

LOUISE RAYMENT

A New Context for the Manuscript of *Wit and Science*

*John Redford's interlude The Play of Wit and Science (ca 1540) is surrounded in British Library Additional Manuscript 15233 by a rarely noted collection of music, poems, and song lyrics by Redford, Richard Edwards, John Thorne, Miles Huggarde, Thomas Pridioxe, Master Knyght, and John Heywood. Scholars have always assumed Redford wrote the play into the manuscript during his time as organist and master of the choirboys at St Paul's cathedral (ca 1530–47), but new bibliographical evidence indicates that the entire manuscript was in fact compiled and bound during the mid 1550s. By piecing together the connections between the named contributors to Add ms 15233 during the 1550s, this article suggests that a social and artistic network centring on the parish church of St Mary-at-Hill in Billingsgate, London produced this copy of *Wit and Science* and the manuscript in which it is contained.*

John Redford's *Wit and Science* (ca 1540) survives in almost complete form in British Library Additional Manuscript 15233. A collection of music, poems, and song lyrics by Redford, Richard Edwards, John Heywood, Miles Huggarde, Master Knyght, Thomas Pridioxe, and John Thorne surrounds the play. Whilst there are a number of scholarly editions of *Wit and Science*, since its discovery in 1848 Add ms 15233 has received limited bibliographical study, and there has been little interest in the other material that it contains. In 1848 J.O. Halliwell transcribed the literary contents of the manuscript and identified the named contributors, stating that the manuscript was probably contemporary with Redford.¹ J.S. Farmer's 1908 text of *Wit and Science* took this analysis further, noting that in all probability the manuscript of the play was in Redford's hand, and accordingly dating its composition to ca 1530–50.² Arthur Brown's 1951 text of the play also concluded that the manuscript was probably 'originally intended

Louise Rayment (l.rayment@soton.ac.uk) is a visiting fellow in the faculty of humanities at the University of Southampton currently working on a research project exploring the role of performance in the London parish of St Mary-at-Hill.

to contain the work of a group of friends connected ... with John Redford's choir school at St Paul's.³ The focus of these studies on the section of the manuscript containing the play, and on Redford and St Paul's cathedral, has resulted in the conclusion that Add ms 15233 began life as a blank book bound during the 1530s or 1540s.

This assumption led scholars to think the first section of the manuscript, containing *Wit and Science* and keyboard music attributed to Redford, was compiled during his period as organist and master of the choirboys at St. Paul's (ca 1530–1547), and that it was designed for use by the boys under his charge.⁴ The remainder of the manuscript, mainly containing poems and song lyrics, critics then infer is later, likely completed during the 1550s and 1560s based on the known dates of activity of the named contributors.⁵ In 1935 Samuel Tannenbaum noted that a thorough examination of the paper in the manuscript might throw more light on the date of the document.⁶ Now new evidence in the form of an exact match for the watermark which appears throughout Add ms 15233, in combination with an older but rarely noted observation concerning the binding, indicates that far from being completed over a period of several decades, the manuscript was entirely compiled and bound ca 1555.⁷

The new dating of Add ms 15233 does not demand an extensive reanalysis of *Wit and Science* since there is little doubt that the extant version is a copy of a play originally written by Redford for the choir school at St Paul's. The new date, however, does alter the relationship between the play and the material surrounding it in manuscript, as well as contributing to our understanding of the contexts in which this play was used and adapted during the sixteenth century. By piecing together the connections among six of the seven named contributors during the 1550s, this article suggests that this copy of *Wit and Science* and the manuscript in which it is contained are the products of a social and artistic network centring on the parish church of St Mary-at-Hill in Billingsgate, London.

The Parish Church of St Mary-at-Hill

In the *Survey of London* (1603), John Stow describes the location of St Mary-at-Hill:

saint Marie hill lane, which runneth vp North from Billingsgate, to the end of S. Margaret Pattens, commonly called Roode lane, and the greatest halfe of that

lane is also of Belinsgate warde. In this saint Marie hill lane is the faire parish church of saint Mary called on the hill, because of the ascent from Billingsgate.⁸

Stow's *Survey* usefully not only records facts about the church's location but also tells us something about the community that surrounded it. For example, the immediate area surrounding the church had 'many fayre houses for Marchantes', some of which might have belonged to fishmongers working at Billingsgate harbour at the southern end of the parish.⁹ The harbour was a thriving economic resource — so much so that Billingsgate, which had started life as a more general market, began during the sixteenth century to make its money exclusively from fish — and St Mary-at-Hill was a fairly wealthy parish. The parish was also advanced musically, and the church engaged a number of musicians in the first half of the sixteenth century who later became significant figures, including Thomas Tallis and William Munday.

Apart from Stow's work, the best evidence for the life of the church survives in churchwardens' accounts, which are particularly full from 1420 to 1559.¹⁰ These accounts are helpful because they often record payments for events one might expect to be outside the scope of normal church activities. They regularly list, for example, amounts paid for the entertainment of singers after services at private houses, frequently including all night drinking and extensive fish suppers. Partly from such records some idea of the social context in which Add ms 15233 might have been created begins to emerge.

Musical Associations

During the sixteenth century court and community had a strong musical association in terms of court musicians regularly performing in local churches. A study by Fiona Kisby concludes that 'the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, although a parish church, was the focal point of the town's musical life, and the institution and its fraternities with which some of these men, in particular those of the Chapel Royal, were privately associated were also those with which they may have been connected in a professional capacity'.¹¹ The records of St Mary-at-Hill indicate that performances by the musicians in multiple contexts also occurred outside Westminster. Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey have established that during the fifteenth century St Paul's cathedral, parish churches, and hospitals regularly borrowed singers from one another. Parish churches used the royal and aristocratic chapel

singers who were resident in the metropolis as well as drawing on the large, well-organized workforce of parish clerks.¹² At St Mary-at-Hill, the accounts show that the parish engaged singers from neighbouring parishes, from the royal household chapel, and variously from the large pool of freelance clerics supported by the metropolis.¹³ Parish clerks seem to have taken part in services at St Paul's, and St Mary-at-Hill and other parish churches paid chantry priests from St Paul's to sing.¹⁴ Evidence of this level of interchange makes it fairly easy to see how networks may have built up between people in different forms of employment or separated from one another by some distance.

