictures; a crucifix above a foot and a half stands on the table, which is well done, and taken at Vigo; on one side of the *chapel* is a small one with an altar dedicated to St Antony.[15]

These unguarded observations are a valuable record of a meeting between Catholic nuns and the wife of a dean in the Church of Ireland and, in a broader sense, of a meeting between their respective Irish social *milieux*.

Kent's description of this instrument is by far the briefest, consisting of only two Latin words. However, it is arguably the most informative of all the descriptions we have studied. He writes that both the North King Street and Channel Row convents had 'contained organ[s]' ('*organo continentem*') in their chapels'.[16] What did he mean by this? Kent's continental career unfolded mainly in Leuven, and he also spent time in Maastricht and Antwerp.[17] Having lived in the Low Countries, Kent would have been familiar with the sight of an instrument known as the chamber organ (*cabinet d'orgue* or *huisorgel*). In contrast to the grandiose pipe organs of cathedrals and large churches, chamber organs were small and portable. They were most popular in Britain, the Low Countries, and Switzerland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[18] The fact that it was small enough to fit into a domestic setting and could be built to

---

15 Mrs Delany, Delville to Mrs Dewes, 19 January 1750/51. Reproduced in *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, Vol. III, ed. Lady Llanover (London: Richard Bentley, 1861', p. 9. '…nuns in this country have the liberty of going to see relatives and particular friends', Mrs Delany explains in her letter to her no doubt confused sister. The entire account of her fascinating acquaintance with Jane Crilly is included and discussed in Cunningham, *Gentlemen's Daughters in Dublin Cloisters: The Social World of Nuns in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2018), pp. 34-5.

16 Fenning, 'Kent's Report,' p. 85.

17 James Kelly, 'Kent, John,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 19 January 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

18 A.J. Gierveld, *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de Eeuw* (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1977).

resemble other pieces of furniture – not to mention the fact that its configuration would have produced a much smaller sound than a full church pipe organ – may go some way towards explaining the chamber organ's popularity in regions with histories of confessional upheaval and underground worship.[19] Chamber organs were easily closed up and disguised, but they could also be elaborately decorated to adorn a given space. As a household object, the chamber organ was versatile and, if needed, it was inconspicuous. The decoration of the Poor Clare chapel's organ described in the 1749 Protestant report is consistent with the more elaborate chamber organs of this period.

When she visited the North King Street convent and was allowed to play the chapel organ, Mrs Delany (an accomplished keyboard player in her own right) would have recognised the instrument as being similar (although differently decorated) to the one George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) regularly composed for and performed upon to customary acclaim. Upon hearing the celebrated composer perform two of his own organ concerti, she wrote that they were 'the finest things I ever heard in my life'.[20] Handel brought his personal chamber organ with him from London for his celebrated visit to Ireland in 1741-2, and he played it in a number of charity and benefit concerts, including the *Messiah* premiere,[21] information which here serves to illustrate how convenient an instrument the chamber organ could be for the travelling musician. Its portability may also have made it especially attractive to the communities of Catholic religious women in Ireland as, following the 1703 *Act to prevent the further growth of popery*, Irish nuns were prevented from permanently establishing their convents on land they (or any Catholic) owned. The law required instead that they lease their premises thirty-one years at a

[19] Barbara Owen, 'Chamber Organ,' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 5 August 2020, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[20] Mrs Pendarves to Mrs Granville. 15 March 1734/5, *Autobiography and Correspondence of…Mrs Delany*, Vol. I, p. 532.

[21] Hugo Cole, 'Handel in Dublin,' in *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Summer, 1984), pp. 28-30. Kent, who arrived in Ireland in July of 1742, would have just missed these performances, the last of which was given on 3 June.

time. Given these unsettled conditions, it would have been eminently sensible for Irish nuns and their benefactors to invest in the chamber organ, as it was an instrument which could move with the community as needed. We will see again and again in this chapter how Irish Catholic communities – male and female, in Ireland and abroad – made use of these convenient instruments in the eighteenth century. For example, a similar instrument seems to have been used by the Irish Franciscan college of St Anthony's in Leuven.[22]

An inventory of the Franciscan college's possessions was recorded when it was taken over by the French Republic in 1793.[23] In it, we see that an organ was counted amongst the valuables found in the college's chapel ('*Un jeu d'orgues garny de ses soufflets*'); this list also details that the chapel contained eighteen chairs with straw stuffing, eighteen candle-holders, four missals, five choir books, ten large paintings, and fifteen additional paintings depicting the stations of the cross. Further details about the instrument do not appear to be available, but a final account of the college's assets and expenses indicates that the organ was still on the premises when the Irish were finally ejected from the college in 1796.[24] Whether this speaks to the organ's continued value to the Irish Franciscan community in Leuven, to its possible size or lack of portability, or perhaps to the difficulty of finding buyers for church organs in the new French Republic is sadly impossible to say from this scant information. What we can observe, however, is that the 1796 *Inventaire des meubles, effets, linges, libres, manuscrits, tableaux, médailles et généralement des tous les objects portés en l'art* lists significantly fewer items than the 1793 inventory: to take just one example, by 1796 the fifteen paintings of the stations of the cross had gone, and only 'ten bad paintings' ('*dix mauvais tableaux*') remained in the college's chapel. The missals and

---

[22] This and other organs from Irish continental colleges are discussed in Valenti, 'Portable organs and stencilled plainchant: music at Irish continental colleges in the eighteenth century,' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 37 (2022): pp. 133-49.

[23] Brendan Jennings OFM, *Louvain Papers, 1606-1827* (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1968), pp. 497-500.

[24] Ibid., pp. 501-7.

choir books, too, seem to have disappeared from the chapel after 1793, though there is a possibility that they ended up amongst the eleven boxes 'half full of old books' ('*onze caisses moitié remplie de vieux libres*') found by the French commissioner in the college's library. Regardless, there is only one choir book known to be currently available (discussed above), and further details of the St Anthony's chapel organ have not yet come to light.

Although we cannot say for sure how or when the college acquired this organ, it is very possible that it belonged to St Anthony's for the greater part of the eighteenth century. The death of Anthony Esser, a priest and organist, was entered into the college's mortuary book on 7 June 1711, all but confirming that the college owned an organ at that time.[25] It is quite likely that the organ played by Esser at the beginning of the century was the same instrument which was found by the French authorities at its close. The organist's surname is not identifiably Irish (indeed, the surname Esser is more Germanic than Flemish or French), a fact which speaks to the connections the Irish community managed to forge with continental Catholics and serves as a gentle reminder to us that each of these Irish institutions abroad existed in a local as well as in an Irish context. Looking elsewhere in the early modern Irish Franciscan college network, we are reliably informed by Jan Pařez and Hedvika Kuchařová, the experts on the College of the Immaculate Conception in Prague, that the pipe organ from the college's chapel survives to this day in a church in central Prague.[26] Furthermore, a valuable document from the final days of the college's history informs us that the community employed a local lay organist named Antonín Čermák and owed him outstanding wages at the time of the college's closure in 1786.[27] It is interesting that the Leuven college's Esser was an ordained priest, whilst Čermák of Prague was a layman. There is not enough information available at this time to allow us to speculate

[25] '*Die 7 [June 1711] obit hic Pater Antonius Esser Sacerdos et Organista…*'. Moran, *Spidilegium Ossoriense* III, p. 49.
[26] Pařez and Kuchařová, *Irish Franciscans in Prague*, p. 93. The church is the Kostel Svatého Benedikta in Prague's Hradčany district.
[27] Ibid., p. 160, citing NA, CG Publ, carton no. 2729.

responsibly about this discrepancy in practices between the two colleges, although we should of course note that these two cases were separated by vast stretches of time and distance. As for the third major continental college in the Irish Franciscan network, St Isidore's in Rome, we are told that its founder, Luke Wadding, was working to acquire a permanent organ for the college's chapel to replace an existing portable instrument at the time of his death in 1687.[28] I have found no mention of the portable organ's fate in the known records from St Isidore's. Further research in local diocesan and municipal archives, as well as in the Historical Archives of the Franciscan Order may yield further information about these organs.[29]

Many (though certainly not all) of the Franciscan friars who lived and studied at the continental institutions returned to Ireland to live, work, and worship together in established religious houses, or friaries. How much were the musical cultures of these communities influenced by members' encounters with sacred music in cities like Leuven, Prague, and Rome? Prior to the 1640s, the Franciscan house in Multyfarnham reportedly 'had their church in good repair, the quire adorned with pictures, images, relics and organs and the cloister and apartments neatly furnished'.[30] This would seem to indicate that the friary's musical and material cultures were held to high – some might say continental – standards in the early seventeenth century. However, sources which date from the eighteenth century depict much-reduced circumstances at two Franciscan friaries in Ireland. Documents which have survived from Franciscan communities in Cork and Wexford contain valuable musical information. Although these do not seem to suggest that either community owned an organ in the eighteenth century, it is still worth discussing them in this chapter as they form an interesting

---

[28] '*Curavit autem praeterea pro majori divini cultus solemnitate pneumaticum organum portatile, curaturus aliud majus, & fixum, si rebus humanis invida mors hunc, & alios ejus nobiles cogitates non intercepisset.*' Francis Harold, *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi. Editio tertia emendatior cura Patrum Provinciae Hiberniae* (Florence: Tiopografia Barbera, 1931), p. 68.

[29] I had hoped to begin doing this work myself in the course of my DPhil studies, but Covid interrupted those lofty plans.

[30] Gillespie, 'Irish Franciscans, 1600-1700,' p. 57. Quoting TCD MS 883/2, p. 43.

accompaniment to the preceding discussion of church organs at the Irish Franciscan colleges in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A long run (1764-1921) of the account books of Franciscan friary on Broad Lane, Cork was edited and published under the auspices of the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 2012. These records offer us valuable, if sometimes perplexing, glimpses of this community's musical activities over a long period. Because the volume (or volumes) covering the period from October 1785 to June 1803 is (or are) missing, the only available material from the eighteenth century dates from October 1764 to September 1785 (with a gap from December 1777 to July 1779).[31] On 27 December 1764, the book records a payment of 2*d.* for 'Butter to beast [baste?] the meat, & choir boy'.[32] Perhaps the choir boy had been engaged for a Christmas service. This is an isolated entry; similar payments are not recorded again in the eighteenth century. Payments for 'mending the bellows', made in 1771 and 1797,[33] could possibly refer to organ bellows, but may also relate to fire bellows. The editors of these account books rightfully draw our attention to aspects of the style of worship in the friary's chapel in the later eighteenth century, writing that 'incense was being used in the church in Broad Lane as early as 1764. Candles were a frequent purchase, altar linen was regularly washed…'.[34] Organ music would certainly have fit well in this liturgical setting. Until further information about this community is uncovered, we cannot know for sure how or even if these Franciscan friars incorporated music into their services in the eighteenth century.

---

31 Liam Kennedy and Clare Murphy, eds., *Account Books of the Franciscan House Broad Lane, Cork, 1764-1921* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2012), p. xii.
32 Ibid., p. 3.
33 Ibid., pp. 19 and 49.
34 Ibid., p. xv.

Meanwhile, the happy survival of a clutch of eighteenth-century papers from Wexford sheds light on the musical life of another Irish Franciscan community. Although these friars also do not appear to have owned an organ, it is clear that music was included in the community's daily services.[35] The available records include detailed inventories of the house's valuables taken over a fifty-year period beginning in 1741. None of these inventories lists an organ or musical instrument of any other kind. However, the survival of correspondence between the friary's superior, Bonaventure Paye, OFM, and Nicholas Sweetman, the secular bishop of Ferns, allows us to 'eavesdrop' on a (delightfully) bad-tempered exchange between the two clerics which reveals, in part, valuable insights about the use of music at this Franciscan chapel. Upon being made bishop of Ferns in 1745, Sweetman relocated to Wexford and claimed the right to use the friary's chapel as the city's parish church; further to that, he believed that he was entitled to use the friars' house as his episcopal residence and demanded that their Sunday collection be shared equally with him.[36] Paye, representing the friars, unsurprisingly begged to differ. Their correspondence is of interest to us because music is one of the many points of contention between Sweetman and Paye. On 20 January 1747, the bishop began a letter addressed to Paye. It said in part:

> I demand you'l [*sic*] not take the direction of evening praiers on you for the future, nor presume to begin them, as you are uncivilly accustomed to do, without regarding whether I or my coadjutor are present or not.

---

35 Pádraig Ó Súilleabháin, 'Documents Relating to Wexford Friary and Parish, 1733-98,' in *Collectanea Hibernica* 8 (1965): pp. 110-28.

36 Ibid., p. 110, and David Murphy, 'Sweetman, Nicholas,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 14 March 2023, https://www.dib.ie.

He did not send this letter right away; a postscript dated 14 March adds: 'Lastly, I order that the office be of the Roman breviary, and no other be sung in the chapel of Wexford for the future'.[37] Paye did not take long to respond. On 20 March he wrote:

> As to evening prayers, we never were desird [*sic*] by your Lordship not to begin them, nor did we begin them till the usual hour. And if your Lordship has taken a resolution to honour the choir with your presence, you may begin them, as may likewise your curate or coadjutor.

He responded to Sweetman's second demand by writing:

> Lastly, whereas the singing of vespers on Sundays is to edifie the congregation 'tis equal to us what vespers are sung, yet with deference to superior judgement, I think that the vespers de Dominica ut in psalterio are the fittest, as the laity have them in their manuals and are best accustom'd to them. As to the Office of the Holy Week, your Lordship may order and direct it as your [*sic*] please.[38]

The word 'choir', mentioned in Paye's first point about the beginning of evening prayers, may not have referred specifically to an ensemble of singers – it can also denote the physical space in a church or chapel in which the religious gather together to recite the prayers of the Divine Office, or even to the group assembled there for that purpose, regardless of whether they recited or sang the prayers. However, knowing from the second part of the exchange between Sweetman and Paye that Vespers (the evening prayers of the Divine Office) were sung on Sundays, it seems more than likely that the bishop was objecting to missing the

---

[37] Ó Súilleabháin, 'Documents Relation to Wexford Friary and Parish,' pp. 115-6.
[38] Ibid., p. 117.

beginning of sung evening prayers. Unfortunately, none of the surviving inventories of the Wexford house's possessions includes a list of the community's books (although we are informed that the community purchased the eighteen-volume *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in October of 1798),[39] an obstacle in the process of identifying the *Vespers de Dominica in psalterio* which Paye informs Sweetman was what the Wexford Franciscans were happy to use before the latter's arrival. Although this incident does not offer us any new information about Catholic church organs in eighteenth-century Ireland, it is a useful reminder to us that the performance of liturgical music does not *require* an organ. Organ-less congregations were more than capable of conducting their services accompanied by other musical instruments or even *a capella* (that is, singing without instrumental accompaniment). We can clearly see from this spat between the Catholic divines of Wexford that music was a feature of Catholic life and worship, secular and regular, in south-eastern Ireland in the 1740s, and that it was valued by Sweetman and Paye enough that it became a point of contention in their admittedly testy relationship.

Given that we are now aware that at least two Irish Franciscan houses *and* a Poor Clare convent maintained their own musical cultures (or at least, by owning church organs, had the means of doing so), we can say that it is not entirely fitting that Joseph MacMahon's chapter on this period of Irish Franciscan history in the stately collection *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990* (2009) is entitled 'The Silent Century'.[40] Although he cites a handful of cases when friars were known to have held services in Ireland, including one 'with great pomp', none makes specific mention of an organ. Regarding their chapel in Dublin, MacMahon notes that '[s]ervices were certainly being conducted in the friary chapel at Cook Street Dublin when it was raided in 1718'.[41] Given the likelihood of further raids, it is possible that the Franciscans (and so many

---

39 Ibid., p. 128.
40 Joseph MacMahon, OFM, 'The Silent Century, 1698-1829,' in *The Irish Franciscans,* pp. 77-101.
41 Ibid., p. 90.

other Irish Catholic communities and congregations) chose not to make a considerable financial investment in a valuable musical instrument which could easily have been damaged or confiscated by the authorities. Even the inconspicuous chamber organ may not have been safe from such a fate: recall that it was a popular instrument and would have been a familiar sight to many Ascendancy concertgoers.

Irish Dominican Church Organs

I have identified six church organs which belonged to Irish Dominican communities in the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, none seems to have survived to the present day; we learn of them instead from written sources. We have already encountered one of these instruments: namely, that which belonged to the Channel Row convent in Dublin and may have been played in the alleged musical performance which so scandalised the vicar of Naas in the 1720s.[42] Like the organ which belonged to the Poor Clare convent on Dublin's North King Street (discussed above), the Dominican convent's organ is particularly well represented in contemporary source material. We know that it was a gift from Sir Edward Bellew, a relative of Mary Bellew, the Channel Row community's first prioress. The nuns paid for its maintenance and took it with them when they relocated to Clontarf in 1808.[43] John Kent mentions that this instrument, like the Dublin Poor Clares' organ, was a chamber organ ('*organo continentem*'), and the 1749 Protestant report on Catholic chapels in Dublin described it as having a 'very sweet' sound when played.[44] This would seem to have been an instrument of comparable quality to the Poor Clares' organ.

---

42 Discussed in Chapter 2, above.

43 NLI, Microfilm P 3787, Dominican Account Book; Kealy, *From Chanel Row to Cabra*, pp. 57 and 91. The 1749 *Report on the State of R.C. Chapels in Dublin* (to be discussed below) misidentifies Mary Bellew as the donor of the instrument.

44 Fenning, 'Kent's Report,' p. 85; Donnelly, ed., *State and Condition of R.C. Chapels*, p. 19.

Founding members of all of the Dominican female convents which were established in eighteenth-century Ireland began their lives in religion with the Dominican community in Galway, whose history dates back to 1644.[45] Nevertheless, I have found only one reference to an organ at this convent from the eighteenth century. New sources will hopefully come to light which will further advance what we know of the musical cultures of this important early Dominican house. In 1795 a former Protestant named Charles Ffrench (or French)[46] recorded his memoirs of his conversion to Catholicism. As a child in Galway in 1780, he followed a servant to Mass at the Dominican nuns' chapel and:

> I was too much pleased with the appearance of the place to quit it. The altar and the paintings attracted my notice; I viewed with eyes of wonder and astonishment the vestments of the clergyman who officiated, but when the tones of the organ struck my ears I was very much delighted, and more so with the harmonious voices of the choir.

Ffrench made subsequent visits to the same chapel as an adult, which prompted his religious conversion and eventual vocation with the Dominican Order.[47] I have found no earlier information about the musical life of this community, but we *do* know some details about its material culture: the convent's chapel was handsomely decorated with silver furnishings and a hand-embroidered antependium dating from 1726; the silver candlesticks, lamp, chandelier,

---

45 Rose O'Neill, O.P., *A Rich Inheritance: Galway Dominican Nuns 1644-1994* (Galway: Dominican Sisters, Galway, 1994): p. 9; Fenning, *Irish Dominican Province*, pp. 97 and 153; Cunningham, *Gentlemen's Daughters in Dublin Cloisters*, pp. 17-8.

46 The Frenches of Monivea were an Old English family whose Protestant lineage went only as far back as 1709. See: T.C. Barnard, 'The worlds of a Galway squire: Robert French of Monivea, 1716-79,' in *Galway: history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, ed. Gerard Moran and Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1996): pp. 271-2.

47 O'Neill, *A Rich Inheritance,* p. 34, quoting Fenning, 'The Conversion of Charles Ffrench,' in *The Watchman xviii*, no. 53 (Summer 1961): pp. 34-9.

and ciborium were all gifts made to the convent in the 1730s and '40s.[48] It is reasonable to wonder if this chapel also contained a chamber organ to complement these other fine adornments in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is interesting to note here the existence of a source which actually makes it harder to answer this question.

The Irish Dominican provincial Bernard MacHenry (in office 1734-8) carried out a visitation of Dominican communities throughout Ireland in 1734-5. A copy of his report was found amongst his successor John Fottrell's papers at the time of his arrest in 1739.[49] No church organs or other musical instruments are mentioned in MacHenry's visitation report. This does not, however, mean that there were no organs in Irish Dominican chapels in the 1730s. MacHenry's visitation report only sporadically notes which houses had chapel 'ornaments' (*ornamenta*'). He visited thirty-four Dominican friaries in Ireland and noted in his report that fourteen of them had chalices or other *ornamenta*. His report also noted that he visited the communities of Dominican nuns in Galway and Dublin. He recorded that he observed twenty-four nuns living in the Galway house but made no mention of the fine silver and embroidered vestments and altar-cloths which we now know belonged to the community in the 1730s – surely these would have been classified as *ornamenta*? MacHenry's visitation report also fails to distinguish organs from other chapel ornaments. Irregularly, there are two entries for the Channel Row convent: 'The convents of the Sisters of Dublin. Has many precious things for use in the chapel. There are about twenty-eight of them [in the community]' and 'The convent of the Nuns of Dublin. Has about twenty-seven Sisters. They have many ornaments and other precious things pertaining to the chapel'.[50] Sources which date from before *and* after the

48 O'Neill, *A Rich Inheritance*, pp. 24-6.
49 Fenning, ed., *Fottrell Papers*, pp. 72-9.
50 'Conventus Sororum Dublinensis: *Habet multa perciosa ad usum Capellae. Sunt circiter 28 numero*', and 'Conventus monialium Dublinensium: *Habet circiter 27 Sorores. Habent ornamenta plura aliaque praeciosa ad Sacellam spectantia*'. Fenning, *Fottrell Papers*, pp. 72-3. The English translations are Fenning's.

visitation(s) describe the convent's Bellew organ, leaving us to surmise that he counted the instrument amongst the chapel's other 'precious things'. MacHenry's inconsistent observations of Irish Dominican material (and musical-material) possessions have the potential to be misleading: the Channel Row example shows that we cannot conclude that there were no organs in the Irish Dominican chapels visited by MacHenry from the fact that organs are not specifically mentioned in his report. This is an important reminder that we cannot always rely upon the sources to inform us wholly and accurately about musical matters.

Currently, it is possible to discuss one final church organ owned by Irish Dominican nuns in the eighteenth century. This instrument was presented to the Dominican nuns of Drogheda in 1761 by an as yet anonymous benefactor and, like Handel's, it was transported there by land and sea. The convent's accounts note that the community paid 9s. 2d to have it brought from the Isle of Man. A further expenditure of 10s. 7d 'For fixing up and tuning organ' tells us that the gift was put to use by the community.[51] The eighteenth-century Catholic population of the Isle of Man was terribly small: when the Methodist preacher John Wesley visited in 1777, he happily observed that there were 'but six papists and no dissenters' living on the island; four years later, the Catholic bishop of Liverpool wrote in a pastoral letter that the population numbered twenty-five.[52] It is difficult to imagine such a small community having a church organ to spare, but we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that the Dominican nuns' organ came from Catholic donors from the Isle of Man. The backstory of this particular instrument remains unknown, but there are some intriguing conjectures which can be put forth about its provenance. The story of Joseph Strong (d. 1798) of Carlisle illustrates how an organ could travel from England to Ireland via the Isle of Man: Strong was blind from infancy, and

---

51 Desmond Forristal, *The Siena Story, 1722-1997* (Drogheda: Monastery of St Catherine of Siena, 1999), p. 28.

52 William S. Dempsey, *The Story of the Catholic Church in the Isle of Man* (Billinge, Lancashire: The Birchley Hall Press, 1958), pp. 137-49, quote at p. 141; and Dean Walsh, *Ireland and the Isle of Man*, rev. and ed. Donnelly (Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1903), pp. 21-2.

his autodidactic mechanical skills were described with interest in Irish newspapers in the late eighteenth century. These stories tell of how as a youth he built an organ after spending the night hiding in the cathedral organ loft studying the instrument's construction. Strong's organ was bought by a merchant from Douglas, on the Isle of Man, who later moved to Dublin and brought the organ with him 'as a curiosity'.[53] Whilst it is certainly possible that the Drogheda convent's organ had British or Manx origins, a continental connection is far more likely. It is well known that many coastal French cities were home to Irish Catholic communities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[54] Though most of these expatriates were merchant families conducting legitimate trade, L.M. Cullen has detailed how, up to 1765, the Isle of Man was a popular *entrepôt* for traders bringing smuggled goods from French cities like Lorient and Bordeaux into Ireland.[55] As is so often the case with eighteenth-century Irish Catholic history, further information about the Drogheda convent's organ is desirable but not forthcoming from the available sources. Whilst it might be untoward to accuse the Dominican sisters of receiving smuggled goods with such little evidence, it does bear mentioning that Droghedans were prominent amongst the Irish Catholics in France, for example the Gernons of Bordeaux.[56] These exiles were often very wealthy and could well have been moved to patronise a Catholic religious community in their native city.

