Studies in the history of the song school at Durham from the early fifteenth century to the early eighteenth century

Crosby, G. B.

G. B. CROSBY

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE SONG SCHOOL AT DURHAM FROM THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY TO THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts at the University of Durham, May, 1966.

CONTENTS

APPENDICES

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

Sur. Soc.	- Publications of the Surtees Society.
Account Books	- Dean & Chapter of Durham: Treasurer's Account Books.
Account Rolls	- Durham Account Rolls, ed. J. T. Fowler (Sur. Soc.) 3 Vols.
Acts	- Dean & Chapter of Durham: Acts.
Cos. Corr.	- Bishop Cosin's Correspondence, ed. Rev. G. Ornsby (Sur. Soc.), 2 Vols.
Depositions	- Depositions & Ecclesiastical Proceedings, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc.).
DSR	- Durham School Register, ed. T. H. Burbidge.
Durham Cath. Reg.	- The Baptismal, Marriage, and Burial Registers of the Cathedral Church ... at Durham, 1609-1896, ed. G. J. Armytage (Harleian Soc.).
Harrison	- F. Ll. Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain.
Hutchinson	- W. Hutchinson, The History & Antiquities of the County Palatinate of Durham.
Pantin	- Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540, ed. W. A. Pantin (Camden Soc.)
Pocock	- J. G. A. Pocock, Survey of Materials available on the History of Education in the North East of England, 1500-1800.
Reg.	- Registers of the Priors of Durham.
Rites	- Rites of Durham, ed. J. T. Fowler (Sur. Soc.)
Rolls	- Church Commissioners: Receiver General's Rolls (of the Bishops of Durham).
Sanct. D.	- Sanctuarium Dunelmense, ed. Dr. J. Raine, (Sur. Soc.)
Script. Tres.	- Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc.)
Statutes	- Durham Cathedral Statutes, ed. J. M. Falkner (Sur. Soc.)

Val. Eccl.	- Valor Ecclesiasticus, Vol. 5 (Record Commission).
VCH	- The Victoria History of County Durham, ed. W. Page, Vol. 1 - and especially A. F. Leach's article on Schools.

INTRODUCTION

The original purpose of this thesis was to delve into the history of the Song School at Durham - to investigate the possible sites of any school buildings; and to form a picture about the occupants, both teachers and learners, including, if possible something of their way of life.

But almost immediately difficulties presented themselves. It had been thought that this task would be simply a matter of tracing out the history of the present Chorister School, which, although it now has wider horizons, yet during the last century,(1) and up to 1948, was concerned with the general education of a number of boys in exchange for their leading the musical side of at least some of the Cathedral services. It had been assumed that this would be the situation in earlier centuries too.

However, it soon became apparent that this definition of a Song School was far too rigid. In the first place, whilst the introduction of special secular boys for this purpose was closely linked with the development of harmony in music, yet, as plainsong occupied an integral part of the lives of both Novices and Monks, in one sense a Song

---

(1) C. M. Carlton, History of the Charities of Durham & Its Immediate Vicinity (1872), p.80; cf. J. T. Fowler in The Cathedral Quarterly & Church Music Review, Vol. III, No. 9 (1915), p.8.

School must date from 995 A.D., when the Saxon monks first came to Durham with the body of St. Cuthbert.

Moreover, when Song Schools, in the secular sense, did come into existence, they were of two different kinds: there were those which fitted the definition first imagined; and there were others which were roughly equivalent to the Primary Schools or Preparatory Schools of today. In these latter a general basic education was given - there was reading, writing, and singing, but the singing played no extra-special part in the curriculum.

Now it might be objected that, as the school which is being investigated was connected with Durham Cathedral, the second type of secular Song School has been mentioned merely to be able to say that it was not represented at Durham. After all, many people are aware of the tradition that Bishop Thomas Langley (1406-37) founded a Grammar School and a Song School on Palace Green[1] in 1414. They therefore conclude that the latter was the Song School which supplied the Cathedral with its Choristers, and further, that as the Grammar School founded by Henry VIII in 1541 was basically the continuation of the Langley Grammar School, so the post-Dissolution Song School was similarly nothing more than a continuance of the Langley Song School.

---

(1) For the location of these, and the other schools which will be discussed later, see Appendix A, p. 153.

But such was probably not the case. It will be suggested that this traditional view is at best an over-simplification of the facts, and that this has led to the true situation being misrepresented. Evidence is available which points both to the Langley chantry school, which gave a general education, and also to another Song School, which provided the Singing Boys, and which was housed within the monastery itself. The evidence, unfortunately, is not readily available. Unlike Salisbury,(1) Durham had no Custos Puerorum keeping separate Account Rolls and other records about the Choristers. It is mainly a case of searching here and searching there in the hope of finding something relevant.

This situation, however, does not mean that Durham was not as well organised as it might have been, neither is it necessary to attempt to account for it by stating that the Durham records were destroyed at the time of the Civil War. The truth of the matter is that Durham and Salisbury were - and still are - different types of cathedrals. Durham is today described as a cathedral of the 'new foundation', whilst Salisbury, like Lincoln and York, is of the 'old foundation'. The basic difference between the two types is that whereas Durham was originally

---

(1) See D. H. Robertson, Sarum Close (1938).

both a monastery and a cathedral, and later became a cathedral only, Salisbury never had any monastic connections, and held its cathedral status without interruption. Consequently, the comparative inadequacy of the Durham records can be partly accounted for by the explanation that whilst the education and general welfare of a few singing boys were major activities in the affairs of the non-monastic cathedrals, in the detailed accounts of a busy monastery they were but minor items.

Of the aspects that have come to light from the Durham records the following seems to be the most significant. From the monastic records there is no indication that there were any other schools apart from their own; and as regards the Langley Schools, when reading about them in other records, one would equally suppose that there were no others. And yet these schools all existed simultaneously. Moreover, the Dissolution and the Re-Constitution, whilst they amalgamated the Langley Grammar School and the Monastery Almery School into one, had no obvious effect on the Song School situation - both continued as before.

Consequently, the original intention of following the history of the Song School in the light of the Marian Statutes takes on a new significance - the history of each of the schools involved must now be investigated, not only in order to determine the true predecessors of the present

school, but also that the full extent of the education provided at Durham in times past might be known.

CHAPTER I

THE SCHOOLS OF ANCIENT DURHAM

For several centuries the only opportunity an ordinary person in Britain had of becoming educated, in the present meaning of the word, was to become connected in some way or other with the Church. Fundamentally, the Church in Britain was interested in education for what may be termed selfish motives. On the one hand, one generation of preachers had to train the next if the work were to continue, whilst on the other hand, if the missionary work were to meet with any lasting success something more than oral instruction about Jesus had to be given to the converts, so that they could participate more actively and intelligently in the worship.

But as Christianity became more established, people either gathered round scholars like Bede, or became connected with the various monasteries which were springing up. These monasteries in the course of time provided several levels of education - in the first place, for their own novitiate; in the second, for the poor; and lastly, for those seeking genuine learning without any obligation to become monks. The monastic cathedral at Durham was no exception in this respect, and clustered in and around its

precincts were a number of schools answering the various needs.

(1) The Novices' School:

It could be said that the monastery's connection with education goes back to the very beginning of the saga, especially as tradition attributes to St. Cuthbert the founding of a school at Carlisle for the advancement of religion.(1) And if such were the situation at Carlisle, presumably Lindisfarne itself was not without a similar establishment. That this may well have been so is indicated by Symeon of Durham, who, when talking about the departure from Lindisfarne (in 875 A.D), says:

> "sed qui inter eos ab aetate infantili in habitu clericuli fuerant nutriti atque eruditi, quocunque sancti patris corpus ferebatur secuti sunt" (2)

Now whilst it is not intended to investigate the practice of giving young children to the service of God, yet it must be pointed out that the Church educated these children - and their education would involve learning how to read, acquiring a knowledge of Latin grammar, and learning how to sing the praise of God.

This instruction would also be the basis of that given to the Novices once a permanent resting place had been found

---

(1) Fordyce, The Bishops of Durham (1868), note, p.20.
(2) Symeon of Durham, ed. T. Arnold (1882), Vol.i, p.57.

for the body of St. Cuthbert; and though nothing is known of the way of life prior to the foundation of the Norman Cathedral in 1093 A.D.,[1] there is no reason why the Novices' School should not be co-eval with the first Saxon church built on the site, i.e., date from 995 A.D.

The first indication of the way of life at Durham comes from Lawrence of Durham. A novice in the time of Bishop Flambard (1099-1128), and appointed Prior in 1149, Lawrence was something of a poet, and one of his works tells of life at Durham, and of his own position there:

"Cantor eram, nec ab aede decebat in aedem
Currere cantorem; paene vel urbis herum" (2)

and again:

".....minister
Immo magister ibi saepe diuque fui"(3)

From these remarks it would appear that at this stage 'Cantor' meant exactly the same as 'Precentor'. In a monastery the Precentor was a very important person - he was in charge of the music in all its aspects. It fell to his lot to decide what plainsong was to be sung on any one day, and he also had to teach the monks how and what

---

(1) Although the foundation stone was laid in 1093 A.D., the monastery had passed into the hands of the Benedictines in 1083 A.D.

(2) Lawrence of Durham, ed. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. lxx; 1878), p.14.

(3) ibid.

to sing. At the same time, it is interesting to note that at Durham, if not elsewhere, during this early period the position of Cantor was not permanent.

The Cantor, of course, would come into contact with the Novices, indeed, he may well have been one of their masters.(1) The Rites of Durham, a work dating possibly from the time of the Dissolution, though the oldest known text is no older than 1593, gives this account of the life of the Novices:

> "Ther was alwayes vj novices w^{ch} went daly to schoule wthin the house for y^{e} space of vij yere and one of y^{e} eldest mounckes that was lernede was appoynted to be there Tuter..... goynge daly to there bookes wth in the cloyster. And yf the m^{r} dyd see that any of theme weare apte to lernyng.....then streighte way after he was sent to oxforde to schoole and there dyd lerne to study Devinity, and the resydewe of y^{e} novices was keapt at there bookes tyll they coulde vnderstand there s?vice and y^{e} scriptures, then at the foresayde yeres end they dyd syng there first messe" (2)

It must be understood that the statement that there were six novices is only an approximation. The novices feature regularly in the Account Rolls of the Monastery from 1324-5(3)

(1) See Lawrence's remarks; & Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540, ed. W. A. Pantin (1931), Vol. i, p.73.

(2) Rites of Durham, ed. J. T. Fowler (Sur. Soc., Vol. cvii; 1902), p. 96 et seq.

(3) Durham Account Rolls, ed. J. T. Fowler (Sur. Soc., Vols. xcix, c, ciii; 1898, 1898 & 1900), Vol. i, pp.165 & 197.
The date is given as 1324-5 because the Account Roll in question covered part of each of those years. This practice is to be found in many of the Account Rolls, where the idea of working from a fixed day or month each year seems to have been quite foreign to those keeping the Accounts. The same method of reference will be used for the Rolls of the Bishop's Receiver; and also for the Dean & Chapter Treasurer's Books, which ran from one Michaelmas (29th September) to the next.

to 1532-3, and in the first mentioned year there were in fact thirteen of them. This figure, however, is exceptionally high - and four is probably about the average figure. The exact number of Novices for any year may be determined by halving the number of presents given to them and their masters.

The fact that there was little more than a handful of them warns one against any grandiose modern ideas about schools, and indicates that the other schools of ancient Durham may similarly have been only very small establishments.

The school was held in the western aisle of the Cloisters. There the novices sat in "a fair great stall of wainscott" and received their instruction "both forenoon and afternoon".(1) The more able were sent to Durham College, Oxford, which had been founded, c.1290, by the monastery, for eight monks. The site had been purchased in 1286, in the time of Prior Hugh of Darlington,(2) and as early as 1292 references about Oxford occur in the Account Rolls:

"in liberature facta fratribus Oxon., 24li. 3s.11d."(3)

---

(1) Rites, p.84 et seq.

(2) Victoria History of County Durham, ed. W. Page (1928) Vol. i, p.366.

(3) Account Rolls, ii, p.492.

Just under a hundred years later, in 1380, in the time of Prior Walworth, the constitution of the College was amended so as to include eight secular scholars, and it was stipulated that four of these were to come from Durham. This last clause reveals that there must have been secular scholars in Durham capable of benefiting from such instruction, and this in its turn means that they must have already received a certain amount of education - where this may have been given will be discussed presently. The College was dissolved by Henry VIII in 1541.

But the most surprising detail in the passage quoted earlier is the fact that the Novices were at their studies for no less than seven years. Dickinson states: "Normally a man spent a year as a novice."(1) The word "normally", of course, implies that there were exceptions, and it is known that the period was often shorter - all of which makes the seven years a very considerable exception. Personal correspondence on this point with Dickinson resulted in the following observations:

> "My reference was primarily to the post Conquest situation when adult novices were the rule (2) and infants were not deposited to become monastic novices. But the latter were common in the early

---

(1) J. C. Dickinson, Monastic Life in Medieval England (1961), p.103.

(2) cf. Pantin, i, p.99.

> days.....I don't see why a famous monastery like Durham should not have had boys at the song school who might be intending to start their vocation later....."

The matter, however, must be left in some doubt, for whilst this may have been the case up to the middle of the fourteenth century, yet from then on it cannot have been so, for thereafter the secular boys are contrasted with the novices, and their place of instruction is shown to be quite separate. Nevertheless, the Novices' School must not be overlooked, for the Chorister School of today can claim it as its original ancestor.

(2) A Bishop's Grammar School:

Although the monastery at Durham and Bishop Langley founded schools in c.1350 and 1414 respectively, both these dates are disappointingly late. In the first place, the monastery had by then existed for a considerable time. Moreover, as early as 1321 the Prior of Durham had been responsible for the founding of a Song School and a Grammar School at Northallerton. Surely then, if Northallerton had been so provided for, Durham itself would not be lacking in similar facilities!

Such an argument, however, is not as convincing as it might at first appear to be. This is because there was at Northallerton a collegiate church, which, although it was

connected with the monastery, afforded more opportunities for experiment. It was from these collegiate churches, as well as from the Oxford and Cambridge colleges and the secular, i.e. non-monastic, cathedrals, that progress stemmed. They were able far more easily to introduce ordinary boys into the liturgy of worship. Such a situation was well-nigh impossible in the monasteries, where even the simple duty of holding a candle would be performed by either a novice or a junior monk.

Once the boys had been given a part to play, it was not long before their education was being properly attended to. At Lincoln, a secular cathedral, boys were living together under a specially appointed master as early as 1264, but though they were known as Choristers, their office was to serve and assist in other ways during the services.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the appointment of musical instructors to the boys. In some places he was distinct from the master appointed to look after them, though elsewhere the two posts were combined.(1) Whilst at first the boys were instructed in plainsong only, the non-monastic composers felt free to experiment, with

---

(1) The information presented in this section is based on F.Ll.Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain, (1958), Ch.1.

the result that polyphonic music was born. The second half of the fifteenth century witnessed directions about polyphony in the contracts of the musical instructors - at Wells in 1460, at Salisbury in 1462, and at Lincoln in 1477.

The greater monasteries followed these trends, going so far as to appoint lay choirs under lay instructors, though the choirs they employed did not participate in the monastic offices, but held their own services either in the Nave or in a Lady Chapel. Consequently, even though it will be shown that the monastery at Durham was well to the fore in the musical sphere, yet it does not follow that because Northallerton had secular schools in 1321, that Durham had them before that date.

But even though the time was not ripe for a secular Song School in Durham, the education of non-Novices was not being neglected, and there are a few references which imply the existence of a Grammar School seemingly founded by the Bishops.

The date of the founding of this school is not known, and though Durham School Register lifts hopes high when it states that the name of a pre-Norman headmaster - date, c.1020 A.D. - is known,[1] this claim turns out to be

---

(1) Durham School Register, ed. T. H. Burbidge (1940), p.xix.

infuriatingly disappointing, for no name is given, neither is any document referred to.

The first concrete piece of evidence about the school is Simon de Ferlington's bequest made in c.1220:

> "..... ad sustentacionem trium scolarium in scola Dunelmensis, quos magister beatim eliget et cum tabella ..... confecta ad elemosinarium Dunelmensem cotidie mittet, qui eis beatim in cibo et potu prospiciet; et in domo elemosinario pernoctabunt, et elemosinarius in lectis eis decenter prospiciet ....." (1)

Admittedly, there is nothing in this passage pointing to the school being a Bishop's foundation, but at the same time it does not seem to be the Novices' school which is being referred to.

In a volume,(2) which contains lists of the incumbents of the different parishes of Northumberland, there is the entry:

> Alanus de Wakerfeld, 1234 - "fuit scholae Dunelm. Archididasc."

This, too, does not seem to apply to the Novices' school.

It was probably the Bishop's Grammar School which John de Baliol, later King of Scotland, attended.(3) In 1290, he would not support the Neville family, against the

---

(1) Hist. Dunelm, Scriptores Tres. ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. ix; 1839), p.ccccxxxi.

(2) Randall, Vol. x, p.145.

(3) Baliol was born in 1249 A.D.

monastery because he "had been for a long time at school in Durham".[1]

Again, there are the following references which definitely associate a school with the Bishops:

c.1335 - "Clerico E'pi, magistro puerorum, 6s. 8d.[2] and

1335-6 - "pueris de Capella d'ni E'pi Dunelm, 6s. 8d."[3]

Finally, there are two other passages, which, since they are after 1350, may or may not point to this school:

Tho. de Wakerfeld, 1366 - "fuit scholae Dun. Archididasc",[4] and, c.1377-81, "Johannes Fullour magister scolarium".[5]

The reason for the element of doubt is that c.1350 the Monastery established an Almery School, and although it is generally thought that the earlier Bishop's Grammar School was incorporated into the Langley Grammar School, yet the evidence is far from conclusive, and the possibility of its having merged with the Almery School is not to be discounted. Suffice it to say that apparently from very early in its history the monastery did provide education for a few non-Novices.

---

(1) DSR, p.xx. But this detail, like that of the pre-Norman headmaster, is not supported by any references.

(2) Account Rolls, ii, p.530.

(3) ibid., p.527.

(4) Randall, Vol. x, p.347.

(5) Bishop Hatfield's Survey, ed. Rev. W. Greenwell (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxxii; 1856), p.163.

(3) The Almery School:

Of this school Rites records:

> "There were certain poor children, called the children of the Almery, who onely were maintained with learning, and relieved with Almes ..... having their meat and drink in a loft, on the North side of the Abbey gates ..... and the said poor children went dayly to school to the Farmary school, without the Abbey gates, which school was founded by the Priors of the said Abbey ....." (1)

This Farmary, or Infirmary, which was outside the precincts of the monastery, is not to be confused with the one which attended to the bodily needs of infirm monks. Besides serving as a school, this Almery housed the aged poor, some of whom may well have been relatives of the monks.

The Account Rolls of the Almoner (Elemosinarius) show that the Infirmary had been completed by 1338,(2) and that the aged were being provided for financially from 1339-40.(3) In the same year certain unnamed priests, as opposed to monks, received stipends from the Almoner. That one of these priests was associated with the Almery is made clear from the Roll for 1352-3, which contains the entry:

> "in stipend, sacerdotum, magistri puerorum Elemosinarie, et aliorum ....." (4)

---

(1) Rites, p.91.

(2) Account Rolls, i, pp.200 & 201.

(3) ibid., p.202.

(4) ibid., p.207.

This may be taken as indicating that by the middle of the fourteenth century the instruction given was of an organised and regular nature, compared with the situation depicted by part of the rubric of a fourteenth century Missal:

"magister puerorum, qui hebdomadarius fuit", (1) where the post of instructor seems to have followed a weekly rota.

Valor Ecclesiasticus, an inventory of the income and expenditure of the monasteries, compiled for Henry VIII in 1535, records that the school had been founded by "Roger de Mowbray, Philip, lord of Bromtoft ..... Robert de Monasterio .....",(2) and that its purpose was to instruct thirty non-resident poor children in grammar.

A more precise description of the location of this school is that it was "between the two baileys".(3) Apparently it was a great house having a garden and an orchard adjacent to it; upstairs there was a large room in which the school was held (de magno solario super, ubi tenebatur schola); and there was also a schoolmaster's chamber (de 1 camera magistris schola).(4)

---

(1) Rites, pp.185 & 187.
(2) Valor Ecclesiasticus, Vol. v, p.302.
(3) Account Rolls, i, p.254 (for 1552-3)
(4) VCH, i, p.369, quoting the Receiver's Account for 1541.

There can be little doubt that this school continued to flourish until the Dissolution. The author of the Rites of Durham was of this opinion, and his idea was supported by Thomas Rud[1] in a controversy towards the end of the seventeenth century. Evidence of the school's continued existence is also afforded by numerous references in the Account Rolls of the Monastery. Moreover, the names of several of its masters are known - some of them appear as witnesses to the accounts given by those claiming sanctuary[2] - and their names do not feature in the records of the other schools which will be considered presently.

