Dowland Lute Songs and The Cult of Elizabeth

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Many voice teachers assign Dowland songs to beginning students—in large part because many of them have vocal lines of limited range, text setting is largely syllabic, and songs in one's native language are often a wise choice for early voice study. The texts, however, often seem archaic to twenty-first century ears. If students truly understood the hidden meaning behind seemingly convoluted poetry, they would find the songs much more engaging and powerful.

To appreciate Dowland's (1563–1626) lute songs fully, and to understand the texts completely, we must explore the connection between Elizabethan poetry, politics, and music. During her reign (1558–1603), Elizabeth I and her government established a powerful propaganda machine that extended throughout politics and the arts, known by historians as the Cult. Imagery in portraits depicted her as a lovely but unattainable virgin, rich with symbolism of her rule over Brittania. Poetry was written to deify her: imperial names used in lieu of her given name were Astraea and Gloriana, and she was often likened to the moon goddesses Diana and Cynthia. Symbolism in the arts was so apparent to citizens of the time that the Attorney General pronounced a warning in 1615 (twelve years after Elizabeth's death) against speaking seditious matter through parable.

Mythological allusions to Elizabeth abound in the lute song genre, and "re-naming" her was often the indirect means of communicating with her—or criticizing her. Several of the texts Dowland set likely were intended as a direct appeal to Elizabeth by Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex (1566–1601), who fell in and out of favor with the Queen and was eventually executed. Dowland very well may have written the songs on behalf of Essex, or he may have written them with his own agenda—or a combination of both. Several songs appear to have been veiled statements of dissatisfaction with her rule. Before exploring these possibilities, it is important to examine the Cult itself.

It is generally accepted that the Cult had three distinct stages. The early era might be referred to as one of general adulation, in which Elizabeth was expected to choose a husband and produce an heir. She was therefore portrayed as a lovely, marriageable virgin. By the late 1570s, the second stage of the Cult, all hope of her marrying virtually had disappeared. Images therefore evolved into the perpetual virgin. Christopher Haigh states:

> Portraits no longer represented her in the real surroundings of the Court, but at the center of complex allegories in which she was a Vestal Virgin or an om-

> niscient philosopher or a ruler of the oceans . . . In pageants and poems . . . Elizabeth was Astraea, the just version of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, who has inaugurated a golden age of peace and eternal spring . . .[1]

The period from the 1590s through her death in 1603 is the final era of the Elizabethan age. With the wars in the Low Countries, in France, off the coast of Spain, and in Ireland, economic distress partly due to war taxation, and the reluctant acceptance that Elizabeth would never marry and clarify the question of royal succession, the Cult resorted to what Christopher Haigh claims was the "big lie" technique.

> By this point, the idealized queen and kingdom were far from the realities: the public Elizabeth was not a real person, but a cluster of images.[2]

Throughout Elizabeth's reign, all portraits had to be approved by her, and throughout her life, the model for her face was taken from the earliest portrait. Later, a new facial model was approved by the government, taken from the Dichtley portrait; her features were softened in subsequent portraits based on this model.[3] Thus, even portraits painted while she was in her sixties show a youthful woman. Initially, while there was still hope of her marrying, the motivation was simply to portray her as attractively as possible; as she aged, however, the deception was another manipulation of the Cult.

By the time of Elizabeth's death, she had been elevated nearly to the status of a goddess, or of the Virgin Mary. Considering the veneration of the Virgin Mary in the Catholic Church, which Elizabeth suppressed beginning in the 1580s, it would seem that likening the Queen to the Virgin was not coincidental. As Elizabeth's reign continued, increasingly stiff penalties—leading eventually to persecution and martyrdom—were levied against anyone refusing to convert to the Anglican Church, though it appears this was for political rather than religious reasons.[4] Providing Catholics another Virgin to worship seems to have been a practical substitute. An engraving of Elizabeth published early in the ensuing reign of James was inscribed:

> She was, she is (what more can there be said?)
> In earth the first, in heaven the second Maid.[5]

The Cult not only survived Elizabeth's death, but also flourished, even experiencing a resurgence glorifying her reign as The Golden Age.