It is very likely that there was a musical culture at the Drogheda convent even before they received their organ in 1761. Hugh MacMahon (1660-1737), the archbishop of Armagh,

---

53 *Belfast Newsletter*, 6 October 1789; *Dublin Evening Post*, 17 March 1798.

54 L.M. Cullen, John Slovlin, and Thomas M. Truxes, eds., *The Bordeaux-Dublin Letters, 1757: Correspondence of an Irish Community Abroad* (London: British Academy, 2016); Charles Ludington, 'Inventing Grand Cru Claret: Irish Wine Merchants in Eighteenth-Century Bordeaux,' in *Global Food History* 5/1-2 (2019): pp. 25-44; and Marie-Louise Legg, '"Irish wine": The Import of Claret from Bordeaux to Provincial Ireland,' in *Irish Provincial Cultures in the Long Eighteenth Century: Making the Middle Sort: Essays for Toby Barnard*, ed. Gillespie and Foster (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 93-105.

55 L.M. Cullen, 'The Smuggling Trade in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 67 (1968-69): pp. 152-4.

56 Cullen, et al., *Bordeaux-Dublin Letters*, p. 3.

was an early supporter of the convent; among other things, he presented the community with a grandfather clock inscribed *Ex dono Hug. Armaga Mac Mahon 1722.* His favour for them is however most easily demonstrated by his decision to entrust them with St Oliver Plunkett's head – a holy relic of the seventeenth-century Irish martyr.[57] His will, signed in 1735, includes a bequest to 'Mrs Mary Reilly in Deer Street, Drogheda, and ye gentlewomen in her house' – an inconspicuous reference to the convent. In addition to forgiving a debt of £20 and leaving them a further £10, MacMahon asks 'besides ye clock which I have bestowed them', that the nuns 'keep the douzain of chairs and the harpsichord or spinet which I have lent to them unless I take the same out of their custody in my life time'.[58] We also know that a musically capable Irish Dominican served as the nuns' vicar general from 1739-48. James Donnelly (d. 1748) has appeared in this thesis before as the *regens primarius* of San Clemente whose manuscript choir book Fenning reported is still kept in the college's archives. After leaving Rome in 1719 Donnelly settled in Drogheda, where he remained for the rest of his life, save for a three-year term spent as rector of Corpo Santo (1736-9), the Irish Dominican college in Lisbon. In Drogheda he was elected four times as prior of the convent of Dominican friars, and his copy of the *Cantus Vesperarum totius anni, ad usum Sacri Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum* (Paris, 1704) remains in that house's archives.[59] It is possible that the obviously musically literate Donnelly shared these chants with his sisters in religion, as well.[60] Donnelly's career spanned the latitudinal extremes of the early modern Irish Dominican network: Drogheda in the north, and Rome and Lisbon to the south. This is a vivid reminder that early modern Irish Catholic history did not just unfold exclusively on the island of Ireland.

---

57 Forristal, *The Siena Story*, pp. 18 and pp. 23-4.
58 Wm. Canon Carrigan, 'Catholic Episcopal Wills: In the Public Record Office, Dublin, 1683-1812,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 1 (1912): p. 153.
59 Fenning, 'The Library of a Preacher of Drogheda: John Donnelly, O.P. (d. 1748),' in *Collectanea Hibernica* 18/19 (1976-77): 73-5, p. 97.
60 On Donnelly's time at San Clemente, see above, p. 134.

Looking to the continent, we are reliably told by Fenning (who unfortunately gives no further referencing information) that the Irish Dominicans of SS. Sisto and Clemente in Rome owned at least two portable organs in the eighteenth century.[61] Fenning does not precisely detail how or when the Dominicans acquired these instruments, but we know enough about their musical activities to be reasonably sure that the community had at least one of these organs by the early eighteenth century. It is likely that an organ (and perhaps other musical instruments, as well) would have been in use at the time of a special thanksgiving service which was held at San Clemente in March 1725. On this occasion the court of the Jacobite James III, which was then based at the Palazzo Muti on the Piazza dei Santi Apolisti in Rome, celebrated the birth of Henry Benedict Stuart by attending the Irish Dominican church to hear a *Te Deum* sung. The Roman *Diario Ordinario* reported that the Jacobite king and Prince of Wales (known to non-Jacobites as the Old and Young Pretenders)

> were taken in four carriages, along with all the women of the court, to the Irish Dominicans' church of San Clemente, *where the Religious themselves sang* the Te Deum in choir in thanksgiving to God for having conceived a second son for His Majesty.[62] (my emphasis added)

Further details of the Irish Dominicans' choral performance are not known at this time. However, politics are more likely to have influenced James's choice to mark the happy occasion at San Clemente than any renown the Irish friars may have accrued to themselves as singers: the new pope, Benedict XIII (in office 1724-30), was a Dominican friar, and James's patronage

---

61 Fenning, 'SS. Sisto and Clemente: 1677-1797,' pp. 31 and 34.

62 *Diario Ordinario* no. 1191, 24 March 1725. '*In questo giorno in esso la Maesta di Giacomo III Rè della Gran Brettagna, col Regio Principino di Galles, portò con quattro Carrozze, e tutte le Dame di sua Corte, alla Chiesa di S. Clemente de PP: Ibernesi Domenicani*, ove, da quei Religiosi medesimi, *su Cantato nel Coro il* Te Deum, *in rendimento di grazie all'Altissimo, per aver concefio alla Maestà Sua il Secondogento Maschio*' (my emphasis added). See also: Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy 1719-1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 59-78.

of a Dominican church seems to have been calculated to curry papal favour.[63] Although I cannot speak to the performance quality of this sung *Te Deum*, it is natural to wonder if James Donnelly, who was *regens primarius* and also likely the cantor at San Clemente from 1715-19,[64] left behind enough of a musical legacy at the Irish college that its singers were able to acquit themselves well before the Jacobite king and his court. Beyond this singular event, we know very little else about the musical activities of the Irish Dominicans in eighteenth-century Rome. We know that they received the gift of an Irish harp in the 1730s,[65] but we cannot be sure if this instrument served a liturgical purpose at San Clemente. Lacking further information, we sadly cannot know if it was ever played in public services held at the Roman church, or if it was only played privately amongst the college community.

There were two Irish Dominican communities in eighteenth-century Lisbon: the college of Corpo Santo and the convent of Bom Sucesso. Honor McCabe makes no mention of a church organ in her history of Bom Sucesso,[66] and Fenning has highlighted the difficulty of studying the history of Corpo Santo due to the loss of its archives in the 1755 earthquake.[67] Meanwhile, the case of the Holy Cross College in Leuven provides us with the most detailed information yet of an Irish Dominican church organ.

In 1769, the Liège-based organ builder Guillaume Robustelly (1718?-93) was engaged to build a new organ for the Vrouwkerk/Église Notre-Dame in Herent, northwest of Leuven.

---

63 Benedict XIII showed the Irish Dominicans great spiritual and financial favour during his papacy. One young friar, Michael MacDonagh, was distinguished from his namesake the bishop of Kilmore with the nickname 'Michael flog-the-pope', which he earned when he 'gave Benedict the discipline' at one evening service. Fenning, 'SS. Sisto and Clemente,' p. 56 and *Irish Dominican Province*, p. 122. See also: Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 290-4.

64 See above, p. 134.

65 See above, p. 144.

66 McCabe gives a detailed description of the convent's church and sanctuary in *A Light Undimmed*, pp. 60-2. Further work in the convent's archives may reveal musically relevant information.

67 Fenning, *Irish Dominican Province*, p. 378.

This is noteworthy for us because the terms of the contract state that the Herent organ was to be made 'of the same quality as that of the organ belonging to the Irish Dominicans of Leuven' ('*te achtervolgen in de selve qualitijt van t'orgel der Iersche Predickheeren binnen Loven*').[68] This has since been taken to mean that Holy Cross's organ was also built by Robustelly.[69] Records relating to this organ do not appear to have survived, and the chapel was demolished in 1799, making it impossible for us to evaluate the instrument for ourselves.[70] It is still reasonable, though, to assume that the Irish Dominicans' instrument was built by Robustelly, as the maker himself would have been understood to be in the best position to know how to replicate the intricate (and individual) craftsmanship that went into its construction. In a stroke of good luck for us, the contract for the Herent organ casts light on some details about Robustelly's work for the Irish friars. The list of technical specifications for the Vrouwkerk organ draws two comparisons with Holy Cross's: the Herent organ was to have three bellows – 'one more than the Irish Dominicans' in Leuven' ('*drij blaes blacken, een meer als bij de Iersche Predickheeren binnen Loven*') – and a *vox humana* stop on fifty-four pipes, which the Dominicans did not have ('*buijten het orgel van de predickheeren sal gemaeckt worden een vois humaine van 54 pijpen*'). Despite requesting these extra features, the contract states that Robustelly was to be paid the same fee that he received for building the organ of 'the aforementioned Dominican Fathers' ('*ende sal voor het voorseijt orgel hebben de somme gelijck hij ontfangen heft van t'orgel van de voorseijde Paters Predickheeren*'). This was stated to be 100 guilders up front, 100 guilders to cover costs, and 500 guilders upon satisfactory completion of the organ.[71]

---

[68] The contract, dated 3 May 1769, has been reproduced by T.J. Gerits in 'De Luikse Orgelbouwer G. Robustelly. Een bijdrage tot zijn leven en werk,' in *Het Oude Land van Loon* 20 (1965): pp. 196-8. Gerits gives the location of the original as: Het Rijksarchief in België, Parochie en armentafel Herent, BE-A0518/632, no. 63.

[69] For example, in the 'Liste des oeuvres connues du facteur d'orgues Guillaume Robustelly,' in Jean-Pierre Felix, *Mélanges d'Organologie*, Vol. I (Brussels: [s.n.], 1979), p. 132; and Gilbert Huybens, 'Het religieus muziekleven te Leuven in de tweede helft van de 18de eeuw' in *Musica antiqua: Actuele informatie over oude muziek* 6/2 (May, 1989): p. 75.

[70] James McEvoy, 'The Historic Irish, Scots and English Colleges of Louvain, and the Irish Presence in Other Colleges of the University,' in *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 23/1 (2010): p. 79.

[71] Gerits, 'De Luikse Orgelbouwer G. Robustelly,' pp. 197-8.

Because most of the records from Holy Cross do not appear to have survived to today (Fenning describes a 'total loss of the college archives'),[72] Robustelly's contract with the Vrouwkerk in Herent is an especially valuable source which allows us to make a few inferences about the musical life of the Irish Dominicans in eighteenth-century Leuven. The first is that they could afford to commission a fine organ to be custom-built for their chapel by an established master organ builder.[73] What's more, they chose to commission a bespoke pipe organ, prioritising this expense above any number of others which the college would have faced in the later eighteenth century. This surely speaks to the importance of music in the devotional life of this college community, though without the college's full archives the picture is only partially complete. Why, though, did the Irish Dominicans of Leuven go to such lengths to acquire this costly musical instrument?[74]

Thanks to Fenning's indefatigable work in the General Archives of the Order of Preachers, we are able to begin forming an answer to this question. In mid-1767, the college received an irate letter (dated 6 June) from Juan Tomás de Boxadors (1703-80), the Master of the Dominican Order. In this 'diatribe' (as it was described by Fenning), the Dominican leader chastised the Holy Cross community for failing to hold sung Mass and Vespers, writing in part:

---

72 Fenning, *Irish Dominican Province*, p. 512.

73 Robustelly is credited with having built eleven organs in Liège and the surrounding area before 1769. Felix, 'Liste des oeuvres…Robustelly,' pp. 131-2.

74 I have found only one other example of an organ which was built by a local instrument-maker for an Irish continental college: in 1650 the rector of the small Irish college in Madrid paid Riguet Puche to build an organ for the college's chapel. The 1696 will of another of the college's rectors, Dermicio Fayo, required that several masses be sung (*'misas cantadas'*) in the chapel after and on the anniversaries of his death. These sung masses were surely accompanied by the Puche organ. Enrique García Hernan, 'Irish Clerics in Madrid, 1598-1665,' in *Irish Communities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. O'Connor and Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), p. 292; Jose Luis Hernanz Elvira, 'Documents Concerning the Irish College in Madrid (1690-1720),' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 67 (2014): pp. 277-8.

> We cannot be anything other than astonished that in this large community – numbering 35 brothers, not counting laymen – Vespers are neglected, saving for the days when the Prior officiates, and Mass is sung only on feast days. […] we strictly command that conventual Mass and Vespers be sung every day, and that choir be attended by all except those with a legitimate excuse for their absence.[75]

Boxadors's strongly worded letter seems to have been the motivation behind the Holy Cross leadership's decision to hire Robustelly to build a new organ for the college's chapel. It also allows us to determine a fairly precise timespan in which the instrument could have been built. We can be almost certain that the college was not in possession of this instrument before June of 1767 – that is, before Boxadors criticised the community for failing to include music in its regular liturgical services. Because of this, we can be fairly sure that Holy Cross's organ was commissioned and built sometime in the nearly two-year period between the college's receipt of Boxadors's letter in mid-1767 and when the Herent Vrouwkerk's contract was Robustelly was drawn up in mid-1769. The timeframe for this narrows further when we consider that the college would have needed time to plan for the organ's construction. Given the loss of the college's archives, it is very unlikely that we will ever come to learn further details about this organ and its impact on the Irish Dominican community in Leuven. The college's decision to invest in a pipe organ is surprising; a portable chamber organ like those which belonged to Irish colleges like St Anthony's and San Clemente would just as easily have enabled Holy Cross to meet the musical requirements laid out by Boxadors. From what we currently know from the available sources, Holy Cross's church organ was an outlier amongst the organs of the early modern Irish continental colleges. This hints that the college's leaders felt confident that they

---

75 '*Non possumus non vehementer mirari tantam esse istius adeo numerosi conventus, in quo sunt 35 fratres non numerates conversis, divini cultus negligentiam ut Vesperae nonnisi diebus quibus Prior habeat officium, Missa vero conventualis tantum diebus festis cantentur. […] paternitatem tuam mandamus ac stricte praecipimus, ut Missam conventualem, Vesperasque quotidie cantari, omnesque legitime non exemptos choro adesse facias*.' Quoted in: Fenning, *Irish Dominican Province*, p. 359.

would occupy the premises for an extended period of time. Though it is technically possible for these instruments to be moved, the risk of damage is great; their large size often requires them to be disassembled for transport. Finally, the Herent source offers us a hidden insight about the musical life of this Irish Dominican college: it tells us that locals saw and heard this instrument. Perhaps the faithful of Leuven (and Herent) attended sung Vespers and Mass at Holy Cross.[76]

Irish Jesuit Church Organs (or the lack thereof)

T. Frank Kennedy, a leading Jesuit music historian, baldly acknowledges in his *Grove* entry on Jesuits that 'the Society of Jesus was founded with an institutional bias against musical practice'. The active missionary spirit of the Order, as envisaged by Ignatius Loyola, was not meant to be conducive to the development of settled musical cultures within Jesuit houses.[77] Rather than reciting the hours of the Divine Office together as a community each and every day (a devotion which could be and often was set to music in monastic and mendicant religious communities), Jesuits were instead required go wherever they were directed by their superior, in order to 'preach and minister, in streets, hospitals, prisons, and in foreign lands'.[78] Indeed, the Society's original constitutions limited the use of musical instruments in Jesuit residences and forbade Jesuits from singing the Divine Office together in choir.[79] However, tasked with saving souls and propagating the (specifically Roman Catholic) faith, early Jesuits quickly realised that music could be a valuable help towards achieving their objectives, and they

---

[76] We are told that Mass was celebrated publicly and with orchestral accompaniment at the English Dominican College in Leuven (perhaps also at the insistence of Boxadors). See: McEvoy, 'Historic Irish, Scots and English Colleges in Louvain,' p. 79.

[77] T. Frank Kennedy, 'Jesuits,' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 22 March 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[78] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 31-3; quote at p. 31.

[79] Thomas Cully SJ and Clement McNaspy SJ, 'Music and the Early Jesuits (1540-1565),' in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 40 (1971): p. 213.

famously came to use liturgical music in nearly every missionary context, in part to draw people to their services and their sermons.[80] Recalling the distinction made by Thomas Turino between 'presentational music' and 'participatory music',[81] it would be reasonable to say that the Jesuits' use of liturgical music was mostly presentational, while for the older contemplative religious orders (like the Franciscans and Dominicans already discussed in this chapter), communal hymn-singing and plainchant – especially of the Divine Office – tended to be more private, participatory musical experiences. Did the Jesuit mission in early modern Ireland make similar use of presentational liturgical music?

The Society of Jesus operated a continuous Irish mission from 1598 until 1773, the year in which the Order was suppressed by the Vatican. This was technically the third Jesuit mission to Ireland; two earlier attempts by them to establish an Irish mission were short-lived. The richest sources from this mission date from the seventeenth century; the twenty-five *letterae annuae* which survive from the period 1604-74 are especially valuable.[82] Musically relevant sources from the eighteenth century are rare, but they do exist. However, the most interesting sources which allude to the Irish Jesuits' use of music also date from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

---

80 Kennedy, 'Jesuits'; Daniele Filippi, '"Their Sound Hath Gone Forth Into All the Earth": Music and Sound in the Ministries of the Early Modern Jesuits,' in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3 (2016): pp. 357-64; Louis Châtellier, *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism, c. 1500-c. 1800*, translated by Brian Pearce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 28-36; and Alexander Fisher, 'Music and Religious Change,' in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 6: Reform and Expansion, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 403.

81 See above, pp. 26-7.

82 Lyons and Mac Cuarta, 'Introduction,' in *The Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland*, pp. 15-22. The annual letters have been edited, translated, and indexed by Vera Moynes in the indispensable *Irish Jesuit Annual Letters, 1604-1674* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2019).

In 1611, a prominent Irish Jesuit named Henry Fitzsimon published a tract on the Mass, part of which defended the use of organs and other music in the liturgy. His argument was based on both scriptural and phenomenological justifications:

> As for Organs, they had their invention from Jubal, and their approbation, to be frequented in God's service from David the Prophet saying, *praise him in Strings, and Organs.* Again: *Bene psalliste ei in vociferatione: sing well to him in loudness*. For as God is not only the author of the heart, but of the tongue and hands, and all other members; so, not by the heart only, but by all members is he to be praised, and magnified. Also by Organs, and other Ecclesiastical music, the mind is lifted up to heaven, rather than by any other external provocations, as universal experience confirms.[83]

Knowing that an Irish Jesuit leader advocated for the inclusion of church organs and liturgical music in the Mass at an early point in the third Irish mission, I was a bit surprised to find only one source (and a Protestant one, at that) which alludes to the use of organs by Jesuits in early modern Ireland. These instruments were reportedly kept at Kildare Hall in Dublin in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The early modern Irish Jesuits referred to Elizabeth Fitzgerald (née Nugent, d. 1645), the countess of Kildare, as 'the mother of our society in this realm'. As their patroness, she established Kildare Hall for the Order's use in 1628.[84] She had this complex of buildings built on land which she leased from Christ Church Cathedral on Back Lane in Dublin. It included

---

[83] Henry Fitzsimon, *The Justification and Exposition of the Divine Sacrifice of the Masse* (Douai, 1611), p. 5. I have modernized the spelling. See also: Gillespie, 'Jesuits and Music,' in *The Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland*, p. 127.

[84] Mary Ann Lyons, 'Women and Jesuit Ministry in Ireland, c. 1600-c. 1670,' in *Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland*, pp. 105-7; Rolf Loeber and Terry Clavin, 'Fitzgerald, Elizabeth,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 24 March 2023, https://www.dib.ie.

a Jesuit novitiate, a college at which Jesuits taught lay students, a sodality for laypeople dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the countess's private living quarters, and a public chapel. These facilities changed hands in January 1630, when they were seized by the government and made available to Trinity College. The countess recovered them in 1634-5 and returned them to Jesuit use, but they left the premises and relocated to Kilkenny soon after her death in 1645. Our information about church organs comes from the period of Kildare Hall's Protestant interregnum.[85] A detailed description of the chapel can be found in the correspondence of Richard Boyle, the earl of Cork. In 1630 he wrote that the chapel was

> seated round about with an altar with ascents, a curious pulpit and organs, and four places for confession neatly contrived, galleried above round about with rails and turned ballasters, coloured, a compass roof, a cloister above with many other chambers, all things most fair and graceful, like the banqueting house at Whitehall and ways out of their house to the town-walls, turrets and flankers at their command.[86]

This is the only description of an Irish Jesuit chapel with organs which I have found in early modern sources and, sadly, it is difficult to say more about these instruments based on this information alone.[87] It is interesting to note that the novitiate at Kildare Hall had its own private chapel that could be used by the community, of which the countess was a part, at times when the public chapel had to be shut.[88] Multiple chamber organs may have been kept at the complex to ensure that Kildare Hall was able to maintain a certain liturgical standard during

---

85 This paragraph is drawn largely upon the impressive research found in: Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Kildare Hall, the Countess of Kildare's Patronage of the Jesuits, and the Liturgical Setting of Catholic Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Dublin,' in *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: Community, Territory and Building*, ed. Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), pp. 242-65.

86 Curiously, this part of the letter is written in quotes. It is unclear if Boyle is quoting another source. *Calendar of State Papers Ireland, 1625-32*, p. 509, January 1630, the earl of Cork to Lord Dorchester.

87 I remain hopeful that more information about these instruments and others in Irish Jesuit possession may come to light in the future.

88 Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Kildare Hall,' p. 252.

these interruptions. This was perhaps as much for the patroness's personal enjoyment as it was for the Jesuit community's benefit.

The seventeenth-century Irish Jesuit annual letters do not mention the Kildare Hall organs, nor any other Irish church organs.[89] There are, however, three (and plausibly four) references to instrumental music in these reports. The annual letters from 1613 and 1614 describe, respectively, a well-attended service which was held out-of-doors and featured 'musical instruments and voices of singers wondrously rousing the devotion of the people',[90] and a fortnight in December over which Christmas was celebrated 'in an extremely large house…in a big city', a setting which was 'exceptionally sumptuous and notable for its varied ornamentation'. The writer reports that the Jesuits held a number of (again well-attended) services over the course of these two weeks at which hymns and pious songs were sung by the congregation, and a High Mass was celebrated and Vespers sung on the Feast of the Circumcision.[91] Both of these descriptions are found in reports about east Munster, meaning that the 'big city' was almost certainly Waterford. Although musical instruments are not mentioned in the 1614 letter, they would have been an appropriate fit in the 'sumptuous' liturgical surroundings. The Jesuit dispatches from Cashel included in the 1618 and 1621-2 annual letters reported than an 'ensemble of musicians' which played at the vicar general's residence helped to 'excite piety during these days',[92] and later that vocal and instrumental

---

89 Vera Orschel (who has also published under the surname Moyes) has written of the challenges – and rewards – of treating the annual letters as sources of historical information. It is, however, reasonable to assume that they are generally reliable on musical matters. See: Orschel, '"Uniting the Dispersed Members": the "Annual Letters" of the Irish Jesuits,' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103 (Winter 2014/15): pp. 402-13. See also: Gillespie, 'The Jesuits and Music,' pp. 130-2.

90 '*…alter in aperto campo, solemni ac decenti apparatu, pro loci ac temporis ratione: musicis etiam instrumentis, et cantorum vocibus devotionem mirifice populi excitantibus*'. pp. 9 and 338-9. All English translations are Moynes's.