This school seems to have been of Grammar School stature. John Garner, who was master of it c.1430-40, is described as magister "scolarium grammaticalum";[3] John Mynsforth, 1477, as magister "scolarum abbatiae Dunelm";[4] and Sir[5] Robert Milner, 1493, as magister "scole grammaticalis Abbathiae Dunelm",[6] whilst similar descriptions are used of three early sixteenth century masters.[7] These references emphasise that the school

---

(1) Hunter, MS.13, f.54.

(2) Sanctuarium Dunelmense, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. v; 1837), several places.

(3) Account Rolls, i, p.234.

(4) Sanct. D., p.2.

(5) A title of respect only, and not of rank or status.

(6) Sanct. D., p.23.

(7) ibid., pp.59 & 68; Account Rolls, i, p.251.

in question was of monastic foundation, and thus quite distinct from the Bishop's Schools.

The status of the Almery School was taken seriously. That its master was undoubtedly an academic instructor, as opposed to a mere custodian, may be deduced from the steps taken in 1417-8:

> "magistro scolarum venienti de Derlington informanti pueros pro tempore, 14s." (1)

However, although Rites and the Account Rolls give some insight into life at the Almery School, a consideration of this aspect will be left until later, the reason being that the children who were instructed "to singe for y^{e} mayntenance of gods Divine s$^{}$vice in y^{e} abbey church ..... had there meat and there drinke of y^{e} house coste amonge the children of thalmarie".(2)

(4) The Langley Schools:

The situation of which most people are aware is that:

> "Thomas Langley ..... founded vpo~ y^{e} place grene a gram$^{}$ scoole & a songe schole ..... wherof two preestf weare maisters ..." (3)

In making this statement, copied by nearly every historian after him, the author of Rites was probably

---

(1) Account Rolls, i, p.226.

(2) Rites, p.62.

(3) Rites, p.44; cf. Hunter MS.13, f.50, & Randall, Vol. xiv, p.196 et seq.

following William de Chambre, one of Durham's early historians:

> "Hic (Langley) duas domos scholares, unam scilicet grammaticalem, alteram musicalem, fundavit in loco, qui dicitur vulgariter The Place Grene ....." (1)

It would appear that the schools were housed in buildings on the east side of the Palace Green.(2) The number of boys attending them is not known.

Even so, it has been queried whether Langley was the actual founder of the chantry and schools in question. As long ago as 1668, Dean Sudbury was of the opinion that the schools had been set up by two priests, by John Newton and John Thoralby.(3) Such an idea was no doubt based on the evidence afforded by the relevant volume of the Calendar of Patent Rolls,(4) which dates the following on 8th July, 1414:

> "Grant to Thomas, bishop of Durham ..... the advowson of a chantry called the chantry of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert, Durham, lately founded by John Neuton and John Thoralby, clerks ..... paying a yearly rent of 6 marks to Master William Broun and John Clayton, chaplains of the chantry .."

---

(1) Script. Tres. p.146 (= Mickleton MS.32, f.62); cf. W. Hutchinson, The History & Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, Vol. i, p.332.

(2) Hunter MS.13, f.50; & Church Commissioners, "Reg. Nonum" - No. 184966.

(3) Hunter MS.13, ffs. 51 & 58.

(4) Patent Rolls: Henry V, 1413-16, p.206.

And again:

> ".....confirmation of an ordinance made by John Neuton and John Thoralby, clerks, at Durham, 14th June 1414, founding a perpetual chantry of two chaplains....."

Further, there is the testimony of Langley's Will:

> "et lego et assigno centum libras disponendas circa reparacionem terrarum et tenementorum pro competenti dotacione sive sustentacione unius Cantariae, per Johannem Newton et Johannem Thoralby jam defunctos dudum inchoatae ....." (1)

Possibly it was the size of this bequest that caused Langley to be associated with the schools. As to the bequest, it was used in 1438 to acquire land at Kaverdley in Lancashire, and as a result £16.13s. 4d. was allotted annually from its rents to increase the stipends of the chantry priests.(2)

Finally, R. L. Storey,(3) in a recent biography of Langley, dismisses the subject of the chantry in little more than a sentence - and that too in the introduction. Is it then to be assumed that by his silence he concurs with the idea that Langley was not the founder?

Leach,(4) on the other hand, declares that Langley was the real founder, and that it is narrow-minded local

---

(1) Script. Tres. p. ccxli.
(2) VCH, i, p.372; cf. Hutchinson, ii, p.472.
(3) Thomas Langley & the Bishopric of Durham, 1406-37 (1961).
(4) English Schools at the Reformation, A. F. Leach (1896), Vol. i, p.53.

historians who have tried to acclaim as the true founders those who were merely Langley's instruments. To support his contention he could have pointed to a copy[1] of an extract of a charter dating back to the reign of Henry V:

> "Literae patentis D. Thomae Epī Dunelm. recitant (?) instrumentum Joannis Newton, et Johannis Thoralby, Clericum, quo, de Licentia praedicti episcopi, fundarunt duos perpetuos Cantarias de bonis ex Hardwicke &c. et instituerunt Wilholmum Broome, et D Joannem Clayton ..... ad divina celebranda, et ad duas scholas, unam pro grammatica, alteram pro plano cantu ..... in locis per D. Thomam Episcopum assignandis: volentes ut uterque eorum presbyterorum recipiat annuatim 40 solidos &c...."

This Licence was issued on 13th June, 1414.[2] But precisely what is meant by the expression: "instrumentum Joannis Newton et Joannis Thoralby"? Does the word "instrumentum" refer to what they did, or does it imply that they themselves were the agents of Langley? It is likely, however, that these seeming alternatives come to exactly the same thing in the end. After all, future appointments of chaplains were to be made by the Bishop and his successors;[3] Langley himself had power to alter the Statutes; and the duties of the chantry chaplains included praying for the souls of Langley and his parents - but no mention is made of any relative of either Newton or Thoralby. The whole procedure, in other words, is a way

---

(1) Hunter MS.13, f.46 (= Randall, Vol. xiv, p.226)

(2) Patent Rolls, p.206 et sq.

(3) Hunter MS.3, f.34.

of avoiding the awkwardness of Langley granting a Licence to himself.

Whilst basically "A Chantry (cantaria) was an endowment for a priest to sing for the soul of some dead person",[1] yet at the same time as regards these chantries at Durham it was stipulated that:

> "the chaplains shall be sufficiently instructed and shall keep schools, one in grammar and the other in song, in the city of Durham in places to be assigned by the said bishop or his executors, teaching poor persons gratis and receiving moderate stipends from those who are willing to pay, and the chaplain keeping the school in song shall be bound to be present and sing at the mass of St. Mary with chant in the church of Durham or the said chapel with any of his scholars in competent number, but the one governing the grammar school need only be present on Sundays and double feasts....."(2)

To many people, this last passage, with its references to attending and singing Mass in the Galilee Chapel, is clear proof that it was the Langley Song School which provided the Cathedral with its choristers, and that it was the chaplain in charge of the Langley Song School who saw to their musical instruction.

However, there are several rather unsatisfactory features which must be examined. In the first place, the monastic officials seem to have been hostile to what Langley[3] had done. Some time after Langley's death the

---

(1) Leach, English Schools, i, p.47.

(2) Patent Rolls, p.206 et seq.

(3) or his representatives - in future, because of the convenience of the expression the work will be known as Langley's

Prior and Convent questioned the legality of the foundation, claiming that their consent should have been obtained, as the £4 for stipends was a charge on their revenues as opposed to the Bishop's private income. The precise date of this objection is not known - the resultant contract has no indication of any date beyond recording that the Prior's name was John - this probably implies a date before 1446, when Prior John Wessington died. It was not the Convent's intention to undo Langley's work, but whilst it expressed willingness to confirm his provisions, at the same time certain conditions were laid down.(1)

The chantry chaplains were given clearly to understand that their celebrations of the Mass in the Galilee Chapel had to be so arranged as not to conflict with those said by the monks as part of their daily round. At the same time, access to the chantry was permitted only when the monastery was open to the general public. Moreover, it was enjoined that the chaplains were not to bring any actions against the Prior and the monks. On the other hand, the chaplain in charge of the Song School was commanded to be present on principal and double feast days, being prepared to sing if so required. This

---

(1) VCH, i, p.372 et seq; Endowed Charities, Durham, etc. (1904), Vol. i, p.302. A copy of the document is to be found in Cartulary III, f.286v. (the original contract is in 3. 3. Pont.9).

stipulation is interesting, for it is not as severe as the conditions imposed at the inception of the chantry,[1] but is the same as what had then been required of the chaplain in charge of the Grammar School. It might be reasoned that as the Inspeximus[2] had envisaged the possibility of the chantry chapel being outside the Cathedral the song boys were not thought of as having any special part to play in the worship of the Cathedral. Consequently, when it was finally decided that the chantry would remain in the Cathedral, it was appreciated that the original requirements were neither desirable nor practicable.

However, at a first glance, one of the conditions laid down by the Convent, namely that the thirty boys of the Almery School were to be taught by the Langley chaplains, seems to indicate that the bond was very close after all. Nevertheless, since it has already been observed[3] that the Almery School continued until the Dissolution, the names of some of its masters being known, it is most unlikely that this condition was ever fulfilled. That this is a valid point may be concluded from the fact that no-one held the Almery post and a Langley chaplaincy simultaneously.[4]

---

(1) See above, p.24.

(2) Quoted in full in Appendix B, p.154.

(3) See above, p. 19.

(4) though Hutchinson, who was Master of the Almery School in 1515 and 1521, had been a Langley chaplain from 1504 to 1510.

Another aspect which serves to emphasise the gulf between the Langley Schools and the Monastery is that although there are many references to chantries in the published version of the Account Rolls, there is not a single one to the Langley chantry or schools; and none of its chaplains receives any payment whatsoever from any of the monastic officials. This is surprising, for even though the chantry was of episcopal foundation, one would have expected the monastery to have contributed in some way and thus recompensed the chaplain for training its choir.

It is also strange that, although the names of the Song and Grammar chaplains are known, it is difficult to tell which is which, since their order in the various Rolls of the Bishop's Receiver[1] merely follows seniority of service. It is disappointing that they are only names, nothing more.

Further problems are posed by the existence of yet another series of names, none of which has been mentioned so far. These names are of the Cantors of Durham, men appointed to give instruction in music to both monks and secular boys. These Cantors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were very different from those of earlier

---

(1) a completely separate collection from the Account Rolls of the Monastery. Appendix E, p.159 below, lists the chaplains, and other masters, in some detail.

centuries. In Lawrence of Durham's time, Cantor and Precentor meant one and the same thing.(1) Later, an assistant to the Precentor appeared. Known as the Succentor, one of his duties seems to have been to look after one half of the choir whilst the Precentor looked after the other.

From their contracts,(2) which state that the Cantors were to obey the Precentor's instructions, it is quite clear that the Cantors were also subordinate to him. The Cantor, however, was not the same as the Succentor. This is evident from the Account Rolls, in which the two offices are mentioned one after the other. It seems that the Succentor's field of activity continued to be restricted to the monastic sphere, whilst the arrival of the Cantor brought on the scene a lay person qualified to give instruction in the art of music.

As for the Cantors, Harrison(3) accounts for them by saying that they were the musical instructors associated with the Langley Song School, no doubt basing his statement on the fact that their contracts required them to be present at the Mass of St. Mary in the Galilee Chapel, a service the Langley Song School chaplain was also required

---

(1) See above, p.8.
(2) See Appendix C, p.156 below, for a specimen contract.
(3) Harrison, pp.41 & 187 et seq.

to attend. But straightforward and convenient as this theory may be, it glosses over certain details. In the first place, strong though the association of the Cantors with the Galilee Chapel might seem to be, it does not necessarily follow that they are therefore to be identified with the Langley Song School. It must be remembered that this type of Cantor was a lay person, who could not be expected to attend all the services held by the monks in the Choir.

Again, if the Almery School had been incorporated into the Langley Schools, the position of Cantor should have proved unnecessary, his role being performed by the Langley Song School chaplain. But the Almery School had not been merged with the Langley Schools, and the possibility must therefore remain that the Cantor was not associated with the Langley Song School. On the other hand, it may be countered that as the duties of the Langley Song School chaplain were reduced after Langley's death, and that as it was only shortly afterwards that John Stele, the first Lay Cantor,(1) emerged on the scene, at first the Song

---

(1) The contract is recorded in Reg. IV, f.60 - & quoted in Script. Tres, p.cccxv. It is dated 2nd January, 1447/8. This method of giving the date takes into account the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar in 1752. Although the contract itself is dated 1447, the fact that the beginning of the year was moved from 25th March to 1st January, means that, considered retrospectively, the year in question was 1448.

School chaplain had instructed his boys in music.

But this is not wholly satisfactory either. In the first place, the suggestion that the duties of the Song School chaplain had been reduced because he had not the time both to teach and to sing, implies that his boys had not sufficient time either. Much more important, however, is the fact that the 1448 contract between the Prior and Convent and John Stele is not the earliest known. There is another contract,(1) which has hitherto escaped notice, and which may call for a revision of what may be termed the more traditional theories. This contract, dated 22nd December, 1430, is also between the Convent and John Stele. Against it, in the margin of the Register, there is the entry:

"Vacat ꝑ poſteriorē cōvenīone factā ut pat. in ivtō regist. folio 60."

This earlier contract just had to exist, for Stele's appointment in 1448 needed some explanation - he had been referred to as Cantor in the Account Rolls for at least fifteen years.(2)

The question, then, is, why was it necessary to renew Stele's contract, especially as the second is to all

---

(1) Reg. III, f.137v.

(2) Account Rolls, ii, p.305, for 1433-4: "Joh'i Stele, Cantori, pro foedo suo, 13s. 4d." This sum was half his 'soulsilver', or money allowed in lieu of food, etc.

intents and purposes just a repetition of the first? Furthermore, if Stele were connected with the Langley Song School, why was this second contract not drawn up shortly after Langley's death, when the chantry situation was being reviewed, and indentures were given to the parties concerned? That re-appraisal deals solely with the chantry chaplains - the Cantor, his duties, and his charges are not mentioned.

The year 1448 must in itself contain the answer. But the only event of any significance around 1448 was the death, in 1446, of Prior Wessington, who had held office since 1416. It could be that the new Prior was merely confirming the contract of the cantor/schoolmaster, thus setting his approval on what must have been something of an innovation, and not one of the long established positions of the monastery.

But the 1430 contract is not without significance either. It came into force whilst Bishop Langley was still alive, and before the duties of the Langley Song School chaplain were reduced, at a time when the Prior and Convent were still very much concerned with their own schools, and when, if the development of music required the introduction of boys' voices, those boys could be drawn more easily from a school of their own foundation and control.

The information presented so far about the Cantors is not sufficient either to identify them with or to dissociate them from the Langley Song School. Those who would maintain the former position, however, can point to several references in the Account Rolls connecting the Cantor with the musical instruction of the young at a date even nearer the beginning of the fifteenth century:

1415-6 - "D'no W. Kibblesworth pro erudicione juvenum monachorum, 5s." (1)

- "Will'o Kyblesworth pro informacione juvenum, 3s. 4d." (2)

1416-7 - "Willelmo Cantori pro informacione juvenum ad cantandum" (3)

- "Cantori informanti juvenes in organis, 2s. 6d." (4)

- "Cantori informanti juvenes, 5s." (5)

- "Magistro organistorum, 2s. 6d." (6)

Although it was during this year, 1416-7, that Kibblesworth died,(7) similar tuition was given by his

---

(1) Account Rolls, i, p.139. The contraction of 'dominus' reveals that Kibblesworth himself was a monk.

(2) ibid., ii, p.406.

(3) ibid., i, p.226.

(4) ibid., ii, p.287.

(5) ibid., p.406.

(6) ibid., p.460.

(7) ibid., iii, p.613.

successor:

1418-9 - "Cantori informanti socios, 2s. 6d." (1)

1419-20 - "Cantori cantanti organum in choro, 5s." (2)

1420-1 - "Cantori cantanti organum in choro, 5s." (3)

But even though these references follow hard upon the founding of the Langley Schools in 1414, it is unlikely that those involving singing apply to the boys of the Langley Song School. As the recipients are described as "young monks", "youths", and "brethren", it would appear that the instruction given by the Cantors was confined to the monastic community. Even so, there surely must be some significant reason why this monastic activity took place when it did, especially as there are no such references in the Account Rolls before 1414.

That there were no earlier references to such instruction can be relied on, for it is generally agreed that the editor of the Surtees edition of the Account Rolls was thorough in his approach, and did not pass over new topics when they occurred.(4) Although the mention of

---

(1) Account Rolls, ii, p.462.

(2) ibid., p.462.

(3) ibid., p.463.

(4) Although a perusal of even a few of the original Rolls shows that the editor had to be selective, one gets the impression that he was interested in music and did not pass over such references.

"singers" occurs frequently before 1414, the word is always in the plural, and refers to nothing more than travelling minstrels entertaining the Prior. But there is one entry which stands out, and which may be relevant:

1387-8 - "et Nicholao cantori, 2s. 6d."; and at the same time a new organ book was acquired for 3s. 4d.(1) Unfortunately, it is not known why Nicholas received his payment, though it is possible, in view of the findings of a Visitation conducted c.1384-93, that it was for musical instruction:

> "Item compertum est quod solebant esse clerici cantantes organum et adiuvantes monachos in cantu qui dicitur trebill, et iam non sunt, in magnum nocumentum et tedium fratrum cantancium in choro" (2)

Such a reference, though it clearly does not apply to secular boys, indicates that the sung parts of certain services had already progressed from plainsong to some form of harmony. Consequently, the introduction of secular boys is to be regarded, not as the result, direct or indirect, of the foundation of the Langley chantry schools, but as the monastery's attempt to overcome a deficiency.

Before this examination of the position of the Cantors was embarked upon, it was being considered whether it really was the Langley Song School which trained the

---

(1) Account Rolls, i, p.134.
(2) Pantin, iii, p.84.

singing boys.. The last, and most surprising of the details which do not immediately accord with this traditional hypothesis, is that there is evidence of another song school, contemporary with the Langley one, and situated in the monastic precincts. What is known about this other school must now be told, so that the part played by each may the more accurately be assessed.

(5) The Monastery Song School:

The principal evidence for this school is furnished by the Rites of Durham. Prior to the Dissolution:

> "There was in y^e^ Centorie garth in vnder y^e^ south end of y^e^ church, cauled y^e^ south end of y^e^ ix alters ..... betwixt two pillers adioyning to y^e^ ix alter Dour, a song schoole buylded, for to teach vj children for to learne to singe for y^e^ mayntenance of gods Divine s^r^vice in y^e^ abbey church, w^ch^ Children had there meat and there drinke of y^e^ house coste amonge the children of thalmarie, w^ch^ said schoole was buylded many yers since w^th^out memorie of man, before the suppression of y^e^ house: and y^e^ said schoole (was builded together with the church, and - Cos.) was verie fynely bourded w^th^in Rownd about a mannes hight about y^e^ waules and a long deske (did reache - Cos.) frome one end of y^e^ scoole to thother to laie there bookes vpo~, and all the floure Bourded in vnder foote for warmnes, and long formes sett fast in y^e^ ground for y^e^ Children to sitt on. And y^e^ place where the m^r^ did sitt & teach was all close bordede both behinde and of either syde for warmnes, And y^e^ said m^r^ was bownd (his office was to teach those 6 children to singe and - Cos.) to plaie on y^e^ orgains ev^r^ry p^n^cipall daie ..... y^e^ m^r^

> of y^{e} said Children had his chamber nyghe vnto y^{e} said schoole ..... vntill such tyme as y^{e} house was supprest, and shortlie after because ther was no techinge in that scoule any long?, but tawght in an other place or scoule appointed for y^{t} purpose, so that y^{e} foresaid scoole in y^{e} Centorie garth is clene gone to decaie and pulled downe....." (1)

The passage quoted above makes it quite clear that as regards site this school is not to be identified with any school which has been discussed already. In this case, however, it may be objected that this Song School may not have been a group of boys, but merely a building. It is known that at certain places the master attending to the general welfare of the boys was different from the person who instructed them in music.(2) Durham, therefore, may have been one of those places. But even if this were so, it still does not follow that it was the boys of the Langley Song School who had the two masters. The suggestion that that school may not even have supplied the choristers has already been aired, though no conclusive evidence has materialised. The detail in the passage which has just been quoted, that the singing boys were reckoned in the Almery School total for feeding purposes, may be taken as distinguishing between them and the Langley schools. But even if this distinction is accepted, it does not follow

---

(1) Rites, p.62.

(2) See above, p.13.

that the singing boys mentioned in the Cantor's contracts received the rest of their education at the Almery School either - indeed, the very fact that they were associated with it as regards their food, suggests that at other times there was no contact between them.

However, although the Cantors were undoubtedly concerned in the musical instruction given, the possibility that they were also responsible for the entire education of the boys in question must also be considered.