As Queen, a great deal of Elizabeth's power lay in her conditional granting of favor. Angry outbursts would result in being banned from Court (and therefore from her favor); sometimes those who inspired her wrath would voluntarily leave Court until her temper subsided. Being excluded from the Queen's presence meant being excluded from her patronage, and patronage was the key to political power.[6]

Like all Elizabethans, Dowland used a circuitous route to make requests of the Queen. Many were opposed to a female monarch in the sixteenth century, asserting that a woman could not rule effectively. A different set of rules existed for dealing with Elizabeth than those for negotiating with a King. Petitioning the Queen meant appealing to her as a lover might to his mistress. The Queen's affections therefore determined her distribution of power. Haigh argues that

> . . . the constant search of courtiers for greater rewards, gave the Queen a formidable political weapon, for it made her courtiers and her politicians grovel for her favour. It put the Queen's own affections at the center of the political system, forced political leaders to approach as adoring supplicants, and enabled her to turn political relationships into a promiscuous series of romantic interludes . . . in using her emotions to manipulate others, she made her feelings means by which others could manipulate her.[7]

Indeed, flattering the Queen and speaking as if one wished to gain her love rather than political favor were perhaps the only ways Elizabethans could accept the unusual circumstance of a woman having dominion over men. Elizabeth was both architect and victim of her own propaganda, largely due to the social circumstances of her time. Like all political machines, the Cult took on a life of its own.

The arts were one avenue to the Queen's affections. Lillian Ruff and Arnold Wilson, in their article "Allusion to the Essex Downfall in Lute Song Lyrics," suggest that literature and poetry were written with "code" words that would have had meaning to Elizabeth and her court. Many texts were written in defense of (or offered commentary about) the Earl of Essex, who first appeared at Court in 1584. Following a meteoric rise to

fame, political power, and an increasingly intimate relationship with Elizabeth, he was imprisoned and finally executed for treason in 1601. Images such as the "dying swan," "imprisoned bird," "fickle mistress," "rejected lover," "sweet woods" (as in "O Sweet Woods" from Dowland's *Second Booke)*, and "solitary hermit," all appear to allude to Essex and his plight. Ruff and Wilson specify that references to Essex were not

> . . . only to the man, but, more broadly, to all he stood for: the old nobility, the style of government of the great years of national unity, personal standards of service and loyalty, patronage of the arts, hope for toleration among Roman Catholics—Essex epitomized all these elements . . . [8]

According to John Guy, beginning in the mid-90s Essex "was increasingly determined to gain his own ascendancy in the Court by placing his own candidates in office."[9] His rival, Robert Cecil, also was vying for control of the Privy Council. Their enmity eventually brought about Essex's desperation to retain power, resulting in his failed *coup d'état*, imprisonment, and final downfall.

Ruff and Wilson further substantiate their claims of coded language used by Dowland by citing a manuscript recently discovered in the Bodleian Library. A commonplace book started by John Ramsay, an amateur musician who was admitted to Cambridge in 1601, reveals descriptions of sixteenth century dances and lute songs. In the lute song section, which contains the lyrics to nine songs, Ramsay made notes in the margins. These notes reveal that references to Essex in the lute songs were acknowledged and understood by the public at the time.[10] For example, in the margin beside the first lyric (which was not Dowland's but was almost certainly set to music, though the musical setting has not been found), Ramsay wrote, "E: Essex Downe." "E" would have meant "Elizabeth," and "Downe" refers to the downfall of Essex. It seems that Ramsay was noting lyrics that had significance, commenting on the verses that made the strongest statement. Ruff and Wilson argue:

> This lyric has the theme of the jilted lover which was quite common around 1600: the same theme can be seen in the madrigal collections published in the years 1597–9: it seems to be a comment upon Essex's variable standing with the Queen.[11]

Also included are other lute song lyrics set by Dowland and Robert Jones, though most are Dowland's.[12]

It is evident that the poetry had political connotations, and likely the musical settings as well. Diana Poulton states, "We know that Dowland had some connection with Essex; that he may even have been in Essex's confidence in the matter of setting Essex's verses to music."[13] Essex himself signed Dowland's permit to leave for the Continent in 1594. In reference to Dowland's songs, Ruff and Wilson state:

> At that time, those who sang them could not fail to connect them with Essex, and some of them contain allusions which leave no shadow of doubt that Essex was in the mind of both poet and composer . . . the relevance of most of the songs is unmistakable.[14]

John Dowland first went to France in 1580 at age seventeen, staying there for about four years. He later admitted to having converted to Catholicism while there, which is certainly of interest with regard to the Essex songs. Essex was known to be tolerant of Catholics at a time when such tolerance was dangerous. The date of Dowland's departure coincides with the Cult's increasingly strict penalties against practicing Catholics (persecution in England began in the 1580s). Though the date of Dowland's return is uncertain, we do know that he received his Bachelor of Music degree from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1588 along with Thomas Morley.

Dowland's work was certainly known to the Queen. On November 17, 1590, Elizabeth's Accession Day, his setting of the poem "His golden locks time hath to silver turned" was performed at the tilts, or jousting ceremonies, which were held in her honor.[15] In 1594, Dowland applied for the post of one of the Queen's Musicians for the Lutes, a position vacated when John Johnson died. He did not receive the appointment, and with Essex's permission left for the Continent again, presumably to both improve his musical skills and nurse his disappointment.[16] Though the details of the itinerary are lost, we do know that he stayed in Florence, where he played for Ferdinando I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and where he was approached by English Catholic exiles. He met with one English Catholic priest, John Scudamore, who wrote a letter to Dowland a month later. [17] Abruptly curtailing his trip, Dowland left for England by way of Nuremberg, where he wrote a letter

to Sir Robert Cecil—Essex's rival—dated November 10, 1595. In it he confessed his former conversion to Catholicism (though he insists he never attended Mass in England), his loyalty to the Queen regardless of his past religion, begged forgiveness for any acts that might have been unintentionally treasonous, and named all possible enemies of the Crown with whom he had had contact. With it, he included the letter from Scudamore.[18] Dowland returned to England sometime in 1596, but was again denied the lutenist position to the Queen.

Certainly, these events raise questions with regard to Dowland's failure to secure the post at Elizabeth's Court. Was his Catholicism a factor? According to Diana Poulton, it is unlikely, considering the Queen's declaration in 1571 that she did not wish to persecute for religious reasons anyone that was otherwise following her laws.[19] It is interesting to note that Essex was known to be tolerant of Catholics, perhaps even sympathetic to their situation. Though Poulton asserts that Dowland's previous Catholicism was not a factor, Ian Spink refers to Dowland's belief that it had precluded him from the position. It is more likely that his behavior with regard to religion was viewed as possibly treasonous, or (at the very least) questionable. Dowland's highly emotional temperament may have also contributed to his inability to secure the position at Court.[20] Additionally, it is not inconceivable that, since the position was not filled until four years after the former lutenist's death, the Royal Household was simply cutting costs.

In 1597, a year after the second denial for the royal lutenist post, Dowland's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* was published by Peter Short. It was such a success that further editions were published in 1600 (also by Short), 1603, 1606, and 1613. This is remarkable, as no other lute song book was reprinted even once. The second and third editions show only minor changes; the reprinting of 1606 shows some substantially rewritten accompaniments (though the more popular songs are largely unaltered). The importance of so many editions cannot be overstated, as paper was expensive, and resetting the founts was extremely costly and time consuming.