91 '*Festivitatem quoque nascentis Seruatoris in amplissima celebravimus domo, laxaque Civitate, ubi erectum est altare, egregio profecto sumptu, varioque ornatu conspicuum. Hic ipso die natali rei divinae sex operabantur Sacerdotes, ac duo deinceps quotidie per septimanas duas.* […] *Neque vero a vespertinis horis segniter aberrant: quinimo optimi quique cives, etiam Senatorii ordinis, tanto perfundebantur supernae consolationis dulcedine, ut non erubescerent, in eo publico concessu, quemadmodum mane, Sacrificii tempore, hymnos musicos, sic et in vesperis pias cantiones intermiscere. Die vero circumcisionis solemne decantatum est sacrum, et solemni* ritu *partier et vesperae*'. Ibid., pp. 383 and 431.

92 '*…pietatem haud mediocriter excitante, per eos dies, musicorum concentu*'. Ibid., pp. 660 and 703.

music 'joyfully abound[ed] in the delights of the sacraments'.[93] There are further allusions to chant and hymn singing in the annual letters, but they do not mention church organs or any other musical instruments.[94] It is interesting to observe that these scattered references to instrumental music in the seventeenth-century Irish Jesuit annual letters come from Munster and not the Pale, where the third Jesuit mission in Ireland began.[95] However, this may be more representative of what different authors thought was worth reporting to Rome than the musical reality of the early modern Irish Jesuit mission. These all-too-brief musical insights gathered from the Irish Jesuit annual letters echo another, earlier Irish account of a Jesuit-led service which featured ecclesiastical music.

One of the earliest recorded references to the use of music in the Catholic liturgy in post-Reformation Ireland is found in a letter written in 1598 which describes the achievements of none other than Henry Fitzsimon SJ. Rare surviving correspondence preserves a letter penned by Nicholas Leinich SJ in Lisbon, which paraphrases a description of Fitzsimon's activities in Ireland written by Patrick Hamill, a secular priest.[96] In it, Leinich writes that Fitzsimon was able to celebrate a private High Mass at a nobleman's home in Dublin, reportedly the 'first solemn mass celebrated for the last forty years' in Ireland, 'with full orchestra, composed of harps, lutes and all kinds of instruments except the organ'. The hall in which this service was held was 'lined with tapestry and covered with carpets', and also came to be graced was a 'handsome and…elegantly furnished altar'.[97] The absence of an organ in

---

93 '*…multitudinem musico vocum et instrumentorum concentu, et opimis Sacramentorum cupediis laetabundam plane et felicibus Societatis nostrae auspiciis gratulabundam, exceperunt*'. Ibid., pp. 792 and 811.

94 Ibid., pp. 93 and 106; pp. 525 and 542; pp. 955 and 697.

95 Lyons and Mac Cuarta, 'Introduction,' *Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland*, p. 18.

96 This source has been reproduced in Henry Fitzsimon's *Words of Comfort to Persecuted Catholics*, edited by Edmund Hogan (Dublin 1881), pp. 206-8. It is quoted in Raymond Gillespie's 'Seventeenth-Century Irish Music and Its Cultural Context,' in *Irish Musical Studies 10: Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), pp. 26-39 and, most recently, in Gillespie's 'The Jesuits and Music in Early Modern Ireland,' in *Jesuit mission in early modern Ireland*, p. 128.

97 Fitzsimon, *Words of Comfort*, pp. 206-7. On the use of the Irish harp as a liturgical instrument, see above, pp. 27-39.

this setting is made conspicuous by Fitzsimon's known affinity for its inclusion in the Mass (see above). It is perhaps worth mentioning that the scriptural basis for Fitzsimon's argument in favour of organs, Psalm 150, calls for trumpets, harps, lyres, tambourines, strings, flutes, cymbals, and dance to be used in Judeo-Christian worship.[98] The organ is not specifically enumerated in this list. Therefore, the inclusion of the music of the harp and the lute (i.e. a stringed instrument) in Fitzsimon's solemn High Mass was, in the most literal and pedantic sense, more 'by the book' than if an organ had been used.

There are certainly parallels between the snapshots we have seen of early modern Irish Jesuit musical practice and what is known of the contemporaneous musical culture of English Catholicism. Brian Mac Cuarta has observed that there was an 'English dimension of Catholicism at the upper social levels in early Stuart Ireland',[99] and looking over to English Catholic history will help us contextualise our discussion of music and the Irish Jesuits. Bearing in mind John Bossy's warning that 'there is an English Catholic history as well as an Irish one, and…it is not a good idea to conflate them',[100] we must note the obvious similarities between the Irish examples discussed in this section and known accounts of recusant Catholic services held in late Elizabethan and early Jacobean England. The most famous composer to be associated with these private liturgies was William Byrd (c. 1540-1623).[101] By necessity, these would have been very much like the High Mass organised and led by Fitzsimon in Dublin, and also the Jesuit-led Christmas retreat which was reportedly held over a fortnight in 1614 at 'an

---

98 *'Laudate eum in sono tubae laudate eum in psalterio et cithara / Laudate eum in tympano et choro laudate eum in cordis et organo / Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis*' (Psalm 150:3-5).

99 Mac Cuarta SJ, 'Jesuit Conversions in Wentworth's Ireland: The Slingsby Family, County Cork, in the 1630s,' in *Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland*, p. 189.

100 John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London: Carton, Longman & Todd), 1975), p. 6.

101 Kerry Robin McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's* Gradualia (New York: Routledge, 2007); Owen Rees, 'Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza and Music in an English Catholic House in 1605,' in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, ed. Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 270-80.

extremely large house…in a big city'.[102] Byrd provided music for and worshipped at private services held in isolated country houses;[103] such houses were far removed from crowded urban centres, and they were spacious enough that 'priest holes' and Mass chambers could unobtrusively be concealed within. We should not overlook the fact that these houses belonged to families which could afford to have these architectural changes made and even, sometimes, to support a priest as a live-in member of the household.[104] These wealthy domestic environments were capable of supporting a sophisticated religious musical culture. Why, though, do no early modern Irish Jesuit sources report the use of an organ in liturgical services?

The most obvious answers to this question lie in the cultural context of recusant Catholicism. Harps, lutes, and similar instruments could be played very quietly, if needed. Moreover, they were secular instruments whose presence in stately urban homes would not necessarily have been suspicious to Protestant authorities searching for signs of hidden Catholicism, especially in Ireland; their size and easy portability would have ensured that they could have been removed from the host's property along with all other traces of the service once it was over. An organ, on the other hand, would have been potentially compromising. Not only was it a more overtly liturgical instrument, it was also a much louder instrument, and more difficult to move – especially at short notice. Without further and more detailed sources from seventeenth-century Ireland, it would be unwise to assume that this incident is indicative of subsequent patterns of Irish Catholic liturgical observance. We should also note that

---

[102] Having been educated in Manchester and Oxford from 1576-86, Fitzsimon may very well have had first-hand knowledge of how Mass was celebrated by English Catholics, although we should note that for this period of his life he had officially converted to Protestantism. David Murphy, 'Fitzsimon, Henry' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 23 March 2023, https://www.dib.ie; Louis McRedmond, *To the Greater Glory: A History of the Irish Jesuits* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1991), p. 31.

[103] John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music, Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to c. 1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 347-85.

[104] Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, pp. 85 and 126-7.

'sumptuous' furnishings like carpets and tapestries would have helped to muffle the sound of clandestine services to outside listeners.

Beyond these security-related issues, there is a more subtle discussion to be had about the acoustical needs of the priests, musicians, and worshippers in these recusant services. Harpers and lutenists interface directly with the strings of their instruments by plucking or strumming them. Because of this, they have exceptional control over the sound quality and volume of their playing. Organists, meanwhile, are at the mercy of various mechanisms built into the instrument to adjust their volume. This process can often be more crude than it is subtle.[105] The stringed instrument players would have been better able to adjust their playing to fit the domestic space, ensuring that their part in the proceedings was sonically balanced. An organ would have produced a much louder sound and overwhelmed the liturgical proceedings. The sonic versatility of instruments like harps and lutes would have been a significant advantage in domestic spaces which almost certainly would not have been purpose-built to accommodate worshippers, officiating clergy, and liturgical musicians. The use of carpets and tapestries is also noteworthy in this context: while they would have made the space more comfortable for the worshippers, they also would have had a salutary effect on a makeshift space's acoustics, helping to minimise reverberation. The musicians would have benefitted from this but, most importantly, it would have aided the clergy in celebrating the Mass and delivering sermons. In this setting, the liturgy would have been clear and audible to the gathered faithful.[106] Acoustics were apparently also taken into consideration in the architectural design of the Kildare Hall

---

[105] I hope the reader will forgive a slight bias in favour of the harp, an instrument I played professionally for many years. My musical experience is the basis for much of my description and analysis of the acoustic environment described in the Fitzsimon source. For a more scientific discussion of the topic, see: Neville Fletcher and Thomas Rossing, *The Physics of Musical Instruments*, 2nd ed. (New York: Springer Science and Media, 2010), pp. 163-7 and pp. 331-40. On the inner workings of the church organ, see: Peter Williams, *The European Organ, 1450-1850* (London: Batsford, 1966), pp. 17-24.

[106] There are a number of fascinating scientific studies of the acoustic properties of various styles of Muslim prayer mats. See, for example: Ahmed Elkhateeb, et al, 'Absorption characteristics of masjid carpets,' in *Applied Acoustics* 105 (2016): pp. 143-55.

chapel: Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber write that the 'compass roof' (i.e. a vaulted ceiling) described in the earl of Cork's letter was thought to create favourable acoustic conditions for music and the spoken word, citing examples of churches built with a similar feature in Venice and Antwerp.[107]

Compared with the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, far less is known about Jesuit liturgical practices in eighteenth-century Ireland. A valuable (and as yet unique) crumb of information about music at Jesuit-led services in this period is found in the correspondence of Thomas Brennan, SJ. In January (Old Style) 1746/7 he informed a correspondent in Rome that 'we now begin to have Vespers sung and sermons preached' by Irish Jesuits in mid-1740s Dublin.[108] Although the Jesuits did not have a dedicated chapel in the Irish capital, we are informed that they were able to preach and 'officiate' at other chapels in the city – principally the parochial chapels located on Mary Lane and Rosemary Lane.[109] Given what we know about the Jesuits and music at earlier points during their Irish mission, it seems very unlikely that these eighteenth-century Vespers services would have been accompanied by an organ, although it is certainly possible that other instruments – the harp, especially – were used. It also bears mentioning that Brennan's letter dates from fairly soon after the '45 and the final Jacobite defeat at Culloden, and that he describes sung Vespers as a recent addition to his ministry ('You see hereby how peaceable times we enjoy').[110] This sign of an increase of music in Irish Catholic churches in the latter half of the 1740s fits the general trend which saw a rise in Catholic cultural activity in Ireland which corresponded with the final waning of the Jacobite threat to the

---

107 Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Kildare Hall,' pp. 257-8.
108 Fenning, 'Letters from a Jesuit in Dublin on the Confraternity of the Holy Name, 1747-1748,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 29 (1970): p. 137. 10 Jan (O.S.) 1746/47. Thomas Brennan, SJ to Michael Fitzgerald, SJ. Fenning also tells us that there were never more than twenty Jesuits actively working in Ireland at any time in the eighteenth century. See: Fenning, *Undoing of the Friars*, p. 44.
109 Donnolly, *State and Condition of R.C. Chapels in Dublin*, pp. 18 and. 38-9.
110 Fenning, 'Letters from a Jesuit in Dublin,' p. 137.

Protestant establishment.[111] Relatedly, I have found advertisements in Irish newspapers from the later eighteenth century[112] which announce the sale of chamber organs in language which seems to obliquely target Catholic buyers, reading, for example, 'An Organ fit for Church or Chapel', or 'which would answer for a small Church'.[113] Asking prices ranged widely, from 35 to 135 guineas.[114] As Catholic culture in Ireland re-'emerged'[115] over the second half of the eighteenth century, it is more than likely that more of these chamber organs made their way into Catholic chapels.[116]

Thomas Brennan remained in Dublin until 1754, at which time he was called upon to return to service on the continent. After a period spent as rector of the Jesuit-administered college in Rome, he was transferred to the Jesuit '*maison de refuge*' in Poitiers.[117] A surviving volume of the house's account books records that he arrived from Rome on 27 November 1759.[118] This college was home to Irish students who studied at the Jesuit Grand Collège in Poitiers, and was not itself responsible for their primary education. Certain extracurricular training was, however, offered to students by the Irish college, including lessons in music and dance. The surviving accounts record that the college paid nine *livres* to have a harpsichord repaired in 1750, and six *livres*, eight *sous* to purchase two violins, a bow, and strings in 1759-60.[119] Additionally, the college's accounts record that music teachers were paid, letting us know

---

111 McBride, *Isle of Slaves*, p. 238; Foster, *Modern Ireland*, pp. 208-9.
112 Nearly all date from the 1780s, or after the universal suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773.
113 *Volunteer Journal; or, Irish Herald*, 5 May 1786; and *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 21 March 1781.
114 *Volunteer Journal; or, Irish Herald*, 4 February 1785; and *Freeman's Journal*, 10 April 1764.
115 This is a nod to the title of TP Powers and Kevin Whelan's classic collection *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990).
116 This will be a fruitful area of inquiry in future studies.
117 Fenning, 'Letters from a Jesuit in Dublin,' p. 134, note 3.
118 Archives Départementales des Deux-Sèvres et de la Vienne, D 191, Comptes du college des Jésuites Irlandais de Poitiers, 1746-62, f. 254r. I am grateful to Liam Chambers for kindly sharing details of this source with me before the publication of his chapter '"*Une maison de refuge*": The Irish Jesuit College in Poitiers, 1674-1762,' in *The Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland*, pp. 227-50.
119 Comptes du college des Jésuites Irlandais de Poitiers, 1746-62, ff. 6r and 180v. See also: Chambers, '*Une maison de refuge*,' pp. 245-6. Similarly, secular music was enjoyed by residents of the Jesuit-administered Irish college in Santiago de Compostela over a century earlier. In that case, a disapproving report written c. 1602-6 noted that

that these instruments were put to use.[120] All of this confirms that secular music was played by the college's residents in the mid-eighteenth century; this is comparable with the eighteenth-century musical history of the Jesuit Collège de la Trinité in Lyon.[121] Although the Irish college in Poitiers had maintained a public chapel since September 1714,[122] the existing accounts do not show any debits for any expenses relating to liturgical music, aside from a one-time payment to musicians who played at the first Mass celebrated by a '*Père Plunquet*' on what was evidently a special occasion.[123]

Concluding thoughts

The Herent Vrouwkerk's contract with Robustelly is an instructive source which sheds light on the history of an Irish continental college which has long eluded historians. It should underline for us of the great value to be found in studying the local contexts of each of the Irish continental institutions. I was led to this document after unexpectedly glimpsing the words '*Ierse Predickherren*' in an article about religious music in late eighteenth-century Leuven which was printed in a Flemish early music magazine. Further study of this kind, which focusses on the local contexts surrounding the early modern Irish colleges, may lead historians to uncover more relevant material.[124] Following Irish sources alone – primary and secondary – would not have revealed this particular source, especially in light of the fact that Holy Cross's archives have mostly been lost to history.[125] I hope that this positive result will encourage further localised

---

the students squandered their time playing vihuelas (guitar-like Spanish musical instruments) and guitars. See: Pat O Connell, 'The Irish College, Santiago de Compostela: 1605-1767,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 50 (1996), p. 25.

120 Comptes du college des Jésuites Irlandais de Poitiers, 1746-62, ff. 204r-206v.

121 Pierre Guillot, *Les jésuites et la musique: le Collège de la Trinité à Lyon, 1565-1762* (Liège: P. Mardaga, 1991), pp. 148-53.

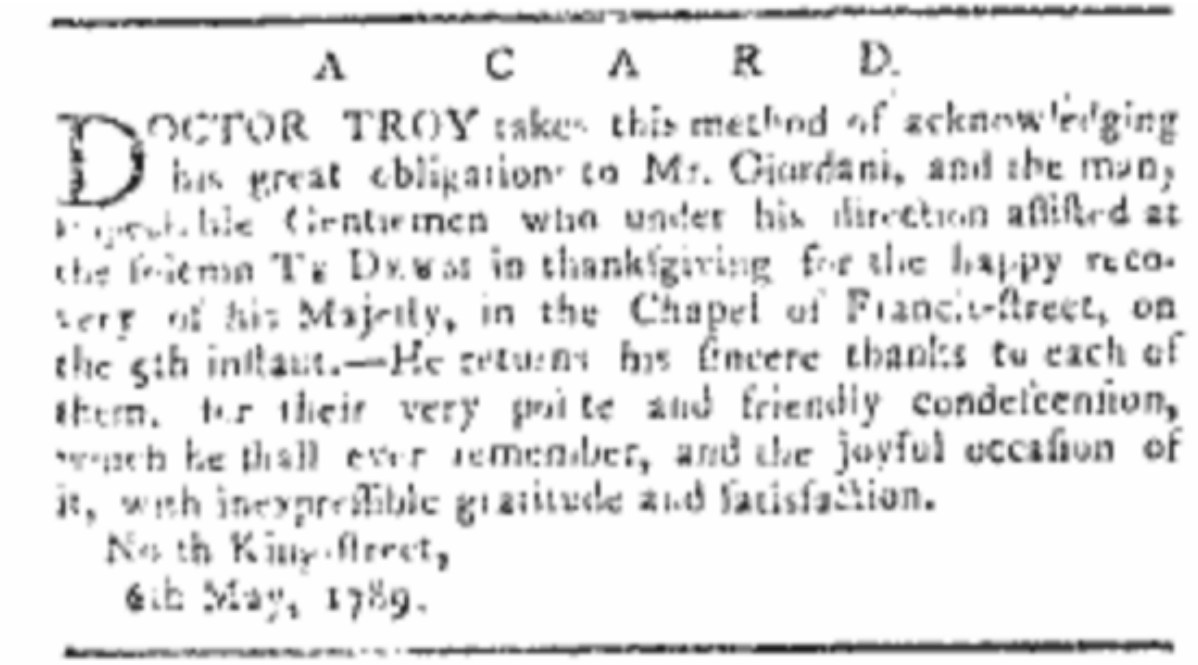
122 Chambers, '*Une maison de refuge*,' pp. 238-9.

123 Comptes du college des Jésuites Irlandais de Poitiers, 1746-62, f. 203r.

124 In many ways, what I am proposing boils down to a miniaturised version of McBride's 'outside-in' approach to writing Irish history. See above, p. 36.

125 Fenning, *Irish Dominican Province*, p. 512.

study of the Irish continental institutions. Work in the general archives of the religious orders, especially, is needed. Meanwhile, the MacHenry report serves as a warning to us: although it does not indicate that the chapel of the Channel Row convent had an organ, we know from other sources that it did at the time of his visitation. Our takeaway from this case is the knowledge that the absence of organs in penal-era sources can no longer necessarily be understood to confirm the absence of organs in Irish Catholic churches. We were fortunate that the Dominican nuns' Bellew organ was well-attested in other sources but, of course, that is not an archival boon we can expect to receive again from eighteenth-century Irish Catholic sources.



A C A R D.

DOCTOR TROY takes this method of acknowledging his great obligations to Mr. Giordani, and the many respectable Gentlemen who under his direction assisted at the solemn Te Deum in thanksgiving for the happy recovery of his Majesty, in the Chapel of Francis-street, on the 5th instant.—He returns his sincere thanks to each of them, for their very polite and friendly condescension, which he shall ever remember, and the joyful occasion of it, with inexpressible gratitude and satisfaction.

North King-street,
6th May, 1789.

Fig. 5 – '*A Card*', printed in *Freeman's Journal*, 7th May 1789

CHAPTER 5

'THE ENTIRE PERFORMANCE GAVE UNIVERSAL SATISFACTION, AND THE AUDIENCE WENT AWAY DELIGHTED': IRISH PROTESTANT AUDIENCES FOR CATHOLIC SACRED MUSIC IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The *Freeman's Journal* called the composer 'a profound Harmonist', and *Finn's Leinster Journal* gushed that 'the music was truly sublime:—we pronounce it a most masterly piece of sacred composition'. In the north, the *Belfast Newsletter* enthused that the composition showed 'fancy and knowledge of effect, that would do honour to any master; leaving […] an impression of beauty and propriety not easily equalled'.[1] Astonishingly, these rave reviews from the Irish press refer to a Roman Catholic *Te Deum*, or hymn of thanksgiving, written in 1789 by the Dublin-based composer Tommaso Giordani (c. 1730-1806) to celebrate the recovery of George III from a months-long, debilitating health crisis. The performance of this new music was the centrepiece of a solemn service of thanksgiving organised by John Thomas Troy (1739-1823), the Catholic archbishop of Dublin, and held at the Francis Street chapel, then the principal Catholic chapel and Dublin and the site of his own archiepiscopal enthronement a year earlier. This chapter will discuss the political, cultural, and musical circumstances which combined to bring about this extraordinary event and contributed to its apparent success.

By the time the Francis Street chapel service was held, the *Act for the further Relief of His Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom professing the Popish Religious* had been in effect for the better part of a decade. Although the 1782 relief act had removed constraints on Catholic worship in

---

[1] *Freemans Journal*, 5 May 1789; *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 9 May 1789; and *Belfast Newsletter*, 8 May 1789. For convenience, the reports from the two Dublin newspapers are reproduced in full in Appendix II.

Ireland, certain restrictions remained in place, including (most notably for the present study) the stipulation that:

> no benefits in this act contained shall extend…to any popish ecclesiastick [*sic*] who shall officiate in any church or chapel with a steeple or bell, or at any funeral in any church or church-yard, or who shall exercise any of the rites or ceremonies of the popish religion, or wear the habits of their order, save within their usual places of worship, or in private houses, or who shall use any symbol or mark of ecclesiastical dignity or authority, or assume or take any ecclesiastical rank or title whatsoever…[2]

It is clear from this text that there were those in Ireland who remained determined that Catholicism should not intrude into the public sphere – Maureen Wall reasoned that these requirements were likely to have been a 'sop to the bishops of the Established Church and to militant Protestantism' to ensure passage of the legislation.[3] It was in this more relaxed but still potentially fraught cultural climate that Troy organised his spectacular Irish Catholic thanksgiving service in honour of George III.

Archbishop Troy was an alumnus of San Clemente, the Irish Dominican college in Rome. A brilliant student, he so impressed the audience and committee at his final public examination that they reportedly could not 'restrain themselves from crying out "Bravo" and "*Optime*" in appreciation of his performance'.[4] He remained in the Eternal City for many years after finishing his studies, rising through the ranks to eventually become prior of San Clemente. He returned to Ireland in 1777 upon being named bishop of Ossory and, in 1786, was

---

2 21 & 22 George III c.24. The full text of the act is printed in *The Statutes at Large Passed in the Parliaments Held in Ireland*, Vol. XII (Dublin: George Grierson, 1786), pp. 237-42; quote at p. 240.

3 Maureen Wall, 'The Making of Gardiner's Relief Act, 1781-2,' in *The Collected Essays of Maureen Wall – Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Gerard O'Brien (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1989), p. 142.

4 Fenning, *San Clemente Miscellany*, p. 51.

appointed archbishop of Dublin. On the advice of Edmund Burke, he encouraged Irish Catholics to show loyalty and obedience to the Crown, believing it to be the best way to further the Catholic political cause in Ireland. He strongly disapproved of political agitation and revolution, and wielded the power of excommunication over Catholic Whiteboys, Rightboys and, later, United Irish rebels. In a modern assessment, Troy is described as having been 'above all…pragmatic'.[5] In 1789, George III's recovery from serious illness offered Troy and his supporters an important opportunity to – pragmatically – demonstrate Irish Catholic allegiance to the Crown. Newspaper coverage of Troy's royal thanksgiving service reported that the archbishop was assisted by two further Catholic bishops: these can be identified as Patrick Joseph Plunkett of Meath and James Caulfield of Ferns.[6]

The annals of music history do not recognise Tommaso Giordani (c.1730-1806) as a composer of great significance. Sadly, it is not possible to dispassionately assess the musical merits of the well-received *Te Deum* he wrote for Troy's thanksgiving service, as we do not currently know where the musical score may be, or even if it still exists. It is, however, safe to assume that it was not equal to the musical masterpiece that was described by the contemporary press. Perhaps the most illustrative information about Giordani's music is the fact that the piece he is best known for today, a short song entitled *Caro mio ben*, may not have been written by him at all.[7] It is difficult to believe that the music of the *Te Deum* could be as interesting as the circumstances and events surrounding it.