Harrison, for instance, in his "Register and Index of Musicians",(1) gives the impression that at those places where the two masters shared the duties, one was 'informator', and the other 'organist'. But as at Durham the Cantor was required both to inform the boys and to play the organ, it looks very much as if he were the only master.

Again, the passage above, with its remarks that the Song School contained a long desk for the children to lay their books on, and that the master's desk was well protected from the inevitable draughts, indicates that the Song School abutting the Nine Altars' Chapel may well have been something more than a mere practice room.

One feels sure, too, that if the Cantors' charges

---

(1) Harrison, p.454 et seq; see also p.32 et seq.

had been subject to some other person as well- and especially if that person had been the Langley Song School chaplain - then some allusion would have been made in the very detailed contracts of the Cantors.

A further pointer away from the Langley Schools comes just before the Dissolution, when William Cokey (song) and Ralph Todd (grammar) are described as the "chaplains of the permanent chantry of Thomas Langley",(1) while "John Brimley, a lay instructor of poor boys", is mentioned as receiving "for his salary £6.13s. 4d., coming from land in Hebburn and Simonside, and of the foundation of Th. Castell".(2) The position of Brimley is most interesting, for he looks both backwards and forwards. The last of the Cantors, he survived the Dissolution to become the first Master of the Choristers. As it is not unreasonable to suppose that Brimley's duties did not alter even though his title did, and as his contract is substantially the same as those of his predecessors,(3) going as far back as that with John Stele,

---

(1) Val. Eccl., v, p.300.

(2) ibid., p.302; the source of VCH, p.368, where Leach regards Th. Castell as founding the monastic Song School in 1513. The discovery of the earlier contracts means that Castell's action may just have been the establishing of an endowment.

(3) See below, p.42 for an examination of the contracts.

it is quite possible that those predecessors were also the sole instructors of the secular singing boys.

But the theory that the monastery song school was completely separate from the other schools of ancient Durham must remain only a possibility - no conclusive evidence has so far come to hand, at least not for this period of history. But whatever is uncertain, two things are sure: it was the Cantor who gave the musical instruction; and he gave it in a building abutting the Nine Altars' Chapel.

CHAPTER 2

LIFE UNDER THE CANTORS, c.1414 - 1540

(1) The Cantors:

Both William Kibblesworth and John Stele were Cantors at Durham, but the title did not mean the same in each case. Stele was a layman,(1) having a house in the Bailey,(2) whilst Kibblesworth was a monk. It is likely that Kibblesworth was the Precentor, the ultimate controller of the music, whilst Stele, a professional musician, was subordinate to that position.

Although WILLIAM KIBBLESWORTH (d.1416-7) does not feature in the list of monks for 1408,(3) the need to contemplate how a rather junior monk could have attained to responsible office of Cantor is obviated by the knowledge that he had gone as a scholar to Durham College, Oxford, in 1392-3, and had remained there in various capacities until 1409, when he was recalled to Durham.(4) After his death the kind of instruction he had given did not cease, but was continued until 1420-1 by a person, or

---

(1) Script. Tres, p.cccxviii - Stele is not mentioned in the 1448 list of monks and novices.

(2) Reg. IV, f.60 = Script. Tres, p.cccxv.

(3) Account Rolls, ii, p.457.

(4) A. B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500 (1957), ii, p.1046.

persons, completely unknown.(1)

The next ten years are shrouded in mystery. Although the Surtees Society edition of the Account Rolls affords no information for this period, the suggestion that the gap is due to the selectiveness of the editor seems unlikely in view of his extreme thoroughness elsewhere. This lack of evidence may seem to be a pity, but is the picture in fact incomplete? It could be that the period of silence indicates that the first attempt to found a Song School had been a failure, either because the project had not been sufficiently well organised, or because there had been a conflict between the Cantor (old style) and the Langley Song School chaplain. But whatever may have been the truth of the matter, when the project was revived in 1430, the lay Cantor was confronted with a detailed contract.

JOHN STELE must have been a young man when first appointed Cantor in 1430, for he continued to hold the post until 1487.(2) From the very beginning of his tenure of the office he was required to give what must have been a very full musical instruction:

> "Videlicet quod idem Johannes illos monachos Dunelmenses, et octo pueros seculares, quos

---

(1) See above, p.32, for a list of Account Roll references.
(2) Account Rolls, i, p.194.

> Prior Dunelmensis, vel deputati per eundem assignaverint sibi ad addiscendum diligenter et meliori modo, quo sciverit, tam ad modulandum, scilicet playnsange, prikenot, faburdon, dischaunte, et countre, quantum in ipso est informabit, nichil ab eis de dictis scienciis occultando ....." (1)

However, at Durham the Cantor was not only the instructor of the boys, he was the organist as well. His duties in connection with this office are also clearly set out in his contract. In the case of Stele:

> "Tenebitur itaque idem Johannes missis et vesperis in choro ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis personaliter interesse, quando ad hoc debite fuerit requisitus, modulando ibidem super organa, si necesse fuerit, tenoremque canendo organicum ad cantus supranominatos, necnon cotidie personaliter interesse missae beatae Mariae Virginis cum nota, in Galilea Dunelmensi celebrandae, canendo ad eandem missam planum, sive organicum, sicut contigerit alios ibidem cantare pro tempore, nisi legitime excusetur ....." (2)

Rites is more explicit about the Cantor's attendance at services in the Choir, for it records that:

> "..... y^{e} said m^{r} was bownd ...., to plaie on y^{e} orgains eu?y p?ncipall daie, when y^{e} mounck$\int$ did sing ther high messe & likewise at evinsong, but y^{e} mounck$\int$ when thei weare at there mattens & s?vice at mydnighte, thene one of y^{e} said mounck$\int$ did plaie on the orgains themselves & no other ....." (3)

---

(1) Reg. IV, f.60; the musical terms will be commented on later.

(2) Reg. IV, f.60.

(3) Rites, p.62 et seq.

Both these extracts give confirmation to the idea that Stele and his successors were not monks. As for the first passage, the association of the Cantor with the Galilee Chapel was not because he was the instructor of the boys of the Langley Song School, but because he was responsible for the allocation of the sung parts of the services held there.

After Stele's death, ALEXANDER BELL (appointed in 1487),[1] THOMAS FODERLEY (1496),[2] JOHN TILDESLEY (1502),[3] and possibly ROBERT LANGFORTH (c.1510),[4] followed in comparatively quick succession. Most of them are nothing more than names, though an Alexander Bell was 'informator' at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1485.[5] It is known that he served as chapel clerk and choirmaster, and as he left the following year,[6] it is not impossible for him to have transferred to Durham.

---

(1) Reg. V, f.3 (dated 13th June, 1487).

(2) Reg. V, f.34 in ink, but f.37 in pencil = Script. Tres, p.cccIxxxvi.

(3) Reg. V, f.70 (dated 23rd June, 1502) = Script. Tres, p.cccxcviii. See also Appendix C, p.156, for full text.

(4) No contract has survived. Rites, p.144, describes him as 'Cantor', but on p.145 he is listed as 'Janitor'. He is also referred to as 'Cantor' when witnessing a testimony recorded in Sanct. D., p.58.

(5) Harrison, p.455.

(6) Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500, i, p.160.

Their contracts were basically the same as Stele's, though they required one more aspect of music, 'swarenote', to be covered, and also specified how often the instruction was to be given:

> "..... tam ad modulandum super organa quam ad planum cantum et organum decantandum, scilicet planesong, prikenott, faburdon, dischanti, swarenote, et countre, quantum in ipso est gratis laborabit et informabit. Ac praefatos monachos et octo pueros, ut praemittitur quater omni die feriato, viz., bis ante meridiem et bis post meridiem, diligenter ac sufficienter docebit." (1)

---

(1) Reg. V, f.34. As to the technical terms, 'cantum planum' signifies the melody; 'organum', the melody again, but sung originally to accommodate the difference in pitch between voices at the interval of either a fourth or a fifth and at the same time as the melody. 'Pricknote': to prick means to mark. It is therefore written music, though not in the form known today. The term was still in use in 1665: "Payd M^{r} Elias Smyth a bill for makeing and pricking of song-bookes, 1$\frac{1}{2}$. 8s. 8d." (Bishop Cosin's Correspondence, ed. Rev. G. Ornsby (Sur. Soc., Vol. IV; 1870), ii, p.337). 'Faburdon' was a development of organum. Originally it was nothing more than the melody at the third or sixth, though later in the 16th and 17th centuries it came to mean an arrangement with the melody in the tenor, By 'descant' improvised song is intended. Morley (1597) describes it as "singing extempore upon a plainsong" (The Oxford Companion to Music, ed. P. Scholes, (9th Edit., 1955), p.187). The meaning of 'swarenote' is quite unknown - and nearly all the other contracts mention it. However, in the contract with John Brimley (Reg. V, f.261v; dated 17th February, 1536/7) 'squarenote' appears instead. 'Squarenote' apparently refers to a mark produced by the other end of the pricking instrument - a different type of note in other words. 'Countre', or counterpoint, is the art of writing notes against each note of the melody.

The phrase 'four times a day' is interesting. It raises certain questions, none of which can be given a satisfactory answer; were the monks taught at the same time as the secular boys? Or did each group have allocated to it one morning and one afternoon session? It might be reasoned that a positive answer to either of these questions means that the secular boys must have received the rest of their education elsewhere.

But such a reply begs the question, what did the rest of their education involve? Grandiose ideas about the content of their education must also be discarded - there was little else for them to learn. Moreover, it is possible to avoid the dilemma by suggesting that the 'four times a day' applied to the secular boys only. All these problems, however, could have been resolved if only the lengths and times of the various sessions had been known.

Returning to the contracts, the later Cantors were required to attend the 'Salve Regina' as well as Mass and Vespers in the Choir. A much more fascinating requirement, however, was:

> "quolibet anno durante termino supradicto, quamdiu bene et comode laborare poterit unam novam missam quattor vel quinque parcium, vel aliquid ei equivalens ..... in honorem Dei, beatae Mariae Virginis, et sancti Cuthberti, facere tenebitur" (1)

---

(1) Reg. V, f.34.

Thus it seems that Durham was not to be satisfied with the second-rate - a mere instructor was not enough. Indeed, at the beginning of the second decade of the sixteenth century strenuous efforts were made to secure the services of a first-rate musician. It is known that a THOMAS HASHEWELL was appointed in 1513,(1) and also that he was the first to receive the annual salary of £10 from the rents of lands set aside for that purpose by Prior Castell. This action made by Castell probably represents the Convent's attempt to persuade experts to come to Durham, for Hashewell (or Asshewell) had apparently previously been Cantor at Lincoln.(2) Hashewell must have been a composer of some repute, for he features along with Fayrfax, Cornysh, Pygot, Taverner, Jones, Robert Cowper, and John Gwynneth in "xx songes ix of iiii partes and xi of thre partes", a collection published in 1530.(3) Also surviving of Hashewell's works is a fragment of a Mass of St. Cuthbert,(4) which was presumably composed to meet the terms of his Durham contract.

Hashewell, however, was not the monastery's first choice for the post. In April 1512,(5) a contract was

---

(1) Reg. V, f.146 (the second 146 = 152 in pencil).
(2) Harrison, p.41.
(3) ibid., p.419 (Texts are in 'Anglia', xii, p.598 et seq).
(4) ibid., p.187 (ref. Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 30520, fo.3).
(5) Reg. V, f.146 (the first 146 = 142 in pencil).

drawn up between the Convent and a certain Robert Porret. This contract, which hitherto seems to have escaped notice, has 'Vacat' against it in the margin of the Register, but in this case the remark is there because the contract never came into force. Porret (or Perrot), too, is not unknown - it appears that he resisted the temptation of coming to Durham in favour of remaining at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was 'informator' from 1510 to 1532, and organist from 1530 to 1548.(1)

It is not known how long Hashewell remained at Durham. Although the next contract which has survived is with JOHN BRIMLEY, the last of the Cantors, in 1537,(2) Brimley was not Hashewell's immediate successor. Somewhere in between, though again precisely where cannot be determined, a certain WILLIAM ROBSON has to be accommodated. It is, however, safe to assign to Robson the period from 1527-8 to 1533-4.(3)

As to Brimley, the date of his appointment does not well accord with the reference to him in Valor Ecclesiasticus,(4) which is supposed to have been compiled in 1535. The discrepancy may be accounted for if

---

(1) Harrison, p.461.

(2) Reg. V, f.261v. Contract is dated 17th February, 1536/7.

(3) Account Rolls, i, p.196; and The Durham Household Book, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. xviii; 1844), p.289.

(4) Vol. v, p.302; see above, p.38.

Valor Ecclesiasticus in fact took some time to complete. The description there too - "a lay instructor of poor boys" may confirm the idea that the Cantor was entrusted with more than his charges' musical education. However, as Brimley survived the Dissolution to become the first Master of the Choristers (and Organist) a consideration of his life will be left until a later section.

(2) The Life led by the Choristers:

It is possible that the singing boys shared to some extent in the life of the boys associated with the Almery. It has already been mentioned that as regards their meat and drink the singing boys were included among the children of the Almery.(1) Even so, it is somewhat surprising to learn that the children of the Almery "had ther meate from y^{e} Novices table ....."(2) - this surely cannot mean that they ate the Novices' left overs, especially as there were so few Novices! It refers, no doubt, to the way the seating was arranged at meal time. The Novices would occupy the 'lowest' table, and though the boys of the Almery were not allowed to eat in the same room as the various orders of the monastery, for catering purposes they were reckoned as being part of the Novices' table. The "loft" where

---

(1) See above, pp. 17 & 35.

(2) Rites, p.91 et seq.

the children ate was part of the building which now houses the Chapter Offices.(1)

The life of the children was very much bound up in the life of the monastery. For instance, when a monk died:

> "Then were the children of the Aumery, sitting on their knees in stalls either side the corpse, appointed to read David's psalter all night over incessantly till the said hour of 8 a clock in the morning" (2)

Nor was this practice peculiar to Durham: at Lincoln the ritual was practically the same, the only difference being that there the Psalms were sung.(3) A similar procedure was followed on the death of a Prior.

But this is a very strange occupation, and it makes one wonder whether all the children of the Almery were involved. If they were, then some light is thrown on the routine of the Almery School: the children must have been taught how to read, and possibly to understand, the Latin of the Psalms. It also raises the query whether Leach and the editor of the Account Rolls(4) are right when they take 'going daily to school',(5) to mean that the Almery School was a 'day school'. On the other hand,

---

(1) Rites, pp.259 & 296.
(2) ibid., p.52.
(3) Harrison, p.58.
(4) Vol. iii, p.xxxviii.
(5) Rites, p.91.

if not all the children of the Almery were involved, but only a few, the observations made would still apply.

Again, it would be interesting to know whether the singing boys took part in activities such as these, when all school would be temporarily abandoned:

> "in pane et cervisia empt. pro pueris Elemos. dispergentibus, levantibus et lucrantibus fenum, ibidem, 8d." (1)

Whilst the importance of the above for an agricultural community may readily be understood, one wonders whether any drama lay behind the entry:

> "scolaribus et aliis laborantibus pro adquiscione lapidum, 17d." (2)

It is also more than likely that the choristers were involved in the pageantry of the mediaeval church. Every year, "In the time of Lent the children of the Aumery were enjoined to come thither daily to dress, trim, and make it bright against the Pascall Feast."(3) The subject of this passage was an enormous candlestick, which by itself reached up to the level of the triforium, and which with the candle in position reached the very roof.(4)

---

(1) Account Rolls, i, p.236 for the 1447-8 Account of the Almoner. Similar entries are recorded for 1439-40 (p.234); 1448-9 (p.237); 1449-50 (p.238); and 1522-3 (p.255).

(2) Account Rolls, i, p.241.

(3) Rites, p.17.

(4) ibid., p.11.

But, of course, the activities in which the singing boys were bound to share were the festivities associated with St. Nicholas and the Holy Innocents, namely the making of the Boy Bishop. Neither on this aspect, nor on any other, has Durham the wealth of information that Salisbury has about its choristers. At Salisbury, annual accounts were submitted by the Custos Puerorum, and the Boy Bishop's sermon of the 28th December, 1558, has been preserved;(1) at Durham, a search through the various Account Rolls produces but few points of interest. Although the expenses connected with the Boy Bishop feature regularly in the Account Rolls of many of the monastic officials from 1335-6 to 1537-8,(2) the entries are formal, merely recording that a certain sum had been paid to "E'po puerorum de Elemosinaria",(3) or "E'po puerili Elemosinarie Dunelm".(4) The description: "Episc. Elem. et episc. Elvett"(5) is at present inexplicable, for it is not known whether one or two boys are being referred to; and no evidence has so far come to light of a 'school' in Elvet in those days.

---

(1) Robertson, Sarum Close, pp.78-94, & especially p.89 et seq
(2) Account Rolls, i, p.122, and ii, p.483.
(3) ibid., ii, p.574 (for 1368-9)
(4) e.g. ibid., iii, p.628 (for 1441-2)
(5) ibid, iii, p.913 for 1434-5; see also entries for 1435-6, 1436-7, and 1440-1.

Unfortunately, just what these festivities involved at Durham is not known. It is possible that the whole city took some part in them, though again, whether the boys of the Langley schools were involved or merely onlookers is also uncertain. The year 1405-6, however, was a troubled time, and no celebrations were possible: "E'po Elemos., nil, quia non erat propter guerras eo tempore."(1) Such an entry is clearly the work of a conscientious book-keeper, accounting in advance for what might have appeared to have been an omission on his part.

During the period at present under consideration there are also several references to "pueri ecclesie". The function of these boys was undoubtedly to assist as servers at the Mass and other services. References to them first occur in 1414-5:

> "pro quinque superpelliceis factis pro pueris ministrantibus ad missas privatas, 16s. 6d." (2)

The number 'five' is to be found on five other occasions. One cannot help but notice that once again the date of the first reference is that of the founding of the Langley schools, and the conclusion that these were the Langley Song School boys springs readily to mind.

But once again, further thought must be given. In

---

(1) Account Rolls, i, p.137.
(2) ibid., p.405; see p.406 for 1415-6 reference.

the first place, the boys of the Langley Song School were associated with a private chantry, the expenses of which were not the concern of the monastery. Moreover, apart from the passage already mentioned, all the other instances refer to the boys as either "pueri de monasterio" or "pueri ecclesie", and though it is clear that a similar function was being performed,(1) the title would rest more easily on the boys of the Almery School, especially as three of these passages fall before Bishop Langley's death and the subsequent review of the chantry situation.

The boys mentioned above were Choristers in one sense of the word. There are also a few references to the part they played in the music of the church:

> "..... eu⁊y frydaie at nyghte after that y^e^ evinsong was done in y^e^ queir there was an anthem song in y^e^ bodye of y^e^ church before y^e^ foresaid Jh'us alter called Jesus anthe- w^ch^ was song eu⁊y frydaie at nyghte thorowghe out of y^e^ whole yere by y^e^ m^r^ of the quiresters & decons of y^e^ said church, and when it was done then y^e^ quirest^r^ did singe an other anthe- by them selues sytting on there kneis all y^e^ tyme that there anthem was in singing before y^e^ said Jesus alter....." (2)

In monastic times there was a stone wall connecting the two western pillars which support the central tower, and the

---

(1) "panis pro 5 pueris de monasterio ministrantibus confratribus celebrantibus in eodem" - Account Rolls, i, p.231 for 1431-2; cf. too, i, pp.100,101, 104; & ii, pp.303, 305, 306, 307, & 416.

(2) Rites, p.34.

Jesus altar was immediately to the west of that. The Nave was the ordinary people's part of the Cathedral, the monks holding their own services in the Choir. This means that the idea of a glorious choir of monks and boys singing in harmony is untenable. Indeed, the passage which has just been quoted states that the boys sang their anthem by themselves.

The extent of their repertoire is not known. Although the contracts of the later Cantors required them to compose a four or five-part Mass, or a work of equal merit, annually,(1) there is no evidence to show whether or not the condition was faithfully fulfilled. Apart from certain fragments of Hashewell's compositions,(2) no music of Durham origin and of this period has survived; and in the post-Dissolution part-books no pre-Dissolution composer is represented.(3) Whilst this lack is to be lamented, it is not without explanation. The principal cause of its disappearance was not the action of the Scots or of Oliver Cromwell, nor the result of the Dissolution of the Monasteries but the Reformation, which put to an end the Masses in honour of the Saints, and which also required the Services and Anthems to be in English - and as translation from

---

(1) & (2) See above, pp. 45 & 46.

(3) Shepherd (1510-63) is to be reckoned as belonging to the later period, for the work of his that is extant is a Service in English.

Latin to English was not feasible the old music was rendered obsolete, and through lack of use was either lost or destroyed.

But to return to the passage under consideration, the boys did not do their singing from choir stalls; instead there was:

> "in on y^{e} north syde betwixt two pillars a looft for y^{e} m^{r} & quiristers to sing Jesus mess eu$^{}$y fridaie."