Lute song in England derived from the consort song, with its "first singing part," rather than from the madrigal. Setting words to preexisting dance tunes was not unusual. Consort song accompaniment varied from polyphonic to simply chordal, and the same applies to Dowland's songs. "In this trembling shadow" and "If that a Sinners sighes" are largely contrapuntal, though a cantus firmus predominates. "Fine knacks for ladies," "Daphne was not so chaste," and "Time Stands Still" have mostly chordal accompaniment, with only occasional contrapuntal devices.

Though the songs were intended for solo voice with accompaniment, most of the songs were published in alternate form for four-part vocal ensemble, including all of those in the first book. Ian Spink does point out, however, that songs such as "Come, heavy sleep" from *The First Booke* are such highly personalized sentiments that they presuppose a solo singer.[21] In songs with a four-part option, the lute tablature was printed below the cantus, or first singing part, while the lower three parts were printed facing opposite directions so that each person sitting around the book could read it comfortably.

Dowland blended Continental styles with English lyricism. He is the one lute song composer of true stature; his contemporaries were insignificant in comparison. Melancholy and erotic intensity pervade Dowland's songs, which become more soloistic with each book. Lute accompaniment is generally continuous polyphony, but according to Spink, "sometimes participating thematically with the voice but more often content to unwind in long lines drawn out by suspensions and prolonged by avoidance of cadences."[22] Lighter songs draw on the tradition of the ballad and the dance, and are therefore more melodic and rhythmic.[23]

The texts of the songs, however, are of the greatest importance. Pilkington states that, in "My thoughts are winged with hopes," "[t]he lover's emotions are compared with the waning and waxing moon; all will be well when his Cynthia shines again."[24] "If my complaints could passions move" is clearly a protest of a rejected lover. It is likely that this text is a comment on Elizabeth and Essex's variable standing with her at the time. The strongest case may be made for "Can she excuse my wrongs?" The text seems to be drawn from the poem "To plead my faith," which is assumed to have been penned by Essex.[25] The lute part in the final section also uses a quotation from a popular song that may refer to Wanstead, Essex's family estate.[26] Further evidence is that in 1604, after both Essex and Elizabeth

were dead, Dowland renamed the piece "The Earl of Essex's Galiard" when it was included in the *Lachrimae, or Seven Teares*.

Given the pro-Essex (and occasionally anti-Elizabeth) stance of the songs, Dowland apparently sympathized with Essex. Perhaps this was partly due to the longed-for Court appointment he never received from Elizabeth. Certainly, he then would have had great empathy for Essex's frustration with the Queen. It is also possible that Dowland set lyrics that referred to the Essex downfall because Essex was a great patron of music and literature. According to Ruff and Wilson, in that regard Essex was "barely second to the Queen herself."[27] Many would contend rather that Essex was the greater patron to the arts! The final possible reason for Dowland's interest is Essex's great fame as a man of honor. By all accounts, he attracted a following that extended to more than a dozen countries.[28] He may have been regarded a sensational subject for that alone. Composers at the time must have known that using subject matter pertaining to Essex and his infamous downfall had marketable value.

In 1598, Dowland received an appointment as lutenist at the Court of Christian IV of Denmark, at an enormous salary. One may suppose that the generous salary was due to Christian's ardent patronage of the arts, and at the time he hired Dowland there was no school of lute composers in Denmark from which to choose.[29] Dowland composed *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* during his first two years in Denmark and sent it home in 1600 to his wife in England, who sold it to George Eastland. Dowland's wife attended to many of his business affairs, though she did not accompany him on any of his travels, including the extended trip to Denmark.[30] From *The Second Booke* onward, Poulton states,

> [s]trophic verse is used less often; chromaticism is harnessed to the expression of grief; conventional forms such as the pavan and the galliard are abandoned in favour of a free following of the verbal rhythms; and every phrase is lovingly allied to its most eloquent expression. Nevertheless . . . [though] word-painting was frowned upon, Dowland apparently never lost his conviction that this device was serviceable and had its justifiable uses.[31]

The songs of *The Second Booke* are generally more soloistic in nature. Syncopation also figures prominently in these pieces. Though many of the songs in this book are melancholy, the latter ones are lighter in nature, such as "Shall I sue" and "Fine knacks for ladies."