Although not immediately in its vicinity, St Mary-at-Hill's extremely profitable association with the Chapel seems to have begun with the employment of 'extras' at the church on feast days in the early part of the sixteenth century. Usually the parish engaged only one or two extra musicians drawn from the surrounding area on feast days, but on St Barnabas's day 1510 the 'syngers of the Kynges chapell' first appear at St Mary-at-Hill.¹⁵ After the service, the home of one of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, John Sidborough, welcomed the singers with lavish supplies of food and drink.¹⁶ In the same year St Mary-at-Hill sued a bell-founder who had failed to fulfil a contract to provide a new bell. The lord chief justice and another judge presided, and on this occasion, 'M^r Sidborowgh' and a 'M^r Kyght' (senior chaplain in the Chapel Royal) were entertained to a sumptuous dinner when they assisted in the arbitration.¹⁷ The following year members of the Chapel Royal sang twice in the church. On the first occasion 'Mr kytis' and 'Mr Cornysh' (master of the children of the Chapel) enjoyed a grand fish dinner 'in *Master Aldremans place*' involving the cost of 'A pyke', 'A Iowle [the head and shoulders] of fressh samon', 'playse', and 'oysters' amounting to the sum of 6s 4d. On the second occasion, 'Mr kyte' and 'harry prenttes' (Prentes was a gentleman of the Chapel) had a similar repast provided, again at Mr Sidborough's, at the cost of 7s 1d.¹⁸

But how might the parish have started to employ these 'extras' from the Chapel rather than other local churches? At this point, it seems beneficial to recall Kisby's argument about the intertwining personal and professional lives of men at the parish church of St Margaret's. Gentlemen of the Chapel were free to take outside engagements when the monarch did not require their services, and for a gentleman who lived in the parish of St Mary-at-Hill, it might have seemed natural to invite colleagues to sing in his own church; this church presumably would have had some musical merit for him to avoid embarrassment. Members of the Chapel continued to sing at St Mary-at-Hill

on a fairly regular basis: on Corpus Christi day 1521, on St Barnabas's day 1523, and on occasions during 1525 and 1528.¹⁹ After some hiatus, their next recorded visit occurred in 1553, when they were paid for singing a mass on St Martin's day.²⁰

The Choir School

As Richard Lloyd has noted, the presence of the professional Chapel singers on successive occasions at St Mary-at-Hill would seem to indicate not only the high standard of singing already practised at the church, but also that the church was on its way to becoming an established choral foundation in its own right.²¹ A school for boy choristers seems to have flourished there. The presence of a residential boys' choir at the church meant an elaboration and sophistication of liturgical music, and this parish church may have attempted to emulate the level of performance inspired by the presence of such singers at St Paul's, Westminster, and the Chapel Royal. The churchwardens' accounts record that the conduct and organist John Northfolke founded the school for choristers at some stage between 1524 and 1525, and that the school was located in the abbot of Waltham's inn, which at this time was a parish rental on the west side of St Mary-at-Hill, south of the church.²² The school paid an annual rental of 6s 8d to occupy a chamber in this house.²³ Records of the school appear regularly in the accounts until 1537/8, and in 1548 the chantry certificate mentions it, demonstrating that the school was still active at this point.²⁴ Peter Le Huray suggests that the school was dissolved in this year, although he does not give evidence for this assertion, and the school may possibly have existed for some time after this.²⁵

The church also owned a stock of theatrical costumes and properties, including diadems and angels' wings.²⁶ The boys from the choir school might well have used some of these items for dramatic presentations, but they were also rented out. Given the cost of early modern costumes, the church made a considerable income from this collection during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁷ Although no record of costume rental has yet been found for the mid- to late sixteenth century, dramatic activity continued at the church,²⁸ and the accounts for 1554/5 — particularly relevant given the new dating of Add ms 15233 — contain a record for payment of 14s 2d to Masters Restall and Manwode 'for the copeny of a play'.²⁹

Add ms 15233 might have originated within the context of this interchange between people (particularly musicians) at St Mary-at-Hill and the

larger London musical establishments, the presence of a choir school, and dramatic activity at the church. The second part of this article demonstrates how the named contributors to the manuscript were connected to and/or by way of St Mary-at-Hill during the 1550s when this document was compiled.

Richard Edwards

Richard Edwards is perhaps best known for the play *Damon and Pythias* (1564), and for the poetic miscellany *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (first printed 1576). The patent rolls of July 1558 list Edwards as one of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, the first mention of his being in London.³⁰ Born in Somerset in ca 1524, he worked his way through the university system at Oxford, studying at Corpus Christi under the composer and Greek scholar George Etherege, and supplicating for his BA in 1544. He became a probationer fellow in the same year, and then gained a lectureship at Christ Church. The last record of him at Oxford is in 1550, and the next definite record of him is as a member of the Chapel Royal in the patent rolls in July 1558.³¹ The exact date of Edwards's move to London is uncertain, although the evidence indicates that it occurred during the early 1550s. The cheque book for the Chapel Royal, which lists the payments made to members, does not begin until 1561, and there is no certain way of checking the exact point at which Edwards became a member of this body. Extant records from the 1590s imply that one commonly had to wait for a prestigious role at the Chapel, first becoming an extraordinary gentleman or substitute until a place as an ordinary gentleman became available.³² Despite the delay, a post was worth the waiting, and once gained, retained until death, so Edwards may well have spent some time at court before 1558 waiting to take up this role. Two other pieces of evidence, more circumstantial but more specific to Edwards, indicate that he moved to London in the early part of the 1550s. British Library Cotton MS Titus A.xxiv contains four poems by Edwards, the first of which praises Queen Mary's ladies.³³ Assuming that this work does not refer to the ladies concerned by their maiden names after their marriages, the dates of their weddings indicate that the poem was written before 1555, and thus it would seem that Edwards was already very familiar in court circles by this point.³⁴ Secondly, the poem 'Fair words make fools fain', Edwards's single contribution to Add MS 15233, comments on the dangers to a young man of coming to court for the first time and implies that the author was well aware of how lengthy the period of waiting for preferment may have

been. The theme is relatively commonplace, and the poem may or may not therefore be autobiographical; if it is, though, Edwards had already been at court for a number of years by the time he completed and added the poem to the manuscript in the mid-1550s. Although Edwards does not appear to be mentioned individually in the accounts for St Mary-at-Hill, given the close connections between the church and the Chapel, he most likely sang there with other gentlemen at some stage during the 1550s and was quite possibly making connections with an existing network of men who were later to contribute to his career.

A network of artistic associates would certainly have proved invaluable to Edwards in the creation of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (*PDD*). Although the collection did not appear in print until ten years after his death, it attributes the compilation to Edwards, and it must therefore have been put together between ca 1550 and his death in 1566. The title page of the first edition indicates that apart from Edwards, the collection contained works by at least nine 'learned gentlemen, both of honor and worship'.³⁵ The book therefore represents a community of poets whose work was collected and probably exchanged and circulated in manuscript for some time before anyone prepared the text for printing. This process possibly occurred during the same period as the compilation of Add ms 15233, as two direct connections between the printed book and the manuscript seem to indicate. These connections also provide further evidence that Edwards was involved in and drew from the social circle centring on St Mary-at-Hill during the 1550s. *PDD* contains both a very similar version of the Edwards's poem 'Fair words make fools fain' found in Add ms 15233, and a version of John Thorne's poem, 'Who shall profoundly weigh and scan'.³⁶ One further poem attributed to Thorne (or M.T., probably Master Thorne) appears in *PDD* and two more in Add ms 15233, a moral version of the ballad 'The hunt is up' and 'In worldly wealth for man's relief'. Edwards possibly joined the social circle of which Thorne was already a part when he moved to London in the 1550s, and drew on this group for *PDD*.