The loft also contained the organ used at that service, and there was also:

> "a fair desk to lie there bookes on in tyme of dyvin s$^{}$vice" (1)

But lest it be stressed that these activities did not take place in the Langley Chantry Chapel, evidence is also forthcoming to show that the musical activities of the choristers were not restricted to one Mass and one anthem every Friday evening. In the course of enlarging upon the Galilee Chapel and the Langley Chantry, Rites records:

> "masse was song daly by y^{e} m^{r} of the songe schole (cauled Mr. John Brimley - interlined) wth certaine decons & quiristers, the m^{r} playing vpo~ a paire of faire orgaines the tyme of o' La: messe ....." (2)

---

(1) Rites, p.34.

(2) ibid., p.43 et seq.

Now it might be claimed that this passage more than any other identifies the Cantor with the Langley Song School; yet even here the situation is, to say the least, confused. It must be remembered that the "mr of the songe schole" need not necessarily refer to the Master of the Langley Song School. Indeed, as the insertion states that Brimley was the Master in question, and as Brimley was a layman, he could not be the Master of the Langley School. Moreover, the passage seems to state that the Master concerned both sang the Mass and played the organ. As Brimley was not allowed to sing the service, it might be supposed that it is the insertion which is incorrect. However, as Brimley was undoubtedly the organist, the mention of singing may be taken as meaning that the Master organised the sung parts of the Mass.

Finally, as to the identity of the choristers, whilst it is possible that they were drawn from the Langley Song School, it must be borne in mind that as long before as c.1440 there had been a reduction in the number of attendances at services required of the Langley Song School chaplain, and, therefore, presumably of his boys as well. Consequently, the hypothesis does not seem likely, for

even if the school had been close to the life of the monastery before that date, since then there had been a drifting apart, and the school had become nothing more than preparatory to the Langley Grammar School. This would not be a unique occurrence for a Song School, for the Song and Grammar Schools which the Prior of Durham had established at Northallerton in 1321 were amalgamated into one school in 1385.(1) If a similar integration took place at Durham itself, the suggestion that the choristers must have been the boys receiving their entire instruction in the Song School abutting the Nine Altars' Chapel must again come to the fore.

---

(1) VCH, i, p.365.

CHAPTER 3

DISSOLUTION AND RE-CONSTITUTION

For the monastery at Durham the end did not come suddenly. Since the Act of Suppression in 1536, it had witnessed as a helpless bystander the closure of the majority of the lesser houses (i.e. those with an income of less than £200 per annum), among which were numbered its own dependent cells.(1)

It was during this period that Bishop Tunstal realised that Henry's scheme was going to hit education hard. The threat(2) was not only to the three hundred or so Grammar Schools maintained by the monasteries, but also "to the numerous elementary schools, then called Song Schools". In 1537 he complained to Thomas Cromwell that the Langley chantry stipends were a year in arrears - Jervaulx, which held Kaverdley, had closed that year - and he stated(3) that if such a situation were allowed to continue then education would cease.

His complaint may have had some effect, for there is

---

(1) e.g. at Finchale, Holy Island, Jarrow, and Wearmouth.
(2) C. Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstal (1938), p.257.
(3) ibid., p.258.

evidence of steady payments to the chantry chaplains from 1537-8 right through to 1567-8.[1] Also, according to Hutchinson,[2] the Kaverdley stipends, as other chantry endowments too,[3] were about this time reserved for educational purposes.[4]

The result was that, even though the Monastery surrendered to Henry VIII on 31st December, 1540, education in Durham did not cease.

Although Henry's decree of re-establishment, dated 12th May, 33° Henry (i.e. 1541) is extant, there is no evidence of any Henrician Statutes. The Durham Statutes are dated 1/2 Philip and Mary (i.e.1554/5); and it is surely an unusual situation for a Church of England cathedral to acknowledge as its Statutes those given by a Roman Catholic monarch. These Statutes do not record an attempt to re-establish a monastery, but confirm the foundation of a Cathedral.

The reason for the existence of these Marian Statutes does not seem to have been satisfactorily explained. It

---

(1) Only four years are unaccounted for in "Handlist of Bishops Officers taken from the Receiver General's Rolls". Many of the original Rolls have been consulted.

(2) Vol. ii, p.274.

(3) L. S. Snell, Chantry Certificates.

(4) In 37 Hy.VIII, c.4; and confirmed in 1 Ed.VI, c.14.

has been suggested that the Henrician ones may have been lost,[1] or that they were never issued. However, the possible truth of the matter may be found in the history of the See of Durham during the reign of Edward VI. Even though the Dissolution of the Monasteries had stripped the Bishop of Durham of much of his power, especially in matters temporal, yet he still held sway over a very large diocese. It was determined to break up this diocese, and in March 1553 a Bill was passed through Parliament dissolving the See. With this further Dissolution the Henrician Statutes were rendered null and void. But Edward VI died before the Bill could have much effect; and on 1st January, 1554/5, Queen Mary proceeded to reverse Edward's actions,[2] and new Statutes, of necessity, followed.

These Statutes, of course, dealt with every conceivable aspect of the organisation of a Cathedral and its estates. They made provision for two schools, though they did not mention where those schools were to be conducted. Included in the Foundation were:

---

(1) cf. DSR, p.xxi, which states (without giving references) that Bishop Cosin saw the old Statutes. However, Cosin himself says: "no Statutes were made before 2 Maries time" (Randall, xiv, p.206 et seq.)

(2) Durham Cathedral Statutes, ed. J. M. Falkner (Sur. Soc., Vol. cxliii; 1929), p.197 et seq.

> ".....one Master of the Choristers, ten Choristers, two Instructors of the boys in grammar, one of whom shall be Preceptor, the other Under-preceptor, eighteen boys to be instructed in grammar....." (1)

These eighteen grammar boys were to be paid for by the Church, but presumably there would be others who would be fee paying. After all, the new Grammar School had to serve the needs which had previously been met by the Langley Grammar School and the Monastery Almery School.

"The ten Choristers and the eighteen grammar boys with their instructors and the rest of the ministers of our Church" were to be elected by the Dean & Chapter in the manner "before this time prescribed and ordained in the letters of foundation and erection of this Cathedral Church".(2) This does not refer back to the building of the Cathedral in Norman times, but only to the reign of Henry VIII, when what had previously been both a cathedral and a monastery was re-constituted a cathedral only.

Although the following section deals with the election of boys to the Grammar School, it is still relevant, for the case of the Choristers is given special consideration:

---

(1) Statutes, p.85.
(2) ibid., p.133.

> There shall "be for ever in the Church of Durham eighteen boys, poor and bereft of the help of friends, to be bred out of the goods of the Church ..... until they shall have obtained a moderate knowledge of Latin Grammar and have learned to speak in Latin and write in Latin. To the which business shall be given the space of four years, or, if it shall so seem good to the Dean, of five at most and not more.
>
> And we will that no one shall be admitted to be a poor scholar of this Church, if he have passed the fifteenth year of his age. Nevertheless we suffer the Choristers of the said Church to be admitted as scholars, even if they have passed their fifteenth year; and we will that these, if they be suitable and shall have done good service in the Choir by their great proficiency in music, shall be preferred to the rest ....." (1)

Leaving aside the fact that the method of obtaining a "King's Scholarship" is now very different, there are several points of interest. Firstly, if the Choristers were to receive preference, this implies that there must have been others of suitable standard to merit consideration; and if there were others, where had they received their education? Evidence relating to this other school will be advanced in the next chapter. As to what their education involved, it cannot have been very extensive in view of what has been said about Latin at the Grammar School. Secondly, it should be noted that a chorister was not guaranteed a poor scholar's place at the Grammar

---

(1) Statutes, p.143 et seq.

School.

The following section of the Statutes is devoted to the Choristers and their Master:

> "We appoint and ordain that in the Church aforesaid there shall be ten Choristers, boys of tender age and with voices tuneable and fit for singing, to serve,minister and sing in Choir. For their instruction, as well in gentle behaviour as in skill of singing, we will that, beside the ten Clerks before enumerated, one shall be elected, a man of honest report, of upright life, skilled in singing and in playing the organs, and chanting the divine offices. And that he may give his labour the more diligently to the discipline and instruction of the boys, we permit him to be absent from the Choir upon ordinary week-days ....." (1)

From this last sentence it looks as if the Choristers sang only on Sundays and Holy Days. This would not be surprising in view of what had been required of the boys in monastic times, and, of course, the relative dearth of suitable music makes more frequent services unlikely. It is clear, too, from the passage above, that what was required of the Master of the Choristers was very much like what had been expected of the Cantors. As the new community was nowhere near as close as the monastic one had been, it is not surprising that the Master of the Choristers was excused ordinary services. The inclusion of such a clause may be seen as deliberately contrasting

---

(1) Statutes, p.143.

with the duties of the Cantors.

In mentioning that the Choristers did more than sing, the above passage also confirms that the 'five boys'[1] of monastic days were to be identified with the Choristers. One of the incidents in Dobsons Drie Bobbes[2] shows the boys attending to the candles; whilst later Dean Granville complains of the way they gave out books to members of the congregation.[3]

The proviso that the Master of the Choristers was not to be one of the ten Lay Clerks was not always adhered to. But why was the provision made? It could be that it was a direction to the Dean & Chapter informing them that the position was too important to be combined with any other. And, as the passage goes on to show, more than a skill in music was required - he was responsible for the general upbringing of the boys:

> "Let him take heed also to the welfare of the boys, whose education and liberal instruction in letters and at table and in their common manner we commit to his honour and industry, unless the Dean ..... shall consider it unprofitable and harmful for the boys, either all or some of them. But if he be found negligent or slothful either in teaching or as regards the health of the boys, and not prudent and circumspect in educating them aright, and therefore past to eration(?), let him

---

(1) See above, pp. 52 & 53.

(2) Dobsons Drie Bobbes, ed. A. E. Horsman (1955), p. 48 et seq.

(3) R. Granville, Life of Dean Granville (1902), p.249.

after three-fold admonition be deposed from his office.

The which Master of the Choristers shall be compelled by an oath to perform his office faithfully in his own person." (1)

The contents of this last section are most important, for in the light of them the uncertainty concerning which Song School catered for the Choristers may be solved. As the last Cantor, John Brimley, became the first Master of the Choristers, it is not unlikely that the duties of those offices were similar. Consequently, as this passage makes it clear that the Master of the Choristers was required to attend to every aspect of the boys' education, it is probable that the Cantors of pre-Dissolution days had done no less.

The passage shows also that the Master of the Choristers could not install a deputy. But what experience can have led to the insertion of such a clause? As to the warnings and eventual deposition, Hutchinson in 1627 and onwards ran into trouble, and in the end was partially deprived of his office.

From another passage in the Statutes it appears that a poor standard of behaviour was not unexpected either. Once again, the worst seems to have been anticipated, and, of course, the formulators of the Statutes had the

---

(1) Statutes, p.143.

experience of what had happened in the 'old' foundation cathedrals on which to base their injunctions. Accordingly, it was the duty of the Precentor:

> "to control with decorum them that make music in the Church, to stir up the careless to sing, to reprove with moderation, and to keep quiet those that make disturbance and run about the Choir in disorder, to examine the boys who are to be admitted to the Choir and are intended to sing." (1)

That this Statute by no means exaggerated the conditions will be shown later.

The Statutes also laid down what the various stipends were to be:

> "To the Master of the Choristers.....107s.
> To each of the Choristers..... 15s. (2)

Besides this basic stipend, paid quarterly, each boy was to receive a further 3s. 4d. monthly for board and commons.(3) This pattern, however, was not followed, not even in 1557. The Treasurer's Account Book for that year follows the pattern laid down in Henry VIII's Scheme of Bishopricks. Under the Durham section there is:

> "Item to tenne Choristers eche of them....lxvis. viiid.
> Item for a master to the Children for his dyet and wagys....xli." (4)

---

(1) Statutes, p.135.

(2) ibid., p.157.

(3) ibid., p.153.

(4) ed. H. Cole (1838), p.29. The original was presumably compiled c.1540.

There is a little too about clothing: "the Choristers, Cooks, and grammar boys, and the eight poor men, shall wear outer garments of the same, so far as may be, or of a like colour."(1) And as for the robes to be worn in the Choir: "the boys in white surplices only. We will that no-one shall be compelled to wear black copes reaching to the heels."(2) One wonders if this last instruction were in the Henrician Statutes - if so, it was soon broken - in the Account Roll for 1542(3) there are two entries paying: "John Brown ..... for making copes for the Choristers."

Another Statute, which may have commanded but a brief obedience, concerned the services, and stated:

> "We ordain also that day by day, as well on festivals as on ordinary days, mass of the Holy Ghost be celebrated in the temple at six o'clock in the morning without music ..... and at eight o'clock mass of St. Mary with music; and on Fridays let the mass of the Name of Jesus be celebrated." (4)

Even though the Cantors had been associated with the last two of these Masses,(5) the Statute need not necessarily be regarded as a Marian counter-measure, for the full effects of the Reformation were not felt until

---

(1) Statutes, p.153.
(2) ibid., p.159.
(3) Account Rolls, iii, p.726 et seq.
(4) Statutes, p.159.
(5) see above, pp.24, 42, & 55.

the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.

Finally, in order to ascertain whether these Statutes were being observed, and if not, why not, the Bishop was appointed Visitor.(1) He was to conduct his Visitations at least once every three years, with or without the Dean's invitation. Several of the questionnaires sent out in connection with the different Visitations conducted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have survived - as have also some of the answers made by the different Prebendaries.

A knowledge of the nature and content of the Statutes is necessary, for it is partly by comparing the situation regarding the Song School in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with what had been laid down in the beginning that certain problems can be resolved.

---

(1) Statutes, p.175.

CHAPTER 4

THE SONG SCHOOL: 1541 - 1640

(A) The posing of a problem:

It has been shown in Chapter 1 that before the Dissolution there were several schools in Durham. Of these, some were definitely connected with the monastery, whilst the extent of the association of the others is still uncertain. But whatever may have been the situation in the earlier period, the Dissolution was both an end and a beginning, for in the new Statutes provision was made for only two schools - a Grammar School, and a Song School for the Choristers - both of which were to be organised and controlled by the Dean & Chapter.

In the Statutes, it was decreed that the Grammar School should have a staff of two. Henry Stafford, the last Master of the Langley Grammar School, is described[1] as the first Master of the new Grammar School (at a salary of £10 per annum), whilst Robert Hartburne, the last Master of the Almery School, is shown to be his Usher (at £6.13s. 4d. per annum). By 1547 Hartburne himself had risen to be Headmaster. That Hartburne at first held the subordinate position implies that in the merging of

---

(1) Hunter MS.13, f.54.

the two schools, the Langley school was deemed to be the more important. That this school continued to be housed on Palace Green until c.1640 is testified to by many of the writings about Bishop Cosin:

> "He hath also, upon the same Palace Green at Durham, rebuilt two antient schooles, which had been founded by his memorable predecessor Bishop Langley, in the time of King Henry V, but were lately ruined in the time of Cromwel's usurpation." (1)

It has therefore been assumed by many people that the Song School which continued was also housed in the Langley buildings on Palace Green. Certainly Cox,(2) Carlton,(3) Pocock,(4) Colgrave, Horsman,(5) and Leach,(6) would seem to support this position, and even Dean Alington(7) makes Bishop Tunstal (1530-59) ask the choristers if their school is still on Palace Green. In all fairness, however, it should be pointed out that as many of these writers seem to have been unaware that there were two Song Schools before the Suppression, they could hardly have propounded

---

(1) Cos. Corr., ii, p.172. cf. Hunter MS.13, f.50, and Hutchinson, i, p.538.

(2) History of Durham (n.d.), p.630.

(3) History of the Charities of Durham & its Immediate Vicinity, p.81.

(4) p.7 et seq.

(5) Dobsons Drie Bobbes (1955), p.xiv.

(6) In both VCH and English Schools.

(7) Durham Cathedral (n.d.), p.133.

otherwise. Again, although some of the above authors wrote detailed studies about Durham, they were not concerned with such a limited field as 'the Song School at Durham'. But whilst certain parts of the Rites and the Hunter MSS.(1) seem to bear out their position, yet the Dean & Chapter Treasurer's Books, Mickleton's comments about the Organists, and other parts of Rites present obstacles to what may be termed the traditional hypothesis, obstacles which need careful explanation.

The best way of tackling the subject is first to present the traditional view, then to raise any destructive objections, and finally to construct what may be the possible truth of the matter.

(B) The traditional position:

Leach,(2) and Pocock,(3) have a ready stream of evidence which they have attached to the Song School. The documents they quote have been acquired because they have followed up the information which had been collected by Mickleton, Hunter, and Randall, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And these collectors themselves would have had little of interest on the subject had it not been for the records which were unearthed in connection

---

(1) e.g. MS.13, ffs. 47 & 48.
(2) VCH, i, p.370 et seq.
(3) p.7 et seq.

with the disputes between Bishop Cosin and Dean Sudbury shortly after the Restoration, and between John Rud and Peter Nelson towards the end of the seventeenth century. Also to be considered are the various Account Rolls of the Bishop's Receiver.(1)

It was these Account Rolls which first gave support to the idea that it was the Langley Song School which continued. This is because WILLIAM COKEY, who had first received payment from the Bishop in 1523-4, and who is also mentioned as holding the post in Valor Ecclesiasticus,(2) continued to be paid the stipend until 1557-8. Pocock observes(3) that in 1553, according to 'Special Commissions, Exchequer', Cokey was paid out of the rents of the Kaverdley estate. One record(4) states that the £8. 6s. 8d. was due:

> "Willi~mo Cock altero Magistro Scholarum ibidem ad scribendum et legendum prim~ rudiment~ gramatic et cantandum usq. Tempus, ut apti sint et habiles ad Scolam Gramaticam ....."

---

(1) The masters are conveniently listed in "The Handlist of Bishops Officers taken from the Receiver General's Rolls", a hand-written list to be found in the Palaeography Dept.

(2) Vol. v, p.300.

(3) p.13, quoting E 101/76/13.

(4) quoted Randall, Vol. xiv, p.201; cf. Hunter MS.13, f.53v. The statement that the record applies to the time of Edward VI may well be incorrect - the Grammar Master (Thewles) was not appointed until 1556-7 (so Bishop's Account Rolls).

He was succeeded by JOHN PERESON, who received the payment from 1558-9 to 1567-8. According to the Dean & Chapter Treasurer's Account Books he was a Minor Canon from 1562-3 to 1569-70.(1) He is described as a 'ludimagister', and in 1569(2) his salary of £8. 6s. 8d. was a year in arrears. The Bishop explained that this was because Pereson had been removed and had been replaced by Th. Heyson (presumably Harrison), and concluded by saying that the schools were being satisfactorily kept in suitable places. But this statement by the Bishop is not wholly borne out by his own Account Rolls. Whatever the position may have been about the £8. 6s. 8d. which was due from the Royal Receiver, as regards the 40s. due from the Bishop's Receiver, the last payment Pereson received was in 1567-8.(3) Harrison may have taken over immediately, but he was not awarded the 40s. until possibly the second half of 1577-8.(4) Certainly he did not receive it in 1571-2, 1572-3 or 1574-5,(5) the Rolls for those years

---

(1) These dates, and many others in this chapter, can only be approximate, as the collection of the Dean & Chapter's Account Books is by no means complete.

(2) Pocock, p.12, quoting Special Comm. Excheq. E 178/3265.

(3) Church Comm.: Receiver General's Rolls, No. 189860.

(4) Roll 189862.

(5) Rolls 189861, 190203 & 190200 respectively.

stating quite clearly that the Song School Chaplain's stipend had been discontinued, though no reason is given.

It is round about this time too that the description of the instructor in grammar changes. In 1571-2 Cooke is described as 'Chaplain', in 1575-6 as 'Schoolmaster and Chaplain', and in 1577-8 as 'Schoolmaster' only. Why the description changes during this period is not made clear, but as the same person is the recipient of the salary all the time, it is difficult to explain away Hutchinson's statement that:

> "A Custom arose in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, to pay one half of the stipend that belonged to one of bishop Langley's schools, to the master of the new grammar-school, and the same hath been regularly paid by the king's auditor." (1)

The THOMAS HARRISON mentioned above was aged forty in 1569. Unlike all the previous recipients of the Langley Song School stipend he was a layman - indeed he was a Lay Clerk of the Cathedral from 1562-3 to at least 1580-1. One of the Dean & Chapter Account Books reveals that Harrison was paid as 'Master of the Choristers' from September 29th to November 20th, 1576, the year John Brimley died. In Dean Whittingham's Will[2] of 1579

---

(1) Hutchinson, ii, p.274; cf. Hunter MS.13, ffs. 50 & 58.

(2) Wills & Inventories, ii, ed. J. C. Hodgson (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxxviii; 1860), p.17.

he is referred to both as a servant of the Dean and also as a Singing-man. In his own Will, in 1582, besides describing himself as a Singing-man, Harrison discloses that Brimley was his uncle.(1) Together with Brimley his behaviour was investigated following the Rising of the North in 1569. He was accused of providing: "certen unlawfull bokes, as well privately as in the scholes, instructing the clerkes and queristers to say and sing the same abrogated service..".(2) In his personal answer,(3) he denies the charge; but the fact that the charge was made implies that he had something to do with the Choristers.