Again, we must revisit the Essex connection. During the composition of *The Second Booke*, in the summer of 1599, Essex was appointed Lord Deputy of an army to suppress the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland. He did so after delaying the post as long as possible, justly fearing his absence would cause further problems for him at Court. He did not view the post as an honor or as an attempt to attain further military glory, but rather saw it as banishment. His letters to Elizabeth were signed, "Your Majesty's exiled servant."[32] He was ordered to attack Tyrone at Ulster, but instead wasted his efforts in Leinster and Munster, depleting his army to such a point of weakness that victory at Ulster was impossible. He was not permitted to return to his own residence until March 30, 1600, when Elizabeth replaced him in Ireland with Lord Mountjoy (who eventually defeated Tyrone in 1601). According to Haigh, the mission was an utter failure, not only because Essex "did everything but what he had been told to do," but also because Elizabeth did not adequately fund the endeavor.[33] He returned to England after making a secret, treasonous truce with Tyrone. The Queen refused to renew his monopoly of sweet wines, and shortly thereafter he was placed under house arrest.[34]

Though Dowland was in Denmark at the time of Essex's attack on Ireland, news traveled quickly. Essex was tormented and his standing with the Queen was deteriorating, as his enemies exerted influence while he was at war. Ruff and Wilson indicate the congruence in Dowland's work: "the theme in many of the songs was 'poor man condemned.'"[35] As Michael Pilkington states, the subtitle of "Sorrow sorrow stay" could well be, "Repentant tears and pleas for pity are rejected."[36] On the words "pity, pity, pity," repetition on a higher tone expresses anguish. Certainly, the phrase "Alas I am contemned ever" seems to apply to Essex's plight, as well as "No hope, no help" exclamations on descending thirds. Coloration on "down, down, down I fall" is especially expressive.

"Flow, my tears" became famous across Europe. Many composers, especially those on the Continent, used the theme as a basis for their own compositions, and arrangements were made for almost every domestic instrument. Its musical origin is from the instrumen-

tal pavan *Lacrimae*, originally a lute solo, which predates *The Second Booke*. It also appeared as "Lachrimae Antiquae" in Dowland's collection for viols and lute called *Lachrimae, or Seven Teares*. "In darkness let me dwell" contains the same imagery that is found in Essex's pleading letters to the Queen. In comparison to the song's text, Poulton cites the letter Essex wrote to Elizabeth on October 18, 1600: "... till I may appear in your presence, and kiss your fair correcting hand, time itself is a perpetual night, and the whole world but a sepulchre."[37] Compare that imagery with this text from "Flow my tears:"

> Flow, my tears, fall from your springs
> Exil'd forever let me mourn
> Where night's black bird her sad infamy sings,
> There let me live forlorn.
>
> Down, vain lights, shine you no more
> No nights are dark enough for those
> That in despair their lost fortunes deplore,
> Light doth but shame disclose . . .
>
> Hark you shadows that in darkness dwell,
> Learn to contemn light,
> Happy, happy they that in hell[38]
> Feel not the world's despite.

"O sweet woods" is one of the most obvious references to Essex. Pilkington argues:

> Line seven refers to Wanstead, which was Essex's family estate. Accounts vary on its possible authorship: poem may be by Sidney, or more probably by Robert, Earl of Essex, who is known to have stayed at Wanstead in 1597 and 1598 when out of favour with the Queen."[39]

Compare the couplet that forms the refrain of the song:

> O sweet woods the delight of solitarinesse,
> O how much doe I loue your solitarinesse,

to the couplet that appears at the beginning of a poem in a dramatic interlude by Sir Philip Sidney, printed at the end of the 1598 edition of *The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia:*

> O sweet woods, the delight of solitarinesse!
> O how much I doe like your solitarinesse!