John Thorne

But who was Thorne, and how does he provide a link to this social circle? York Minster appointed Thorne organist in 1542, having paid him the previous year as 'organist within the choir',³⁷ but by the 1550s he already had connections both with some of the other contributors to Add ms 15233 and

with St Mary-at-Hill. His first appearance in records, in fact, is in the list of clerks and conducts at the church in 1539/40, where he was paid £5 16s for the year's work.³⁸ At this point, John Redford, the main contributor to Add ms 15233, served as a vicar choral at St Paul's, and given the interchange between the two institutions, the two men may have struck up a bond. In *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), Thomas Morley cited Thorne alongside Redford as a composer particularly skilled in writing upon plainsong, and although little of Thorne's music has survived, it is worth mentioning another sixteenth-century manuscript that seems to contain work by both men.³⁹ British Library Additional Manuscript 29996 contains the organ score of a motet attributed to 'Thorn of York' and is also the largest known repository of music by Redford. Some of the music in this manuscript may be in Redford's hand, giving those pieces a latest compilation date of 1547, the year that the organist died.⁴⁰ The manuscript not only evidences a possible connection between Redford and Thorne during the late 1530s and 1540s but is also significant in drawing more general connections between the musicians at St Paul's and St Mary-at-Hill. Composed of several layers of different dates, the first section of Add ms 29996 appears to have centred on composers connected with St Paul's and St Mary-at-Hill.⁴¹ Apart from Redford and Thorne, it contains works by Philip Ap Rhys, who was the Welsh organist at St Mary-at-Hill until 1547, when he took over as organist at St Paul's on the death of Redford.⁴²

John Day

One of Thorne's contemporaries at St Mary-at-Hill in the late 1530s was John Day.⁴³ The connections that can be made through his publications support the theory that this man is also the well known Protestant printer of works such as Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter. These publications also connect members of the social and professional network from which Add ms 15233 could have originated. In 1536 the fourteen-year-old Day received his first year's salary as a conduct at St Mary-at-Hill.⁴⁴ The records of St Mary-at-Hill seem to have applied the terms 'clerk' and 'conduct' to both adult choristers and organists,⁴⁵ but with reference to a child, 'a conduct' almost certainly indicates a member of the choir, a role in which Day continued for four years.⁴⁶ By the time he was eighteen in 1540, it seems that Day had made the initial steps in his printing career since a city deposition noted him as being the late servant of a printer named Thomas Raynald.⁴⁷

Raynald printed *The Byrthe of Mankynde* (1540), a translation of Eucharius Roesslin's midwifery manual and the first such text published in English; it was also the first work in England to include copper engravings.⁴⁸

By 1562 Day had progressed to the upper echelons of his profession. He was a member of the Stationers' company, printed from his own shop in Cheapside, and had a reputation for technical sophistication, probably arising from his reliance on the expertise of foreign workmen.⁴⁹ Day had made a name for himself during the Edwardian period, in which, in partnership with William Seres, he took advantage of the rise in the number of religious works printed to support the evangelical cause. By 1562, however, he became connected to and supported by leading members of the church establishment and political élite.⁵⁰ At this point he was responsible for the printing of *The Whole Book of Psalmes*, otherwise known as the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter or, after the printer himself, Day's psalter, a publication that was such a phenomenal success that, with the exception of the bible, it became the most printed text in England during the early modern period.⁵¹

The first edition of this psalter contained the daily services in English, some tunes, and an introduction to basic musical theory designed to enable readers to sing at sight.⁵² It also included an anonymous canticle entitled 'The complaint of a sinner', or 'Where righteousness doth say', which appears as a poem in Add Ms 15233, where it is attributed to John Redford.⁵³ The manuscript *Dallis Book* presents a lute setting, and incidentally also contains a setting of Edwards's 'Fair words make fools fain'.⁵⁴ In 1563, another edition of the psalter appeared, this time presenting within four separate partbooks a complete set of tunes harmonized by English composers for four voices. It included works by two gentlemen of the Chapel Royal: a setting of the Lord's Prayer by Richard Edwards and a large number of works by Thomas Causton. Day's links with St Mary-at-Hill most likely explain the connection with these two men of the Chapel, but the two men also represent further relationships within the wider social network probably responsible for the creation of Add Ms 15233.

The second of the Chapel Royal's contributors to the psalter, Thomas Causton, was also at the Chapel in the early 1550s, first as a junior singer, and later in the decade as a gentleman, a role that he continued until his death in 1569.⁵⁵ Two years after his work appeared in the psalter, he was named as a contributor to another of Day's publications, *Certaine Notes*.⁵⁶ Although it appeared in print in the mid-1560s, a large part of this publication is thought to have been compiled before ca 1553, around the same time

as Add ms 15233, and contains work by a number of men who also had links to St Mary-at-Hill. Although he was a virtual unknown at this point, Causton's work constitutes a fairly substantial section of this publication, indicating that some collaboration may have taken place between the musician and Day, and that the gentleman of the Chapel was more than merely a contributor. Day appears to have zealously printed the work of Causton; in fact, he printed all but one of his pieces of music, and the Chapel Royal gentleman's work dominates Day's premier collection of church music. Elizabeth Evenden has explained this collaboration by suggesting that Causton acted as Day's corrector of music, and that Day promised guaranteed publication as part payment or a perk of the job; those skilled in reading music proofs were hard to come by.⁵⁷ At least three of the nine contributors to *Certaine Notes* had also previously sung at St Mary-at-Hill in some capacity, demonstrating that a circle of men existed in the 1550s from which Day was able to draw.⁵⁸ Thomas Tallis was a conduct in 1536–7, again at the same time as both Day and Thorne. Robert Okeland was organist and master of the choristers between 1534 and 1535 and a gentleman of the Chapel in 1546/7. 'Hethe the singing man' employed at St Mary-at-Hill for twenty-one days in 1555 may well be the same man who contributed to *Certaine Notes*.⁵⁹

A further point might link Day to Add ms 15233. Day's printer's device was a waking sleeper, combined with the motto, 'Arise for it is Day', a clever pun on the printer's name. A variation on this phrase appears as the refrain for the anonymous poem in Add ms 15233, 'Arise, arise, arise I say'. Although there is no evidence to confirm that this poem intentionally relates to Day, the coincidence is nonetheless interesting.

Contributors to Day's publications, St Mary-at-Hill, and Add ms 15233 possibly connect in another way. *Certaine Notes* contains two settings attributed simply to 'Knyght'. A single poem in Add ms 15233, 'Behold with pensiveness the picture here in place', is also attributed to a 'Master Knyght' whose first name is omitted. The two settings from *Certaine Notes* also appear anonymously among the remaining contents of *The Wanley Partbooks*. Originally a set of four partbooks, now held in the Bodleian library and dated to the Edwardian period, the Wanley manuscripts mostly contain music in four parts which seems to have been copied out for a small parish church or private chapel, where services were normally sung by clerks, as was the case in many London churches at the time.⁶⁰ The partbooks also contain work by Causton, Heathe, and Okeland. So who was 'Knyght'?