Just what Harrison's duties were may be gathered from this contract which was drawn up on the 22nd October, 1582, with JOHN RANGELL, his successor:

> "Whereas Thomas Harrison ..... did exercise the room and place of keeping school for bringing up of young children to be instructed in the catechism & further made fit to go to the Grammar School, & likewise to be taught their plain song and to be entered in their pricksong ..... we ..... hath with the Assent & consent of the ..... Bishop of Durham, assigned & appointed John Rangell to exercise and have the sd schole, and the yearly stipend thereunto belonging so long as he shall honestly behave himself therein,

---

(1) Wills & Inventories, iii, ed. W. Greenwell (Sur. Soc., Vol. cxii; 1906), p.95.

(2) Depositions & Ecclesiastical Proceedings, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxi; 1845), p.54.

(3) ibid., p.152.

> in such ample sort & manner as the sd. Tho: Harrison did hold and enjoy the same." (1)

This again seems very convincing - especially the references to 'plain song' and 'pricksong', which echo the pre-Dissolution contracts with the Cantors.

John Rangell was master of the Song School from 1582 to 1622. He was also a Lay Clerk from c.1588-9 to at least 1616-7. Both the teaching and the singing positions are assigned to him by Mickleton.(2) Even at this early stage there was unrest about the status of the Song School. In a letter to Stapleton, his secretary,(3) Bishop Cosin recalled that, while he was Prebendary at Durham, Rangell and the organist had had a contention in Chancery before Judge Hutton about one half of Bishop Langley's Song School stipend. Although it has not yet been ascertained whether the various petitions have survived, it appears that it was the organist who felt that the stipend should be paid to him. That his claim was denied can be gathered from the fact that Hutchinson (the organist) was never given the stipend in question,

---

(1) Hunter MS.13, f.49v = Randall, Vol. xiv, p.195 (& quoted Pocock, p.9).

(2) Mickleton MS.32 f.56r = Randall, xiv, p.186.

(3) A copy is preserved in Hunter MS.13, f.51.

not even after Rangell's death in 1622.[1]

Rangell was followed by MARK LEONARDS (1623-8).[2] He was appointed on 10th June, 1623, with a stipend of £8. 6s. 8d. which is half the money from the Kaverdley estates. Leonards was on the Durham scene for a long time - he was Precentor from c.1609-10 to at least 1616-7; and although in his successor's petition, made in 1628, he is described as being "aged and infirm",[3] he was appointed the self-same year to the living of Monk-Heselden,[4] and did not die until 1638.[5]

This successor was ROBERT MALAND, (1628-9), who was appointed on the 8th May with the stipend of £8. 6s. 8d., and his petition, and the approval thereof, are also to be found in the Receiver's Minutes.[6] He did not occupy

---

(1) The Baptismal, Marriage, and Burial Registers of the Cathedral Church ..... at Durham 1609-1896, ed. G. J. Armytage (1897), p.84, states that he was buried on 8th January.

(2) So named in the Account Books & Randall, xiv, p.186. The Auditor & Receiver's Minutes (Land Records 1/200 f.121 - so Pocock, p.10) calls him Mark Leonard, whilst Hunter MS.13, f.47, refers to him as Leonard Marks!

(3) L/R 1/201, f.68, quoted Pocock, p.12.

(4) The Acts of the High Commission at Durham, ed. W. H. D. Longstaffe (Sur. Soc., Vol.xxxiv; 1857), note, p.12.

(5) Randall, Vol. xiv, p.186.

(6) L/R 1/201, f.68, quoted Pocock, p.12.

the position very long, dying a year and a half later.

At this point, it is interesting to note, in passing, that there is extant a document,(1) dated 23rd December, 1629, in the name of William Easdall, an official of John Howson, the Bishop of Durham, which admits Thomas Miller to be master of a free school in Durham. A Thomas Miller was Headmaster of Durham School about this time - he finished in March 1632/3.(2) If the procedure indicated above were the normal practice adopted for appointments to the Grammar School, one wonders why only one such document has come to light. Again, as the Statutes required the Dean & Chapter to pay the Grammar Master's salary, did Miller receive this £8. 6s. 8d. in addition to his statutory salary, or was it offset against it?

But to return, the next person to be connected with the school was JOHN PATTISON, a former Mayor of Durham, who had fallen upon hard times.(3) There is some doubt as to his exact status, for whilst Randall describes him as "magister scholae puerilis",(4) and says that he taught "legere et scribere", Mickleton states that he was "Submaster of the plain song and writing School under

---

(1) L/R 1/201, f.227, quoted Pocock, p.12.
(2) So the Account Book for 1632-3.
(3) VCH, i, p.376.
(4) Vol.xiv, p.186.

Mark Leonard the Master thereof".(1) This means that VCH's suggested approximate date of 1630(2) is rather late, for Pattison seems to have been on the scene before Maland's sudden demise. Nor did Pattison disappear into obscurity once Maland's successor had been appointed. The Account Rolls of the Bishop's Receiver mention him as the recipient of the 40s. in 1632-3 and 1634.(3) It is also possible that he continued until 1638, for though the Rolls for the intervening years have been lost, yet in the Roll for 1639-40 his name has been entered, and then that of Samuel Martin has been written over it.(4)

There is no evidence, however, of Pattison receiving the £8. 6s. 8d. from the Royal Auditor. That sum was paid to THOMAS WANDLESSE, who was appointed on the 28th July, 1631. Once again, the petition and its approval are to be found in the Auditor & Receiver's Minutes.(5) In his petition Wandlesse describes the school as "a place of so mean value that hardly any other able man will take pains in it" - yet he did, though as he was also one of the

---

(1) Rites, p.167, with which Hunter MS.13, f.56, agrees.
(2) VCH, i, p.376.
(3) Rolls (i) given by the executors of Hamilton Thompson; & (ii) No. 220131.
(4) Roll 220233.
(5) L/R 1/200, f.129, quoted Pocock, p.11.

Minor Canons[1] it was by no means his only source of income. He continued to be associated with the school until c.1639.[2]

With Pattison on the scene, Wandlesse, unlike Maland and Rangell, did not receive the 40s. from the Bishop's Receiver. Precisely why this change of policy had taken place is not known, though it was no doubt connected with the fact that there were now two teachers attending to the needs of the scholars.

It has already been indicated that Pattison was followed by SAMUEL MARTIN. Of him it is said: "Sub iste Thoma" (i.e. Wandlesse) "offisiavit in Schola praedicta Sam. Martin Cl. qui intravit Scholam A^{o} 1639 ..... isti Samueli dedit Epus Morton unam ex istis Scholis"; and "Magister Schola (parve) le petit School, et docuit Iuvenes in illo Edificio Scholae in australi Parti vireti Palatii Dun...."[3] Martin received the 40s. stipend in 1640-1.[4] Even though 1639 was the beginning of troubled times, undue attention should not be paid to the statement that the Bishop made the appointment - after all the 40s. was the Bishop's to do with as he pleased.

---

(1) He was Sacrist in 1632-3 & 1633-4, and an ordinary Minor Canon in 1635-6.

(2) Randall, Vol. xiv, p.187.

(3) ibid.

(4) Roll 190210.

It was about this time that the Scots entered the diocese, and caused many of the clergy, including Dean Balcanquall, to flee. Wandlesse was arrested, and imprisoned at Hull.(1) It was also about this time that the schools on Palace Green fell into a state of disrepair "by violence of times and neglect of men".(2) What Martin did then will be considered later.

The traditional position, as outlined above, seems quite sound, though it is little more than a catalogue of names. Reference has been made to contracts, and there are no serious gaps in the continuity. But even so, whilst it cannot be denied that the Langley Song School continued to flourish on Palace Green, yet it was not the School which was attended by the Choristers, it was not the School established by the Statutes.

(C) Objections to the traditional hypothesis:

(1) The question of the site:

The existence of another Song School can first be gathered from several references - mainly in the Rites of Durham - to a Song School which was not situated on Palace Green. At this stage the Rites is less open to

---

(1) See Hunter MS.13, f.56, and VCH, p.376.

(2) Hunter MS.13, f.50.

question as the various editors are nearer to being contemporary with what they are describing. This Song School too is written about as if there were no other.

It was no longer held in the building abutting the south end of the Nine Altars' Chapel,(1) but in one situated in the angle between the north aisle of the Choir and the east side of the north Transept. This building, known as the Sexton's Checker, had been erected by Prior Wessington in the fifteenth century at a cost of £60.(2) The following passages shed light on it, and have been quoted in detail because they contain points which will be commented on later:

> "'The Sextens checker was wthin the church in y^{e} north alley over against Bushop skirleys alter of y^{e} lefte hand as yo^{w} goe vp the abbey to S^{t} Cuthb: fereture (which was after converted to a songe scoole but sence itt is pulled downe by order of y^{e} Bpp att y^{e} cominge of Kinge Charles.....and y^{e} songe scoole made in y^{e} Cloisters vnder the Moncks lodginge.....' H .45, secunda manu.)." (3)
>
> It was "a building through the Church North wall into y^{e} Churchyard northward, in which Song School building there was a Window looking Eastward, and another Northward. Richard Hutchinson the Organist was the last Master hereof, the said long(4)School building was pulled down the latter end of y^{e}

---

(1) Rites, p.62, quoted on p.35 above.

(2) Rites, note on p.278; & Script. Tres, p.cclxxii.

(3) Rites, p.97 (cf. pp.18 & 22)

(4) The word 'long' seems out of place - is it a misreading for 'Song' school?

year 1633, or y^{e} beginning of 1634".(1)

Access to it was possible only from within the Cathedral itself:

> "There was a stone wall ..... that inclosed part of the Church-yard and the said Song school ..... but there was no door out of the Song School into the Churchyard....." (2)

In 1846 "a small door from the Aisle of the North Transept into the Churchyard was walled up".(3) This walling up is still evident from the inside. Any external traces of this school were removed when Wyatt had about two inches of stone taken off the exterior of the northern face of the Cathedral.

The first of the extracts quoted above mentions a later site of the Song School, and this information is supported in Hunter's edition of Rites:

> "A little South of the Treasury is a convenient Room, wherein is established the Song-school, for the Instruction of Boys, for the Use of the Quire; the Song-school in the South Isle of the Lanthorn, being decently furnished ..... is now appropriated to the Service of God." (4)

How long the Song School was in the south aisle of the Lantern, and just when it was moved to the western aisle of the Cloisters, is not known. The record which could

---

(1) "Mickleton's Additions to Davies, 1691": see Rites, p.164.

(2) Rites, p.165.

(3) Record of Benefactions, 1750-1857, p.35.

(4) Rites, p.264, cf. ibid. p.170.

have been of assistance - the 1633-4 Account Book with its list of expenses for "Nova Schola choristaru" - fails to mention where the new school was situated. All that can be said with certainty is that it was conducted in the Cloisters after the Restoration.

Whilst on the question of the site of the Song School, certain passages in Dobsons Drie Bobbes merit consideration. Although this work is a romance about sixteenth century Durham,(1) it is written by a person who clearly had first-hand acquaintance with the city and its schools. It is generally agreed that the 'hero' was a chorister at Durham from c.1562 to 1568. The local details are not to be disregarded on the grounds that the book does not purport to be a historical work - indeed, others have shown that most of those details are correct.

Horsman, in his edition, following the traditional view, says "The singing school stood on the east side of Palace Green".(2) His evidence for supporting this are the references to the "sellar vnder the Schoole",(3) and "an old Iakes (=pit) in the Schoole".(4) His reasoning is as follows. When the Pemberton buildings were erected

---

(1) First published in 1607.
(2) p.xiv.
(3) Referring to p.78, which is in Ch.11 and not in Ch.6.
(4) Referring to p.82.

on the eastern side of Palace Green in 1928 a pit had to be filled in.(1) Now there was also a cellar under the Song School. Therefore this pit was the cellar in question. But such an argument is far from conclusive!

Incidentally, no significance either can be attached to the key and numbers on the reproduction of John Speed's Map (ante 1611) - I understand from Dr. Doyle that the details were specially inserted for Horsman's edition.

On the other hand, there are several references, which, far from supporting the traditional view, uphold the idea that the Song School which Dobson attended was the one held in the Sexton's Checker. The first is to be found in the episode in which Dobson steals Raikebaine's pudding.(2) Having persuaded his fellow chorister to climb up into the window to see if the other choristers were in sight, Dobson commits the theft and makes his way "thorow the Church and Cloifter, into the Cannons hall." The route is described in some detail - and if a journey through the churchyard had been involved, then surely it would have been mentioned. Moreover, if the school had been on Palace Green, fleeing all the way to the Cathedral would not have been the quickest route to take to go into hiding.

---

(1) B. Colgrave "Dobsons Drie Bobbes" (1951) in note 36 on p.85 says that he was told about it by L. Cullingford.

(2) Ch.5, p.47.

There are five other references, all of which occur in the episode where Dobson tries to arrange an extra holiday,[1] an incident which also brings out the detail that there was no school on Saints' Days. When Dobson had unfolded to his fellows the plan he had conceived they agreed to his suggestions, and "marched forth of the Abbey". Such a statement confirms the impression that the entrance to the Song School was from inside the Cathedral. Dobson went some way with them, but then returned to await the Master of the School. Lessons must have started very early in those days, for "About the houre of eight of the clocke Maister Bromeley came and bid him good morrow". Bromeley is none other than John Brimley, known from the Account Books as the Master of the Choristers - and it has been shown already that he had no connection with the Langley Schools. As a result of their conversation Dobson was sent to bring his fellow choristers back to school. To persuade them to do so he put forth the reason that certain visitors, who had arrived unexpectedly from London, wanted to hear them sing. The boys felt that they had no option but to return, "but when they came within the Cathedral" - i.e. to where their school was - "and did see their master

---

(1) Ch.12, p.81 et seq.

keeping his ward alone", they sensed that they had been deceived. Even so, Dobson still kept up the pretence, asserting "that the strangers were but gone to take a viewe of some of the ancient monuments in the Chancellour shrine of S. Cuthbert till their comming". This again is plausible detail - granted that the Song School was inside the Cathedral - for the proximity of the Sexton's Checker to the shrine of St. Cuthbert has already been indicated.(1) At this point, in order to support his statement, Dobson "himselfe stept formost into the Schoole....." From this it is to be concluded that Dobson's progress inside the Cathedral had brought him to the school door.

It is because the above references are casual that it is quite in order to claim that Dobson, and therefore the Choristers, attended the School in the Sexton's Checker. It may, however, be contended that although the evidence of Rites and Dobsons Drie Bobbes points unquestionably to the existence of a Song School within the Cathedral as opposed to that on Palace Green, yet the situation then was not unlike that of today, where the choristers use one building for their singing practices, and another building for the rest of their education. But whilst the 'pudding episode' supports the idea that

---

(1) See the passage quoted on p.82 above.

the choristers received all their education in the Cathedral Song School, to base one's case solely on the information presented above would be precarious to say the least. Fortunately, there are other grounds as well.

(2) The contracts, etc., with the various masters:

Impressive though the contracts with the different masters may seem to be, a study of them reveals that the school to which they apply was not that laid down in the Statutes. For instance, the record about Cokey[1] shows that the purpose of his school was to lay the foundations of a general education, to prepare boys for the Grammar School. Singing is mentioned, but not to any special degree - and it is worth bearing in mind that the educated person of the sixteenth century is supposed to have been able to sing from sight.

In the query about Pereson's stipend,[2] it is the Bishop who is questioned by the Royal Auditor's department; and it is the Bishop who replies. But this is not the procedure set forth in the Statutes. According to them, the appointment of the Master of the Choristers - the person who was to instruct the Choristers in every

(1) See above, p. 72.
(2) See above, p. 73 et seq.

way[1] - lay with the Dean & Chapter. Moreover, it was the Dean & Chapter who had been made responsible for finding his salary.

And if the above should be taken as pointing to another school apart from that laid down in the Statutes, then the passage referring to Harrison & Rangell[2] makes the position clearer still. In the passage in question, once again it is Her Majesty's Auditor & General Receiver who acts with the approval of the Bishop, the Dean & Chapter not featuring at all. Again, although the mention of plainsong and pricksong might seem to point to the school on Palace Green giving instruction suitable for the Choristers, yet it is clear that this school was primarily "for bringing up of young children to be instructed in the catechism & further made fit to go to the Grammar School". Thus, although there was some musical instruction, it did not occupy the most important place in the curriculum. Moreover, if this were the school referred to in the Statutes, it is strange that there is no mention in the contract of attendance at Cathedral services.

Even so, Harrison is not so easily disposed of. It

---

(1) See above, p. 63 et seq.
(2) See above, p. 75 et seq.

has already been shown, in connection with the Rising of the North,[1] that he was accused of teaching the boys what to sing at the unlawful service. How can this incident be accounted for? What were the grounds that produced the charge? One possible answer is that he may have held the post of Usher at the Cathedral Song School. Such a position is mentioned in Dobsons Drie Bobbes,[2] but as the work is a romance, and the position is virtually unknown, it has been suggested that the author has confused the Song School with the Grammar School. Indeed, the only other reference that has come to light is in a list of officials[3] of a date somewhere between 1575 and 1587: "Ussher of the Songe Schole". No stipend, however, is recorded against the title. As "Master of the Choristers" (and its stipend) is mentioned in the same section, the two positions are not to be equated. Incidentally, as Brimley confesses[4] to the instructing of the choristers for the offending occasion, and as Brimley was Harrison's uncle, it is possible that all that Harrison did was occasionally to help his uncle.

---

(1) See above, p.75 et seq.

(2) ed. Horsman, pp.31 & 44.

(3) Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Bishop Barnes, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxii; 1850), p.1.

(4) Depositions, p.148.

And as for the case of John Rangell, one later writer[1] was of the opinion that "He was Master, not of the Choir School, but of Bishop Langley's Song School, otherwise the 'Petty School', the 'Schola puerorum', the 'Schola pro plano cantu et arte scribendi'". Whilst this statement is clear enough, the opinion of one scholar is not sufficient on which to state a case, especially as elsewhere[2] he seems to be in error.

Because of the many similarities they contain, the petitions of Leonards, Maland, and Wandlesse may be taken together. Here is the most relevant portion of that with Wandlesse:

> "..... whereas one Robert Maland of the city of Durham did teach a petty school in Durham for the education of poor children which was granted unto him by warrant from your honourable predecessors with the yearly stipend and allowance of viiil. vis. viiid. allowed by his Majesty and paid half yearly by his Majesty's Auditor ..... the said place is now become void and but for your petitioner's care appointed by the now Lord Bishop of Durham had been utterly neglected....." (3)

After comparison with the situation laid down in the

---

(1) Durham Cath. Reg., p.5, note 2. It is a pity that White died before the work was completed - p.111, note 9, declares his intention of producing an Appendix on Schools.

(2) See below, pp. 95 & 132.

(3) L/R 1/200, f.129, quoted Pocock, p.11. For full text, see Appendix D, p. 158 below.

Statutes, several observations must be made. It is to be noted that once again the appointment is through the Bishop. Whilst it must be conceded that Leonards obtained his through the Dean, yet, on the other hand, Maland received his on the recommendation of the Mayor and others! And even with Leonards, the Dean did nothing more than supply a warrant. The supporting bodies proving acceptable, the Lord Treasurer ratified the various appointments. But this is not at all the method one would expect at a school which was supposed to be controlled by a body as powerful as a Cathedral Dean & Chapter. Moreover, the stipends were once again paid through the Royal Auditor. It has already been observed that the stipend of £8. 6s. 8d. is the sum which the Kaverdley estates yielded to each of the Langley Chantry chaplains. Hunter MS.13, f.47 which covers the period from 1562 to 1629, mentions that Pereson, Harrison, Rangell, and Leonards were paid "out of Kaverdley". According to Wandlesse's petition, the purpose of the school was "for the education of poor children". Unlike the statement covering Harrison and Rangell, this time there is not even the slightest reference to music. Indeed, the school is described as a "petty (=petit) school", and its function was clearly preparatory to the Grammar School. Thus, it must be concluded that either the Statutes were being completely and utterly ignored, or

else these petitions refer to a totally different school.

It is a combination of the facts mentioned in the previous paragraphs which has fostered the idea that it was the Langley Song School which survived the Dissolution, and it is this same idea which has produced comments such as:

> "Unlike almost every other song school, the one at Durham was not abolished at the Reformation. It was closely connected with the Grammar School, and came more and more to play the part of a preparatory school to that institution." (1)

But even though the writer of that passage thought he was talking about the Cathedral Song School, whereas it is now felt that at that time there was more than one Song School in Durham, parts of the above statement are still very true. Because this Song School was a chantry school, and therefore not to be compared with the Choir Schools of other Cathedrals, its survival is remarkable in that whilst the Dissolution, and the Chantries Act of 1547, made provision for the continued existence of the Grammar Schools, none was made for the preservation of the Elementary Schools known as Song Schools.(2)

Just why this Song School was regarded as being

---

(1) Sturge: 'Cuthbert Tunstal', p.259; cf. VCH., i, p.376 & Alington, Durham Cathedral, p.133.