---

5 Dáire Keogh, *The French Disease: The Catholic Church and Irish Radicalism, 1790-1800* (Blackrock: Four Courts Press, 1993), p. 18.

6 The Protestant press mistakenly referred to a Catholic bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, the Church of Ireland diocese which was misaligned with the Catholic dioceses in the region. Caulfield of Ferms was closer and more politically compatible with Troy than the more moderate (if only by a hair's breadth) Daniel Delany, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. Meanwhile, Bishop Plunkett of Meath was a French-trained priest and doctor of theology who also shared Troy's loyalist political views; later in his career he would lead a thanksgiving high mass of his own celebrating the failure of the French landing in Bantry Bay. See: Dáire Keogh, 'Caulfield, James'; Deirdre Bryan and Stephen Sweetman, 'Delany, Daniel'; and C.J. Woods, 'Plunket, Patrick Joseph,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 18 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

7 T.J. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1705-1797: The Social Scene* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1973), p. 119.

Born in Naples, Giordani first arrived in Dublin in 1764. He left Ireland for London only two years later, after having been accused of musical plagiarism. He returned to the Irish capital in 1783 and had an active career as a composer and would-be impresario from then until his death in 1806. Dáire Keogh has written (unfortunately without citation) that Giordani was music director at the Francis Street chapel from 1779.[8] However, the late Richard Sharpe deems this statement to have gone 'beyond the evidence' and, indeed, the composer was known to have been living and working quite prolifically in London in that year.[9] The work of both Keogh and Sharpe supposes that Giordani was the music director at the Francis Street chapel in the 1780s. There is, however, no available evidence to support that assumption,[10] and it appears that Troy did more than merely to ask the 'in-house' musician to compose a new *Te Deum* for his thanksgiving service; instead, it seems that he sought out – or alternatively, that he was sought out by – the composer especially on this occasion. What can we learn of the professional relationship between the archbishop and the composer?

Following the thanksgiving service, Troy had a cordial notice printed in the *Freeman's Journal*:

> A CARD.
>
> DOCTOR TROY takes this method of acknowledging his great obligation to Mr. Giordani, and the many respectable Gentlemen who under his direction assisted at the Solemn TE DEUM in thanksgiving

[8] Dáire Keogh, '"The Pattern of the Flock: John Thomas Troy, 1786-1823,' in *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, ed. Keough and James Kelly (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), p. 227.
[9] Richard Sharpe, 'Gregorio Ballabene's *Messa a dodici cori con organo* and Sacred Music in Late-Eighteenth-Century Dublin,' in *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* 11 (2015-16): p. 28; Irena Cholij, 'Giordani, Tommaso,' in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 20 August 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.
[10] David Rhodes, 'Giordani, Tommaso,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

> for the happy recovery of his Majesty, in the Chapel of Francis-Street, on the 4th instant.—He returns his sincere thanks to each of them, for their very polite and friendly condescension, which he shall ever remember, and the joyful occasion of it, with inexpressible gratitude and satisfaction.[11]

If Giordani were Troy's *maestro di cappella* at the Francis Street chapel, this would certainly have been a strange way for the archbishop to communicate with him. If they were ecclesiastical colleagues, would they not have jointly signed the 'card' to the 'many respectable Gentlemen'? Of course, there is a risk of overinterpreting what is obviously a limited source.

It must be noted that this *Te Deum* earned Giordani considerable public praise. As we have seen, the Irish press described the piece in glowing terms which echoed the first reports about Handel's *Messiah*; the premieres of both pieces were deemed to have given 'universal satisfaction'.[12] Giordani, who was both a composer and a concert organiser, succeeded in having his *Te Deum* performed again in Dublin on two separate occasions in late 1791. Both times, it accompanied charity sermons preached at Catholic chapels with the intention of raising money to support the city's orphans. Each performance was well-attended to the point that companies of Volunteers were on hand to control the crowds.[13] In eighteenth-century Ireland, Handel's music (*Messiah* in particular) was 'virtually synonymous with public or private acts of charity in Dublin',[14] and it is impossible not to wonder if Giordani was attempting to position himself in Dublin's musical and cultural scenes as a sort of 'Catholic Handel'. He was praised in the Irish press for his generosity:

---

11 *Freeman's Journal*, 7 May 1789.
12 *Freeman's Journal*, 5 May 1789; *The Dublin Journal*, 10 April 1742, quoted in: Donald Burrows, *Handel, Messiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 18.
13 *Freeman's Journal*, 24 November, 1 December, 15-7 December 1791; *Belfast Newsletter*, 29 November 1791.
14 Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital*, p. 32.

> After the sermon will be given Mr Giordani's celebrated and much admired Grand Te Deum, which, with his accustomed humanity, he has undertaken to superintend; wherein he will be assisted by all the Professors and Amateurs in this city, who have charitably united for the benevolent purpose of carrying the same into effect.[15]

Composing the *Te Deum* for Troy's royal thanksgiving service was a well-calculated career move by Giordani which laid the groundwork for his future endeavours.

The list of professional musicians who are known to have been involved with the Francis Street chapel service is disappointingly incomplete. Of the few who are named in the newspaper reports, David Weyman, an eighteen-year-old vicar choral from the combined choir of Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedrals,[16] seems to have stolen the show. 'While he sang, "the powers of song" was written in legible characters on every face', was the verdict from *Finn's Leinster Journal*. The organist C.G. Zierlein also contributed to the service – it is worth noting that many years later he published a keyboard arrangement of the post-1798, anti-Catholic song 'Croppies Lie Down'.[17] Although we should not draw conclusions about Zierlein's political beliefs circa 1789 from this isolated detail alone, this *is* a good reminder that we must be cautious about assuming that an individual's involvement with Troy's thanksgiving service equalled an endorsement of the wider Catholic political cause in late eighteenth-century Ireland. This is especially worth bearing in mind given that the newspapers were also keen to

---

15 *Freeman's Journal*, 15 December 1789.

16 Stuart Kinsella, 'Weyman, David,' in *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*. It is a quirk of Dublin's geography that one choir was able to be shared between the two cathedrals. Service times were staggered so that choristers could sing at both in one morning. See: Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 78-9.

17 *Croppies lie down: arranged as a rondo for the piano forte by C.G. Zierlein* (n.d.). National Library of Ireland, Add Mus 325.

report that 'gentlemen of the Established Church' joined Catholic musicians in the instrumental ensemble. Later in this chapter, we will return to the topic of these 'gentlemen amateurs' – or, more specifically, to the gentle*women* who frequently performed alongside them but whose names do not appear in the coverage of the Francis Street service.

The presence of so many starry figures from Dublin high society all but guaranteed that Troy's thanksgiving service would receive an impressive level of interest from the press. It bears mentioning that attendance was by invitation; it was not publicly advertised beforehand. The Duke of Leinster and Earl of Tyrone both attended solo, whilst the Ladies Arran, Portarlington, and Belvedere accompanied their husbands. Meanwhile, several other women of varying social statuses are reported to have attended without male company. These include the wealthy Caroline Fitzgerald, then Lady Kingsborough, who famously hired (and shortly after, fired) Mary Wollstonecraft as her daughter's tutor;[18] Mary Craddock, widow of John Craddock, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin; and Arabella Jeffereyes, a fascinating woman whose *Dictionary of Irish Biography* entry describes her as a 'landowner and social radical' who 'believ[ed] herself to be a patron of the arts'.[19] Although Jeffereyes lived in Cork, her presence in Dublin may be at least partly explained by the fact that her son was soon to marry the daughter of David La Touche, the MP and banker, who reportedly attended Troy's Francis Street service with his family. La Touche was a known musical patron who lent his name to the Irish Musical Fund, one of a number of societies of upper-class amateur musicians who played concerts to raise money for charitable causes around Ireland.[20] The most notable Irish MP to attend was Henry Grattan who, like the Duke of Leinster, was a powerful friend of Catholic relief and a 'big get'

---

[18] Frances Clarke, 'Moore, Margaret Jane ('Mrs Mason'),' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 20 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

[19] Patrick Geoghegan, 'Jeffereyes (Jeffries, Jeffereys), Arabella,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 20 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

[20] Daniel Beaumont, 'La Touche, David III,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 21 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

for Troy. A final politician to be mentioned is John O'Neill – not the John O'Neill who sat on the Catholic Committee, but the John O'Neill who was MP for Randalstown and, along with his wife Henrietta Boyle, was famously a patron of the arts and lover of music.[21]

It is noteworthy that Troy chose to communicate his message of Irish Catholic loyalty by organising this impressive and well attended service, held in a Catholic place of worship: he could have arranged for a 'congratulatory address' to be sent to the king (in fact, George reportedly received 756 such addresses from various organisations);[22] he could have commissioned a statue or other work of art honouring the king, to be unveiled with suitable pomp and displayed appropriately; or he could have preached and had printed a sermon giving thanks and praise to the divine powers for the monarch's recovery. But he did none of those things. Instead, he organised this unabashedly Roman Catholic service and held it at what was then the principal Catholic place of worship in the Irish capital, and invited the cream of Irish society to attend. This made more of a positive impression than any run-of-the-mill congratulatory address could have. Even more than the service itself, the subsequent newspaper reports about it succeeded in widely communicating Troy's message of Irish Catholic loyalty around and beyond the island of Ireland: in a coup for Troy, the London press also reported favourably on the Dublin service. Although the *Morning Star*'s account was less effusive than the Irish papers (it said, for example, that 'Giordani conducted the whole with a facility and correctness not usual in Ireland'), it still conceded that 'many […] persons of rank were present, and were all highly delighted'. Another London paper, *The Diary, or, Woodfall's Register*, simply reprinted the report from the *Freeman's Journal* verbatim.[23]

---

[21] Bridget Hourican, 'O'Neill, John,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 21 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie; Ita Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music, 1780-1830* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1966), pp. 77-8.

[22] Andrew Roberts, *George III: the life and reign of Britain's most misunderstood monarch* (London: Allen Lane, 2021), p. 535.

[23] *The Diary, or, Woodfall's Register* 14 May 1789; *Morning Star* 14 May 1789.

After the service, Troy hosted a few of the dignitaries in a private reception. The duke of Leinster expressed his appreciation for the archbishop's hospitality, and Troy received an extraordinary personal endorsement in *Finn's Leinster Journal*:

> Doctor Troy is, indeed, a gentleman whose affable manners have peculiarly endeared him, as well to personages of high rank, as to those in humbler spheres; with an heart rich in benevolence and philanthropy, he unites a mind, highly cultivated by an intense application to learned pursuits, and lives, as well the ornament of science, as of piety, in the episcopal character.[24]

This day was an outstanding success for Troy, personally and politically. It is interesting to wonder if Fitzgerald's 'friends' were fellow Ascendancy nobles, and if their conversation with Troy touched on a mutual appreciation for Italian music and culture, which Troy would have remembered from his time at San Clemente, and men like Fitzgerald, Dawson, and La Touche would have remembered from their Grand Tours. Given the duke's Whiggish tendencies, it is also possible that his associates included men like Henry Grattan and John O'Neill, members of the political opposition who supported Catholic relief, but whose patriot politics would likely have sat uncomfortably with the more conservative archbishop. After all, this was an event to celebrate the recovery of George III and his return to duty. Politically, this meant that the so-called Regency Crisis was averted; the king's government, led by the conservative William Pitt the Younger, would not be replaced by one led by Pitt's rival, the Whig Charles James Fox. Fox would have governed in the name of the prince of Wales who, under this plan, would have acted as the king's regent. In Ireland, Fitzgerald, Grattan, and O'Neill had all publicly

---

[24] *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 9 May 1789.

supported the proposed regency government; the duke and O'Neill were amongst the representatives of the Irish Parliament who travelled to London to petition the prince to assume the regency, only to learn once they arrived that the king's health had begun to improve.[25] We must view the Whig politicians' attendance at Troy's display of Irish Catholic loyalism against the background of this embarrassing incident.[26]

Now that we are better acquainted with the particulars of the Irish Catholic thanksgiving service for the recovery of George III, we can move on to discuss some of the issues raised by this event. We will begin with an *amuse-bouche* which will serve to draw us into the world of Irish Protestant audiences for Catholic liturgical music.

Irish Protestant Audiences for Catholic Sacred Music

James Caulfeild[27] (1728-99), the Co. Tyrone-born fourth viscount Charlemont (later first earl of Charlemont), travelled extensively when he was in his early twenties. Besides the standard Grand Tour itinerary which saw him traverse the length of the Italian peninsula, Caulfeild also made a tour of Constantinople, Lesbos, Chios, Mykonos, Delos, Tinos, Syros, Paros, Alexandria, Saqqara, Giza, Rhodes, and Knidos.[28] He spent the great majority of his time abroad, however, in Italy. He travelled for nearly seven years before finally returning to London in January 1754, and Ireland in 1755.[29] While in Italy, this Irish Protestant nobleman

---

[25] Neil Herman, 'Henry Grattan, the Regency Crisis and the Emergence of a Whig Party in Ireland, 1788-9,' in *Irish Historical Studies* 128 (November 2001): pp. 492-3.

[26] This was a very public humiliation for them; the Irish supporters of the regency were brutally mocked by the British press in caricature and in print. See: Nicholas Robinson, 'Caricature and the Regency Crisis: An Irish Perspective,' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 1 (1986): pp. 157-76.

[27] He is not to be confused with the aforementioned James Caulfield, Catholic bishop of Ferns.

[28] John Wilton-Ely, 'Review Essay: "Classic Ground": Britain, Italy, and the Grand Tour,' in *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28/1 (2004): p. 160.

[29] James Kelly, 'Caulfeild, James,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 30 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie; John Ingamells and Brinsley Ford, 'Charlemont, James Caulfeild, 4th Viscount,' in *A Dictionary of British and Irish*

had an unforgettable encounter with Catholic devotional culture. One Friday during Lent, out of a sense of 'curiosity', Caulfeild attended a service at a church 'belonging to an Order of flagellant Friars'. He does not name the exact church in his memoirs, nor does he give any hint of what city he was visiting at the time, although we know that he spent the Lenten seasons in Rome, Florence, and Naples during his years abroad.[30] On this occasion, the young viscount found himself sitting in a 'large and magnificent' church 'thronged with people and illuminated with the utmost splendour'. It being the Lenten season, the sermon was on the purification of sin through self-discipline and mortification. In Caulfeild's own words:

> To this edifying discourse an excellent concert of music succeeded, and during the performance several servitors of the Order went round the congregation with large silver plates filled with scourges made of whipcord twisted and knotted, exactly resembling what we call cats-o'-nine-tails. These were presented to, and most devoutly received by every person present. As soon as we were thus provided with implements fit for the pious operation, the music ceased. Every light was at once extinguished, and we were involved in sudden and total darkness, while at the same instant all the doors were clapped and secured with a noise like thunder. What followed can only be compared with our idea of the infernal regions – the sound of whips, the clank of chains (for many not contented with the cords had brought with them scourges of iron), shrieks and groans proceeding from a mixture of pain and contrition. Such was the horrid concert which, added to the total darkness, would have been sufficient to dismay the firmest mind […] After about half an hour passed in this manner a signal was made for everyone to reclothe himself, and when a convenient time had been allowed for that purpose the church was re-illuminated almost as suddenly as it had

Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800 (New Haven, CT and London: Published for the Paul Mellon centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1997).

30 Ingamells and Ford, 'Charlemont,' in *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy*.

> been darkened, the music again began, and the ceremony ended by a benediction from the priest.'[31]

This memorable anecdote captures well the good-natured, almost ethnographic 'curiosity' (to quote Caulfeild) with which many (but certainly not all) British and Irish travellers like Charlemont approached Catholic liturgical and devotional practices whilst visiting Catholic cities and kingdoms on the Grand Tour.[32]

Italian music was hugely popular in eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland. Contrary to the impression given by Jeremy Black in his classic *The British and the Grand Tour* (1985), Italian opera was not the only genre which audiences were after in this period, either at home or abroad.[33] The long existence of the Academy of Ancient Music, which was founded in London in 1726, speaks to the interest in sixteenth-century sacred vocal music amongst Georgian audiences.[34] Separately, it also bears mentioning that much of the music that was composed for the Catholic church in the eighteenth century was influenced by Italian opera – this had been the case since the early seventeenth century, when Claudio Monteverdi used the same instrumental fanfare at the beginnings of both his opera *L'Orfeo* (1607) and his *Vespro della Beata Vergine* (*Vespers for the Blessed Virgin*, 1610). This musical introduction imbues performances of

---

[31] W.B. Stanford and E.J. Finopoulos, eds., *The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece & Turkey, 1749* (London: Trigraph for the A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1984), pp. 226-7. See also: Cynthia O'Connor, *The Pleasing Hours: The Grand Tour of James Caulfeild, First Earl of Charlemont (1728-1799), Traveller, Connoisseur, and Patron of the Arts* (Cork: Collins Press, 1999), pp. 99-100.

[32] Recent scholarship on British and Irish travel to the continent in the early modern period has challenged the received view of the Grand Tour of it having been the preserve of Protestant, aristocratic young men. See, for example: Liesbeth Corens, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Richard Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen: Educational Travel and Family Strategy, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2022); Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassyng Roworth, and Catherine Sama, eds., *Italy's Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

[33] Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London and Dover, NH: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 204-13.

[34] H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726-1802): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes,' in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 51 (2020): pp. 1-136.

both the secular and the sacred works with a sense of drama and grandeur.[35] Therefore, it can be said that British and Irish travellers who visited Italian cities like Rome, Venice, Florence, and Naples (and further afield, cities like Paris and Vienna) were able to visit Catholic churches throughout continental Europe and hear music – or at least a style of music – which they recognised and enjoyed at home.

Charlemont's tale captures well the attitude of detached observation which Protestant tourists assumed when they encountered Catholic worship during their travels. Attracted by the world-class art, architecture, and music found in continental European churches, not to mention the pomp and spectacle of the post-Tridentine Catholic liturgy, they frequently visited churches and attended Mass and other services but did not participate as faithful congregants themselves. The Englishman Charles Burney (1726-1814) often wrote about liturgical music he heard at Catholic churches during his famous musical travels on the continent. It is clear from his descriptions that he approached hearing Mass and Vespers with the same type of interest that would match a secular performance. His report on a Mass he attended in Milan is particularly illustrative:

> The second mass I heard to-day was composed by Battista San Martini, and performed under his direction at the church of the Carmini; the symphonies were very ingenious, and full of the spirit and fire peculiar to that author. The instrumental parts in his compositions are well written; he lets none of the performers be long idle; and the violins, especially, are never suffered to sleep. […] his music would please more if there were fewer notes, and fewer *allegros* in it: but the impetuosity of his genius impels him to run on in a succession of rapid movements,

[35] Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music, Vol. 2: Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 18-20.

> which in the end fatigue both the performer and the hearers. Marchesini, whom I did not much like, sung the first *soprano* part; Ciprandi, an excellent tenor, who was in England a few years ago, and whose cast of parts has never since been so well filled, sung here in a manner far superior to all the rest. […] I find performances of this kind but ill attended, no people of fashion are ever seen at them; the congregation seems to consist principally of the clergy, trades-people, mechanics, country clowns, and beggars, who are, for the most part, very inattentive and restless, seldom remaining in the church during the whole performance.[36]

Burney critiques the musical composition and the performance using the same language that would be used to describe a new opera or other secular work. His demeaning comments about the congregation fail to recognise that the 'country clowns and beggars' may have attended Mass for reasons other than to hear a fashionable concert, and that what to Burney was an enjoyable musical 'performance' was an exercise in religious faith for others. Recalling Thomas Turino's 'presentational' and 'participatory' categories of musical performance, it is evident that Catholics and Protestants experienced these services in participatory and presentational modes, respectively.[37] It must be noted that this tendency of Protestant observers to conceptualize the Catholic liturgy as performance art can also be observed in the Irish press's reports about Troy's royal thanksgiving service; the Irish press used similarly descriptive language to praise Giordani's *Te Deum*.[38] Throughout the eighteenth century, there seems to have been a tacit understanding between the two confessional groups: Catholics did not single

---

[36] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1771), pp. 95-6. For a deeply erudite discussion of Burney and the ontological and epistemological relationships between music and travel, see: Vanessa Agnew, *Enlightenment Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 11-72.

[37] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 26.

[38] See Appendix II.

out and try to convert their Protestant visitors, and Protestants in return politely watched and listened, sometimes even taking away fond memories. This was Catholic 'soft power' diplomacy at work.

We can observe this same style of cultural diplomacy in Archbishop Troy's display of Irish Catholic allegiance to the Crown in 1789. Having lived for so long in Rome, Troy would have seen first-hand how Protestant Grand Tour travellers – many of them his fellow countrymen – visited Roman churches and went away impressed by the sophistication of Catholic art and music. With his royal thanksgiving service, he successfully replicated on Irish soil the mutually respectful interconfessional social dynamic which existed in Catholic cities along the routes of the Grand Tour. His success can be measured by the many positive newspaper reports (discussed above) which followed the event. Giordani's music was an especially important part of this feat: Italian music was a common language between Troy and Irish Protestants who fondly remembered their Grand Tours, including noblemen like the Duke of Leinster and MPs like David La Touche. Finally, we should note here that Troy's choice to feature music so prominently in the Irish Catholic thanksgiving service makes an interesting contrast with the decision of Bishop George Hay (1729-1811), Vicar Apostolic of Lowland Scotland, to condemn the use of music (even the *Te Deum*) by Scottish Catholic congregations to celebrate the king's recovery.[39]

I would like to return now to the source I described at the very beginning of this thesis. As we saw above, a manuscript musical score of Gregorio Ballabene's *Messa a dodici cori con organo* was found amongst the possessions of Richard Kenrick, the parish priest of the Francis Street chapel at the time of his death in 1827. Sharpe speculated that it was Troy who brought

[39] Shelagh Noden, 'The Revival of Music in the Post-Reformation Catholic Church in Scotland,' in *Recusant History* 31/2 (2012): p. 246.

the manuscript to Dublin from Rome, and that it made its way into Giordani's possession through the composer's supposed connection with the Francis Street chapel.[40] Troy was not, however, the only person who travelled from Rome to Ireland in the late eighteenth century.[41] The assumption that Troy – whose had shown no interest in music, sacred or otherwise, in his career up until his collaboration with Giordani – took the score to Ballabene's 'colossal' Mass with him when he left the Eternal City for the last time ignores the far more likely possibility that a musically engaged Irish traveller was responsible for its baffling appearance in Ireland. Troy has been credited with having overseen 'the Romanisation of Irish Catholicism, a process universally attributed to Cardinal Cullen'.[42] In evaluating the question of whether Troy would have thought to use this particular piece of sacred music as a vehicle for 'Romanisation', we should recognise that Ballabene's Mass was not representative of the 'Roman' style; it was met with indifference on the occasion of its single known performance in the city in 1776, and the composer did not go on to enjoy a distinguished career. The 'colossal baroque' style of composition was outmoded by the 1770s.[43] Instead of Troy, it is worth considering the possibility that a musically interested Irish Protestant traveller visiting Italy on a Grand Tour was who acquired the manuscript – recall that elsewhere in this thesis, we have seen that musical scores could be 'souvenirs' of travel.[44]

It is likely that Troy was aware that his Protestant guests would experience his solemn service as spectacle, and not as liturgy – that they would experience it in a presentational, rather than a participatory, way. The press coverage does not describe his actions during the service itself, although the sight of the bishops in their 'pontificalibus' was duly reported upon without

---

40 Sharpe, 'Sacred Music in Late-Eighteenth-Century Dublin,' pp. 33-5.
41 Ingamells and Ford's *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy* is a testament to this fact.
42 Keogh, *The French Disease*, p. 18.
43 Florian Bassani, *Gregorio Ballabene's Forty-eight-part Mass for Twelve Choirs (1772)* (London: Routledge, 2021), pp. 23-9.
44 Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen*, p. 222. Also see above, p. 100.

further comment. Did he sing plainchant at all in the course of the solemn service? A letter written in 1770 indicates that Troy needed to be taught to sing plainchant; we are left to wonder if he had acquired the skill by the time he became archbishop of Dublin.[45] However, he may well have wished to avoid being seen as a 'performer' in the eyes of the Ascendancy – something which would have risked diminishing the dignity of the Church. He may also have recognised that the ancient sound of plainchant being intoned would have alienated his Protestant 'audience', which expected to hear a performance of more modern music.