Master Knyght

According to 1536 records, Salisbury cathedral paid 6s 8d to a 'Tho[ma]s. Knyght for playing the organ' for the quarter. This stipend was a bonus for a man whose regular salary was as a vicar choral and master of the choristers (a post he had held since some point between 1526 and 1529).⁶¹ As at St Paul's, Salisbury had no recognized organist at this point, and the vicars choral took turns at playing the organ. In 1539, the accounts of the cathedral again list 'Knyght', almost certainly Thomas, this time being paid 2s for playing the organ during the week of Pentecost. This time he is the sole organist; his deed of appointment to the office, dated 30 April 1538, requires he undertake 'to kepe laudablie the orgeyns accordinge to good Musycke and armony', and to teach the choristers 'playnsonge pryckesonge Faburdon and descante'.⁶² Owing to the imperfect state of Salisbury cathedral's archives, unfortunately, the musician cannot be traced there any later than 1543. (Roger Bowers has noted that a distinction must be drawn between this musician and another Thomas Knyght who is recorded as a prebendary at Salisbury from 1546 to 1547.⁶³) No successor appears in records until October 1550, but nearby Winchester College received compositions by one 'Knyght' up to 1545.⁶⁴ After this, 'Knyght' the musician can only be traced through the appearance of his work in various manuscripts.

The Gyffard Partbooks, a collection of masses and motets in separate parts for four voices, contain three settings ascribed to 'Master Knyght'. Scholars think the collection was copied out between 1553 and 1558, although it may contain work composed between 1540 to 1580.⁶⁵ Although no evidence survives of Knyght's whereabouts during this period, the partbooks reveal that Knyght's work was respected in the 1550s. The partbooks also contain a 'Christus resurgens' by Redford, a piece possibly by Richard Edwards, as well as work by Okeland, Thomas Wright (a vicar choral at St Paul's who died in 1558), William Whytbroke (a subdean at St Paul's from 1534 and a contributor to *Certaine Notes*), and William Munday (parish clerk at St Mary-at-Hill between 1548 and 1558, vicar choral at St Paul's in the late 1550s, and also later a member of the Chapel Royal), suggesting substantial links between the contributors, the cathedral and even St Mary-at-Hill.

John Heywood and Thomas Pridioxe

This article has thus far established that a social and professional network existed from which Add ms 15233 might have emanated, with a number of members connected by St Mary-at-Hill and their professional musical roles. Although critics recognize John Heywood as a dramatist associated with St Paul's and the court during the sixteenth century, records indicate that he also fitted into both the categories of professional musician and member of the parish of St Mary-at-Hill. The number of instances of this name occurring in records during the sixteenth century complicates biographical research. Some previous scholarship has attempted to resolve this problem by separating references to John Heywood into several distinct individuals,⁶⁶ whilst more recently there has been a move towards the idea that many of the instances of the name could represent one man.⁶⁷ This article details the instances of the name John Heywood (and its variants) in locations and documents related to the London social circle detailed above. Given the number of close connections, this article also works on the theory that they represent one individual.

John Heywood seems to have been born in 1496 or 1497 and to have been one of four sons of the Coventry lawyer William Heywood. William had connections with the Rastells, a family involved in the London print trade who were known as staunch Catholics.⁶⁸ The first positive references to John Heywood at court are six quarterly payments of £5 between Michaelmas 1519 and Christmas 1520 made to a singer of this name.⁶⁹ By 1525 Heywood appears as a player of the virginals at court,⁷⁰ and between January 1536/7 and February 1538/9 he was still referenced as a musician and a stage player in the accounts of both Princess Mary and Thomas Cromwell.⁷¹ In late 1540 Thomas Whythorne described Heywood's skill as a player of the virginals. Whythorne lived with Heywood as his pupil and servant, and although he does not disclose the location of Heywood's house in his autobiography, Heywood, Whythorne says, was 'very well skilled in music, and playing on the virginals'.⁷² Whythorne also mentions that he learned to play the virginals and the lute while he was with Heywood, and although he does not say that Heywood performed on the lute, it seems likely that he did and that one of his jobs at court was to sing songs to his own accompaniment.⁷³

In 1523 Heywood was made free of the Stationers' company and afterwards transferred to the Mercers' company. By 1529/30 he was meter of linen cloth and canvas for the city of London.⁷⁴ His membership in this company

probably resulted from his association with the Rastells and Thomas More (who was admitted to the Mercers' company in 1509). When More became a privy councillor in 1518 he already had a connection with Heywood, and the latter's initial steps at court may have stemmed from More's patronage and growing influence in the early 1520s.⁷⁵ There was already a closer family tie, as John Rastell had married More's sister Elizabeth (probably before 1504), and Heywood himself married the Rastells' daughter Joan at some point before 1523. As Pearl Hogrefe notes, John Rastell was the most enterprising undertaker of drama of all the men in the More circle.⁷⁶ He not only wrote and printed plays but also concerned himself with their performance, constructing a stage at his house in Finsbury Fields in 1524.⁷⁷ This dramatic interest and his status as a stationer — his work as a printer dated back to the 1490s — doubtless influenced and proved valuable to his son-in-law.⁷⁸

On 20 February 1538/9, Heywood signed a conventual lease regarding the manor of Brookhall, belonging to the monastery of St Osyth in north-east Essex.⁷⁹ John's brother Thomas Heywood was a canon of St Osyth's, a house of Austin canons. In the acknowledgments of supremacy of 1534, John Whederyke signed as abbot, and Thomas's name appeared seventeenth on a list of twenty-one. At the dissolution in 1539 Abbot Whederyke and the canons received pensions, with Thomas Heywood's pension being £6 13s 4d. Records of the valuation and the inventory of possessions of St Osyth's are unusually full, and attached to the bundle is an autograph letter from Abbot Whederyke to John Heywood written on 9 May 1540.⁸⁰ The letter acknowledges the due receipt of rent from John Heywood for the manor of Brookhall, of which he held a lease for £14 a year, and it is endorsed, 'To my lovyng herty frende John Heywode, gentylman delyver thys speedely'.⁸¹ After the dissolution, Henry VIII's chief minister Thomas Cromwell seized into his own hands the abbey lands, but after Cromwell's fall from favour and execution in the following year, a grant dated 3 December 1540 restored the lease: 'Dilecto servienti nostro John Heywood of our manor of Brookhall recently in the possession of Thomas Cromwell lately attainted of high treason [...] for 21 years at a rent of £14.1.6. and 12d increment'.⁸²

In the same year the conventual lease was signed, Heywood presented an interlude 'with his children' before Princess Mary.⁸³ Greg Walker has referred to Heywood as 'in many ways an oppositional playwright' and as a man 'out of sympathy with the religious reforms of the 1530s and 1540s', and it seems that he came perilously close to dying for his beliefs in 1543 when he was condemned for denying the royal supremacy in the aftermath of the