(2) Leach: 'English Schools at the Reformation', p.69.

closely connected with the Grammar School is not known. There is no pre-Dissolution information of an illuminating nature available. One can only theorise. It might be because the deed of foundation linked them so much together that it was felt undesirable to render only part of the deed null and void. On the other hand, as the Almery School had ceased to function, the Langley Song School may have survived because it was appreciated that it was now the only local school preparing boys for the Grammar School. But its preparatory role was not something new - it had fulfilled that task from the beginning.

As to the degree of closeness to the Grammar School, the issue is very confused. For instance, the different folios of Hunter MS.13 present a variety of views; f.47 describes Pereson and the others as "Schoolmasters of the Grammar School at Durham founded by priests", whilst f.54 mentions them as the occupants of the house assigned to the Hypodidascalos. But even here there is confusion, as f.55 shows. Again, f.48 contains the same names as f.47, but bestows several different titles, most of which associate the holder with the "schole puerilis", though one goes so far as to describe the holder (Maland) as "ludi magro Schole gramat". Furthermore, E. A. White adds the following parenthesis after his note about Rangell:

"The Second Master of the present Grammar School is, as it were, the successor of John Rangell".(1) Consequently, it is not surprising that Durham School has claimed(2) Pereson, Harrison, Rangell, Maland, and Martin (though not Leonards, Pattison, or Wandlesse), as its Under-Masters. But this is hardly likely to be correct. In the first place, the Second Master of the Grammar School is rather the successor of the Under-Master mentioned and provided for in the Statutes - and none of the people mentioned above appears in the Dean & Chapter Treasurer's Books in that particular capacity, though, with the exception of Pattison, they do appear as Canons, Lay Clerks, and the like. (It is also true that none of them appears as "Master of the Choristers", the person appointed by the Statutes to care for the singing boys). And secondly, they were hardly subsidiary Under-Masters either, as at this stage the Petty School was still separate from the Grammar School.

(3) The Evidence of the Dean & Chapter Treasurer's Books:

Although only twenty-six out of the possible hundred books for this period have survived, it is clear from these

---

(1) Durham Cath. Reg., p.84, note 5; cf. p.91 above.
(2) DSR, p.7.

that the Dean & Chapter faithfully fulfilled the requirements of the Statutes - each book records the payment of two Grammar School masters, eighteen Grammar Boys, ten Choristers, and one Master of the Choristers. It should be noted that during this period the title used is 'Master of the Choristers', and not 'Organist'. This description is not without significance, for whilst he was undoubtedly in charge of the musical side of the worship in the Cathedral, yet he was excused attendance at ordinary services so that he could give more time "to the discipline and instruction of the boys".(1) This included their "education and liberal instruction in letters and at table and in their common manner" and also made him responsible for their health. Thus the Statutes clearly intended that the entire education of the Choristers should be in the hands of one man, and as the Account Books mention a man in that position, there is no reason to suppose that he did not do all that was expected of him; in which case the Choristers are to be dissociated from the School on Palace Green.

It might be objected that as so many of the volumes are missing, the picture as given by these Books cannot hope to be complete, neither in the case of the Masters

---

(1) Statutes, p.143, quoted on p. 63 above.

of the Choristers, nor for that matter in respect of the Under-Masters of the Grammar School. But the strength of such an objection may be reduced by pointing out that, as time and time again the same name is to be found both before and after a gap, that gap is not necessarily fraught with insoluble problems.

The order of the Masters of the Choristers as given in the Account Books has been followed by Mickleton.(1) His list is headed "Organists", but that title is followed by "qui etiam Choristarum Magistri". However, with the partial exception of Harrison, the names mentioned in the Account Books and by Mickleton are totally different from those encountered under the traditional position.

But whilst the Masters of the Choristers enumerated in the Account Books constitute a weighty opposition to the traditional hypothesis, as they are also an integral part of the other song school, it is not intended to state the information twice over, but rather to leave it until the following section which is of a constructive nature.

(D) The Masters of the other Song School:

It is the Dean & Chapter Treasurer's Account Books

---

(1) MS.32, f.56v. Rites, pp.161-8 seems to be nothing more than a translation of the relevant parts of this Mickleton MS.

which recall to notice the position of JOHN BRIMLEY. The oldest extant Book, that for 1557-8, describes him as "Master of the Choristers". Although certain writers[1] have assigned to Brimley the period 1557-76, it is extremely likely that they are mistaken in the earlier date. Their error stems perhaps from a misappraisal of certain facts. On the one hand, they may have taken too much notice of the Marian Statutes of 1554/5, thinking that these marked the beginning of post-Dissolution Durham. However, it has already been suggested[2] that the Statutes did not mark the beginning of a regime, but merely set in motion once again the action which had been started by Henry VIII, but which had been temporarily arrested by Edward VI. On the other hand, they seem to have been aware that Cokey, the Langley Song School chaplain, received payments regularly from 1523 right through to 1557.[3] Being aware, too, of only one Song School both before and after the Dissolution, and knowing that the Grammar School was fully staffed, there was nowhere they could place Brimley until 1557.

But this approach overlooks certain details. Apart

---

(1) e.g. Rites, p.231; & Depositions, note, p.149.
(2) See above, p.60.
(3) See Account Rolls, & Hunter MS.13, f.48.

from the fact that they should have realised that there was more than one Song School in Durham, the Account Rolls of the Bishop's Receiver show that Cokey's successor was not Brimley, but John Pereson,[1] who continued to hold office until 1567-8. Moreover, Brimley was not new to the Durham scene in 1557. It will be remembered that he was described in Valor Ecclesiasticus[2] as a "lay instructor", and that he had been appointed Cantor in 1537.[3] What did they suppose Brimley was doing between 1540 and 1557? Whilst only fragments of his music have survived, as for example his 'Kyrie', which is quite complicated,[4] it is most unlikely that he would have remained in Durham until 1557 unless he had been occupying a responsible musical position during that time. And as the ex-Cantor he was the obvious choice for the new post of Organist and Master of the Choristers. That Brimley and his successors held both the positions is further supported by Mickleton,[5] who comments at the end of his list of Organists:

---

(1) See above, p.73.

(2) Vol. v, p.302; see above, p.38.

(3) See above, p.47.

(4) For the various parts see MSS. Mus.E4-11a, noting the spelling 'Kerrie' in (e.g.) E.4, p.112. The Tenor part of his Te Deum & Benedictus is to be found in MSS. Mus. C.13, p.189 et seq.

(5) Mickleton, MS.32, f.55v.

"Qq. Organisti, ex officio Choristas Cath. Eccl. D. ducuerunt & docere debent, pro quo stipendium habent de 10$\frac{1}{2}$ ℔ Ann. solutum ℔ Dec. & Cap. D."

This remark implies that far more than the musical instruction was in the hands of the Master of the Choristers, and this in its turn indicates that the Choristers did not receive any of their education at the Langley Song School on Palace Green. Consequently, there is no reason why Brimley should not be assigned an unbroken spell of service from 1537 onwards.

Brimley has already been mentioned as Master of the Choristers in connection with Dobsons Drie Bobbes.[1] He is also described by this title in the Will of Thomas Booth (d.1563): "To Mr. Brimley, maister of the choristers ..... 12d."[2] His name occurs in the Treasurer's Books until 1576, his salary being £10, the same amount, incidentally, as Cantor Hashewell had received in 1513.

Both Brimley and his nephew Harrison were called

---

(1) See above, p.86 et seq.

(2) Wills & Inventories, ii, note on p.207. cf. also ibid., p.194. As one of his successors also receives such a bequest (ibid., iii, p.102), one wonders whether such bequests by the Prebendaries were nothing more than funeral expenses - especially as the Choristers also received amounts varying from 4d. to 20d. (Besides the Wills already referred to, see: ibid., i, p.172; & ii, p.18).

to account following the Rising of the North,[1] and in particular concerning a service held in the Cathedral. Oliver Ashe, the Curate (i.e. Vicar) of St. Giles stated[2] that during the Mass, at the time of the Elevation, "he loked up to Mr. Bromley, then in the loft over the queir door, and smiled at hym".

That Brimley was involved in the education of the Choristers is made clear a little further on: "ad positiones additionales, he saith, at the tyme articulate, he instructed the choristers in such things as they dyd in the Quere, perteninge to service at that tyme, but not since nor byfore."[3]

No action was taken against Brimley, who died on 13th October, 1576, at the age of 74. It is thought that he was buried in the Galilee Chapel, where this inscription to him still remains:

"IOHN BRIMLEIS BODY HERE DOTH LY
WHO PRAYSED GOD WITH HAND AND VOICE
BY MVSICKES HEAVENLIE HARMONIE
DVLL MYNDES HE MAID IN GOD REIOICE
HIS SOVL INTO THE HEAVENES IS LYFT
TO PRAYSE HIM STILL THAT GAVE THE GYFT."

The name of the composer of these lines is not known, but as Durham Cathedral far from abounds in memorials, Brimley

---

(1) See above, p.75.
(2) Depositions, p.137.
(3) ibid., p.148.

must truly have merited praise. No special significance is to be attached to the site of the memorial, even though it is just to the west of where the former Langley Chantry Chapel reached.

The name of THOMAS HARRISON, already considered in detail because he was a master of the Langley Song School,(1) features in the Account Book for 1576-7, for the period from Michaelmas (29th September) to 20th November, 1576. All that need be said of him is that he deputised during his uncle's final illness, and continued until a successor had been appointed.

That successor was WILLIAM BROWNE, whose initial tenure of the office extended from 1576-7 until at least 1580-1, though how long he continued after that date cannot be accurately determined as the next Account Book is as late as 1588-9. In that Book the name of ROBERT MAYSTERMAN, who had been a Lay Clerk from 1576-7 until the year in question, also appears against the heading: 'Master of the Choristers'. Rites assigns the post to Maysterman in 1580-1 as well,(2) but although that particular Account Book has been studied closely, no evidence on which such an assertion could have been based has come to light -

---

(1) See above, p.73 et seq.
(2) p.298.

Browne is described as Master of the Choristers, whilst Maysterman is numbered among the Lay Clerks.

In the next Book, that for 1594-5, a certain WILLIAM SMYTHE receives the relevant salary, a situation which is also to be found in 1596-7 and 1597-8. He was a Minor Canon of the Cathedral as early as 1576-7, and a petition made by him in 1589[1] shows that he was an amateur organ-builder as well. But what happened between 1588-9 and 1594-5? According to one authority, Smythe was organist from 1588 to 1598.[2] But it is not impossible for Maysterman to have continued, or even for Browne to have re-appeared. Until fairly recently Smythe was regarded as the composer of the Responses, Anthems, and other works to be found under the name of William Smith in the old music volumes. Uncertainty, however, has crept in, due to there being another composer of the same name in the first half of the century following.

In 1599-1600, when Smythe was still a Minor Canon, WILLIAM BROWNE returned to the scene. In both that year and 1603-4 he also received payment as a Lay Clerk. Rites[3] accounts for the return of Browne by saying

---

(1) Account Rolls, iii, p.733; cf. p.739 for a similar, but unsigned petition, made in 1593-4.

(2) ibid., note, p.733.

(3) Rites, p.298.

that Maysterman and Smythe had merely deputised for him. If this theory should be correct, the Statutes were being disregarded,(1) no mitigating circumstances being known. Moreover, they were not deputies in the sense of 'assistants', because they received the full salary, whilst Browne was not even mentioned. C. W. Eden(2) makes the suggestion that there were two Brownes, the Senior holding the position from 1576 to 1588, the Junior from 1599 to 1609. Mickleton(3) says nothing to suggest this situation, and the present writer (though not an expert) can find no great difference in the Browne signatures.

Unless the date of Browne's death, or retirement, is known, the next two named might also have been nothing more than deputies for him. In 1609-10, EDWARD SMYTHE was paid as the Master of the Choristers. As he too received a Lay Clerk's stipend, it would appear that the combination of the posts was a convenient method of giving the Organist a salary larger than that laid down in the Statutes. Smythe, who had been taught by Browne,(4)

---

(1) Statutes, p.143.

(2) Organist (1936-), writing in Friends of Durham Cathedral (1964).

(3) MS.32, f.55v.

(4) Mickleton, MS.32, f.55v.

died fairly soon after his appointment[1] - he was buried on 4th February, 1611/2.[2] Even so, he had time to leave behind him three anthems, as well as versions of the Preces and Psalms.[3]

The Account Book for 1612-3 is unusual in that it has no name opposite the heading, 'Master of the Choristers'. At this point, however, the name DODSHON occurs in the Mickleton account. Whilst Rites comments that nothing definite is known about this person, a copy of the Visitation conducted in 1580[4] discloses that a certain Francis Dodgeshon was one of the ten choristers. Again, in the Account Books for 1614-5 and 1616-7 a Francis Dodgeshon is the last Lay Clerk; but as he is not mentioned in the Account Book for 1612-3, it is not known when he could have acted as Organist.

The last Master of the Choristers for this period was RICHARD HUTCHINSON, who held the position from 1614-5 to at least 1635-6, the date of the last pre-Restoration Account Book. Rites states that he died on 7th June, 1646,[5]

---

(1) Unless, of course, he was appointed, shortly after 1603-4 - again the Books for the intervening years are missing.

(2) Rites, p.162.

(3) MSS. Mus. A1, A2; C1-19; E4-11a, etc.

(4) Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Bishop Barnes (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxii), p.103.

(5) Rites, p.162.

and it is quite possible that he held the post until his death, though for the last few years, because of the flight of the Dean and others, he may have had very little to do. This enforced idleness, and also the lack of Account Books, may be attributed to the invasion by the Scots, and to the Civil War. More is known about Hutchinson than about most of his predecessors, and something of the life of the choristers at that time has come to light too. It is ironical that this information is available only because Hutchinson's private life did not measure up to the standard expected by the Dean & Chapter, with whom he was frequently in trouble.

The first indication that all was not well is to be concluded from an entry dated 3rd April, 1627:

> "To William Smith forty shillings for his painestaking in the tyme that Mr. Hutchinson organist was in the Gaole." (1)

Mickleton records that this Smith, whom the Account Books show was Precentor in 1632-3 and 1633-4, and Sacrist in 1635-6, was no relation of the earlier ones. It was also this Smith who, some now think, was responsible for the Responses and other compositions referred to previously.(2)

But even the period in jail did not cure Hutchinson. His behaviour continued to be so poor that on 1st April,

---

(1) Acts, Vol. 2, f.49v.

(2) See above, p.103.

1628, he was threatened with expulsion:

> "In regard of R.H.'s frequent hanting of Aile houses and divers other his evill demeanors, And especially for the breaking of the head of Toby Broking one of the singing men of this Church wth a Candlesticke in An Ailehouse, wounding him verie dangerously.....a publique admonition for his present amendment, and his sober, quiet, and religious deportment of himselfe hereafter, or else to expect and abide the censure of the Statutes,(1) which is expulsion from this Church....." (2)

This was no idle threat, for just over a month later - on 7th May - although a debt of £10 was forgiven, steps were taken which partially deprived Hutchinson of his office. The text of the Chapter's decision is long,(3) but in view of its uniqueness and of the light it throws on the contemporary scene, it is now quoted in full. It was decided:

> "That Richard Hutchinson orgainist shall from henceforth totally relinquish the command, government, and teaching of the Quiristers together with the fee of iis. vid. a quarter heretofore paied him out of everie of their wages, and that he shall not exact or expect any allowances from any of them in right of his orgainist place or Maistershipp over the Quiristers either for learning them to play upon the orgaines or other instruments at certaine daies & houres hereafter mentioned. And further that the tuition of the said Quiristers shalbe wholie comitted unto Henry Palmer or to such others as to the Deane and

---

(1) **Statutes**, p.143; see p. 64 et seq.

(2) Acts, Vol.2, f.66.

(3) ibid., ffs. 66 & 67.

> Chapter shalbe thought mete from tyme to tyme with full powre and authoritie of a maister or a governor over them, as well for their voice and diligence in singing as for their manners & civilities in behavor, for w^ch^ purpose the Quiristers shalbe bound to attend him onelie at their due houres. And the said Richard Hutchinson doth faithfully ꝑmise by himselfe or his sufficient deputie to be ready three tymes in everie weeke viz. on Tuesdaies, Thursdaies, & Satordaies in the afternoone from twelve of the Clocke unto the beginning of Evening prayer, and to teach the Quiristers to play upon the virginalls or orgaines and to be ready & willing by himself or his deputies as aforesaid upon everie Sundaie or other convenient tymes, when the said Henry Palmer shall request him thereunto to heare the said Quiristers sing unto the said orgaines or to heare them play them, for their skill & fitnes in singing of any Anthem or Church Service. And the Deane and Chapter are willing to ꝑdon a certaine debt of ten pounds unto the said Richard Hutchinson, which he doth owe unto the Church upon condition that he shall Duely ꝑforme the premisses and for consideration thereof he doth hereby bind himselfe thereunto. And for the paines that the said Henry Palmer is to take herein according to his agreement, the said Deane and Chapter doth appoint him to receyve of the Treasurer or the Quiristers quarterlie the sum of iis. vid. as aforesaid of everie Quiristers respectively for the consideration whereof he doth also bind himselfe to be faithfull and diligent in his place."

Although this passage records the actions taken by the Dean & Chapter as a result of Hutchinson's misdemeanours, yet it also shows how strong the connection was between the organist and the choristers. By mentioning side by side the musical and other aspects of the Choristers'

education, it renders impossible the suggestion that normally one man looked after their musical education, whilst another saw to their general education. Indeed, this particular Minute records the temporary departure from the normal practice when it sets down what aspects Palmer is to attend to, and what is still expected of Hutchinson.

That the instrumental side was left under Hutchinson's jurisdiction is hardly surprising - Mickleton mentions that he was an excellent exponent - "Praeexcellens fuit Organista"[1] - a fact which no doubt explains why he was not removed completely from office. But if Hutchinson were still responsible for so much, what was there left for Palmer to do? His was "the command, government, and teaching of the Quiristers", which another part of the passage expands. Palmer was required to ensure that the performance of the sung parts of the service was of a high standard, and that the behaviour of the boys left nothing to be desired. As he was to have the "authoritie of a maister or a governor over them", it is likely that he was responsible for their general upbringing and instruction as laid down in the Statutes.[2] One feels

---

(1) Mickleton MS.32, f.55v., quoted 'Rites', p.298.
(2) Statutes, p.143.

once again that there was not time for these boys to attend the 'petty school' conducted by Leonard, Maland, and Wandlesse. Whilst an argument from silence is by no means conclusive, yet one feels that such a detailed instruction as that quoted above would have mentioned the master of the petty school if he had had any part to play.

Of Henry Palmer little is known. It transpires that he was elected and sworn in as a Lay Clerk on 20th July, 1627,(1) and that he continued to be a member of the Choir until at least 1639.(2) He, too, was not without ability as a composer, for, like Hutchinson, several of his works have survived in the early music books.

As Hutchinson's name appears in those few later Account Books which have survived, it may be surmised that he had either learnt his lesson, or at least shown sufficient penitence to be re-instated. But here too there is uncertainty. According to Randall,(3) a certain Leonard Calvert was Organist in 1634. Rites, however, mentions that the relevant Account Book is no longer extant. The Account Book for 1633-4, on the other hand, is, and in it

---

(1) So Acts, Vol.2, f.51v.

(2) Durham Cath. Reg., p.5, records the baptism of his third son.

(3) Mentioned in Rites, p.298.

Hutchinson signs for three payments as Master of the Choristers, whilst Calvert signs for the fourth. But it does not follow from this that Calvert was therefore the Organist. In the first place, Acts records no further incidents involving Hutchinson. Again, Calvert also signed for Hutchinson's fourth Lay Clerk payment. Furthermore, as R. Harrison signed for the fourth payment in 1632-3, and W. James (a Prebendary) signed for the third payment in 1635-6, it is highly likely that all of them were merely per procurationem signatures. One might also query why, if these others were in fact replacements, Henry Palmer had been passed over on these occasions.

Although Hutchinson did not die until 1646, in view of the incursion of the Scots in 1640, and the consequent flight of the Cathedral dignitaries, he can hardly have been Organist in anything other than name.

Thus the Dissolution of the Monasteries had no adverse effect as far as the two Durham Song Schools were concerned - indeed, it seems to have had no effect at all. The Langley School continued in its place on Palace Green, and there is no reason to suppose that during this period it had become merely a section of the Grammar School; whilst the monastic one continued to provide boys not only to sing in

the Choir, but also to serve in the sanctuary. But, unlike the Grammar School situation, this time it was the monastic school which conformed to the requirements of the Statutes, and the fact that the Langley one continued to flourish as a quite independent establishment, through the preservation of its stipend, is quite remarkable.