They are nearly identical, but the rest of Sidney's poem is completely different from the poem Dowland set.[40] While Sidney stayed at Wanstead on several occasions, it seems more likely that Essex himself penned the poem. Ruff and Wilson argue:

> Although in 1580 Sidney went through a period of disillusion with Court life . . . the sentiments of the poem are not entirely consistent with his particular circumstances. He stood in no special relationship to the Queen, who is surely the 'mistress' of the poem, and he suffered no spectacular 'fall' . . . But in the case of Essex many points of the poem fit very noticeably with the events of his life, his own particular characteristics, and his position in relation to Elizabeth.[41]

It also seems clear that "the fairest Nimphes" mentioned in the song were Elizabeth and her ladies in waiting, who had visited Wanstead during the 1578 progress.

Ruff and Wilson state that it is also possible that Fulke Greville, one of Elizabeth's favorites and a man of rank in the navy, penned many of the poems set by Dowland.[42] This would not contradict the thesis that these texts referred to Essex.

> [Greville] had an unwavering admiration for Essex; and even for his final rising he blamed the provocations of the Cecil faction, plus the wild and foolish actions of some of Essex's followers, rather than Essex himself.[43]

The Third and Last Booke of Songs (though it was not Dowland's last book, regardless of the title) was entered in the Stationer's Register on February 19, 1603.[44] *The Third Booke* is much simpler musically than the two previous books. The songs are more extroverted and less complicated than the *The Second Booke* in particular. "What if I never speed" is a fine example of a lighter style. Two songs from this book, "Time Stands Still" and "Say love if ever thou didst find," "are settings of words that are exaggeratedly complimentary to the aged Queen . . . Did Dowland, one wonders, hope, by touching Elizabeth's vanity to secure at last the long-sought-after post?"[45]

Though most of the songs in *The Third Booke* are less emotionally indulgent, there are three songs of mourning, presumably for Essex's death: "Flow not so fast, ye fountains," "Weep you no more, sad fountains," and "Lend your ears to my sorrow." Ruff and Wilson contend that the melancholy theme of the songs in *The Third Booke* is appropriate to the period of time between Essex's death and their publication. Testimony abounds that the Queen was dejected and deeply regretful over Essex's execution. The songs in this book

seem to be comment on Elizabeth's state of mind at the time.[46] There is also a nod to Essex directly with "It was a time when silly Bees could speak," as it is generally agreed that Essex penned this poem in 1598.

Overwhelming evidence suggests that the Dowland lute songs were revelations of the effects of the Cult, especially in reference to the Earl of Essex. This is not surprising, as Essex's popularity with the citizens of London was such that he inspired several ballads, the most popular music of the time.[47] Even if Essex and Dowland had little contact—though it appears that indeed they did—the compelling character of Essex would have inspired any artist attempting to make a living, or at least a statement. The poetry was a part of the Cult, and the motivation of the music is heavily influenced by the poetry, and was, in fact, inextricably connected to it.