Troy's success on this occasion was buoyed by the less-than-impressive official state thanksgiving service for George III's recovery, which took place at Dublin's Christ Church Cathedral on 24 April 1789.[46] This Irish Protestant service blended religious ceremonial with the pomp of state; successive processions from the Irish Parliament and Dublin Castle arrived at the cathedral and were welcomed by the ecclesiastical leaders of the Church of Ireland. It must be said, however, that the musical offerings of this Anglican service were underwhelming. A *Te Deum* was sung, but the setting was an old one composed by Handel in 1743 to celebrate a British victory in the War of the Austrian Succession (what's more, a victory won not by George III, but by his grandfather, George II). In spite of the Latin in its title, the *Dettingen Te Deum* is sung in English. Handel's *Esther* overture from 1732 was also included on the programme, along with even older Italian instrumental works by Corelli (1653-1713) and Geminiani (1687-1762; the work in question was published in 1732). The service concluded with 'the coronation hymn', this is, Handel's famous *Zadok the Priest* (also sung in English). It is almost suspicious to note that the press coverage does not elaborate further on the performance. There is reason to believe that the performance was not very good. The *Freeman's Journal*, in an

[45] Thomas Burke, OP to Charles O'Kelly, OP and John Thomas Troy, OP, 5 May 1770. Dublin Diocesan Archives (DDA) 29/4/2, f. 2r. See above, pp. 145-6.
[46] *Freeman's Journal*, 23 April 1789; *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 25 April 1789.

otherwise glowing report of the day's events, expressed the reservation that although '[t]he whole performance was exceedingly accurate…[a] great part of the effect was destroyed by substituting the organ in part of all the trumpet solos'. Considering that the 'State Trumpeters and Kettle Drummers' attended the service in the Lord Lieutenant's retinue, the substitution is all the more puzzling and unfortunate. Excepting another star turn from the young singer David Weyman, the state thanksgiving service at Christ Church was a musically dull occasion which featured questionable performances of well-known works. However, in being so, it played to Troy's advantage, because it made the musical offerings at his Catholic service stand out in greater relief than if the music at the Protestant service had been memorably good.

Finally, there is an interesting dynamic to consider in the fact that the Protestant thanksgiving included an elaborate procession through Dublin, and Troy's Catholic thanksgiving did not. By inviting Ascendancy society into a Catholic interior space but choosing not to occupy (sonically or otherwise) the shared external space, Troy maintained the status quo of the Irish urban soundscape.[47]

Female Amateur Musicians in Dublin

It is not immediately surprising to find that no female musicians performed in a solemn Catholic service in the eighteenth century. The *Freeman's Journal*, in its report on the Francis Street chapel service, mentioned the participation 'gentlemen amateur [musicians], among whom were several gentlemen of the established church',[48] who played in the orchestra which

[47] See Chapter 1.
[48] *Freemans Journal*, 5 May 1789.

accompanied Giordani's *Te Deum*. This should raise questions about the absence of gentle*women* amateurs of the established church.

Irish Protestant women were known to play and sing in ensembles together with men in the many members-only musical societies which existed in eighteenth-century Dublin. These concerts were almost always organised as fundraisers for various charitable causes.[49] In the 1710s and '20s, women performed with Philip Perceval's semi-private musical consort, which met at his fashionable home on St Stephen's Green and at Wood Park, his country home outside of Dublin.[50] Perceval himself would later 'marry fund-raising to musical entrepreneurship' as a governor of Mercer's Hospital, and we can wonder if the women from his musical circle assisted in these endeavours.[51] In the mid-eighteenth century, the Musical Academy founded in 1757 by Garrett Wesley, the first earl of Mornington, allowed women to participate as singers or as instrumentalists ('All power of enacting, altering, or annulling any statute or statutes', however, was vested 'solely in the male academics', and only the men had the right of suffrage). This ensemble gave annual public concerts to raise money for the 'charitable loan', an early microlending organisation in Ireland.[52] Finally, we know that women regularly performed in the concerts given by the Irish Musical Fund, established in 1787, to raise money for charitable purposes. In 1789, the same year that Troy's thanksgiving service

---

49 Harry White, 'Handel in Dublin: A Note,' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 2 (1987): pp. 182-6.

50 See above, p. 97.

51 T.C. Barnard, '"Grand Metropolis" or 'The Anus of the World"? The Cultural Life of Eighteenth-Century Dublin,' in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840*, ed. Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2001), pp. 186.

52 These statutes are reproduced in: John Warburton, James Whitelaw, and Robert Walsh, eds., *History of the City of Dublin, From the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1818), pp. 906-7. On Mornington's Charitable Musical Society and its surprisingly long legacy, see: Charles Piesse, *Sketch of the Loan Fund System in Ireland* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1841), pp. 9-10; and Aidan Hollis and Arthur Sweetman, 'Microfinance and Famine: The Irish Loan Funds during the Great Famine,' in *World Development* 32 (2004): pp. 1509-1523.

was held, the women of the Irish Musical Fund sang in their concert while wearing 'around their headdress a white bandeau inscribed in gold spangles with "God Save the King"'.[53]

The knowledge that it was not unheard of for Protestant women of a certain social standing to play or sing music alongside gentlemen in eighteenth-century Ireland raises interesting questions about Troy's thanksgiving service. It is difficult to know if there were women who would have wanted to participate: the vast majority of musical gentlewomen in this period were vocalists who sang with choirs which performed Handel's English-language oratorios, such as *Messiah*, *Samson*, and *Judas Maccabeus.* Giordani's *Te Deum*, on the other hand, was sung in Latin. Interestingly, Dorothea Rochfort (née Bloomfield), Lady Belvedere, who we know attended Troy's service with her husband, was known to sing in the choir for the annual performances which raised money for the Irish Musical Fund in the late 1780s.[54] Even if she or any other Protestant gentlewoman would have wanted to sing with Giordani's choir, though, it is highly doubtful that an ultramontane traditionalist like Troy would have approved. This is, however, a fascinating hypothetical to consider: how would the archbishop, caught between, on the one hand, wanting to impress the Protestant elite and, on the other, his own rigid sense of liturgical propriety (which excluded women from Catholic church choirs) have dealt with an offer or request from a Protestant woman to participate? There is not enough available evidence to allow for progress to be made on this question, but the fact remains that the absence of female musicians in this case is actually an exception to what was generally the norm in eighteenth-century Dublin.

---

[53] Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music*, pp. 77-80; quotation at p. 78. I would be remiss if I did not mention that their performance was accompanied by, among others, the notorious Czech violist František Kočžwara, who would die two years later of autoerotic asphyxiation in a London brothel. This detail is omitted in Hogan's 1966 monograph. Curious readers may consult: *Modern Propensities, or An Essay on the Art of Strangling…Illustrated with Several Anecdotes…with memoirs of Susanna Hill, and a Summary of her Trial at the Old Bailey on Friday, Sept. 16, 1791, on the Charge of Hanging Francis Kotzwara at her Lodgings in Vine Street* (London, 1792).

[54] Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music*, p. 77; and Turlough O'Riordan, 'Rochfort, George Augustus,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 21 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

Archbishop Troy and the Irish Catholic 'Model Minority'[55]

Troy's efforts to convey a message of Irish Catholic loyalty to the Crown resonate with the modern concept of the 'model minority'. This term was first applied to Asian Americans in the Cold War era. The highly problematic idea behind this label is that Asian Americans exhibit enough traits in common with the American (i.e. white) majority that they can be considered not as equals, but closer to it than other ethnic minority groups in America.[56] However, this is not always how Asian Americans have been viewed. The Chinese labourers who first came to America in the 1860s to work on the transcontinental railroad were treated as outsiders when they arrived. They were seen as cheap, unappealing, and expendable workers who had no chance of assimilating with American culture. Yet, little more than a century after the arrival of the first Chinese railway worker, Asian Americans had come to occupy an entirely different place in American society. In the words of Erika Lee, a leading historian of Asian America, 'Once cast as inassimilable and racially inferior foreigners who were threats to the United States, Asian Americans are now the poster children of American success'. Lee goes on to add, however, that this stereotype 'masks persistent inequalities and disparities among Asian Americans and relies on a new and divisive language of racism'.[57] What does this have to do with Archbishop Troy and perceptions of Irish Catholics in the late eighteenth century? It goes without saying that we cannot uncritically adapt paradigms which emerged from a multiracial,

---

[55] An earlier version of this chapter was given as a paper at the Conference of Irish Historians in Britain (September 2022), which was organised on the theme of 'Minorities in Irish History'. I am grateful to the conference convenors, Caoimhe Nic Dhaibheid, Thomas Leahy, and Ian McBride, for inviting me to respond to this thought-provoking topic; this final section would not otherwise have been developed.

[56] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2015), pp. 276-9 and pp. 373-92; Madeline Hsu, *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 1-22; Frank Wu, *Yellow: Race in America Beyond Black and White* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), pp. 39-78.

[57] Lee, *Making of Asian America*, pp. 373-4.

industrialised context to this case; I do, however, believe that the cautious exploration of these themes may make space for a reassessment of Troy and late eighteenth-century Irish Catholic politics. Understanding the dramatic social ascent of the Asian American demographic in the twentieth century is well beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the deeply relevant questions of complicity and cultural assimilation which are raised by this issue may be asked of Troy and this period of Irish Catholic history.

In the bracing essay collection *Minor Feelings: An Asian American Reckoning* (2021), the American poet Cathy Park Hong confronts the model minority trope with an acerbic but compassionate eye. She writes of how, when she lived in Iowa to attend a prestigious writing programme, her Korean American father travelled from Los Angeles to visit her. '"Don't ever make an illegal U-turn here", my father advised after I made an illegal U-turn, "because they will see that you are an Asian driving badly"'.[58] If we view the case of Troy's 1789 thanksgiving service in an explicitly British and Irish context rather than in the Irish context alone, it is Irish Catholics who emerge as the numerical minority. Troy wanted to show the Ascendancy (and, though them, the Crown and the Westminster parliament) that Irish Catholics were not so different from them after all – put another way, that they were easily assimilable into the mainstream of the British body politic. He very consciously wanted to shift the perception of Irish Catholics from being less like the Chinese railway workers in the American West – overly abundant, foreign, and expendable – to being more like a 'model minority' in the overall British and Irish cultural context. The Francis Street chapel service, which was held early in his long tenure as archbishop of Dublin, gave Troy the chance to demonstrate his 'abundant talents, bicultural adeptness, and top-notch educational credentials' to Protestant leaders in Ireland and Britain.[59] On the occasion of George III's recovery from illness, he had a perfect

[58] Cathy Park Hong, *Minor Feelings: An Asian American Reckoning* (New York: One World, 2021), p. 15.
[59] Hsu, *The Good Immigrants*, p. 3.

opportunity to organise a public display of Irish Catholic civility – even sophistication – and political loyalty. The coverage the event received in the Irish press would seem to indicate that he was successful on this occasion. The *Freeman's Journal* concluded that 'Much praise is due to the Right Rev. Prelate who presided over this solemn service, for his zeal, and his judicious choice of Directors and Steward, by whose care, judgment and activity the performance went off so well, and the company were so commodiously and pleasingly accommodated'.[60] It is of the utmost significance to this study that Troy used fashionable Italian music as the vessel for communicating the message to the Protestant elite that he and his co-religionists were not, like Hong's 'Asian driving badly', 'Irish being Catholic'.

Conclusion

I will conclude with the observation that there is some numerical proof of Troy's success, beyond the explicit praise he received in the Irish press. It was widely reported in the Irish *and* London newspapers that the chapel could hold 3,000 people, and that it was filled to near capacity on this occasion. This is a preposterous number; the main auditorium at Carnegie Hall only seats 2,790 people.[61] Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin, which we recall hosted the official Irish state thanksgiving for the king's recovery, can only seat 525 people – perhaps more by eighteenth-century standards, which were not beholden to modern fire safety regulations, but not by any significant numbers. It is true that Dublin's Catholic chapels were notoriously

[60] *Freeman's Journal*, 5 May 1789. The Catholic-leaning *Finn's Leinster Journal* was even more fulsome in its praise, writing in its 9 May 1789 edition: 'It is indeed an honourable circumstance to THAT church, that her present dignitaries in Ireland, are, in general, men of sound erudition and enlightened information'. On the publisher and readership of the *Leinster Journal*, see: C.J. Woods, 'Finn, Edmund,' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 28 July 2023, https://www.dib.ie.

[61] https://www.carnegiehall.org/About/Building-Overview/Stern-Auditorium-Perelman-Stage, accessed 24 August 2022.

overcrowded in the penal era.[62] However, it is simply impossible to believe that the Duke of Leinster and all the other lords and ladies stood shoulder-to-shoulder indoors with a 3,000-person strong hoi polloi. How, then, can we make sense of the reported numbers? The answer may lie in London, where St Paul's Cathedral has a seating capacity of 3,500. The cathedral was reportedly packed for the original royal thanksgiving, which was attended by the king himself.[63] The message the Dublin press was trying to convey should be mathematically clear: that the combined attendance at the Dublin Protestant and Catholic thanksgiving services equalled that at London's. And here is another, more subtle indication of Troy's success: that Catholics were both needed and utilised to make up the arithmetic of Irish loyalty.

[62] On fatalities caused by building collapses and overcrowding in Catholic chapels, see: 'Catholics and Catholicism in the Eighteenth-Century Press,' in *Archivium Hibernicum* 16 and 27 (1951 and 1964): pp. 79 and 318.
[63] Roberts, *George III*, pp. 534-7.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Sacred Music of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Catholic Church has, for the first time, brought together a substantial body of evidence which sheds light on the elusive musical culture of Irish Catholicism in the penal era. I hope that this work has made a convincing case for the merits of music as a topic worthy of serious, thoughtful attention from historians, especially in the Irish historiographical landscape. This thesis has demonstrated that the ability to read music is by no means a prerequisite to studying its use throughout history. Although I used 'expert' musical terminology in this thesis (especially in the chapter about plainchant), it was no more esoteric than what one would expect to find in a work of economic history, or any other 'specialist' area of historical studies. It is possible to consider the music's place in history without prior specialist training.

I have sought in this thesis to re-establish music's good standing amongst other topics in modern Irish historiography. Looking ahead, I hope that this work will serve as a basis for further research. I especially hope that scholars of different linguistic backgrounds will become interested in the music of the Irish continental colleges and convents and, most of all, that Irish speakers will engage with the fragments presented in this thesis, filling in areas of the metaphorical pointillistic painting which I have had to leave blank.

***

McBride's 'outside-in' approach proved to be an especially effective way of entering into this little explored area of Irish history. I believe that a scaled-down version of this method can and should continue to be applied to studies of the early modern Irish continental convents

and colleges. As Jan Pařez and Hedvika Kuchařová's *The Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1629-1786* (trans. Jana Stoddart and Michael Stoddart, 2015) demonstrates, command of the local language and knowledge of local archives can lead to the recovery of source material which has yet to be examined from an Irish perspective. My own discovery of the Robustelly organ contract, which cast valuable light on the musical activities of the Holy Cross College of the Irish Dominicans, emerged from research of the general musical culture of eighteenth-century Leuven, and not from any Irish material. This thesis was able to incorporate that small piece of knowledge into a broader picture of Irish Catholic musical and liturgical activity in this period which is now beginning to form. It is very likely that more work of this nature will yield similar results, benefitting not only Irish history, but also the local histories of these cities, the Church, and the religious orders which ran or maintained these institutions in this period.

The Synod of Thurles (1850) and the arrival in Ireland of Heinrich Bewerunge as the first professor of sacred music at St Patrick's College, Maynooth in 1888 were watershed moments in the development of Irish Catholic sacred music. Emmet Larkin's seminal article on Ireland's devotional revolution makes passing reference to the contributions of music and singing to the popular culture of post-Famine Irish Catholicism,[1] and Harry White has written about the impacts of Cardinal Paul Cullen and Bewerunge on the musical culture of the Church in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ireland.[2] Going forwards, there is interesting work to be done connecting the findings presented in this thesis with the musical fruits of the top-down ecclesiastical reforms of the late nineteenth-century Irish Catholic Church.

---

1 Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75,' in *The American Historical Review* 77/3 (1972): pp. 644-5.

2 See the chapter 'Heinrich Bewerunge and the Cecilian Movement in Ireland' in Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), pp. 74-93.

Scattered references to the use (or conspicuous absence) of Catholic sacred music in a variety of social contexts can be found in existing studies early nineteenth-century Ireland, including S.J. Connolly's classic *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845* (1982).[3] Little has been done to systematically analyse this information from a musical perspective. Guy Beiner's 'vernacular historiography'[4] approach may prove to be a useful methodology for such a study, as there is a diverse body of relevant source material dating from the nineteenth century – even predating the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 – which has yet to be fully exploited. For example, the prefaces and introductions which accompany the many plainchant manuals which were published in Ireland in this period,[5] or the dictated memoirs of the harper Art O'Neill,[6] could form a major part of the heterogeneous 'alternative custom-made archive'[7] which is the basis for Beiner's methodology. Crucially, I believe that this approach will encourage the modern historian to handle sources relevant to, in this instance, the intersection of Irish traditional music with Catholic liturgical and devotional practices, such as the *caoineadh* and other mourning rituals, and the music and soundscape of the pattern.[8]

I was not able to closely analyse Irish language material in this thesis, but in this area, there are many fascinating lines of inquiry relating to Catholic sacred music in eighteenth-century Ireland which are worthy of exploration. Vincent Morley has translated a verse written

---

3 Connolly, *Priests and People*, pp. 93-9. See also: Idem., 'Cardinal Cullen's Other Capital: Belfast and the "Devotional Revolution"' in *Cardinal Paul Cullen and His World*, ed. Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), pp. 297-8; and Susan O'Regan, *Music and Society in Cork, 1700-1900* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2018), pp. 203-10.

4 As explicated in Beiner's masterful *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 5-17.

5 Bennett Zon, 'The Revival of Plainchant in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1777-1858: Some Sources and Their Commerce with England,' in *Irish Musical Studies 5: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference, 1995, Selected Proceedings: Part Two*, ed. Patrick Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 254-61.

6 See above, pp. 29-30.

7 Beiner, *Forgetful Remembrance*, p. 14.

8 See: Gearóid Ó Crualaoich, 'The "Merry Wake"' and Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, 'The Pattern' in *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, ed. James S. Donnelly, Jr and Kerby A. Miller (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), pp. 173-200 and pp. 201-21.

in the 1750s by the Co. Limerick-born poet Aindrias Mac Craith (c.1710-c.1795) which includes the lines 'a *Papist* will have churches and clergy without condition, there'll be vespers on Sundays in an [Anglican] church of prayers' ('*beidh cealla agus úird gan chúinse ag* Papist, *beidh easpart Dé Domhnaigh i dtcampall* prayers').[9] This has many fascinating implications: it demonstrates, for example, that Mac Craith understood how different confessional groups used music liturgically in their churches. It is also interesting to consider the fact that the English words ('Papist' and 'prayers') would have created a *sonic* impression when spoken or sung out loud in the midst of an Irish verse. An Irish-speaking scholar would doubtless be able to make more of this than I.

***

A small number of isolated points placed at random on a blank canvas will not yield a 'faithful' or even coherent image. If, however, these points are arranged so that they *suggest* an overall image, then the inevitable blank spaces which remain between them begin to take on more meaning. This thesis has been as much about interpreting the blank spaces left between them as it has been about adding as many points as is possible to fill in the overall picture.

[9] Quoted in: Vincent Morley, *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017), p. 83.

APPENDIX I: *FREEMAN'S JOURNAL* COVERAGE OF THE WILLIAMITE COMMEMORATION, 4 NOVEMBER 1779

DUBLIN,[1] THURSDAY being the anniversary of the birth day of King William III that happy instrument in the hands of Providence for relieving this kingdom from the arbitrary dominion of the Stuart line and bigoted delusion of Popery, all the bells of the city were rung at the opening of day, and all the citizens were decorated with orange ribbons. At ten o'clock in the forenoon the different bodies of Volunteers of this city and county, consisting of the cavalry, commanded by their own officers; the corps of the city and liberty, to the right of the county, commanded by his Grace the Duke of Leinster; and the county of Dublin corps, commanded by Capt Gardiner; assembled at St Stephen's-green, and having made a proper disposition, with drums beating and colours flying they marched from thence in files through York-street, Aungier-street, Bishop-street, Bride-street, Werburgh-street, Castle-street, Cork-hill, and Dame-street, till they arrived at College-green, where, having arranged themselves round the statue of King William, in the following order:

The Volunteers took their ground, and surrounded the statue in College-green at half past 12 o'clock: they were preceded by the CASTLEKNOCK TROOP of LIGHT HORSE, most nobly mounted; uniform, scarlet faced with black, helmets and black plumes:

And also by Sir John Allen Johnston's RATHDOWN LIGHT HORSE, elegantly mounted on fine hunters; uniform, scarlet with black facing, helmets and red plumes, white waistcoats, &c.

They were immediately followed by the DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS, under the command of our gallant IRISH DUKE, blue uniform lined with buff, red collars and red edgings, buff waistcoats, &c. the grenadiers with feathers, and the infantry with caps and plumes, 200 men, with two pair of colours, one of which was lately presented by the Duke, with the never-to-be-forgotten motto of—*The twelfth of October*, 1779!

The LIBERTY VOLUNTEERS, commanded by Sir Edward Newenham; uniform, blue edged with orange, buff waistcoats, &c. colours, orange and blue, with oak boughs in their hats, 180 men.

LAWYERS COMPANY, under the command of Counsellor Pethard; uniform, scarlet, white waistcoats, &c. 80 men.

GOLDSMITHS COMPANY, under the command of Counsellor Calbeck; uniform, blue edged with buff, buff waistcoats, &c. and colours, 70 men. This corps brought their train of two field pieces to the Green, where they fired several rounds, and wrought their pieces with much spirit and address.

MERCHANTS COMPANY, uniform, blue faced with red, white waistcoats, &c. 170 men—Colours, orange, with Hibernia endeavouring to support her harp, and grasping the cap of liberty.

---

[1] I have modernised spellings for ease of reading.

BARONY OF CASTLEKNOCK, Luke Gardiner, Esq; Captain-Commandant, 130 men; scarlet faced with black, white breeches and waistcoats; colours, &c.

BARONY OF COOLOCK, Richard Talbot, Esq; Captain; 150 men; scarlet faced with black, white breeches and waistcoats.

UPPERCROSS FUZILEERS, John Finlay, Esq; Captain; uniform, scarlet faced with black, white waistcoat and breeches; 30 men.

The whole being upwards of twelve hundred men; at the discharge of a rocket, and taking the word of command from his Grace the Duke of Leinster, they fired three grand discharges; beginning with the Dublin Volunteers on the North side and followed by the County Volunteers on the South, taking the word of command from Capt. Gardiner. So much order and regularity were seldom observed, even among veterans, nor was the uniform precision of their firing, perhaps, to be surpassed by any troops in Europe. After this there was a discharge of small cannon, which was placed in the centre; and the whole body of Volunteers then separated. The statute and pedestal of King William was painted and ornamented in a very handsome manner, and to the shields of the four sides of the pedestal were hung the following labels in large capital letters.