'Prebendaries Plot' to remove Archbishop Thomas Cranmer from office.⁸⁴ Heywood, however, also earnestly advocated for religious accommodation, often arguing for its necessity in his drama. Thomas Whythorne records that during the 1540s Heywood was asked to write an interlude on 'The Parts of Man' for performance in Cranmer's household. Walker notes that this interlude clearly endorsed the politics of toleration, and was perhaps even intended as a peace offering to the archbishop.⁸⁵ In 1545 Heywood recovered the pension and lands he had forfeited, and when he received his court wages at Christmas that year he was still a 'player on the virgynalles' — a post he continued to hold in the reign of Edward VI.⁸⁶

According to Harley, the signature of 'Jhon heywood', found at the end of Richard Bramston's will, made on 26 May 1554, has strong resemblances to the barely legible conventual lease signature of 1538/9. The original of this will cannot currently be located for comparison, but a probate copy of the will gives other details of interest, which link this Heywood and the contributor to Add ms 15233.⁸⁷ Until 1531 Bramston was master of the choristers at Wells cathedral, and is one of the composers represented in both the Peterhouse and the Gyffard partbooks, which between them also contain settings ascribed to Knyght, Redford, and possibly Richard Edwards as well as various individuals from St Paul's and the Chapel Royal.⁸⁸ Bramston's nephew John, like Heywood, was a mercer, and so was Christopher Campion, the brother-in-law to whom John Bramston had been apprenticed.⁸⁹ Bramston bequeathed to Heywood his 'best howpe [ring] of gold', and was evidently involved in the same musical circles responsible for producing contributions to Add ms 15233. Heywood oversaw Bramston's will along with Richard Day, probably the same man who became Heywood's landlord at some stage before 1561.⁹⁰ Day's will, made in 1561, connects this Heywood to a virginal player. He refers to 'the tenamente wherein M^r John Haywoode now dwelleth ... in the parishe of S^t Bartillmewe the tittle nere Smythfelde', and continues, 'I give to the said M^r Haywoode my virgynalles ... to be delivered unto him ymmediately after my decease'.⁹¹

Although Bramston's original will and Heywood's signature from 1554 cannot be located, the three signatures of 'Jhon heywood' which appear in a teller's book of 1556–7 also resemble the conventual lease signature of 1538.⁹² The teller's book records payments made by the exchequer to various individuals. This document is doubly significant because it also contains several instances of the signature of Miles Huggarde, another of the Add

MS 15233 contributors whose connection to the circle of manuscript contributors remains obscure.

In 1534, records list John Hayward as minor canon or succentor at St Paul's cathedral.⁹³ The notebook of Michael Shaller, a verger acting as under-chamberlain at St Paul's between 1566 and 1584 contains some fragmentary accounts relating to 1554, which described Hayward several times as a petty canon and junior cardinal.⁹⁴ The job of a minor canon would have involved a high degree of liturgical and pastoral skill as well as considerable musical talent, and the post holder was responsible for leading the daily worship in the cathedral. The minor canon signed the acknowledgements of the king's supremacy on 20 June 1534 along with John Redford, who was, at the time, a vicar choral.⁹⁵ A.W. Reed, and more recently Ian Spink, have suggested that this Hayward, although linked to Redford and St Paul's, is not the same person as the well-known dramatist. Reed explains that the 'confusion' arises from the spelling of the canon's name as 'Hayward' being miscopied as 'Heywood' by the ecclesiastical historian Strype,⁹⁶ whilst Spink simply believes that the dramatist would not have also been a petty canon at St. Paul's.⁹⁷ Conversely, T.S. Graves suggests that the close associations among the minor canons, the choir, and Heywood the dramatist's links to the St. Paul's children raises the distinct possibility that Hayward and Heywood were one and the same man.⁹⁸ On 30 September 1556, John Heywood — who signed his occupation as a 'petycanon of poule' — witnessed the will of John Redford's sister, Margaret Cox.⁹⁹ Another witness to this document was an individual possibly trained in law, Thomas Pridioxe, who was also connected with Sir Thomas More, and whose verse occurs in Add MS 15233.¹⁰⁰

Pridioxe is an ancient and fairly common Devonshire name,¹⁰¹ and this combined with the variable spellings make it difficult, as with John Heywood, to establish a firm identification for the witness to the will or the contributor of the single poem 'Behold of pensiveness the picture here in place' ascribed to a man of this name in Add MS 15233. Cox's will identifies Pridioxe as 'de medio Templo London generosus', indicating that he studied at Middle Temple, one of the inns of court, but whilst this might imply that he read law, often the inns of court were simply 'finishing schools' for wealthy young men who needed to learn the skills necessary for a life at court.¹⁰² This document does not therefore definitely indicate that he practised the profession. A study of the admissions registers reveals no record of Thomas Pridioxe being admitted to the Middle Temple, although, given the date of

the will, he likely would have been admitted during the period for which records are missing, 1525–51.¹⁰³

There were at least three known individuals with the name Thomas Pridioxe who were contemporary with John Heywood the dramatist: a churchwarden of Ashburton in Devon; Thomas Prideaux of Orcharton, Devon; and Thomas Prideaux of Lewiton, Devon.¹⁰⁴ None of these seem to have been known for writing poetry. An untitled poem, however, attributed to a 'Mr Prideaux' appears in *A Brief View of the State of the Church of England* by Sir John Harington (1561–1612). This book did not appear in print until 1653, but scholars think the poem was composed much earlier. Halliwell suggests that the poem is an elegy on the death of Bishop Bonner, but Louise Guiney interprets the poem as referring to the death of Bishop Gardiner, which occurred in 1555, and believes that the poem is likely contemporary with the event that it describes.¹⁰⁵ If it does describe Gardiner, then its author wrote in the same time frame as the compilation of Add ms 15233, and would have been a staunch Catholic. A Thomas Prideaux removed to the continent in order to escape religious persecution for his Catholic beliefs during the 1560s, and this man married into the More circle through Helen Clement, daughter of More's adopted daughter Margaret Giggs.¹⁰⁶ Writing in praise of Gardiner amongst members of this circle would not be unusual, and the connection with More would strengthen the likelihood that this Pridioxe had a connection to John Heywood the dramatist and the Add ms 15233 circle.

A Thomas Pridioxe also witnessed when 'Johannes Heywood de London' signed a bond supporting Redford's successor, Sebastian Westcott, in his acquisition of a lease for the St Paul's property of Wickham manor in Essex in 1557.¹⁰⁷ If all the Pridioxes mentioned are the same, then this man's connection with Redford, Westcott, Thomas More, and Add ms 15233 would seem to support the theory that the John Heywood who signed two documents with him was the dramatist as well as the petty canon of St Paul's.