ENDNOTES

1. Christopher Haigh, *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), 4.
2. Ibid., 5.
3. Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: Thomas and Hudson, 1987), 140.
4. A discussion on the political—not religious—reasons for this are discussed by Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 41, and in many other sources. It appears Elizabeth's personal tolerance of Catholicism remained unchanged, regardless of the persecutions later in her reign.
5. Haigh, 6.
6. Patronage for musicians at the time took various forms: see Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
7. Christopher Haigh, *Profiles in Power: Elizabeth I* (London and New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), 97, 103.
8. Lillian Ruff and Arnold Wilson, "Allusion to the Essex Downfall in Lute Song Lyrics," *Lute Society Journal* 12 (1970): 31.
9. John Guy, ed., *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 217.
10. Ruff and Wilson, 31–32.
11. Ibid., 32.
12. Ibid.
13. Poulton, 251.
14. Lillian M. Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song, and Elizabethan Politics," *Past & Present* 44 (August 1969): 36.
15. Haigh describes the tilts as partly propaganda, forming a framework for political relations and reinforcement of loyal attitudes: "In the late 1570s, the 17 November Accession day tilts, which had been simply boisterous Court sports, were turned into formalized public spectacles in which nobles and courtiers dressed as valiant knights and jousted for the favour of an idealized Virgin Queen." *Profiles in Power: Elizabeth I*, 99.
16. Ibid., 402.
17. Many Catholic priests were in exile during that time. Like Dowland, Scudamore converted back to Protestantism later that decade.
18. Both letters are included in their entirety in Poulton, 36–40. She points out the many inconsistencies and contradictions in the letters, as well as inclusion of facts that Cecil already knew; this raises the question of why Dowland wrote to Cecil in the first place.
19. The complete text of the declaration, which was in response to the Papal Bull of Excommunication, is in Poulton, 40. It sheds light on the Queen's tolerance—at least initially—of Catholics. Her reluctant punishment of Catholics appears to have only begun when plots to replace her with Mary Queen of Scots were begun in earnest in the 1580s. Political, not religious, reasons appear to be at the heart of her motives.
20. Ibid., 45.
21. Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), 18.
22. Ibid., 20.
23. Ibid., 17, 20.
24. Michael Pilkington, *Campion, Dowland and the Lutenist Songwriters* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 74.
25. See Poulton, 225–228, for a lengthy discussion of further evidence.
26. Pilkington, 76.
27. Ruff and Wilson, "Allusion to the Essex Downfall in Lute Song Lyrics," 36.
28. Mervyn James, "At a Crossroads of the Political Culture: The Essex Revolt, 1601," *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 416.
29. Diana Poulton, 54.

30. Ibid., 29.
31. Ibid., 211.
32. *The Progresses, and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 3 (London: John Nichols and Son, 1823), 432.
33. Haigh, 144.
34. For a full description of the military problems Elizabeth had in this expedition and others, please see Christopher Haigh, *Profiles in Power: Elizabeth I*, 130–148.
35. Ruff and Wilson. "The Madrigal, the Lute Song, and Elizabethan Politics," 42.
36. Pilkington, 86.
37. Poulton, 37.
38. John Dowland, *The Second Book of Songs*, 12.
39. Pilkington, 89.
40. Poulton, 261.
41. Ibid., 261–2.
42. Ruff and Wilson, "Allusion to the Essex Downfall in Lute Song lyrics," 35.
43. Ruff and Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song, and Elizabethan Politics," 40.
44. Though Dowland titled the third book as the "last" book, his fourth book of songs, *A Pilgrimes Solace*, was printed in 1612. A *Musicall Banquet* was published in 1610 and Dowland played a major part in the preparation, though it was put out under his son Robert's name. Poulton, 314.
45. We will never know the answer to this, as she died on March 24. Dowland returned to Denmark, and was dismissed from the Court of Christian IV in 1606. He was finally appointed one of the King's Lutes under King James in 1612, but at a far lower salary than those already under the King's employ. Poulton, 262.
46. Ruff and Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song, and Elizabethan Politics," 43.
47. Poulton, 402.

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Dr. Hurst-Wajszczuk received the Bachelor and Master of Music degrees from Westminster Choir College and the Doctor of Musical Arts degree from the University of Colorado-Boulder. Currently Assistant Professor and Coordinator of Voice and Director of Musical Theatre at the University of Wisconsin-Platteville, she was selected as one of twelve participants for the 2006 NATS Internship program in Kansas City.