West—The GLORIOUS REVOLUTION,
East—The VOLUNTEERS of IRELAND,
Motto, QUINQUAGINTA MILLIA JUNCTA,
PARATI PRO PATRIA MORI.
South—RELIEF to *IRELAND,*
North—A SHORT MONEY BILL—A FREE TRADE—Or ELSE ! ! !

The numbers of spectators on this occasion were almost incredible. Every avenue that leads into College-green was so crowded, that all free intercourse subsided until the whole was over. At every discharge of the musketry, repeated huzzas were given by the surrounded multitude; and every thing seemed to breathe that noble spirit of liberty and enthusiastic patriotism which first gave rise to these guardians of our freedom. The different corps of Volunteers afterwards dined with their several commanders, and the day concluded with that happy good order and unanimity, which should ever attend the firm resolves of *a people engaged in the redemption of their freedom.* After which the Lord Lieutenant, nobility and gentry, paraded round the statue. The regular troops fired three volleys, *and the day concluded with the most superb illuminations*.

APPENDIX II: SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JOHN AND PHILIP PERCEVAL

I. *Philip Perceval to Sir John Perceval*
London, 24 June 1718.

Dear Brother,

Since you went we have had the sad acct. of the loss of my poor child, after being perfectly recover'd of his Cough and as well in all appearances as one would wish; he was taken off in two days time, you may believe this is a great blow to my poor Wife whose ill State of health render'd her little able to bear so unexpected a misfortune as the loss of a promising Child which she was extreamly fond of, pray God continue yours to you and increase your store. I was much pleased to hear both you and the Ladys have had so prosperous a Journey and hope it will prove every way Satisfactory, tho I doubt it will but be a means of our loseing the more of your Company which was the greatest pleasure I purposed here. When you are at Amsterdam you will probably enquire at Rogers, what New Musick he has and the rates. I gave direction to Robeateaux to send for a great Cargo being duplicates of what I have, and I can know from you whether he charges too high a Rate. You have all Services from hence, and with mine to my Sister and Mrs Parker I remain
D^{r} B^{r}
Your most obed^{t} hum. Servt
Ph: Percival.

II. *Philip Perceval to Sir John Perceval*
Dublin, 18 July 1717

Dear B^{r},

Mr Savage who enjoyed the annuity so long has at last given it up to you, that is to say he died last Wednesday, and has made S^{r} Ar. Atchison and his dearly beloved wife Mary Savage (who was always supposed his whore) his executors, so that I must account with them for so much of the annuity as was unpaid and they must account with me for my rent due there.

I believe Lord Oxfords discharge has a little surprised you who was always of opinion that he would suffer as well as a great many others.

I suppose your Concert is at present at a Stand as ours is, and were are preparing to begin with an excellent Oratorio of Bononcinis for 4 Voices. If any new Concertis that are good, come over, when it lys in your way I hope you will buy them for me, and when you see Ribeauteau I wish you should put him in mind that he figured bass of the Six last Concertis of Valentinis, which Cosin Usher bought of him is wanting and he ought to gett it or they will be of no use to me. My humble service to Mrs Parker and the little ones and I am ever
D^{r} B^{r}
Your most humble Servant
Ph: Percival.

APPENDIX III: DUBLIN PRESS COVERAGE OF THE CATHOLIC THANKSGIVING SERVICE FOR THE RECOVERY OF GEORGE III, 4 MAY 1789

I. Freemans Journal – 5 May 1789

Francis-street Chapel, on account of the happy recovery of our most gracious Sovereign from his late severe indisposition.

About twelve o'clock the chapel, which it is said is capable of containing 3000 persons, was quite filled. At half after twelve Dr. Troy, the Titular Archbishop of Dublin, and three of his suffragans, dressed in their pontificalibus, took their seats at the altar. As soon as the Archbishop and his suffragans were seated, the overture of *Esther* was played, which had a most pleasing and admirable effect. After the overture, the *Te Deum*, which was in Latin, was performed; it was composed by Signior Giordania who has acquired no small honour in conducting this business, and who has shewn himself on this occasion of profound Harmonist. The solo verses formed a most agreeable contrast to the choruses, being of a more airy and refined composition, some of the latter possessing a peculiar solemnity, and abounding with all the power, of the most exquisite harmony. We must particularize the overture, which had great spirit: the *Sanctus*, a bass solo, sung by Mr. Wayman, with very great judgment; a most admirable chorus, *In te Domine speravi*; the *Amen* and *Allelujah*. The performance ended with "*God save the King*" which seemed to make a very forcible impression upon every person present.

The band consisted of all the eminent professors, and a number of amateurs, among whom were several gentlemen of the established church, who evinced the liberality of their sentiments, by the prompt alacrity with which they attended.

The company was the most brilliant and respectable that we recollect to have seen on any public occasion.

Amongst the persons of fashion present, we could observe his Grace the Duke of Leinster, Earl of Tyrone, Lord and Lady Arran, Lord and Lady Portarlington, Lord and Lady Belvedere, Lord Kenmare, the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Brown, the Right Hon. David Latouche and family, Lady Kingsborough, the Lady of General O'Donnel, the Right Hon. John O'Neill, Mr. Grattan, Major Doyle, Lady Carhampton, Mrs. Jeffrys, Mrs. Craddock, and several others that we do not recollect.

Amongst the private gentlemen who gave their assistance in the band, we observed the Hon. Baron Dillon, Robert Caddle, Esq. Mr. John O'Reilly, Mr. John Rivers, Rev. Mr. Kenny, Mr. J.G. Kennedy, Mr. Hynes, &c. &c.

Much praise is due to the Right Rev. Prelate who presided over this solemn service, for his zeal, and his judicious choice of Directors and Steward, by whose care, judgment and activity the performance went off so well, and the company were so commodiously and pleasingly accommodated.

The whole of the music, except the Overture in Esther, by which the performance commenced yesterday, was composed by Mr. Giordani.—The entire performance gave universal satisfaction, and the audience went away delighted, both with the music and the occasion of it; and left ardent impressions of the loyalty, affection, and gratitude of the Catholics of Ireland to their Sovereign and the illustrious House of Brunswick

II. Finn's Leinster Journal – 9 May 1789

ROMAN CATHOLIC TE DEUM

The happy restoration of the best of Sovereigns to his health, after a long and melancholy suspension, diffused, like the emanations of the sun, universal gladness through all the kingdoms. The great metropolis of each kingdom devoutly consecrated a day to thanksgiving—and the tribute of general gratitude ascended to Heaven, like the offerings of Abel, unmolested by a breath of opposition, high as contending interests and parties run. Indeed the royal mind had the consolation to feel all that the experience of the warm affections of his people could inspire; and the tear which trembled in his royal eye at St. Paul's, eloquently expressed his feelings.

The roman catholics of Ireland participated in the universal joy. That simple principle of the human heart, which peculiarly interests mankind in the fate of benefactors, leaves no room to doubt the sincerity of their feelings. To them George the third has been a benefactor—a father;—and the principal characters in his confidence and councils, have ever been their best friends.

Tuesday they dedicated to a solemn thanksgiving, in their archiepiscopal chapel—Francis-street.

By twelve o'clock the chapel was crowded with the most brilliant assemblage, probably, that ever [??] before in a similar place of worship, in this kingdom. The titular primate, archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops of Leighlin and Meath, and half after twelve, cloathed in pontificalibus, appeared at the altar. The overture of Esther was then performed, which, with the coronation anthem, concluding the performance, were the only pieces not entirely new—composed for the occasion by the celebrated Giordani, who indeed exerted his powers with astonishing effect.

The te deum was sung in latin—the music was truly sublime;—we pronounce is a most masterly piece of sacred composition. The solo verses and choruses had, from the contrast, a very solemn effect. Mr Wayman sung the sanctus! a bass solo—and while he sung, "the powers of song," was written in legible characters on every face. The performance ended with "God save the King," to which all the hearts of the auditors seemed perfectly attuned, and beat in unison.

The expectation of mr. Cogan's excellent performance on the organ, naturally excited a general avidity in every musical ear, but the absence of that gentleman was very amply atoned, in the attendance of mr. Zierlein, whose execution was unexceptionable.

Among the gentlemen amateurs who joined the band, were the honourable baron Dillon, Robert Caddell, esq; John O'Reilly, esq; mr. Rivers, mr. J. G Kennedy, and several gentlemen of the established church, evincing at once the expansion of sentiments, as well as a stile of performance which crowned the HARMONY of the day.

Beside the nobility and gentry of the roman catholic persuasion present, we perceived his grace the duke of Leinster, the earl and countess of Belvidere, the earl and countess of Arran, countess of Carhampton, earl and countess of Portarlington, earl of Tyrone, countess of Ely, lady Kingsborough, lord Valentia, lord Delvin, the right honourable Henry Grattan, the right honourable David Latouche and family, Todd Jones, esq; major Doyle, mr. Trant, mrs. Jefferys, mrs. Craddock, and several other persons of the first distinction. Such an assemblage at such a place, stamps liberality on the area, and honour on human nature.

Many roman catholic clergymen travelled above seventy miles to be present on this occasion—emulous to testify the sincerity of their attachment to the sovereign.

Doctor Troy, the titular archbishop of Dublin, presided over the whole with a characteristical dignity.—It is indeed an honourable circumstance to THAT church, that her present dignitaries in Ireland, are, in general, men of sound erudition and enlightened information.

After the service, his grace of Leinster, with some of his friends, retired to the bishop's chamber, and partook of some refreshments, when his grace was escorted to his carriage, expressing the most polite sense of the attention he experienced.

Doctor Troy is, indeed, a gentleman whose affable manners have peculiarly endeared him, as well to personages of high rank, as to those in humbler spheres; with an heart rich in benevolence and philanthropy, he unites a mind, highly cultivated by an intense application to learned pursuits, and lives, as well the ornament of science, as of piety, in the episcopal character.

APPENDIX IV: DUBLIN PRESS COVERAGE OF THE PROTESTANT THANKSGIVING SERVICE FOR THE RECOVERY OF GEORGE III, 23 APRIL 1789

I. Freeman's Journal – 23 April 1789

PROCESSION to CHRIST-CHURCH,
On account of a solemn Thanksgiving for his MAJESTY's RECOVERY.

Yesterday being the day appointed by Government for a solemn Thanksgiving, on account of his Majesty's recovery, the Lords and Commons assembled in their respective Houses of Parliament at eleven o'clock in the morning; at half after eleven the procession moved in the following manner to Christ Church:

Messengers and Door-keepers of the House of Lords.
Chief Clerk and Committee Clerks, in their gowns.
Yeoman Usher.
Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper, in his gown.
Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.
Serjeant at Arms, with the Mace.
Purse-bearer, with the Purse.
Lord Earlsfort, in the room of the Lord Chancellor, in the Lord Chancellor's carriage, drawn by six horses; the Lord Chancellor's Secretary and Train-bearer being in the carriage with his Lordship.
Lords Spiritual and Temporal.
The Judge.
Masters in Chancery.
Messengers of the House of Commons.
Speaker's led coach, having in it the Clerks of the House of Commons.
Speaker's servants.
Speaker's state coach, with six horses, Mace, and Serjeant at Arms.
Members in their carriages.

At about twelve o'clock, Lord Earlsfort, accompanied by the House of Peers, arrived at the Cathedral, and took their places.—Lord Earlsfort, in the Chancellor's usual seat on state days; the Temporal Lords in the North and South galleries, immediately adjoining the Viceroy's closet; his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin in his throne below stairs, and the Bishops in his seat and one adjoining to it; the lower end of the South gallery being thrown open, was occupied by Peeresses; and the North end of the gallery, being the Duke of Leinster's seat, was filled by the Duchess and his Grace's family. Immediately after the Lords, the House of Commons arrived, headed by the Speaker, and attended by all the servants of the House. The Speaker having taken his place in an elevated seat prepared for him on the right of the Archbishop's throne, the Members took their stations in their appointed places on the South side of the choir. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs occupied their usual seats; but the Common Council's gallery being fitted up to accommodate part of the orchestra, temporary galleries were erected for them on each side of the communion table.

About half after twelve his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant left the Castle, which was announced by the firing of rockets, and the guns of the Salute Battery in the Phoenix Park.—The procession from the Castle was as follow:

A squadron of horse.
Battle Axes.
His Excellency's domestics, two and two.
Grooms of the Chamber.
State Trumpeters and Kettle Drummers.
Messengers.
Chaplains of the Household.
Gentlemen at Large.
King at Arms.
Athlone Pursuivant at Arms.
Aid de Camps.
Pages.

His Excellency in the state coach, accompanied by the Earl of Tyrone, carrying the Cap of Maintenance, and the Earl of Bective, carrying the Sword of State.

And the procession was closed by a squadron of horse.

As soon as the Lord Lieutenant arrived at the great west door of Christ Church, he was there received by Dr. Robinson, Sub-Dean, in the absence of the Bishop of Kildare at the head of the Chapter, who conducted him to the foot of the great stairs, and then they took their seats in their stalls in the chair. As soon as the Lord Lieutenant had taken his seat, the service opened with the overture in Esther; that being finished, prayers began, which were chaunted—the responses by the whole choir without the organ until they came to the hymn, which was ordered instead of the Benite Exoerenus [*sic*] in which, and during the whole of the psalms, the organ alone accompanied the chaunt, except that at each Gloria Patri, the whole instrumental band accompanied. During the chaunt the voices divided themselves into two equal choirs, and chaunted the verses alternately—at the Gloria Patri both choirs joined—after the psalms the eighth concerto of Corelli was performed—after the second lesson the jubilate were performed; the service was then continued to be chaunted without the organ, the whole choir joining in the responses; between the first and second service the first movement of the sixth concerto of Geminiani was performed; as was after the second service the first movement of the eleventh senato [*sic*] of the second set of Correlli [*sic*]. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Ossory—and the whole concluded with the Coronation Anthem. At four o'clock his Excellency, attended by his suite, left the church, and returned to the Castle, by the route of Winetavern-street, Ormond-bridge, Ormond-quay, Essex-bridge, Parliament-street, and reached the Castle about half after four.

The CHORUS

The chorus consisted of the two choirs, assisted by the Sons of Handel, under Mr. Sherman, with Baron Dillon, Rev. Mr. Hall, Timothy Dyton, Esq. and others, whose names we do not recollect. We were particularly delighted with the bass solo in the Te Deum, sung by Mr. Weyman, a young gentleman of only eighteenth years of age, whose strength of voice is astonishing, and his judgement surprising for his years. The other solo voices were excellently sung by mr. Carter, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Mathews, and Mr. Parkinson; and particularly a duet by Master Garry, one of the boys belonging to the choir.

Organ by Dr. Doyle.—Conductor, (extremely well) Dr. Parkinson.

The whole performance was exceedingly accurate; but great part of the effect was destroyed by substituting the organ in place of all the trumpet solos. Dr. Allot chaunted the service; and deserves great credit for his judicious management of the band; and also for the direction of the rehearsals.

[…]

II. Finn's Leinster Journal – 25 April 1789

[The report is identical to the Freeman's Journal *up until the descriptions of the music performed during the service.]*

[…] after the psalms the eighth concerto of Corelli was performed—after the first lesson the Dettingen Te Deum—and after the second lesson the Jubilate were performed; the service was then continued to be chaunted without the organ, the whole choir joining in the responses; between the first and second service the first movement of the sixth concerto of Geminiani was performed; as was after the second service the first movement of the eleventh sonata of the second set of Corelli. The sermon was p4eached by the bishop of Ossory—and the whole concluded with the coronation anthem.

Doctor Allot chaunted the service, in a very superior stile indeed, his voice being very good, and his skill in music great; the whole of the musical performance was under his direction and management, and it undoubtedly reflected equal honour on his taste, judgment, and indefatigable attention.

The band was led by John Neale, esq; a gentleman of the first abilities on the violin; his tone is if possible, superior to the celebrated Giordani's, and his stile is peculiarly excellent on the performance of the ancient music. The principal second violin by mr. Kelly, leader at the theatre royal, and one of our most eminent professors in music. The hautboy solos in the overture of Esther, were delightfully played by mr. Cooke. Mr. Fitzgerald headed the first violins under the principal leader. Other violins by mr. Beatty, mr. Rivers, and mr. Watson.—Principal violoncellos, mr. Ashworth, and mr. Rhames.—Principal double bass, mr. Kotzwara.—Bassoon, mess. Stokes and Gaister.—Principal tenors Sir Hercules Langrishe and mr. Mourain.

[The conclusion of the musical report, describing the choir and vocal soloists, organ and conducting, is identical to the Freeman's Journal*].*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archives

Archives Départementales des Deux-Sèvres et de la Vienne
D 191

Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide
CP 126

British Library
Egmont Papers, Add MSS 47027 and 47028

Dublin Diocesan Archives
29/4/2

National Library of Ireland
Microfilm P 3787, Dominican Account Book

Queen's University Belfast
Special Collections, MS 4/46

Trinity College Dublin
1641 Depositions Project, https://www.1641.tcd.ie
MSS 6405 and 6406

University College Dublin
Franciscan MSS B158 and B166

Yale University Library
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn Music MS 16

Newspapers

Belfast Newsletter
Diario Ordinario (Roma)
The Diary, or, Woodfall's Register (London)
Dublin Evening Post
Dublin Intelligence
Dublin Weekly Journal
Finn's Leinster Journal
Freeman's Journal
Morning Star (London)
Volunteer Journal; or, Irish Herald

Printed Primary Sources

Anon. *An apology for the Roman Catholics. Most humbly addressed to His E[xcelle]n[c]y P[hi]l[i]p, E[ar]l of Ch[este]r[fiel]d, L[or]d L[ie]u[tenan]t of Ireland &c.* ([Dublin, 1745?])

----------. *The art of singing: or, a short and easy method, for obtaining a perfect knowledge of the Gregorian note*. Dublin: Printed for E. Kelly in Mary's Lane, 1754.

----------. *The evening-office of the church in Latin and English. Containing the vespers, or even-song for all Sundays and festivals of obligation. The sixth edition, corrected, with the addition of all the new-feasts, the old hymns, litanies of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Stabat Mater, and Miserere psalm.* Dublin: Printed for E. Kelly in Mary's Lane, 1754.

----------. *F---na's Answer to S---no's Epistle*. London, 1727.

----------. *A Letter to the Revd. Stephen Radcliffe, Vicar of Naas.* Dublin, 1727.

----------. *Missae Novae Festis Solemnioribus Decantande.* Utrecht, Strichter, 1726.

----------. *Missale Romanum.* Dublin: Patrick Wogan, 1777.

----------. *Modern Propensities, or An Essay on the Art of Strangling…Illustrated with Several Anecdotes…with memoirs of Susanna Hill, and a Summary of her Trial at the Old Bailey on Friday, Sept. 16, 1791, on the Charge of Hanging Francis Kotzwara at her Lodgings in Vine Street.* London, 1792.

----------. *The Statutes at Large Passed in the Parliaments Held in Ireland*, Vol. XII. Dublin: George Grierson, 1786.

[Bononcini, Giovanni Battista]. *La Conversione di Maddalena. Oratorio a Quattro Voci. Da Cantarsi Nella Vener. Compagnia della Purificazione di Maria Vergine e di S. Zanobi detta di S. Marco*. Firenze: Vincenzio Vangelisti, 1707.

Bruodin, Anthony. *Synopsis vitae, virtutum, et miraculorum S. Petri de Alcantara.* Prague, 1669.

Burney, Charles. *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*. London, 1771.

Coghlan, James Peter. *An Essay on the Church Plain Chant.* London, 1782 and 1799.

Fitzsimon, Henry. *The Justification and Exposition of the Divine Sacrifice of the Masse*. Douai, 1611.

Haberl, Franz. *Magister Choralis: Theoretisch-Praktische Anweisung zum Gregorianischen Kirchengesange*, 6th edition. Regensberg, New York, and Cincinnati: Friedrich Pustet, 1881.

----------. *Magister Choralis: A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant*, translated and enlarged by Nicholas Donnelly. Ratisbon, New York, and Cincinnati: Frederick Pustet, 1877.

Harold, Francis. *Vita Fratris Lucae Waddingi, Editio Tertia Emendatior Cura Patrum Provinciae Hiberniae*. ??, 1622.

Hayes, William. *The Art of Composing Music by a Method Entirely New, Suited to the Meanest Capacity*. London, 1751.

Hoey, Patrick. *A Plain and Concise Method of Learning the Gregorian Note.* Dublin, 1800.

La Feillée. *Méthode Nouvelle pour Apprendre Parfaitement les Regles du Plain-Chant.* Paris, 1748.

Lee, John. *A Favourite Collection of the So Much Admired Old Irish Tunes.* Dublin, 1780.

Maunsell, Dorothea. *A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr and Mrs Tenducci.* London, 1768.

Piesse, Charles. *Sketch of the Loan Fund System in Ireland*. Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1841.

Pothier, Dom Joseph. *Les melodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition.* Tournai, 1881.

Radcliffe, Stephen. *A Serious and Humble Enquiry*. Dublin, 1727.

Renehan, L.J. *Grammar of Gregorian and Modern Music*, revised and enlarged by Richard Hackett. Dublin: James Duffy, 1865.

Rousseau, J.J. *Dictionnaire de Musique*. Paris, 1768.

Synge, Edward. *The Case of Toleration Consider'd With Respect Both to Religious and Civil Government.* Dublin, 1725.

Modern Periodicals

Petridis, Alexis. 'Interview with Ed Sheeran: I Got Hammered and Cracked Justin Bieber in the Face with a Golf Club,' *The Guardian*, 2 March 2017.

Tóibín, Colm. 'New Ways of Killing Your Father.' *London Review of Books*, 18 November 1993.

Collected and Edited Primary Sources

Aiazzi, G., ed. *Nunziatura in Irlanda di Gio Batista Rinuccini, Arcivescovo di Fermo, negli anni 1645 a 1649.* Florence: Dalla Tipografia Piatti, 1844.

Boyle, Patrick. *The Irish College in Paris from 1578 to 1901.* London: Art and Book Company, 1901.

----------. 'The Irish Seminary at Toulouse (1603?), (1659-1793).' *Archivium Hibernicum* 1 (1912): 122-47.

Brady, John. 'The Irish Colleges at Douai and Antwerp.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 13 (1947): 45-66.

Carrigan, Wm. Canon. 'Catholic Episcopal Wills: In the Public Record Office, Dublin, 1683-1812.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 1 (1912): 148-200.

Cullen, L.M., John Shovlin, and Thomas Truxes, eds. *The Bordeaux-Dublin Letters, 1757: Correspondence of an Irish Community Abroad.* London: British Academy, 2016.

Donnelly, Nicholas, ed. *State and Condition of R.C. Chapels in Dublin, Both Secular and Regular, A.D. 1749.* Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1904.

Elias, A.C., ed. *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, 2 vols. Athens, GA and London: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

Fenning, Hugh OP, ed. *The Fottrell Papers, 1721-39: An Edition of the Papers Found on the Person of Fr John Fottrell, Provincial of the Dominicans in Ireland, At His Arrest in 1739.* Belfast: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 1980.

----------. 'John Kent's Report on the State of the Irish Mission, 1742.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 28 (1966): 59-102.

----------. 'Letters from a Jesuit in Dublin on the Confraternity of the Holy Name, 1747-1748.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 29 (1970): 133-54.

----------. 'The Mission to St Croix in the West Indies: 1750-1769.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 25 (1962): 75-122.

Ferté, Patrick. 'The Statutes of the Irish College, Toulouse, "Le Séminaire Royal de Sainte Anne" (1752-54).' *Archivium Hibernicum* 63 (2010): 274-84.

Fitzsimon, Henry. *Words of Comfort to Persecuted Catholics*, edited by Edmund Hogan. Dublin, 1881.

Gerits, T.J. 'De Luikse Orgelbouwer G. Robustelly. Een bijdrage tot zijn leven en werk.' *Het Oude Land van Loon* 20 (1965): 196-8.