CHAPTER 5

THE SONG SCHOOLS: 1640 - c.1700

(A) During the Civil War, and under the Commonwealth:

That very little information concerning education at Durham during this period has come to light is hardly surprising. What with the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, the times were far from auspicious for the Established Church. The Langley buildings had fallen into a ruinous state c.1640, and about this time too the Cathedral had ceased to function. Even so, in spite of these disasters, the Grammar School had survived. It was conducted in various prebendal houses, thanks to the perseverance of Elias Smith, its Headmaster:

> "Schola diruta discipulos instituit modo in domo 3^{tis}, modo 1^{mi} Praebend." (1)

It is not known whether Smith received any payment from any source during the early years of this period.

Later, when the Commonwealth had succeeded in establishing itself, attention was paid to education, and committees were appointed to look after religion and learning. The Accounts of one of these Committees show that in 1653 the same Elias Smith and John Dury, his usher, were provided for

---

(1) Randall, Vol. xiv, p.182; cf. Mickleton, MS.32, f.61.

out of the incomes of the livings of Heighington and Sedgefield.[1] Similar information is available for 1655[2] and 1657,[3] and in both these cases eighteen scholars are referred to.

But what of the two Song Schools? How did they fare? The school run by the Dean & Chapter for its Choristers cannot but have ceased, for with the termination of Cathedral activities there was no purpose in its continued existence. And though Richard Hutchinson, the Organist and Master of the Choristers, did not die until 1646, it is unlikely that he had any duties to perform after 1640. That the school must have lapsed for a time is testified by the imprisonment of the Scots in the Cathedral in 1650, and also by the fact that the Account Books immediately after the Restoration name no Choristers.

As for the Langley Song School, although Samuel 'Baggs' Martin[4] may have stayed in Durham throughout this period,[5] there is no record of any payments to him, hence it is impossible to tell whether or not he did any teaching.

---

(1) Augmentation Books, Lambeth Palace Library MS.1006, pp.423 & 426 (so Pocock, pp.23 & 24).

(2) ibid., MS.972, p.386 (Pocock, p.25)

(3) P.R.O., S.P. 28/290 (Pocock, p.28)

(4) So nicknamed by his pupils - Durham Cath. Reg., p.102, note 7 - but no reference is given.

(5) cf. Hunter MS.13, ff.56-8.

Further, as the school buildings had fallen into state of disrepair c.1640, there was also the problem of where the school could have been held.

(8) After the Restoration:

With the Restoration the life of the Cathedral began to return to its former ways, though much had to be done in the way of repairs and replacements following the imprisonment of the Scots and the undoubted neglect after they had departed.

Education was high on the list of priorities, and as early as 1661 the Dean & Chapter erected a school on the south-west corner of Palace Green.(1) This building, which is now the Music Department of the University, continued to house the Grammar School until 1844, when it was moved to its present position. But although Elias Smith was still its Headmaster, whether the Grammar School were simply a continuation of the old remains to be seen.

At the same time, a start was made to the re-furnishing of the Cathedral. In mid 1661 John Nicholls and James Smart tuned a small organ which Bishop Cosin had bought in London for £80.(2) Shortly afterwards a large organ was installed, being played for the first time by John Foster, the organist,

---

(1) Acts for 3rd July, 1661 - so VCH, i, p.381.
(2) Rites, p.164.

on St. Stephen's Day, 1662. As a choir quickly followed, the Song School involving the Choristers must also have resumed activity.

(1) The Cathedral Song School:

The Account Book for 1660-1 has no name against the title: 'Mr. of the Choristers', but that for 1661-2 witnesses JOHN FOSTER in that position. There were no boys that year, and the book for 1662-3 is missing; but in 1663-4 there was the full complement of ten boys. One of the old Organ Books[1] discloses that Foster himself had been a chorister at Durham in 1638, and further investigation reveals that one going by the same name was a chorister from 1632 to 1636.[2] Foster continued as organist until his death on 20th April, 1677. He is the first Master of the Choristers to have 'Organist' linked with that title in the main body of the Account Books.[3] The words '& Organist' appear to be an insertion in 1671-2, but from 1673-4 onwards they form part of the heading, thus at last publicly proclaiming what had been true all along. In 1663-4 Foster's salary was increased to £40, £30 apparently for being Organist, and still the statutory £10 for the

(1) MSS. Mus. A.5, p.224.
(2) See the relevant Account Books.
(3) That for 1633-4 equates them in a list at the back.

Mastership of the Choristers. The extra money may have come from a grant made to Durham by Charles II to increase the stipends of the Minor Canons, Lay Clerks, Organist, and Schoolmasters.(1) Foster is also the first Organist of whom Mickleton records: "Choristas docuit in Claustris",(2) i.e., in the room off the western aisle of the Cloisters,(3) and next to the Spendement.(4) It will be remembered that the old Song School, the Sexton's Checker, had been pulled down following the visit of Charles I in 1633 or 1634.(5)

After Foster's death there was, for Durham, the unusual and unique situation of the post of Organist and Master of the Choristers being shared by two people. No evidence is available to account for this brief departure from the usual policy. That it was normally a single post is testified both by the general practice, and also by Mickleton's remark that at Durham the Organist was 'ex officio' Master of the Choristers.(6)

---

(1) Raine, Vol. xxxi.

(2) Mickleton MS.32, f.55v.

(3) Now the Precentor's vestry; see Appendix A, p.153 below, for a plan showing the various sites occupied by this School.

(4) This room continues its monastic function of housing the most precious books in the Cathedral's possession.

(5) See above, pp. 82 & 83.

(6) Mickleton MS.32, f.55v.

In the Account Books from 1676-7 (last quarter only) to 1679-80, ALEX. SHAW is styled as Organist, with a salary of £30 per annum, whilst JOHN NICHOLLS receives the £10 as Master of the Choristers. Nicholls, who was a Lay Clerk from 1660-1 to 1679-80, is one of the more prominent figures of this period. He was obviously both a useful and a conscientious person - "a diligent painfull man" is how Bishop Cosin described him.(1) Besides helping to tune the first organ installed in the Cathedral after the Restoration, Nicholls is shown as accompanying Foster to Bishop Auckland to tune the organ in the chapel there.(2) These two also feature in a letter from Flower, the Bishop's chaplain, to Stapleton, the Bishop's secretary: "speake to Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Foster ..... to see if they can prepare a boy to play well on the organ against My Lord comes down into the country."(3) The matter was not attended to immediately, for, in a letter to Stapleton, Bishop Cosin complains: "Nor doe you tell me whether Mr. Nichols or Mr. Foster hath provided me a new organist boy since Francke ranne away."(4)

The extracts show that far more was expected of the

---

(1) Hunter MS.13, f.51 = Cos. Corr., ii, p.203.
(2) Cos. Corr., ii, p.332.
(3) ibid., p.xxxvi, & dated 16th October, 1669.
(4) ibid., p.232, & dated 22nd February, 1669/70.

boy than turning over pages for the organist. One wonders, too, whether any of Bishop Cosin's predecessors or successors offered similar or indeed other posts, and therefore whether the Bishop's service was one of the openings for boys educated at Durham. As the passages refer to a time when Foster was still very much alive, and therefore in charge of the Choristers, one might also wonder how Nicholls had come to be involved, especially as his appointment later to the post of Master of the Choristers as opposed to that of Organist might be taken as indicating that his interest in the organ was technical rather than practical. The reason why Nicholls is mentioned - and mentioned first at that - is because he had been in the Bishop's employ since 1667, when Bishop Cosin had given him the Mastership of the Langley Song School, a post which he continued to hold until he succeeded Foster at the Cathedral. But whilst this information is interesting, and even though it discloses that Nicholls was connected with the education of the young, and therefore might know of a suitably intelligent boy, it still does not explain how he could have been of assistance as regards the selection of an organ boy - the full extent of Nicholls' activities is just not known. However, this association of Nicholls with Foster does not

mean that the Choristers received the musical part of their education from one man and the rest from another, for when Nicholls was later appointed Master of the Choristers he apparently found it necessary to hand over the care of the Langley School to a deputy.(1)

Precisely how long Nicholls continued as Master of the Choristers is not clear, the Account Books for 1680-1 and 1681-2 having gone astray. It is possible that he was succeeded for a very short time by ROBERT TANNER, another Lay Clerk, whose name appears above his in the relevant part of the 1679-80 Account Book. Why Tanner's name is there at all is something of a mystery, since Nicholls signed for all four quarterly payments. Yet on this matter Mickleton had no doubts:

> "Post ejus Jones Nichols mortem Robtus Tanner Unus Cantor Laicorum infra etiam nominatus Choristas docuit." (2)

Meanwhile Shaw,(3) who had married Foster's widow within a few months of Foster's death,(4) continued as Organist though he "went out",(5) as Rites puts it, at Christmas, 1681. Some fifty years earlier, Hutchinson had been temporarily suspended from some of his

---

(1) But see below, p. 129 et seq.
(2) Mickleton MS.32, f.55v.
(3) A Chorister in 1663-4.
(4) Durham Cath. Reg., p.41.
(5) Rites, p.162.

duties,[1] but Shaw had the unenviable distinction of being completely removed from office - though the nature of the offence that caused him to be "ejectus ob contumaciam"[2] is not known.

On 26th April, 1682, WILLIAM GREGGS was sworne in as Organist.[3] He was a contemporary of Mickleton, who says of him: "Choristas docet in Claustris".[4] Greggs received the £10 as Master of the Choristers, and also £30 as Organist, though the latter sum was increased to £40 in 1689-90. Only a short while before, in December, 1686,[5] he had been granted three months leave of absence to go to London to improve his skill in music.

But what happened to Greggs in 1690 is of the greatest significance:

> "Qui Willo constitutus Magister Schola pro plano Cantu & arte scribendi Nath. Epi. D. dat Aº 1690. Que quidem schola ..... situata est super Viretum Palatii D." (6)

However, whilst earlier Nicholls had relinquished his other post when he undertook the instruction of the Choristers, Greggs continued to hold both positions until his death in

---

(1) See above, p. 107 et seq.
(2) Mickleton MS.32, f.55v.
(3) Acts, Vol.3, p.282.
(4) Mickleton MS.32, f.55v.
(5) Acts, Vol.3, p.320.
(6) Mickleton MS.32, f.55v = Rites, p.298.

1710. On this situation, Hutchinson,[1] writing in 1785, remarks: "Bishop Langley's song-school hath long[2] fallen into disuse: the patentee pays no attention to the institution, and it has become a beneficial sinecure for some of the bishop's domestics."[3] The education of the choristers, on the other hand, did not cease, but continued until the latter half of the nineteenth century, when it was removed from the organist's control, and given to those felt to be more suitably qualified to be instructors.

(2) The Langley Song School:

In the observations about the Cathedral Song School there have been two observations to its Langley counterpart, and as the second marked its end, this implies that the recovery made by the Langley School after the Restoration must have been rather shaky and on insecure foundations.

Mickleton was of the opinion that SAMUEL MARTIN received payments from 1662 to 1665.[4] Examination of the Bishop's Account Rolls reveals that the payments

---

(1) Hutchinson, ii, p.274.

(2) Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstal, p.259, mentions 1690 as the date.

(3) cf. its donation to Samuel Davies (a servant of Bishop Chandler) in 1745 - Randall, xiv, p.196.

(4) Mickleton MS.32, f.61.

had been resumed as early as 1660-1[1] - this is quite definite, for the Roll for the previous year[2] states that the payment was 'NIL'. But as far as can be gathered the sum that Martin received was only the 40s. the Bishop's Receiver had been accustomed to pay, and not the £8. 6s. 8d. which had previcusly come from the Royal Auditor.

Whether Martin did any teaching at this stage must also remain uncertain, for it was not until 1666 that Bishop Cosin[3] rebuilt the Langley Schools on the east side of Palace Green. The Bishop himself refers to his work in a survey dated 1668:

> ".....as well the rebuilding of the aforesaid schools newly built by us as our new & peculiar foundation of the said Almshouse set between the said Schools shall be established for ever...." (4)

This work seems to have been far more than the mere rebuilding of the Schools and the setting up of the crests (still to be seen): "schola pro plano cantu et arte scribendi" and "schola pro addiscendis rudim. literarum." The Almshouse provided for eight poor people, and the schools themselves were not rebuilt simply as a memorial to Langley, but were active centres of education.

---

(1) Roll No. 220133.
(2) Roll No. 221192.
(3) Mickleton MS.32, f.61.
(4) Hunter MS.13, f.50 = Randall, xiv, p.196.

What is surprising about them is that Bishop Cosin appointed another Grammar School master!

This action must be examined, for the fate of the Langley Song School is tied up with it. Mickleton asserts[1] that in 1666, Thomas Battersby, the new Headmaster of the Grammar School set up by the Dean & Chapter, received, as his predecessors had done for fully a hundred years,[2] the 40s. due originally from the Bishop's Receiver to the chaplain teaching grammar; but that in 1667, following the rebuilding of the Langley Schools, Cosin withdrew the payment from Battersby, and gave it to Samuel Martin,[3] whilst the 40s. Martin had previously received as Song School master was given to John Nicholls, who has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. This situation persisted in 1668 and 1669, but in 1670 Battersby had the payment restored to him, whilst Martin received nothing at all, as Nicholls continued to receive the Song School stipend.

Much of what Mickleton says will have to be accepted, for of the Rolls to which he had access only those for

---

(1) Mickleton MS.32, f.61.
(2) cf. Hutchinson, ii, p.274.
(3) Randall, xiv, p.257.

1667-8 and 1669-70[1] are still available. Fortunately, they do confirm part of the picture, for in the former Martin (Scholae puerilis) and Nicholls (plano cantu) received the stipends, whilst in the latter it is Battersby (Grammar School) and Nicholls (plano cantu) who are the recipients.

Although Martin did not die until April, 1682,[2] he does not re-appear on the academic scene. He was, however, appointed a Minor Canon in 1671-2, though this may well have been nothing more than a sop to compensate him for his shoddy treatment.

Before considering Martin's successors at the Langley Song School some comment is necessary regarding Bishop Cosin's actions. Leach[3] describes the Bishop's attempt to take the Langley stipend away from the Grammar School master as foolish. It would appear that Cosin was very conscious of the fact that he was Bishop of Durham, and that therefore it was his responsibility to see that Durham returned to its pre-Commonwealth splendour, and as a result the extent of his expenditure reached the colossal sum for those days of £54,385,[4] though this was not met

---

(1) Rolls 189876 and 189877 respectively.
(2) Buried 20th April - Durham Cath. Reg., p.102.
(3) VCH, i, p.375.
(4) Cos. Corr., ii, p.171 et seq.

from his own private resources.

Cosin was also well versed in the actions of his predecessors, and was aware that originally the appointment of the schoolmaster/chaplains of the Langley chantry lay with the Bishop. He maintained[1] that Henry VIII's re-organisation of the educational scene at Durham merely enabled the Langley Grammar and Song Schools to continue, and that Edward VI safeguarded the existence of the schools when the chantries were done away with. It was also the Bishop's contention that the schools established in accordance with the requirements of the Marian Statutes were new and separate foundations, not dependent on the Kaverdley estates, but financed by the Dean & Chapter. As the Cathedral authorities had recently rebuilt their schools, he felt it incumbent upon him to rebuild those of his illustrious predecessor. This done, the staff had to be appointed, and the Royal Auditor informed whom to pay. To this end Cosin issued Letters Patent[2] on 31st August, 1668, assigning the stipends of £8. 6s. 8d. to his newly founded schools, and he proceeded to pay Martin and Nicholls the twice 40s. in his own donation.[3]

---

(1) Hunter MS.13, f.53.

(2) Church Comm. "Registrum Nonum ....." (No. 184966), p.481 et seq.

(3) See above, p.124.

There were, therefore, four schools on Palace Green, a quite unparalleled situation. Cosin's establishing of a Grammar School may have been a way of either expressing his dissatisfaction at having to pay someone who was not his own nominee, or showing his disapproval of the Dean & Chapter's action of introducing their own 'preparatory'[1] section. He was quite wrong when he claimed that the Marian Statutes established a quite distinct Grammar School - the evidence[2] shows that its early headmasters were none other than the chaplains paid by the various Bishops. The local historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show that Bishop Cosin was prepared to go to law to justify his actions. He had a controversy with Dean Sudbury, during the course of which he went to London to consult the Treasury Commissioners about the Stipends. A letter from the Bishop to Stapleton, his secretary, gives an idea of the views held by each party.[3] However, as the Dean failed to appear before the Commissioners, no attempt was made to resolve the issue at that time.[4]

---

(1) "another for Musick" (Hunter MS.13, f.53) is taken thus, for no evidence has come to light of the Choristers being taught anywhere on Palace Green.

(2) See the relevant Account Books, and Hunter MS.13, f.48.

(3) Hunter MS.13, f.51 = Mickleton MS.32, f.64 = Randall, xiv, p.202.

(4) Hunter MS.13, f.52.

Even though the Langley Song School did not feature directly in this controversy, Bishop Cosin's actions may well have been one of the reasons why it was soon to cease to function. There was an immediate and unfortunate effect, too, as far as Samuel Martin was concerned. Promoted from the Song School, where, whether he had the ability or not, he should have been quite secure, he found himself the unwitting target for attack, and whether he had to be removed by Cosin,(1) or whether he resigned,(2) is of little moment - the fact remains that whereas before he had a source of income from 1670 onwards he had none. That Cosin's intervention resulted in such a conclusion would seem to indicate that the Bishop had over-reached himself, and had been forced to give ground.

But although the Royal Auditor had not yielded on the Grammar School issue, a little more flexibility seems to have crept in over the appointment to the Langley Song School. Pocock wondered(3) whether there were any special reason why he had not succeeded in finding any salary petitions from Durham to the Lord Treasurer after 1660. A possible explanation may lie in the series of writs Randall found in a Patents Book in the office of the

---

(1) So Rud in Hunter MS.13, f.56.
(2) So Nelson in ibid., f.57.
(3) Pocock, p.8.

Bishop's Auditor. These writs may have represented a new procedure.

The first of them appointed JOHN NICHOLLS,[1] the "Mr. of ye Songe-Scholle", "ad erudiend. pueros in plano Cantu & Arte Scribendi".[2] But in the case of Nicholls, at least, this does not appear to have signified the appointment to a sinecure, for elsewhere it is said of him:

> "Johannes Nichols, qui etiam Cantor Laicus in Cath. Eccles. Dunelm. et docuit scholares planum cantum in Scholâ praedictâ reedificatâ per eundem Episcopum Cosin, per quem iste idem Johannes Nichols ad scholam pro plano cantu et arte scribendi praedictam collatus est ..... 11 Jul. 1667." (3)

That Nicholls had nothing to do with the choristers at this stage is to be gathered from his later appointment as Master of the Choristers: "..... Post mortem Jones Forster Organist Choristas docuit." [4] This remark also testifies that the organist was still, under normal circumstances, concerned with the general education of the choristers.

Further evidence of the separate existence of the two Song Schools is afforded by the part played by JOHN WHITE, who had been a chorister at Durham from 1663-4 to 1668-9

---

(1) See above, p.119 et seq.
(2) Randall, xiv, p.258 et seq.
(3) Mickleton MS.32, f.63 (= Cos. Corr., ii, note, p.203)
(4) ibid., f.56v.

and who sang as a Lay Clerk from 1671 to 1687. Of him it is recorded:

> "Officiavit in Schola p plano Cantu et docuit Artem Scribendi sub Jon Nichols." (1)

It has been suggested that White was not a regular assistant, but merely deputised for the period when Nicholls was Master of the Choristers.(2) There may, however, be another explanation, dependent on how much weight the words used can be expected to take. White is described as being 'under Nicholls', and it is stated that he taught 'Artem Scribendi', whilst it has just been shown that Nicholls was responsible for 'Plano Cantu': could it be that Nicholls and White shared the duties? But whichever situation may be correct, it is clear that the Langley Song School was still flourishing.

Next to hold the position was THOMAS BARKAS,(3) who was appointed with full episcopal writ on 26th August, 1681:

> "Sciatis igitur nos ..... Tho. B. constituisse ..... ad erudiend pueros in plano Cantu & Arte Scribendi H end. & tenend. idem munus Mag. durante vita n rali ip ius." (4)

---

(1) Mickleton MS.32, f.56v.

(2) See above, p.120.

(3) or Barker - Randall, xiv, p.250; Sharpe, Vol.96, f.101, has Barkas. Carlton, History of the Charities of Durham & its Immediate Vicinity, p.82, must be wrong when he states that the appointment was made in 1682.

(4) Randall, xiv, p.258.

No evidence is available to show whether Barkas actually taught anybody. Yet he must have done, for the Mastership of the Langley Song School did not become a sinecure until about 1690,[1] when WILLIAM GREGGS was appointed. The latter could have had little time for teaching as he was already Organist and Master of the Choristers. About Greggs' appointment there is something unusual, for it was made on 19th February, 1690/1, but confirmed on 20th June, 1691, not by the Bishop, but by the Dean & Chapter:[2] as there was not an episcopal interregnum, how had the Dean & Chapter come to play a part?