During Mary I's reign John Haywarde also appears regularly in the churchwardens' accounts for St Mary-at-Hill. An entry for 1555 reads: 'paid to mr haywood and mr Symkotes to retayne then to be our atornes — vjs viijd'. The parish also retained a counsellor and made a payment 'for framyng of a boke to goo to our counsell'. The cost of the counsel was 'for and towards the sewte of our Landes belonginge to our Church of Saynte Mary at Hyll at severall tymes'. The accounts for 1556 refer to 'sealyng the wrytt of mr haywoodes Clarcke', and in the same year payment was made

‘to mr haywood[es] Clarke for the cople of the syes’. On 26 December it was apparently as a member of the vestry that Heywood put his name to an agreement between the parson and churchwardens on the one hand and ‘John franke bere brewer’ on the other. These references seem to indicate that Heywood may have also had some knowledge of the law. Although Heywood’s father and one of his brothers were lawyers, there is no indication that he practised law professionally, but these occasions may be explained if he was relied upon for his experience and was acting to represent the interests of the parish.

Perhaps more importantly for the purposes of drawing connections between contributors to Add ms 15233, the accounts also record payments made to John Haywarde on occasions when the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal joined forces with the church’s choir.¹⁰⁸ On 18 August 1558, the parish paid 3s 4d. ‘to the clarkes and syngynge men for a banket or Recreation at m^r haywardes one ovr Lady even to macke them to dryncke’.¹⁰⁹ 1556 saw a payment of five shillings made by the parish ‘to John hayward for wyne to syng withall’.¹¹⁰ The accounts for 1558 record a payment of twenty-eight shillings ‘to mr heward for wyne that was ffet at his house from crystmas tyll a monthe before michemas and for the wyne yt was fet at ye maundy’.¹¹¹ Another entry says that ‘serten of the parishe & serten of the chappell and other syngynge men’ were ‘drynkyng over nyght at mr haywardes’.¹¹²

Heywood the dramatist’s association with William Forrest during the 1550s allows for an amalgamation of the different instances of the name.¹¹³ Forrest had been a minor canon of Osney Abbey in Oxfordshire and was (he claimed) a chaplain to Queen Mary.¹¹⁴ He had also provided the words for William Mundy’s composition ‘Vox patris caelestis’.¹¹⁵ In a recent article on ‘Vox patris’, John Milsom discussed the various theories concerning its composition: that Munday composed it for the coronation pageant of Mary I in 1553; or that Munday, who was the parish clerk at St Mary-at-Hill in the same period, wrote it for the church’s celebration of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁶ The first theory, which Milsom refers to as the ‘coronation theory’, includes a discussion of Heywood’s role in the coronation pageant for Mary I, which Stow describes thus: ‘In Paules Church-yanne against the Schoole, one Maister Heywod sate in a Pageant under a Vine, and made to hir [Mary] an Oration in Latine and English’.¹¹⁷ Another account, *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, notes, ‘At the scholehouse in Palles church ther was certayn children and men sung diverse staves in gratefyng the queen; ther she stayed a goode while and gave diligent ere to their song’.¹¹⁸

Milsom suggests that the ‘certayn children and men’ who sang at the pageant in St Paul’s churchyard alongside Heywood’s pageant display could not have been the choir of St Paul’s since records would surely have mentioned such a prestigious choir by name, and, in addition, the St Paul’s choir boys performed further along the route.¹¹⁹ As a dramatist, Heywood’s name appears (as it does in the accounts for St Mary-at-Hill) in conjunction with the singers of the Chapel Royal, specifically for events when these singers stepped away from court and monarch and sang for reasons unconnected with their principal places of work. The ‘certayn men’ at Mary’s coronation pageant might therefore have been from the Chapel, but there is yet another possibility. Milsom follows Harley’s theory that Heywood might have lived in the parish of St Mary-at-Hill, and notes his possible association with the church, suggesting that because of this affiliation and his connection with Forrest, he participated in the performance of Munday’s composition. Perhaps the singers might even have been those of St Mary-at-Hill.

The connections between the instances of the name John Heywood certainly seem to indicate that the dramatist and musician associated with St Paul’s and the Haywarde associated with the singers of the Chapel Royal and St Mary-at-Hill are one and the same, and this man’s other social and professional links offer further connections between contributors to Add ms 15233 during the mid-1550s.

Conclusions

The redating of the entire manuscript and its binding to the mid-1550s, and the connections between the named contributors during this period outlined in this article, indicate that Add ms 15233 should be considered as a coherent manuscript and as the physical representation of the interests of a mid-century network. Although the poems and music might, at first glance, seem to be unrelated to *Wit and Science*, in fact, all demonstrate the interest of the St Mary-at-Hill network members in performance. The presence of a choir school and an established tradition of performance at St Mary-at-Hill, combined with the apparently convivial evening entertainments which took place after events held at the church, indicate an appropriate environment for the reading and writing of music, poetry and drama, and provide a convincing backdrop for the copying of Add ms 15233. The churchwardens’ accounts for 1554/5 include an entry for a payment for the ‘coppey of a play’ on the same page as payments to a Master Heywode and a Master Prydyoxe, both

named contributors to Add ms 15233. Could this entry relate to the copying of *Wit and Science*?

Whether or not this is a record of *Wit and Science*, its copying into Add ms 15233 within this new context contributes to our understanding of the play's reception and popularity after Redford's death in 1547. Two different authors reworked *Wit and Science* during the second half of the sixteenth century: an anonymous writer in 1569/70 as *The Marriage of Wit and Science* and Cambridge scholar Francis Merbury in 1579 as *A Contract of Marriage Between Wit and Wisdom*.¹²⁰ These adaptations have already indicated a continuing interest in and admiration for this early interlude, and the copy in Add ms 15233 demonstrates that this was a continuous process from shortly after Redford's death through to the latter half of the sixteenth century. Further work on this manuscript, and on the network at St Mary-at-Hill, will perhaps shed more light on the continued use and popularity of this early Tudor interlude.

Notes

I wish to thank Jeanice Brooks for inviting me to present an early version of this article to an audience of musicologists at the Renaissance Society of America Conference held in Venice in April 2010, and Ros King for her invaluable feedback during the development of this research.

- 1 James Orchard Halliwell (ed.), *The Moral Play of Wit and Science, and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (London, 1848), vi. Halliwell's text ignored the music. With the exception of Master Knyght, his identification of the contributors remains unquestioned.
- 2 John S. Farmer (ed.), *The Play of Wit and Science* (London, 1908), v.
- 3 Arthur Brown (ed.), *Wit and Science* (Oxford, 1951), xi.
- 4 George Watson (ed.), *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 5 vols (Cambridge, 1969), 1.1941. Watson states that Redford's play is probably autograph. Scholars generally assert that the music and *Wit and Science* were compiled during Redford's time at St Paul's Cathedral (ca 1530–47).
- 5 See for example, Christopher Goodwin, 'A Candidate Lyric for Byrd's *The Maidens Songe*', *Annual Byrd Newsletter* x (2004), 19–26, 24.
- 6 Samuel A. Tannenbaum, 'Editorial Notes on *Wit and Science*', *Philological Quarterly* 14 (1935), 307–26, 308.
- 7 Louise Rayment, 'A Note on the Date of British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233', *Notes & Queries* 59 (2012), DOI: 10.1093/notesj/gjr273; Daniel Page,