Irishgenealogy.ie, 'Church Records – Dublin (COI) – St Nicholas Within – Marriage of Charles Gambarini of N/R and Jane Stradiotti of N/R on 5 April 1726.' Accessed 20 January 2022, https://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/.

Jennings, Brendan OFM. 'The Irish Franciscans at Boulay.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 11 (1944): 118-53.

----------. *Louvain Papers, 1606-1827.* Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1968.

Kavanagh, Stanislaus, ed. *Commentarius Rinuccianus, de sedis apostolicae legatione ad foederatus Hiberniae catholicos per annos 1645-9*, 6 vols. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1932-49.

Kennedy, Liam and Clare Murphy, eds. *Account Books of the Franciscan House Broad Lane, Cork, 1764-1921.* Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2012.

M'Donald, William. 'Irish Ecclesiastical Colleges Since the Reformation: Salamanca I.' *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 10 (1873): 353-66.

Milligan Fox, Charlotte. *Annals of the Irish Harpers*, edited by Sara Lanier. Larne: Ardrigh Books, 2008.

Monahan, John. *Records Relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.* Dublin, 1886.

Moran, P.F. *Spicilegium Ossoriense: A Collection of Original Letters and Papers Illustrative of the History of the Irish Church*, 3 vols. [??], 1874.

Moynes, Vera, ed. *Irish Jesuit Annual Letters, 1604-1674.* Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2019.

Ó Muraíle, Nollaig, ed. *Turas na dTaoiseach nUltach as Éirinn (From Rath Maoláin to Rome): Tadhg Ó Cianáin's Contemporary Narrative of the Journey Into Exile of the Ulster Chieftains and Their Followers, 1607-8 (The So-Called 'Flight of the Earls').* Rome: Pontifical Irish College, 2007.

Ó Súilleabháin, Pádraig. 'Documents Relation to Wexford Friary and Parish, 1733-98.' *Collectanea Hibernica* 8 (1965): 110-28.

Sasse, Konrad, ed. 'Opera Register of 1712 to 1734 (Colman-Register).' *Händel-Jahrbuch* 5 (1959): 199-223.

Stanford, W.B. and E.J. Finopoulos, ed. *The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece & Turkey, 1749.* London: Trigraph for the A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1984.

Walsh, T.J. and Jean Baptiste Pelette. 'Some Records of the Irish College at Bordeaux.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 15 (1950): 92-141.

Secondary Sources

Adams, Craig, David Moore, and Don Knox. 'Experience Sampling: Assessing Urban Soundscapes Using In-situ Participatory Methods.' *Applied Acoustics* 117/B (February 2017): 227-35.

Adams, Mags, Trevor Cox et al. 'Sustainable Soundscapes: Noise Policy and the Urban Experience.' *Urban Studies* 43/13 (December 2006): 2385-98.

Agnew, Vanessa. *Enlightenment Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Aletta, Francesco, Jian Kang, and Östen Axelsson. 'Soundscape Descriptors and a Conceptual Framework for Developing Predictive Soundscape Models.' *Landscape and Urban Planning* 149 (May 2016): 65-74.

Ansell, Richard. *Complete Gentlemen: Educational Travel and Family Strategy, 1650-1750.* Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2022.

Anson, Peter. *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622-1878*. Montrose: Standard Press, 1970.

Applegate, Celia. 'Music Among the Historians.' *German History* 30/3 (2012): 329-49.

Arenal, Electa and Stacey Schlau. *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in Their Own Works*, 2nd edition, translated by Amanda Powell. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2010.

Aspden, Suzanne. '"An Infinity of Factions": Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain and the Undoing of Society.' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9 (1997): 1-19.

Babcock, R.W. 'Francis Colman's "Register of Operas", 1712-1734.' *Music & Letters* 24/3 (1943): 155-9.

Baker, Geoffrey. *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.

Baldwin, Olive and Thelma Wilson. 'Tenducci, Giusto Ferdinando.' In *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 2 February 2022, https://www.oxfroddnb.com.

Barclay, Katie. 'Singing, Performance, and Lower-Class Masculinity in the Dublin Magistrates' Court, 1820-1850.' *Journal of Social History* 47/3 (2014): 746-68.

----------. 'The Sound of Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland.' *Journal of British Studies* 60 (2021): 389-402.

----------. 'Sounds of Sedition: Music and Emotion in Ireland, 1780-1845.' *Cultural History* 3/1 (2014): 54-80.

Barnard, T.C. 'Athlone, 1685; Limerick, 1710: Religious Riots of Charivaris?' *Studia Hibernica* 27 (1993): 61-75.

----------. *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680-1784*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017.

----------. 'Fabrics of Faith: The Material Worlds of Catholic Ireland and Protestant Ireland, 1500-1800.' In *Franciscan Faith: Sacred Art in Ireland, AD 1600-1750*, edited by Raghnall Ó Floinn, 21-32. Dublin: Wordwell, 2011.

----------. '"Grand Metropolis" or "The Anus of the World"? The Cultural Life of Eighteenth-Century Dublin.' In *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840*, edited by Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie, 185-201.

----------. *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.

----------. 'The Uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebration.' *The English History Review* 106/421 (1991): 889-920.

----------. 'The Worlds of a Galway Squire: Robert French of Monivea, 1716-79.' In *Galway: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, edited by Gerard Moran and Raymond Gillespie, 271-318. Dublin: Geography Publications, 1996.

Bartlett, Thomas. *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: The Catholic Question in Ireland 1690-1830.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1992.

----------. 'Review Article: A New History of Ireland.' *Past & Present* 116 (August 1987): 206-19.

Bassani, Florian. *Gregorio Ballabene's Forty-Eight-Part Mass for Twelve Choirs (1772)*. London: Routledge, 2021.

Beales, Derek. *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Beaumont, Daniel. 'La Touche, David III.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 20 August 2022.

Beiner, Guy. *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

----------. 'Recycling Irish Popular Culture.' In *Ordinary Irish Life: Music, Sport and Culture*, edited by Méabh Ní Fhuartháin and David Doyle, 5-20. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

----------. *Remembering the Year of the French: Irish Folk History and Social Memory*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007.

Bennett, Peter and Georgia Cowart. 'Music Under Louis XIII and XIV.' In *The Cambridge Companion to French Music*, edited by Simon Trezise, 69-87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Bergeron, Katherine. *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998.

Bergin, John. 'Perceval (Percival), Sir John.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 18 January 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

Bergin, Joseph. *Church, Society, and Religious Change in France, 1580-1730*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.

Binasco, Matteo. 'Not Only a "Hibernese" in the *Urbs*: Luke Wadding and his Entourage in Seventeenth-Century Rome.' In *Luke Wadding, the Irish Franciscans, and Global Catholicism*, edited by Matteo Binasco, 77-91. London: Routledge, 2020.

Black, Jeremy. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*. Stroud and Sutton, NY: S. Martin's Press, 1992.

Blacking, John. *How Musical is Man?* Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1973.

Blanning, T.C.W. *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Bossy, John. *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850.* London: Carton, Longman & Todd, 1975.

Bourke, Richard. 'Historiography.' In *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, edited by Richard Bourke and Ian McBride, 271-91. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Boyce, D.G. and Alan O'Day, eds. *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy.* London: Routledge, 1996.

Boydell, Barra. 'The Earl of Cork's Musicians: Music and Patronage in Early Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Irish Society.' In *Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston, pp? Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009.

----------. 'Flood, W[illiam] H[enry] Grattan.' In *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

----------. 'Geminiani in Ireland.' In *Geminiani Studies*, edited by Christopher Hogwood, 159-81. Bologna: Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2013.

----------. *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004.

----------. *Music at Christ Church Before 1800: Documents and Selected Anthems.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.

----------. '"Now That the Lord Hath Readvanc'd the Crown": Richard Hosier, Durham MS. B. 1 and the Early Restoration Anthem Repertory at the Dublin Cathedrals.' *Early Music* 28/2 (2000): 238-51.

----------. 'Viner, William.' In *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

----------. '"Whatever Has a *Foreign* Tone/We Like Much Better Than Our Own": Irish Music and Anglo-Irish Identity in the Eighteenth Century.' In *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond*, edited by Mark Fitzgerald and John O'Flynn, 19-38. Farnham: Routledge, 2014.

Boydell, Brian. *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760.* Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998.

----------. 'Music before 1700' and 'Music 1700-1850.' In *A New History of Ireland, Vol. IV: Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691-1800*, edited by T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan, 542-67 and 568-628. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

----------. *Rotunda Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin.* Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1992.

Boyle, Leonard and Luke Dempsey, eds. *San Clemente Miscellany*, 2 vols. Rome: S. Clementem, 1977-8.

Brady, Ciaran, ed. *Interpreting Irish History: The Debate on Historical Revisionism 1938-1994.* Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994.

Bric, Maurice. 'The Whiteboy Movement in Tipperary, 1760-1780.' In *Tipperary: History and Society*, edited by William Nolan, 148-84. Dublin: Geography Publications, 1985.

Bryan, Deirdre and Stephen Sweetman. 'Delany, Daniel.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 18 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

Bryant, David. '*Cori Spezzati* in Composition and Sound.' In *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, edited by Katelijne Schultz, 371-94. Leiden: Brill: 2018.

Buckley, Ann. 'From Hymn to Historia: Liturgical Veneration of Local Saints in the Medieval Irish Church.' In *Music, Liturgy and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context*, 161-83. Turnhout: Brepolis, 2017.

----------. 'Music in Prehistoric and Medieval Ireland.' In *A New History of Ireland, Vol. I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, edited by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 744-913. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Burke, Nuala. 'A Hidden Church? The Structure of Catholic Dublin in the Mid-Eighteenth Century.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 32 (1974): 81-92.

Burrows, Donald. *Hendel, Messiah*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Caldwell, John. *The Oxford History of English Music, Vol. 1: From the Beginnings to c. 1715.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Carboni, Fabio and Agostino Ziino. 'Polyphonic Laude and Hymns in a Franciscan Codex from the End of the Fifteenth Century.' *Early Music History* 31 (2012): 87-151.

Careri, Enrico. *Francesco Geminiani, 1687-1762.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Carruthers, Leo. 'A Persian Martyr in a Middle English Vernacular *Exemplum*: The Case of St James Intercisus.' *Medieval Sermon Studies* 55 (2011): 13-30.

Castelo-Branco, Salwa El-Shawan and Manuel Carlos De Brito. 'Portugal, Republic of.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 4 December 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Castle, Jessie and Gillian O'Brien. '"I Am Building a House": Nano Nagle's Georgian Convents.' *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* 19 (2017): 54-75.

Chadwick, Owen. *The Popes and European Revolution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

Chambers, Liam. 'The Irish in Europe in the Eighteenth Century, 1691-1815.' In *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Vol. 3: 1730-1880*, edited by James Kelly, 569-92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

----------. 'Knowledge and Piety: Michael Moore's Career at the University of Paris and Collège de France, 1701-20.' *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 17 (2002): 9-25.

----------. '"*Une maison de refuge*": The Irish Jesuit College in Poitiers, 1674-1762.' In *The Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland, 1560-1760*, edited by Mary Ann Lyons and Brian Mac Cuarta SJ, 227-50. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2022.

----------. 'Patrick Boyle, the Irish Colleges and the Historiography of Irish Catholicism.' *Studies in Church History* 49 (2013): 317-29.

----------. 'Revolutionary and Refractory? The Irish Colleges in Paris and the French Revolution.' *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 2/1 (2008): 29-50.

Chambers, Liam and Thomas O'Connor, eds. *College Communities Abroad: Education, Migrations and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.

----------, eds. *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots and English College Networks in Europe, 1568-1918.* Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Châtellier, Louis. *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism, c. 1500-c. 1800*, translated by Brian Pearce. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Cholij, Irena. 'Giordani, Tommaso.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 20 August 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Cichy, Andrew. 'Lost and Found: Hugh Facy.' *Early Music* 42/1 (February 2014): 95-104.

----------. 'Music, Meditation, and Martyrdom in a Seventeenth-Century English Seminary.' *Music & Letters* 97/2 (2016): 205-20.

Clark, James. *The Dissolution of the Monasteries: A New History.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021.

Clarke, Frances. 'Moore, Margaret Jane ('Mrs Mason').' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 20 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

Coelho, Victor Anand. 'Music in New Worlds.' In *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, edited by Tim Carter and John Butt, 88-110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Cole, Hugo. 'Handel in Dublin.' *Irish Arts Review* 1/2 (Summer 1984): 28-30.

Colman, Alfredo. *The Paraguayan Harp: From Colonial Transplant to national Emblem.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015.

Combe, Dom Pierre. *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, translated by Theodore Marier and William Skinner. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003.

Concannon, Helena. *The Poor Clares in Ireland: A.D. 1629-A.D. 1929.* Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1929.

Connolly, S.J. 'Cardinal Cullen's Other Capital: Belfast and the "Devotional Revolution".' In *Cardinal Paul Cullen and His World*, edited by Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell, 289-307. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011.

----------. *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

----------. *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1982.

----------. *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Cook, Nicholas and Mark Everist, eds. *Rethinking Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Corbin, Alain. *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19th-Century French Countryside*, translated by Martin Thom. London: Papermac, 1999.

Corens, Liesbeth. *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Corkery, Daniel. *The Hidden Ireland: A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century.* Dublin: Gill, 1925.

Corp, Edward. *The Stuarts in Italy 1719-1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Corpis, Duane. 'Mapping the Boundaries of Confession: Space and Urban Religious Life in the Diocese of Augsburg, 1648-1750.' In *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 302-25. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Craig, John. 'Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: The Soundscape of Worship in the English Parish Church, 1547-1642.' In *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 104-23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Cressy, David. *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.

Crocker, Richard, John Caldwell, and Alejandro Planchart. 'Sequence.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 4 December 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Cullen, L.M. *The Hidden Ireland: Re-assessment of a Concept*. Mullingar: Lilliput Press, 1988.

----------. 'Irish History Without the Potato.' *Past & Present* 40 (July 1968): 72-83.

----------. 'The Smuggling Trade in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy C* 67 (1968-9): 149-75.

Cully, Thomas SJ and Clement McNaspy SJ. 'Music and the Early Jesuits (1540-1565).' *Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu* 40 (1971): 213-45.

Cunningham, Bernadette. *Gentlemen's Daughters in Dublin Cloisters: The Social World of Nuns in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin.* Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2018.

----------. 'The Poor Clare Order in Ireland.' In *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990*, edited by Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon OFM, and John McCafferty, 159-74. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009.

Cunningham, Bernadette and Raymond Gillespie. '"The Most Adaptable of Saints": The Cult of St Patrick in the Seventeenth Century.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 49 (1995): 82-104.

Cunningham, John OP. 'Obituary and Bibliography of Hugh Fenning OP.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 73 (2020): 395-412.

d'Alvarenga, João Pedro. '"To Make of Lisbon a New Rome": The Repertory of the Patriarchal Church in the 1720s and 1730s.' *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8/2 (2011): 179-214.

De Hamel, Christopher. *Meetings With Remarkable Manuscripts.* London: Allen Lane, 2016.

Dean, Winton. 'Baldassari, Benedetto.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 28 November 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

----------. 'Gambarini, Elisabetta de.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 29 November 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Dempsey, William. *The Story of the Catholic Church in the Isle of Man.* Billinge, Lancashire: The Birchley Hall Press, 1958.

DeSimone, Alison. 'Musical Virtue, Professional Fortune, and Private Trauma in Eighteenth-Century Britain: A Feminist Biography of Elisabetta de Gambarini (1730-65).' *Journal of Musicological Research* 40/1 (2021): 5-38.

Dickson, David. *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City.* London: Profile Books, 2014.

----------. *The First Irish Cities: An Eighteenth-Century Transformation.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021.

Dixon, Graham. 'Music in the Venerable English College in the Early Baroque.' In *La Musica a Roma Attraverso le Fonti d'Archivio: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 4-7 Giugno 1992*, edited by Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo, 469-78. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994.

----------. 'The Origins of the Roman "Colossal Baroque".' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1979-80): 115-28.

Donnelly, James. 'Hearts of Oak, Hearts of Steel.' *Studia Hibernica* 21 (1981): 7-73.

Downey, Peter. 'Military Calls.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 2 November 2018, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Dyer, Joseph. 'Cantor.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 5 November 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Eichner, Barbara. 'Sweet Singing in Three Voices: A Musical Source from a South German Convent?' *Early Music* 39/3 (August 2011): 335-47.

Elkhateeb, Ahmed, et al. 'Absorption Characteristics of Masjid Carpets.' *Applied Acoustics* 105 (2016): 143-55.

Elliott, Marianne. *The Catholics of Ulster: A History.* London: Allen Lane, 2000.

Enright, Séamus. 'Women and Catholic Life in Dublin, 1766-1852.' In *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, edited by James Kelly and Dáire Keogh, 268-93. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.

Evangelisti, Silvia. *Nuns: A History of Convent Life, 1450-1700.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Fagan, Patrick. *The Diocese of Meath in the Eighteenth Century*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001.

----------. *Dublin's Turbulent Priest: Cornelius Nary (1638-1738)*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1991.

Felix, Jean-Pierre. 'Liste des oeuvres connues de facteur d'orgues Guillaume Robustelly.' *Mélanges d'Organologie, Vol. 1.* Brussels, 1979.

Fennessy, Ignatius. 'The B Manuscripts in the Franciscan Library Killiney.' In *Dún Mhuire, Killiney, 1945-95: Léann agus Seanchas*, edited by Benignus Millett and Anthony Lynch, 150-251. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1995.

Fenning, Hugh OP. 'Dublin Imprints of Catholic Interest, 1740-1759.' *Collectanea Hibernica* 41 (1999): 65-116.

----------. *The Irish Dominican Province, 1698-1797.* Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1990.

----------. 'The Library of a Preacher of Drogheda: John Donnelly, OP (d. 1748).' *Collectanea Hibernica* 18/19 (1976/1977): 72-104.

----------. *The Undoing of the Friars of Ireland: A Study of the Novitiate Question in the Eighteenth Century*. Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1972.

Fidanza, Giovan Battista. *Luke Wadding's Art: Irish Franciscan Patronage in Seventeenth-Century Rome*. St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2016.

Filippi, Daniele. '"Their Sound Hath Gone Forth Into All the Earth": Music and Sound in the Ministries of the Early Modern Jesuits.' *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3 (2016): 357-64.

Findlen, Paula, Wendy Wassyng Roworth, and Catherine Sama, eds. *Italy's Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Fisher, Alexander. *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

----------. 'Music and Religious Change.' In *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 6: Reform and Expansion, 1500-1660*, edited by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, 386-405. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Fitzpatrick, David. *Descendancy: Irish Protestant Histories Since 1795.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Fleischmann, Aloys. 'Music and Society, 1850-1921.' In *A New History of Ireland, Vol. VI: Ireland Under the Union II 1870-1921*, edited by W.E. Vaughan 500-22. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Fletcher, Neville and Thomas Rossing. *The Physics of Musical Instruments*, 2nd edition. New York: Springer Science and Media, 2010.

Flood, W.H.G. 'Eighteenth-Century Italians in Dublin.' *Music & Letters* 3/3 (July 1922): 274-8.

----------. 'Notes on the Origin of the Melody of the "Adeste Fideles".' *The Dolphin: An Ecclesiastical Review for Educated Catholics* 8 (December 1905): 707-12.

----------. 'Notes on the History of "Adeste Fideles".' *The Musical Times* 56/868 (1 June 1915): 360-2.

Ford, Anthony. 'Dubourg, Matthew.' In *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 30 November 2021, https://www.oxfroddnb.com.

Forristal, Desmond. *The Siena Story, 1722-1997.* Drogheda: Monastery of St Catherine of Siena, 1999.

Foster, R.F. *Luck and the Irish: A Brief History of Change c.1970-2000.* London: Allen Lane, 2007.

----------. *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972.* London: Allen Lane, 1988.

----------. *Paddy & Mr Punch: Connections in Irish and English History.* London: Allen Lane, 1993.

----------. *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making It Up in Ireland.* London: Allen Lane, 2001.

----------. 'We Are All Revisionists Now.' *The Irish Review* 1 (1986): 1-5.

Furlong, Senan OSB. 'The Medieval Office of St Patrick.' In *Music, Liturgy and the Veneration of Saints of the Medieval Irish Church in a European Context*, 185-204. Turnhout: Brepolis, 2017.

García Hernan, Enrique. 'Irish Clerics in Madrid, 1598-1665.' In *Irish Communities in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons, 267-93. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006.

Gebruers, Adrian and Eimhin Walsh. 'Bells and Bell-Ringing.' In *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*.

Gentilcore, David. *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.

Geoghegan, Patrick. 'Fitzgerald, William Robert.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 1 November 2018, https://www.dib.ie.

----------. 'Jeffereyes (Jeffries, Jeffereys), Arabella.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 20 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

Giblin, Cathaldus. 'Catalogue of Material of Irish Interest in the Collection "Nunziatura di Fiandra", Vatican Archives.' *Collectanea Hibernica* 1, 3-5, 9-15 (1958, 1960-62, 1966-72).

Gierveld, A.J. *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de Eeuw*. Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1977.

Gillen, Gerard. 'Organs and Organ-Building.' In *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*.

Gillen, Ultán. 'Ascendancy Ireland, 1660-1800.' In *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, edited by Richard Bourke and Ian McBride, 48-73. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Gillespie, Raymond. 'The Irish Franciscans, 1600-1700.' In *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990*, edited by Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon OFM, and John McCafferty, 45-76. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009.

----------. 'The Jesuits and Music in Early Modern Ireland.' In *The Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland, 1560-1760*, edited by Mary Ann Lyons and Brian Mac Cuarta SJ, 123-38. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2022.

----------. 'Music and Song in Early Eighteenth-Century Belfast.' In *Irish Provincial Cultures in the Long Eighteenth Century: Making the Middle Sort. Essays for Toby Barnard*, edited by Raymond Gillespie and Roy Foster, 155-69. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012.

----------. 'Seventeenth-Century Irish Music and Its Cultural Context.' In *Irish Musical Studies 10: Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston, 26-39. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009.

Glixon, Jonathan. *Honouring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

----------. *Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theatres?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Gmeinwieser, Siegfried. 'Ballabene [Bellabene], Gregorio.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 1 April 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Gregor, Neil. 'Review Article: Why Does Music Matter?' *German History* 34/1 (2017): 113-30.

Griffin, Michael. *Live from the Conniving House: Poetry and Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin*. Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2019.

Grindle, W.H. *Irish Cathedral Music: A History of Music at the Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University Belfast, 1989.

Grosso, Michael. *The Man Who Could Fly: St Joseph of Copertino and the Mystery of Levitation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

Guillot, Pierre. *Les jésuites et la musique: le Colège de la Trinité à Lyon, 1562-1762*. Liège: P. Mardaga, 1991.

Hayburn, Robert. *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1979.

Hayton, D.W. 'The Laboratory for "Scientific History": T.W. Moody and R.D. Edwards at the Institute of Historical Research.' *Irish Historical Studies* 41, no. 159 (May 2017): 41-57.

Hazard, Benjamin. 'Luke Wadding and the Breviary of Urban VIII: A Study of the Book Trade Between Rome, the Low Countries and the Spanish Empire.' *Studia Hibernica* 39 (2013): 87-101.

Henchy, Monica. 'The Irish College at Salamanca.' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 70, no. 278/9 (1981): 220-7.

Herman, Neil. 'Henry Grattan, the Regency Crisis and the Emergence of a Whig Party in Ireland, 1788-9.' *Irish Historical Studies* 128 (November 2001): 478-97.

Hernanz Elvira, Jose Luis. 'Documents Concerning the Irish College in Madrid (1690-1720).' *Archivium Hibernicum* 67 (2014): 275-84.

Hiley, David. *Gregorian Chant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

----------. 'Neo-Gallican Chant.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 20 November 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Hogan, Ita. *Anglo-Irish Music 1780-1830*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1966.

Hollis, Aidan and Arthur Sweetman. 'Microfinance and Famine: The Irish Loan Funds During the Great Famine.' *World Development* 32 (2004): 1509-23.