- 'Uniform and Catholic: Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)' (PhD thesis, Brandeis University, 1996), 350.
- 8 C.L. Kingsford (ed.), *A Survey of London, by John Stow: Reprinted from the Text of 1603*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), 205–11; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=60037>
 - 9 Ibid.
 - 10 The churchwardens' accounts are GL mss 1239/1 and 1239/2. See also Henry Littlehales (ed.), *The Medieval Records of a London City Church: St Mary at Hill, 1420–1559* (London, 1905).
 - 11 Fiona Kisby, 'Music and Musicians of Early Tudor Westminster', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 223–42, 234.
 - 12 Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns 1450–1550', *Early Music History* 19 (2000), 1–46, 16.
 - 13 Ibid.
 - 14 Littlehales, *Medieval Records*, 411.
 - 15 GL ms 1239/1 (part 2), f 307v.
 - 16 Ibid.
 - 17 GL ms 1239/1 (part 2), f 308r.
 - 18 Mary C. Erler (ed.), *Records of Early English Drama: Ecclesiastical London* (Toronto, 2008), 46.
 - 19 GL ms 1239/1 (part 2) f 458r, f 483v, f 509r, GL ms 1239/1 (part 3), f 558r.
 - 20 GL ms 1239/1 (part 3), f 760r.
 - 21 Richard Lloyd, 'Music at the Parish Church of St Mary-at-Hill, London', *Early Music* 25 (1997), 221–6, 221–2.
 - 22 GL ms 1239/1 (part 2), f 508r.
 - 23 GL ms 1239/1 (part 2), f 508r, f 528r, GL ms 1239/1 (part 3), f 689r, f 717r.
 - 24 Erler, *REED: Ecclesiastical London*, xlvii.
 - 25 Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Cambridge, 1978), 212. Full transcriptions of the churchwardens' accounts have only been completed to 1495.
 - 26 GL ms 1239/1 (part 2), f 190v. T.W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude* (Leicester, 1958), 53 notes that the coat, wings, and yellow silk hair of an angel were also among the properties of Queens' College, Cambridge and were listed in their accounts 1549–55.
 - 27 Erler, *REED: Ecclesiastical London*, xxxiv.
 - 28 Neither Erler, *REED: Ecclesiastical London* nor Littlehales, *Medieval Records* comprehensively cover dramatic records for the church from 1495 onwards.

- 29 GL ms 1239/1 (part 3), f 770r. Given the nature of this entry, it is possible that 'Master Restall' might be of the Rastell printing family who were connected with John Heywood and particularly involved with the production of drama.
- 30 *Patent Rolls*, July 1558, quoted in Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester, 2001), 23.
- 31 King, *The Works of Richard Edwards*, 4.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 187.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 19 and 231; Leicester Bradner, *The Life and Poems of Richard Edwards* (New Haven, 1927), 17.
- 35 Richard Edwards, *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (London, 1576; stc: 7516), quoted in King, *The Works of Richard Edwards*, 41.
- 36 References to *PDD* are to the 1576 text. The collection proved extremely popular, and was printed with additions and alterations on at least nine occasions before 1606.
- 37 Peter Aston, 'Thorne, John (d. 1573)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* (Oxford and New York, 2004-), DOI:10.1093/ref:odnb/27345.
- 38 GL ms 1239/1 (part 3), f 720r.
- 39 Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597; stc: 18133).
- 40 According to Joseph Warren, who owned the manuscript in 1847, ff 6–45 of BL Add ms 29996 are in the hand of John Redford.
- 41 Page, 'Uniform and Catholic', 338.
- 42 GL ms 1239/1 (part 3), f 707v.
- 43 *Ibid.*, f 670v.
- 44 *Ibid.*
- 45 Littlehales, *Medieval Records*, xxii–xxiii.
- 46 GL ms 1239/1 (part 3), f 670v–f 720r.
- 47 Andrew Pettegree, 'Day, John (1521/2–1584)', *ODNB*, DOI:10.1093/ref:odnb/7367.
- 48 I. Gadd, 'Raynald, Thomas (fl. 1539–1552?)', *ODNB*, DOI:10.1093/ref:odnb/23209.
- 49 Pettegree, 'Day, John (1521/2–1584)'.
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 *The Whole Book of Psalmes* (London, 1562; stc: 2430); Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Farnham, 2008), 239.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 280.
- 53 The poem appears on f 56 of BL Add ms 15233.

- 54 *The Dallis Book* (Trinity College, Dublin, ms 410) was owned by Thomas Dallis, a musician and teacher at Trinity College, Dublin in the 1580s and 1590s. It contains a collection of lute music copied during the 1580s.
- 55 Magnus Williamson, 'Causton, Thomas (d. 1570)', *ODNB*, DOI:10.1093/ref:odnb/4914.
- 56 *Certaine Notes* (London, 1560; STC: 6418).
- 57 Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot, 2008), 77–8.
- 58 Hugh Baillie, 'A London Church in Early Tudor Times', *Music and Letters* 36 (1955), 55–64, 62.
- 59 GL ms 1239/1 (part 3). For Tallis see f 681r, f 693v; for Okeland, f 642v, f 653v; for Hethe, f 766r.
- 60 *The Wanley Partbooks* (Bodleian Library ms Mus. Sch. e.420–22); Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 172–3. See also James Wrightson, *The 'Wanley' Manuscripts: A Critical Commentary* (New York, 1989).
- 61 W.H. Grattan Flood, 'New Light on Early Tudor Composers, XVII Thomas Knight', *The Musical Times* 62 (1921), 331–2, 332.
- 62 Roger Bowers, 'Knyght, Thomas', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford, 2007–), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15219?q=thomas+knyght&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.
- 63 Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, D1/2/16 (Register); *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/>.
- 64 Bowers, 'Knyght, Thomas'.
- 65 *The Gyffard Partbooks* (BL Additional MSS 17802–5); Stanley Boorman, et al. 'Sources, ms', in *Grove Music Online*.
- 66 A.W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama: Medwall, the Rastells, Heywood, and the More Circle* (London, 1926), 234–6.
- 67 See John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham, 2010).
- 68 See Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, 29–35.
- 69 National Archives ms E36/216, ff 57v, 67r; Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Aldershot, 1993), 7.244–5.
- 70 BL Egerton ms 2604, f 3r; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 7.254.
- 71 BL Royal ms 17 B XXVIII, f 7v, 42r; NA ms E36/256; Frederick Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary* (London, 1831), 12, 62; Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 7.374, 376, 416.
- 72 James M. Osborn (ed.), *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne* (Oxford, 1961), 13. Osborn modernized the text.