Holman, Christopher. 'Rhythm and Metre in French Classical Plainchant.' *Early Music* 45/4 (2017): 657-64.

Hong, Cathy Park. *Minor Feelings: An Asian American Reckoning*. New York: One World, 2020.

Hourican, Bridget. 'ONeill, John.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 20 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

Hsia, Ronnie Po-chia. *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Hsu, Madeline. *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Hughes, Andrew and Edith Gerson-Kiwi. 'Solmization.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 30 March 2020. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Huglo, Michel and Joan Halmo. 'Antiphon.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 29 November2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Huybens, Gilbert. 'Het religieus muziekleven te Leuven in de tweede helft van de 18de eeuw.' *Musica antiqua: Actuele informatie over oude muziek* 6/2 (May 1989): pp?

Irving, D.R.M. *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Isherwood, Robert. *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973.

Jackson, Alvin. 'Irish History in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, edited by Alvin Jackson, 3-21. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Jarman, Neil. *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland.* Oxford: Berg, 1997.

Johnston, Roy. 'Music in Northern Ireland Since 1921.' In *A New History of Ireland, Vol. VII: Ireland, 1921-84*, edited by J.R. Hill, 650-70. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Johnstone, H. Diack. 'The Academy of Ancient Music (1726-1803): Its History, Repertoire and Surviving Programmes.' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 51 (2020): 1-136.

Joyce Bishop, Hilary. 'Memory and Legend: Recollections of Penal Times in Irish Folklore.' *Folklore* 129/1 (2018): 18-38.

Kaufmann, Deborah. 'Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers's *Plain-Chant Musical* Motets in the Repertory of the Maison Royale de Saint-Louis at Saint-Cyr.' In *Qui Musican in Se Habet: Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, edited by Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman, 93-120. Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2015.

Kealy, Máire OP. *From Channel Row to Cabra: Dominican Nuns and Their Times, 1717-1820*. Dublin: The Columba Press, 2010.

Kelly, James. 'Caulfeild, James.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 30 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

----------. '"The Glorious and Immortal Memory": Commemoration and Protestant Identity in Ireland 1660-1800.' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C* 94C/2 (1994): 25-52.

----------. 'Kent, John.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 19 January 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

----------. 'The Whiteboys in 1762: A Contemporary Account.' *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 94/253 (1989): 19-26.

Kelly, James E. *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c.1600-1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Kendrick, Robert. *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Keogh, Dáire. 'Caulfield, James.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 18 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

----------. *The French Disease: The Catholic Church and Irish Radicalism, 1790-1800*. Blackrock: Four Courts Press, 1993.

----------. '"The Pattern of the Flock: John Thomas Troy, 1786-1823.' In *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, edited by James Kelly and Dáire Keogh, 215-36. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.

Keogh, Dáire and Albert McDonnell, eds. *Cardinal Paul Cullen and His World.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011.

Kerman, Joseph. 'How We Got Into Analysis, and How to Get Out.' *Critical Inquiry* 7/2 (1980): 311-31.

----------. *Musicology*. London: Fontana/Collins, 1985.

----------. 'Musicology in Transition.' In *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995: Selected Proceedings, Part One*, 2 vols, edited by Patrick F. Devine and Harry White, 19-33. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996.

Kerney Walsh, Micheline. 'The Irish College of Alcalá de Henares.' *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 11/2 (1985): 247-57.

----------. 'The Irish College of Madrid.' *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 15 (1993): 36-50.

Kindel, Eric. *Stencil: A Descriptive Bibliography*. Reading: Éditions à jour, 2019.

Kinsella, Stuart. 'Weyman, David.' In *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

Knott, Sarah. *Mother is a Verb: An Unconventional History*. New York: Sarah Crichton Books, 2019.

Larkin, Emmet. 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75.' *The American Historical Review* 77/3 (1972): 625-52.

Lash, Elliott, Fangzhe Qiu, and David Stifter, eds. *Morphosyntactic Variation in Medieval Celtic Languages: Corpus-Based Approaches*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2020.

Lawlor, Helen, Collette Moloney, and Barra Boydell. 'Harp, Irish.' In *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

Lee, Erika. *The Making of Asian America: A History*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015.

Leech, Peter. 'Music and Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686-1688: In Memory of Jean Lionnet.' *Early Music* 39/3 (August 2011): 379-400.

Leech, Peter and Maurice Whitehead. '"*Clamores Omnio Atque Admirationes Excitant*": New Light on Music and Musicians at St Omers English Jesuit College, 1658-1714.' *Tijdschrift van de Koniklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 66 (2016): 133-48.

----------. '"In Paradise and Among Angels": Music and Musicians at St Omers English Jesuit College, 1593-1721.' *Tijdschrift van de Koniklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 61 (2011): 57-82.

Legg, Marie-Louise. '"Irish Wine": The Import of Claret from Bordeaux to Provincial Ireland.' In *Irish Provincial Cultures in the Long Eighteenth Century: Making the Middle Sort: Essays for Toby Barnard*, edited by Raymond Gillespie and Roy Foster, 93-105. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012.

Lehfeldt, Elizabeth. *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Leonard, Amy E. 'Female Religious Orders.' In *A Companion to the Reformation World*, edited by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, 34-42. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.

Leppert, Richard and Susan McClary, eds. *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Levy, Kenneth, et al. 'Plainchant.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 5 November 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Lindgren, Lowell. 'Bononcini Family.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 16 December 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Lloyd-Morgan, Ceridwen. 'Marged *ferch* Ifan.' In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 11 June 2022, https://www.oxfroddnb.com.

Loeber, Rolf and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber. 'Kildare Hall, the Countess of Kildare's Patronage of the Jesuits, and the Liturgical Setting of Catholic Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Dublin.' In *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: Community, Territory and Building*, edited by Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie, 242-65. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006.

Loeber, Rolf and Terry Clavin. 'Fitzgerald, Elizabeth.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 22 March 2023, https://www.dib.ie.

Ludington, Charles. 'Inventing Grand Cru Claret: Irish Wine Merchants in Eighteenth-Century Bordeaux.' *Global Food History* 5/1-2 (2019): 25-44.

Lyons, Mary Ann. 'The Role of St Anthony's College, Louvain in Establishing the Irish Franciscan College Network, 1607-60.' In *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990*, edited by Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon OFM, and John McCafferty, 27-44. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009.

----------. 'Women and Jesuit Ministry in Ireland, c. 1600-c. 1670.' In *The Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland, 1560-1760*, edited by Mary Ann Lyons and Brian Mac Cuarta SJ, 101-22. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2022.

McBride, Ian. *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009.

----------. 'Ireland's History Troubles.' *Field Day Review* 3 (2007): 205-13.

----------. 'Memory and National Identity in Modern Ireland.' In *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, edited by Ian McBride, 1-40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

----------. *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997.

----------. 'The Whole People of Ireland.' *Field Day Review* 5 (2009): 140-9.

McCabe, Desmond. 'MacCabe (Mac Cába), Cathaoir (Cahir).' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 7 December 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

McCabe, Honor OP. *A Light Undimmed: The Story of the Convent of Our Lady of Bom Sucesso, Lisbon, 1639-2006.* Dublin: Dominican Publications, 2007.

McCafferty, John. 'Luke Wadding: A Life In and For Books.' In *Luke Wadding, the Irish Franciscans, and Global Catholicism*, edited by Matteo Binasco, 108-22. London: Routledge, 2020.

McCarthy, Kerry Robin. *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's* Gradualia. New York: Routledge, 2007.

McCollum, Jonathan and David Herbert, eds. *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014.

Mac Craith, Mícheál. 'Seraphic Sparks: The Irish Franciscan and Capuchin Colleges on the Continent.' In *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots and English College Networks in Europe, 1568-1918*, edited by Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor, 39-61. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

MacCulloch, Diarmaid. *Silence: A Christian History.* London: Allen Lane, 2013.

Mac Cuarta, Brian SJ. 'Jesuit Conversions in Wentworth's Ireland: The Slingsby Family, County Cork, in the 1630s.' In *The Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Ireland, 1590-1760*, edited by Mary Ann Lyons and Brian Mac Cuarta SJ, 167-92. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2022.

Mac Curtain, Margaret. *Ambassador Extraordinaire: Daniel O'Daly, 1595-1662*, 2nd edition. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2019.

McDonnell, Joseph, ed. *Maynooth College Bicentenary Art Exhibitions: Ecclesiastical Art of the Penal Era & Art and Transcendence.* Maynooth: St Patrick's College, 1995.

McEvoy, James. 'The Historic Irish, Scots and English Colleges of Louvain, and the Irish Presence in Other Colleges of the University.' *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 23/1 (2010): 57-90.

McGeary, Thomas. '"Warbling Eunuchs": Opera, Gender, and Sexuality on the London Stage, 1705-1742.' *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 7 (Summber 1992): 1-22.

Mac Giolla Chríost, Diarmait. *Jailtacht: The Irish Language, Symbolic Power and Political Violence in Northern Ireland, 1972-2008.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012.

McKeever, Paul. 'Hollister Family.' In *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

McManners, John. *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

McNamara, Jo Ann. *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.

McRedmond, Louis. *To the Greater Glory: A History of the Irish Jesuits.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1991.

McShane, Bronagh. 'Negotiating Religious Change and Conflict: Female Religious Communities in Early Modern Ireland, c. 1530-c. 1641.' *British Catholic History* 33/3 (2017): 357-82.

Marín López, Javier. 'Music Cultures in the Reinos de Indias at the Time of Isabel and Ferdinand.' In *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, edited by Tess Knighton, 323-63. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Maume, Patrick. 'Kenney, Peter.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 1 April 2023, https://www.dib.ie.

Molony, John. 'Moran, Patrick Francis.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 15 December 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

Monson, Craig, ed. *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

----------. *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995.

----------. *Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

----------. *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Montagu, Jeremy, et al. 'Military Music.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 2 November 2018, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Montford, Kimberlyn. 'Holy Restraint: Religious Reform and Nuns' Music in Early Modern Rome.' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 37/4 (Winter 2006): 1007-26.

Moody, T.W. and Robert Dudley Edwards. 'Preface.' *Irish Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (March 1938): 1-3.

Morley, Vincent. 'The Irish Language.' In *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, edited by Richard Bourke and Ian McBride, 320-42. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

----------. *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2017.

Morris, Ewan. '"God Save the King" Versus "The Soldier's Song": The 1929 Trinity College National Anthem Dispute and the Politics of the Irish Free State.' *Irish Historical Studies* 31, no. 121 (May 1998): 72-90.

Muir, Thomas. *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Murphy, David. 'Fitzsimon, Henry.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 23 March 2023, https://www.dib.ie.

----------. 'Sweetman, Nicholas.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 14 March 2023, https://www.dib.ie.

Murphy, Emilie. 'A Sense of Place: Hearing English Catholicism in the Spanish Habsburg Territories, 1568-1659.' In *Sensing the Sacred in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, edited by Robin Macdonald, Emilie Murphy, and Elizabeth Swann, 136-57. London and New York: Routledge, 2018.

Murphy, Estelle. '"Liveridge is in Ireland": Richard Leveridge and the Earliest Surviving Dublin Birthday Odes.' *Music & Letters* 98/1 (2017): 32-73.

----------. 'Scarlatti, Francesco.' In *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

Neary, Denise. 'Organ-Building in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Dublin and Its English Connections.' *The British Institute of Organ Studies* 21 (1997): 20-7.

Ní Riain, Nóirín. 'The Nature and Classification of Traditional Religious Songs in Irish: With a Survey of Printed and Oral Sources.' In *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*, edited by Gerard Gillen and Harry White, 190-253. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993.

Nilis, Jeroen. 'The Irish College Antwerp.' In *Clogher Record* 15/3 (1996): 7-86.

----------. 'Irish Students at Leuven University, 1548-1797 (With Index).' *Archivium Hibernicum* 60 (2006/7): 1-304.

Noden, Shelagh. 'The Revival of Music in the Post-Reformation Catholic Church in Scotland.' In *Recusant History* 31 (2012): 246-60.

Nolan, Frances. *The Jacobite Duchess: Frances Jennings, Duchess of Tyrconnell, c. 1649-1731.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021.

Nolan, Patrick. *The Irish Dames of Ypres: A History of the Royal Irish Abbey of Ypres, and Some Account of Irish Jacobitism*. Dublin, 1908.

O'Brien, Gerard, ed. *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: Collected Essays of Maureen Wall.* Dublin: Geography Publications, 1989.

Ó Cionnaith, Finnian. *Exercise of Authority: Surveyor Thomas Owen and the Paving, Cleansing and Lighting of Georgian Dublin*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016.

O'Connell, Patricia. *The Irish College at Alcalá de Henares, 1649-1785.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997.

----------. *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001.

----------. *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela, 1605-1769.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007.

O'Connor, Cynthia. *The Pleasing Hours: The Grand Tour of James Caulfeild, First Earl of Charlemont (1728-1799), Traveller, Connoisseur, and Patron of the Arts.* Cork: The Collins Press, 1999.

O'Connor, Thomas. 'The Catholic Church and Catholics in an Era of Sanctions and Restraints, 1690-1790.' In *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Vol. 3: 1730-1880*, edited by James Kelly, 257-79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

----------, ed. *The Irish in Europe, 1680-1815.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001.

----------. *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: Religion and Politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008.

----------. *Irish Voices from the Spanish Inquisition: Migrants, Converts and Brokers in Early Modern Iberia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

O'Connor, Thomas and Mary Ann Lyons, eds. *Irish Communities in Early Modern Europe*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006.

----------, eds. *Irish Migrants in Europe After Kinsale, 1602-1820*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.

----------, eds. *The Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe: Refashioning Irish Identities, 1600-1800*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010.

Ó Crualaoich, Gearóid. 'The "Merry Wake".' In *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, edited by James S. Donnelly, Jr and Kerby A. Miller, 173-200. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998.

O'Donnell, Mary Louise. *Ireland's Harp: The Shaping of Irish Identity c. 1770-1880*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2014.

O'Donnell, Ruan. 'The Irish Harp in Political History.' In *Harp Studies*, edited by Sandra Joyce and Helen Lawlor, 121-8. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016.

O'Farrell, Anne-Marie. 'The Chromatic Development of the Lever Harp: Mechanism, Resulting Technique and Repertoire.' In *Harp Studies*, edited by Sandra Joyce and Helen Lawlor, 209-38. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016.

Ó Giolláin, Diarmuid. 'The Pattern.' In *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, edited by James S. Donnelly, Jr and Kerby A. Miller, 201-21. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998.

Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg. *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645-1649.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

----------. 'Counter-Reformation: The Catholic Church, 1550-1641.' In *The Cambridge History of Ireland, Vol. 2: 1550-1730*, edited by Jane Ohlmeyer, 171-95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

O'Neill, Rose OP. *A Rich Inheritance: Galway Dominican Nuns, 1644-1994.* Galway: Dominican Sisters, 1994.

O'Regan, Noel. '"Blessed With the Holy Father's Entertainment": Roman Ceremonial Music as Experienced by the Irish Earls in Rome, 1608.' In *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*, edited by Gerard Gillen and Harry White, 41-61. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993.

----------. *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550-1650.* London: Royal Musical Association, 2015.

----------. 'Processions and Their Music in Post-Tridentine Rome.' *Recercare* 4 (1992): 45-80.

O'Regan, Susan. *Music and Society in Cork, 1700-1900.* Cork: Cork University Press, 2018.

O'Riordan, Turlough. 'Rochfort, George Augustus.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 21 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

O'Sullivan, Donal. *Carolan: The Life, Times, and Music of an Irish Harper*, 2 vols. London: Routledge and Paul, 1958.

Orschel, Vera. '"Uniting the Dispersed Members": The "Annual Letters" of the Irish Jesuits.' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103 (Winter 2014/15): 204-13.

Owen, Barbara. 'Chamber Organ.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 5 August 2020, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Owen, Barbara and Peter Williams. 'Organs: The Classical and Medieval Organ.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 10 January 2023, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Owens, Samantha. 'Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin.' *Eighteenth-Century Music* 6/1 (2009): 7-39.

----------. *The Well-Travelled Musician: John Sigismond Cousser and Musical Exchange in Baroque Europe.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017.

Page, Janet. *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Pařez, Jan and Hedvika Kuchařová. *The Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1629-1786*, translated by Jana Stoddart and Michael Stoddart. Prague: Karolinum Press, 2015.

Parfitt, Richard. *Musical Culture and the Spirit of Irish Nationalism, 1848-1972.* London: Routledge, 2019.

----------. '"Rise and Follow Charlie": Rebel Songs and Establishment Politicians in the Republic of Ireland, 1969-1998.' *Irish Political Studies* 34/3 (2019): 400-19.

Perès, Marcel. 'Le Plain-Chant Baroque.' In *Le Concert des Muses: Promenade Musicale dans le Baroque Français*, edited by Jean Lionnet, pp? Versailles: Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 1997.

Persian, Jayne and Karen Agutter. 'European Post-War Migrants and Indigenous Australians: A History in Fragments.' *History Australia* 18/1 (2021): 112-29.

Peschel, Enid Rhodes and Richard Peschel. 'Medical Insights Into the Castrati in Opera.' *American Scientist* 75/6 (November-December 1987): 578-83.

Powers, T.P. and Kevin Whelan. *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.* Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990.

Rasch, Rudolf. 'Use and Abuse of Gregorian Chant in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic.' In *The Di Martinelli Music Collection (KULeuven, University Archives): Musical Life in Collegiate Churches in the Low Countries and Europe, Chant and Polyphony*, edited by Bruno Bouckaert and Eugeen Schreurs, 331-55. Leuven: Alamire, 2000.

Raughter, Rosemary. 'A Discreet Benevolence: Female Philanthropy and the Catholic Resurgence in Eighteenth-Century Ireland.' *Women's History Review* 6/4 (1997): 465-87.

----------. 'Pious Occupations: Female Activism and the Catholic Revival in Eighteenth-Century Ireland.' In *Religious Women and Their History*, edited by Rosemary Raughter, 25-49. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005.

Reardon, Colleen. *Holy Concord Within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Rees, Owen. 'Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza and Music in an English Catholic House in 1605.' In *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, edited by Emma Hornby and David Maw, 270-80. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010.

Rhodes, David. 'Giordani, Tommaso.' In *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

Roberts, Andrew. *George III: The Life and Reign of Britain's Most Misunderstood Monarch*. London: Allen Lane, 2021.

Robinson, Nicholas. 'Caricature and the Regency Crisis: An Irish Perspective.' *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 1 (1986): 157-76.

Rosenfeld, Hellmut. 'Der Gebrauch der Schablone für Schrift und Kunst seit der Antike und das schablonierte Buch des 18. Jahrhunderts.' *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 48 (1973): 71-84.

Rosselli, John. 'Castrato.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 1 February 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Russell, Craig. *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Mission.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Ryan, Joseph. 'Music in Independent Ireland Since 1921.' In *A New History of Ireland, Vol. VII: Ireland, 1921-84*, edited by J.R. Hill, 621-49. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Scahill, Adrian. 'Irish Traditional Music and the Seventeenth Century.' In *Irish Musical Studies 10: Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston, 40-61. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009.

----------. 'Towards a Reconsideration of the Place of Traditional Music in the Catholic Church.' In *A Musical Offering: Essays in Honour of Gerard Gillen*, edited by Kerry Houston and Harry White, 136-51. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2017.

Schafer, R. Murray. *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1993.

Scullion, Fionnuaghla. 'Lambed Drum.' In *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 12 July 2020, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Sharpe, Richard. 'Tommaso Giordani, Gregorio Ballabene's *Messa a dodici cori con organo* and Sacred Music in Late-Eighteenth-Century Dublin.' *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* 11 (2015-16): 25-35.

Simms, J.G. 'Remembering 1690.' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 63 (1974): 231-42.

Smith, Bruce. *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Solie, Ruth. 'The Living Work: Organicism and Musical Analysis.' *19th-Century Music* 4/2 (Autumn 1980): 147-56.

Spencer, Scott. 'Traditional Music: Transmission.' In. *Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland.*

Stern, Louise. 'The Iberian Peninsula.' In *Music and Society: The Late Baroque Era from the 1680s to 1740*, edited by George Buelow, 411-34. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994.

Stokes, Martin. 'Introduction.' In *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, edited by Martin Stokes, 1-27. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994.

Strohm, Reinhard. *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, rev ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Sweers, Britta. 'Bach in a Venda Mirror: John Blacking and Historical Musicology.' In *The Musical Human: Rethinking John Blacking's Ethnomusicology in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Suzel Ana Reily, 171-92. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Talbot, Michael. 'From "Sonate a quattro" to "Concertos in Seven Parts": The Acclimatization of Two Compositions by Francesco Scarlatti.' In *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, edited by Geza zur Nieden and Berthold Over, 311-22. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2016.

Taruskin, Richard. *The Oxford History of Western Music,* 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Turino, Thomas. *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Valenti, Maura. 'Portable Organs and Stencilled Plainchant: Music at Irish Continental Colleges in the Eighteenth Century.' *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 37 (2022): 133-49.

Vinen, Richard. *A History in Fragments: Europe in the Twentieth Century*. London: Abacus, 2002.

Wade, Bonnie. *Imaging Sound: An Ethnomusicological Study of Music, Art, and Culture in Mughal India.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Walsh, Reginald. 'A List of Ecclesiastics That Took the Oath of Allegiance.' *Archivium Hibernicum* 1 (1912): 46-76.

Walsh, T.J. *Opera in Dublin, 1705-1797: The Social Scene.* Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1973.

Warburton, John, James Whitelaw, and Robert Walsh, eds. *History of the City of Dublin, From the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*. London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1818.

White, Harry. '"After Long Silence: Examining Long Paradigms for an Unwritten History.' *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 50 (2019): 47-70.

----------. 'Handel in Dublin: A Note.' *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 2 (1987): 182-6.

----------. *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970.* Cork: Cork University Press, 1998.

----------. *Music and the Irish Literary Imagination.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

----------. *The Progress of Music in Ireland.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005.

Whiteside, Lesley. *The Chapel of Trinity College Dublin.* Dublin: Chapel Committee, Trinity College Dublin, 1998.

Williams, Peter. *The European Organ, 1450-1850*. London: Batsford, 1966.

Wilton-Ely, John. '"Classic Ground": Britain, Italy, and the Grand Tour.' *Eighteenth-Century Life* 28/1 (2004): 136-65.

Wishnitzer, Avner. *As Night Falls: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Cities After Dark.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Woods, C.J. 'Finn, Edmund.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 28 July 2023, https://www.dib.ie.

----------. 'Plunket, Patrick Joseph.' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed 18 August 2022, https://www.dib.ie.

Wu, Frank. *Yellow: Race in America Beyond Black and White.* New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Yardley, Anne Bagnall. '"Ful Weel she Soong the Service Dyvyne": The Cloistered Musician in the Middle Ages.' In *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, edited by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, 15-38. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Yeats, Gráinne. *The Harp of Ireland: The Belfast Harpers' Festival, 1792 and the Saving of Ireland's Harp Music by Edward Bunting.* Belfast: Belfast Harpers' Bicentenary, 1992.

Zon, Bennett. *The English Plainchant Revival.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

----------. 'The Origin of "Adeste Fideles".' *Early Music* 24/2 (May 1996): 279-88.

----------. 'The Revival of Plainchant in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1777-1858: Some Sources and their Commerce with England.' In *Irish Musical Studies 5: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference, 1995, Selected Proceedings: Part Two*, edited by Patrick Devine and Harry White, 251-61. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996.

Unpublished Dissertations and Theses

Cichy, Andrew. *'How Shall We Sing the Song of the Lord in a Strange Land?' English Catholic Music After the Reformation to 1700: A Study of Institutions in Continental Europe*, unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2013.

Houston, Kerry. *The Eighteenth-Century Music Manuscripts at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: Sources, Lineage and Relationship to Other Collections*, unpublished PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2002.

Lindgren, Lowell. *A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works Set by Giovanni and His Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini*, unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1972.

Valenti, Maura. *'Strum, Strum and Be Hanged': Resetting the Narrative of the 1792 Belfast Harp Festival*, unpublished MPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2017.