- 73 Harley, *The World of William Byrd*, 41 notes that BL Add MS 4900, ff 58v–59r (latest numbering), contains a lute-song version of Heywood's 'What heart can think or tongue express', the words of which are in BL Add MS 15233. Although the copy in BL Add MS 4900 appears to date from the seventeenth century it may derive from Heywood's original, since the manuscript includes lute-song transcriptions of music by Taverner, Sheppard and Tallis.
- 74 Peter Happé, 'Heywood, John (b. 1496/7, d. in or after 1578)', *ODNB*, DOI:10.1093/ref:odnb/13183.
- 75 *Ibid.*
- 76 Pearl Hogrefe, *The Sir Thomas More Circle* (Urbana, 1959), 254.
- 77 Richard Axton and Peter Happé, *The Plays of John Heywood* (Cambridge, 1991), 5.
- 78 For Rastell's work during the 1490s see R.W. Ingram (ed.), *Records of Early English Drama: Coventry* (Toronto, 1981). Heywood's interludes possibly received performances on Rastell's stage. See Janette Dillon, 'John Rastell's Stage', *Medieval English Theatre* 18 (1996), 15–45, 32.
- 79 NA MS E303/2 no. 46.
- 80 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 21 vols (London, 1862–1932) 14.1: *January–July 1539* (1894), 574–93. No. 1326. The bundle is R.O. Church Goods 10/26.
- 81 Quoted in A.W. Reed, 'John Heywood and his friends', *The Library*, s3–8/31 (1917), 240–70, 245–6.
- 82 Quoted in Reed, 'John Heywood and his friends', 245–6.
- 83 BL MS Royal, 178, xxviii, f 42, quoted in Trevor Lennam, *Sebastian Westcott, the Children of St Paul's, and The Marriage of Wit and Science* (Toronto, 1975), 33.
- 84 Greg Walker, *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge, 1998), 76.
- 85 *Ibid.*, 106–7; Axton and Happé, *The Plays of John Heywood*, 8.
- 86 BL Add MS 27404, f 18r; NA MS E101/426/5, f 24v quoted in Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music* 7.293–4.
- 87 Harley, *The World of William Byrd*, 42 references PROB 10/28 for Bramston's original will, which was made on 26 May 1554. 10/28 contains wills for the latter part of 1554, and a search of 10/27 which covers the month of May was unsuccessful. The will was proved on 13 September 1554: probate copy PROB 11/37, f 60; see also *Somerset Medieval Wills (Third series) 1531–1558*, ed. by F. W. Weaver (London, 1905), 153–4.
- 88 The motet, 'Terrenum sitiens', in *The Peterhouse Partbooks*, has been tentatively assigned to Edwards. See King, *The Works of Richard Edwards*, 234.

- 89 David Mateer, 'The "Gyffard" Partbooks: Composers, Owners, Date and Provenance', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 28 (1995), 21–50, 26.
- 90 Ibid, 27. Mateer identifies Richard Day as a salter who lived in the parish of St Mary-at-Hill. Harley, *The World of William Byrd*, 44 disputes this identification, noting that there is nothing to indicate that this Day had any connection with Heywood and suggesting instead another individual who died shortly after the salter.
- 91 PROB 11/46, f 224. Will made on 2 December 1561 and proved on 29 July 1563 (indexed under 'Richard Deye'); quotations from a loose copy at PROB 10/52 in Harley, *The World of William Byrd*, 44–5.
- 92 NA MS E405/508 (dated 1556–7: one signature in Michaelmas term, two in Easter term).
- 93 NA MS E.25/82/1.
- 94 Michael Shaller's Notebook is GL MS 25532. Harley, *The World of William Byrd*, 24 notes that Heywood is mentioned on ff 73r-89v. A cardinal took responsibility for the discipline and attendance of petty canons.
- 95 NA MS E.25/82/1.
- 96 Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, 234.
- 97 Ian Spink, 'Music, 1540–1640', Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (eds), *St Paul's, The Cathedral Church of London, 604–2004* (London, 2004), n 32, 481.
- 98 T. S. Graves, 'The Heywood Circle and the Reformation', *Modern Philology* 10.4 (1913), 553–72. Graves also responds to the question of whether the married Heywood could have been a minor canon.
- 99 GL MS 25626/1, f 117v; will proved 3 April 1558.
- 100 Pridioxe married Helen Clement, daughter of Thomas More's adopted daughter Margaret Giggs. The single contribution to BL Add MS 15233 attributed to Pridioxe is on f 49.
- 101 Louise Imogen Guiney, *Recusant Poets* (London, 1938), 108–14.
- 102 Lennam, *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, 16 and 34.
- 103 Arthur Brown, 'Three notes on Sebastian Westcott', *Modern Language Review* 44 (1949), 229–32, 232.
- 104 W.F. Prideaux, 'Thomas Prideaux, the Poet', *Notes and Queries* s5-X, Issue 254 (1878), 367.
- 105 John Harrington, *A Brief View of the State of the Church of England* (London, 1563; Wing: H770); Halliwell, *The Moral Play of Wit and Science*, vii; Guiney, *Recusant Poets*, 110.
- 106 Guiney, *Recusant Poets*, 108–14.
- 107 GL MS 25630/1, ff 360r-361v; Brown, 'Three Notes on Sebastian Westcott', 231–2.

- 108 David Mateer, 'The Gyffard Partbooks', 28, and Littlehales, *Medieval Records*, 410.
- 109 GL ms 1239/1 (part 3), f 811r.
- 110 Ibid, f 791r.
- 111 Ibid, f 818r.
- 112 Ibid, f 792r.
- 113 BL Add ms 34791, f 3r quoted in Reed, 'John Heywood and His Friends', 267.
- 114 Forrest's claim was added to two holographs of *Josophe the Chaiste* (Bodleian Library ms Eng. Poet. d.9; Bodleian Library ms University College 88, and BL Royal ms 18.C.XIII).
- 115 Bodleian Library mss Mus. Sch. e.376–81. See John D. Bergsagel, 'The date and provenance of the Forrest-Heyther collection of Tudor Masses', *Music & Letters* 44 (1968), 240–8 and Hugh Benham, *John Taverner* (Aldershot, 2003), 21.
- 116 John Milsom, 'William Munday's "Vox Patris Caelestis" and the Accession of Mary Tudor', *Music & Letters* 91 (2010), 1–34. For the St Mary-at-Hill theory, also see Kerry McCarthy, 'William Mundy's "Vox Patris Caelestis" and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary', *Music & Letters* 85 (2004), 353–67.
- 117 John Stow, *The Chronicles of England, from Brute unto this Present Yeare of Christ. 1580* (London, [1580]), 1073–4, quoted in Milsom, 'William Munday's "Vox Patris Caelestis"', 15.
- 118 John Gough Nichols (ed.), *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (London, 1850) quoted in Milsom, 'William Munday's "Vox Patris Caelestis"', 15. Milsom notes that the account in the *Chronicles of the Grey Friars* specifically states that this event took place 'in Powlles churcheyerde at the est ende of the church'. The 'scholehouse' must therefore have been St Paul's School, rather than the building used by the choristers of the Cathedral for rehearsals and plays.
- 119 Milsom, 'William Munday's "Vox Patris Caelestis"', 15–16.
- 120 *The Mariage of Witte and Science* (London, 1569; STC: 17446); *A Contract of Mariage between Wit and Wisdome* (BL Add. MS 26782)