Any answer to this question is bound up in the solution of that greater issue: Why did the Langley Song School cease to function in 1690? After all, there was a Grammar School in existence, and it presumably wanted boys who had already received a certain amount of education. And though the choristers were one of its sources of intake, they were nowhere nearly sufficient in number. If the Langley School ceased, where were the other boys to come from?

The answer is that they came apparently from within the Grammar School itself. Of a certain Peter Nelson, who died in 1703, it has been said:

---

(1) See above, p. 121.

(2) Randall, xiv, p.250 = Mickleton MS.25, f.151.

> "He was Under or Writing Master at the Grammar School. Originally the school was two schools, under different masters who were not responsible to each other, but in time they became united, and the Master of the 'petty school' (pro plano cantu et arte scribendi) was appointed by the Master of the Higher School." (1)

This Nelson had had a controversy,(2) in 1690-1, with Thomas Rud, the newly appointed Master of the Grammar School. Nelson, who had been a tenant of Battersby, and who was keeping a Charity School in Durham at a salary of £6 per annum,(3) claimed that he, and not Rud, should be given the charge of the Writing School, especially as he was already in receipt of a 40s. from the Bishop.(4) During the course of their controversy everything that Bishop Cosin and Dean Sudbury had said and done was re-examined, and the two interested parties also searched back into history as far as they could, revealing much of the information which has been used in the earlier chapters of this thesis. Indeed, Hunter MS.13 is a collection of letters and lists, some of them written by Rud himself.

If the facts are as they seem to be, it is hard to

---

(1) Durham Cath. Reg., note, p.111; but Randall (p.218) is not quite so definite about his position: "Pet. Nelson, writing master was buried at the Abbey", merely echoing the text of the Register: "Peter Nelson, writing master."

(2) Hunter MS.13, ff.56-8 = Randall, xiv, p.209 et seq. = Mickleton MS.32, f.52 et seq.

(3) So Mickleton, MS.91, No. 68 - obtained from Pocock, p.46.

(4) Hunter MS.13, f.57.

find grounds on which Nelson could hope to base his controversy. Nelson's claim about the 40s. from the Bishop is difficult to substantiate. Of the Rolls of the Bishop's Receiver from 1686-7 to 1694-5 only that for 1690-1, the critical year, is missing. In none of the extant Rolls is Nelson's name to be found, and if it were in the missing Roll his tenure of the stipend was most unusually brief. Also difficult to justify is Nelson's accusation that an encroachment on the part of the Grammar School had taken place. Much of this thesis has been occupied in showing that the Langley Song School enjoyed a quite distinct existence, not only before the Dissolution, but right up to the time of the Civil War - and even after the Restoration, Nicholls, who had been appointed by the Bishop, taught in a building on a different part of Palace Green from the Grammar School.

Admittedly, there are indications that the Dean & Chapter may have established a school of their own either when they rebuilt the Grammar School in 1661,(1) or when they were engaged in controversy with Bishop Cosin - but this was surely not an encroachment, for the Langley school

---

(1) See above, pp.115 & 126 ; this may explain the existence of two Under-masters in the Account Books from 1673-4 to 1692-3.

had not ceased. However, as the Dean & Chapter's school may have prospered whilst the Langley school declined, it is possible that by 1681, when Barkas was appointed, the mastership of the latter was already nothing more than a sinecure. Even so, as Barkas, and later Greggs, received the payments attached to the Langley school, it is difficult to imagine on what grounds Nelson could base his petition.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that as Nelson had been in Durham for some seventeen years[1] at the time of the dispute, he should have been well aware of the different issues. His residence in Durham may well hold the key to the situation - he had spent those years as a tenant of Battersby, and had turned the house into a school, a situation not displeasing to Battersby. As the advent of Rud, the new headmaster, had placed both his house and his livelihood in jeopardy, he petitioned that he should be granted the Langley stipend the Grammar School master had normally received.[2]

Their dispute ended in a compromise. Acts for 20th July, 1692, records:

---

(1) Hunter MS.13, f.57.

(2) This petition shows the situation was not properly understood - the Grammar School master received that stipend because he was regarded as the true successor of the chaplain teaching Grammar.

> "that if the bishop relinquish all pretensions or title to the schoole-house on the Palace-Green, and to the King's sallarie unto the master of the Grammar Schoole of this Church: the Chapter will allow Mr. Nelson, the p^{r}sent Schoole=Master there, for his life tenn Pounds ℔ Annu) Quarterly, ... and that Mr. Nelson pay Mr. Rudd forty shillings ℔ Annu) for the School=house." (1)

Such a conclusion seems unexpected in view of the evidence. It may have been reached because it was appreciated that Nelson was a competent instructor, and also because the Dean & Chapter saw the situation as an opportunity to acquire control of the Grammar School stipend.(2) The Account books from 1692-3 to 1695-6 give no indication of any payments to Nelson, but those from 1696-7 onwards show that he was paid the stipulated sum. As his is but one of the names under the heading: "Further Paym^{ts} to be made by y^{e} Treas. è Decretis Cap'li", it is impossible to tell whether Nelson received the salary in return for any service.

But whilst it transpires that the preparatory section involved in the Nelson/Rud controversy was neither the Langley Song School, nor that attended by the Choristers,

---

(1) Acts, Vol.4, p.12 (cf. VCH, i, p.382)

(2) Nelson is referred to in terms ("the present schoolmaster there") which hardly associate his work with either the Bishop or the Dean & Chapter.

the discussion has not been unprofitable, for it has made more complete the review of elementary (or song school) education in Durham in those days by showing why and how the Langley Song School became decadent, and its Mastership nothing more than a sinecure for those in the Bishop's service. That unsatisfactory situation persisted throughout the eighteenth century, and was still current in 1830,[1] though after that date some steps were taken to re-direct the endowment into the field of education.

---

(1) Endowed Charities, Durham etc., i, p.304.

CHAPTER 6

LIFE UNDER THE MASTERS OF THE CHORISTERS, 1541 - c.1700:

The function of a chorister, it will be remembered, was not confined to music: he was expected "to serve, minister, and sing in Choir".(1) Certain of the passages which will now be examined portray the choristers in these other capacities. Whilst their education had these aims in view, it also attended to their "instruction in letters and at table and in their common manner",(2) all of which aspects were the responsibility of the Master of the Choristers, who, it has transpired, was usually the Organist as well.

Throughout the period the statutory number of ten choristers was rigidly adhered to, though it is uncertain whether or not the boys were boarders. As several of them - no matter which Account Books are consulted - were the sons of Minor Canons, Lay Clerks, and others connected with the Cathedral, and therefore were readily available, it is more than likely that they were day-boys. Indeed, Dobsons Drie Bobbes(3) mentions that Raikebaines lodged

---

(1) Statutes, p.143 et seq; see above, p. 62 et seq.
(2) ibid.
(3) p.45.

with relatives in the city, whilst Dobson himself resided with his uncle. This did not preclude the Master of the Choristers from superintending the behaviour of his charges 'at table'. In view of the early start to the day, it is possible that several meals were taken in the common hall, in which the choristers appear to have been assigned the third table.(1)

The day began early for all the boys. Dean Whittingham, writing in 1562, says:

> "First in the morning at 6 of the clock, the grammar schoole and the songe schoole with all the servants of the house resort to prayers in the Church ..... At nyne of the clocke we have our ordinary service, and likewise at 3 after none." (2)

School, too, started at an early hour - in Dobsons Drie Bobbes the hero is depicted as waiting outside the school at 8 a.m.(3) A little insight into teaching methods is given in the proceedings held as a result of the Rising of the North. In reply to the accusations made against him, Brimley stated "that he knoweth not what is woorde (= become) of the graill that he commonly used for the techinge of the children".(4) Although by

---

(1) Statutes, p.li; cf. ibid., p.151.
(2) Weldon & Wall, The Story of Durham Cathedral, p.67 et seq.
(3) p.82.
(4) Depositions, p.148.

'graill' a chalice might have been intended, it is far more likely that in this instance a book of antiphons was being referred to.

This prompts the thought that some of the music may have had to be learnt by heart, especially as the services associated with the insurrection marked a return to former practices. Normally, though, the repertoire cannot have been unduly extensive in view of the relatively short time that English had been the required language.(1) Further, it is uncertain to what extent Durham was in touch with the contemporary scene.(2)

---

(1) Of the composers represented in the 17th cent. MSS. at Durham, only Byrd, R. Farrant, Parsely, Parsons, Patrick, Shepherd, Stephenson, Tallis, & Tye were effectively contemporary with Brimley.

One wonders, too, just when Brimley composed his 'Te Deum' & 'Benedictus' (MSS. Mus. C13, p.189 et seq.) - although the 'Benedictus' agrees with the text of the Prayer Book, the 'Te Deum' has the most extraordinary deviations.

(2) A few points of contact are known. In 1544 the Litany was required to be sung in English. The self-same year the following entries are to be found in the Durham Accounts:
"Item for xxiiij latines wherof j dd. noted with playneson of fyve partes at iijs the dd .....vjs
Item paid to the chaunter of Westmynster for pryking the new Latyny in iij, iiij, and v partes in prykeson .....xxd." (Rolls, iii, p.726) The setting was no doubt that of Tallis.

Again, Shepherd's Communion Service was known and sung in Durham - Brimley substituted his own version of the 'Kyrie'. (see MSS. Mus. E4-11).

The prowess and works of Byrd are referred to in Dobsons Drie Bobbes (ed. Horsman), p.83.

But if the repertoire were small about 1570, round about 1630 life must have been quite hectic. Apart from the works of outside composers,[1] music was being composed at a prolific rate in Durham itself by Hutchinson (the organist), William Smith (a Minor Canon), and Palmer (a Lay-Clerk).

It is the mention of these names that calls to mind the passage that discloses most about how the boys' time was spent - that passage[2] records the disciplinary action taken by the Dean & Chapter against Hutchinson when his way of life revealed that he was not a suitable person to have care of the boys. Whilst it mentions that Palmer was to be responsible for the manners and behaviour of the choristers, it also makes it clear that much of their day was spent in the study of music. This was not restricted to learning anthems and services, for Hutchinson was commanded to make himself available on the instrumental side three afternoons a week. The "other instruments" as opposed to the organ were not necessarily restricted to the virginal - as the Account Books for 1632-3, 1633-4, and 1635-6 reveal that the Cathedral had in its full employ two trumpeters and two horn players, it is possible that

---

(1) e.g. Batten, Bevin, East, O. Gibbons, Morley, Mundy, Tompkins, and Weelkes.

(2) See above, p.107 et seq.

there was also the opportunity to learn those instruments. One wonders, too, if "Robert Grinwell, Lutenist", who died in April, 1627,[1] were a member of the Cathedral staff, and whether the boys received instruction on that instrument as well.

It could be said that by receiving such practical instruction, the boys had been provided with a way of earning their living. This was just as well, for though some of the boys became King's Scholars at the Grammar School, it must be remembered that the scholarship did not signify academic ability, but was supposed to provide the opportunity for a poor person to acquire a little knowledge.[2] In the case of the choristers, it seemed to be a kind of reward for those who had "done good service in the Choir by their great proficiency in music". All of this seems to confirm the idea that the education the choristers received at the Song School was directed to producing capable musicians. And if the feeling should still persist that they must have received the rest of their education from someone else, let it finally be dispelled by the observation that all else that was deemed

---

(1) Durham Cath. Reg., p.86.
(2) Statutes, p.143; see above, p.62.

necessary was their "instruction in letters".[1]

It was probably about the same time that Hutchinson was in trouble that a fine new set of single part-books was transcribed for use in the Choir. These books were so large,[2] and their contents so clear, that it is easy to imagine all five boys on each side singing from a single copy.

It was also about this time,[3] that the boys heard Peter Smart preach his vituperative sermon on the text: "I have hated those that hold of superstitious vanities." Whilst it is not intended to present either the position held by the reformer Smart or that held by that lover of ceremony, Cosin,[4] several of the charges deserve mention, for they throw light upon the nature of the music performed in the Cathedral, and indicate that a considerable amount of time must have been spent practising it.

From them it transpires that the part played by the

---

(1) See above, p.137.

(2) MSS. Mus. E4-11, which measure 20 ins. by 12 ins. It is not impossible that they are the books Tobias Brooking is known to have 'pricked' between 1632 and 1634. (see Account Books).

(3) 27th July, 1628.

(4) For the subsequent indictments, answers, and judgments, see Cos. Corr., i, p.155 et seq.; The Acts of the High Commission at Durham (Sur. Soc., Vol.xxxiv), p.198 et seq.; cf. A Life of John Cosin, P. H. Osmond (1913), p.57 et seq., & p.90 et seq.

Choir was not limited to Services and Anthems in their appropriate places, but that it had been extended to include special arrangements of the Psalms,(1) with the result that the ordinary people could neither join in nor understand the service. Apparently, there was also a division of opinion on whether or not the words of the anthems should be restricted to the Scriptures, and one anthem, "the Three Kings of Cullen", seems to have been most displeasing to Smart.(2) For Cosin's part, it was claimed that his own reaction had been even more violent:

> "He made it, when he first saw it, to be torn into pieces; and he himself cut it out of the old song books belonging to the Choristers' School." (3)

The Choir was also wont to continue to sing during Baptisms held outside the Choir, and also during the Administration of the Sacrament at Holy Communion; and apparently it also functioned at the 6 a.m. service, being accompanied then, as at other times, by brass instruments as well as by the organ.(4)

---

(1) The Acts of the High Comm. at Durham, p.225; there are some examples of this in MSS. Mus. E4-11.

(2) ibid., p.224 et seq. Osmond, A Life of John Cosin, p.100, thinks Cullen may be Cologne.

(3) ibid., p.226.

(4) ibid., p.220.

One further charge included the choristers - in connection with the feast of Candlemas, it mentioned that two of their number had lighted the great array of candles that were to be found in the Cathedral.(1)

The mention of candles recalls a passage in the Statutes,(2) which may have applied to the choristers:

> "as often as he" (the Bishop) "ministers at vespers or at matins ..... there should stand or go before him two boys apparelled, carrying two lighted tapers".

However, in view of the fact that there were only ten choristers, the duty may have been performed by others connected with the Cathedral, and possibly by the Scholars of the Grammar School.

Other information about the boys is to be found in connection with the Visitations the Bishop was required to conduct.(3) Bishop Cosin held his first in 1662, and one of the questions asked of the Dean & Chapter was:

> "Doth the Master of the Quiristers (or Organist) diligently teach and instruct the tenne younge Choristers every day in their Schoole; doth he attend divyne servyce dayly in the Quire habit, as the other singing clerkes doe, and looke that all the Quiristers doe the same, every one keeping their gownes and surplices cleane and behaving themselves orderly, reverently, and

---

(1) The Acts of the High Comm. at Durham,(Sur.Soc.,Vol.xxxiv), p.222.

(2) Statutes, p.77.

(3) ibid., p.175; see above, p.68.

> decently during the whole tyme of divyne servyce in the Quire?" (1)

The same question is to be found in the questionnaire of the second Visitation, in 1665, though there it is expanded, and as a result throws light on some of the duties performed by the choristers:

> "Do the same Choristers provide & place the Song:books ready, as they are appointed by the Precentor in every Quire:mans stall before service time, while the bells are tolling, so that they may have no occasion to go from their seats, and pass to & fro in the Quire during the whole time of Divine Service." (2)

But although the Choir was acquitting itself nobly as far as the music was concerned, Isaac Basire, one of the Prebendaries, expressed the wish that "some effectual course were taken for the better breeding of choristers".(3) Unfortunately, the writer does not go on to explain precisely what he was objecting to.

Although some of the points the Precentor was required to attend to may have seemed almost unbelievable,(4) the writings of Dean Granville (1680/1) show that the Statutes by no means exaggerated the conditions - the breeding of boys and men left much to be desired:

---

(1) Hunter MS.11, f.78 ≙ Miscellanea, ed. G. Ornsby (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxxvii; 1860), p.255.

(2) ibid., f.94 = Cos. Corr., ii, p.113.

(3) ibid., f.112, referring to the 1668 Visitation.

(4) Statutes, p.135; see above, p. 66.

"5ly. Boyes running up and downe the Quire rudely and unreasonably, without any manifest necessity or reason, and sometimes quite contrary to command.

6ly. The Quiristers carrying Anthem Bookes, and sometimes Common Prayer-bookes very impertinently and troublesomely to those that do not desire nor need them .....

8ly. The Quiristers, and sometimes the Singing-men staring, gazing, and laughing, indecently lolling, and sometimes scandalously sleeping, not only during sermon but also service.

9ly. A great part, if not the greatest part, of singing-men and boyes many times not joining at all in the responses, and sometimes not at all in the very Creed and Lord's Prayer, or at other times gabling them over, and outrunning the Precentor and others of the Quire." (1)

From this unruly behaviour the conclusion can probably be drawn that the instruction and control of the boys was in the hands of those ill-fitted for the task - a brilliant musician (like his counterparts in other subjects) is not necessarily either an interesting or a capable instructor even in music. Nearly a century earlier the various masters must have experienced even greater trouble, for a Chapter decree was issued to combat the lawlessness of the boys:

---

(1) R. Granville, Life of Dean Granville (1902), p.249; cf. too Miscellanea (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxxvii), p.144, for the mention of dirty surplices and gowns.

> "if any scholler or chorister ..... shall presume to shutt the schoole doore or windows, or help to keep it or them shutt, or assist or consent thereto for the keeping out the schoolemaister, usher or any governoure or officer of this church, or to that purpose shall weare any weapon or use any force ..... or shall not ..... avoid all such contemptious and undecent manner of dealing" (1) then he was to be removed forthwith.

The existence of such a decree almost makes one wonder how much, or how little, of Dobsons Drie Bobbes was fiction - certainly the spirit of Dobson seems to have lingered on!

The boys were not ignored by the Dean and Prebendaries. From time to time they were mentioned in bequests,(2) and they were entertained to dinner by the Canon in residence. Dean Granville kept a record of what he did and said, and under the heading: "Method of my Residence, 1687",(3) for Thursday, 20th October, there is the entry that it was the turn of the "Master and King's Scholars and Organist and Quiristers" to eat at the Deanery.

Finally, on one aspect of their life no information has been unearthed - it is not known what the choristers did in their leisure time; indeed, it is not even known whether they had any, for leisure, like a general education,

---

(1) The decree is dated 20th November 1595. Leach (VCH, i, p.378) found it in MS. Book O, p.154, a book which Pocock (p.6) says was sold at Sotheby's in 1943 on behalf of a Mr. Bacon Frank of Doncaster.

(2) See above, p. 100, note 2.

(3) Granville, Life of Dean Granville, p.367.

is, as regards the ordinary man, mainly a product of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

It will be remembered that at the very outset[1] there was the feeling that mediaeval Durham had more than one Song School, though what information first stimulated that impression is not apparent. Moreover, it was felt that the monastic Song School was not to be identified with that founded by Langley, for the latter prepared boys for the Grammar School and not for the Choir. Since then search has been made in various quarters, and every reference that could be found to a Song School in Durham has been examined carefully to ascertain whether it supported or contradicted the basic supposition.

As a result of the information that has come to light it may safely be concluded that as regards site and masters the schools were quite distinct. The Dissolution of the Monastery in 1540 did not affect this situation, which persisted until c.1690, when the Langley Song School ceased to flourish.

Only on one aspect is equivocation possible - and that concerns the boys themselves. However, whilst it must be

---

(1) See above, p.1 et seq.

conceded that it does not necessarily follow that because there were different sites and different masters there were therefore two different sets of boys, yet it is more than likely that there were. This is supported by the fact that the foundation of the Langley chantry envisaged the boys attending service in a chapel as opposed to the cathedral; and also that as the later Statutes expected the Master of the Choristers to attend to the general upbringing of his charges, his predecessor, the monastic Cantor, had done no less. This too renders the Langley Song School chaplain unnecessary, for if the monastery at Durham had had two officials associated with its Song School, one would not have expected the care of the boys to have been entrusted to the organist.

The seventeenth century scene, when the two schools served very different needs, emphasises that more than one set of boys must have been involved.

It only remains to account for that last nagging doubt whether the organist were capable of attending to the boys' general education; but even that doubt dissolves when it is appreciated that the problem never existed, that the musical instruction given to the boys was in itself an education. That this was so is also testified to by the fact that the decline and end of the Langley Song School in no way affected the life led by the Choristers.

With regard to the period which has been examined there were therefore two Song Schools at Durham. There was the Langley Song School which was founded in 1414. This school was preparatory to the Grammar School which was also associated with the Langley chantry. It was this close connection with the Grammar School which enabled it to survive both the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Chantries Act. Its end in c.1690 was sudden, but not altogether unaccountable, for Bishop Cosin's presumptuous and ill-advised attempt to re-found the Langley Grammar School had resulted in the Cathedral authorities extending their Grammar School so as to include a preparatory section.

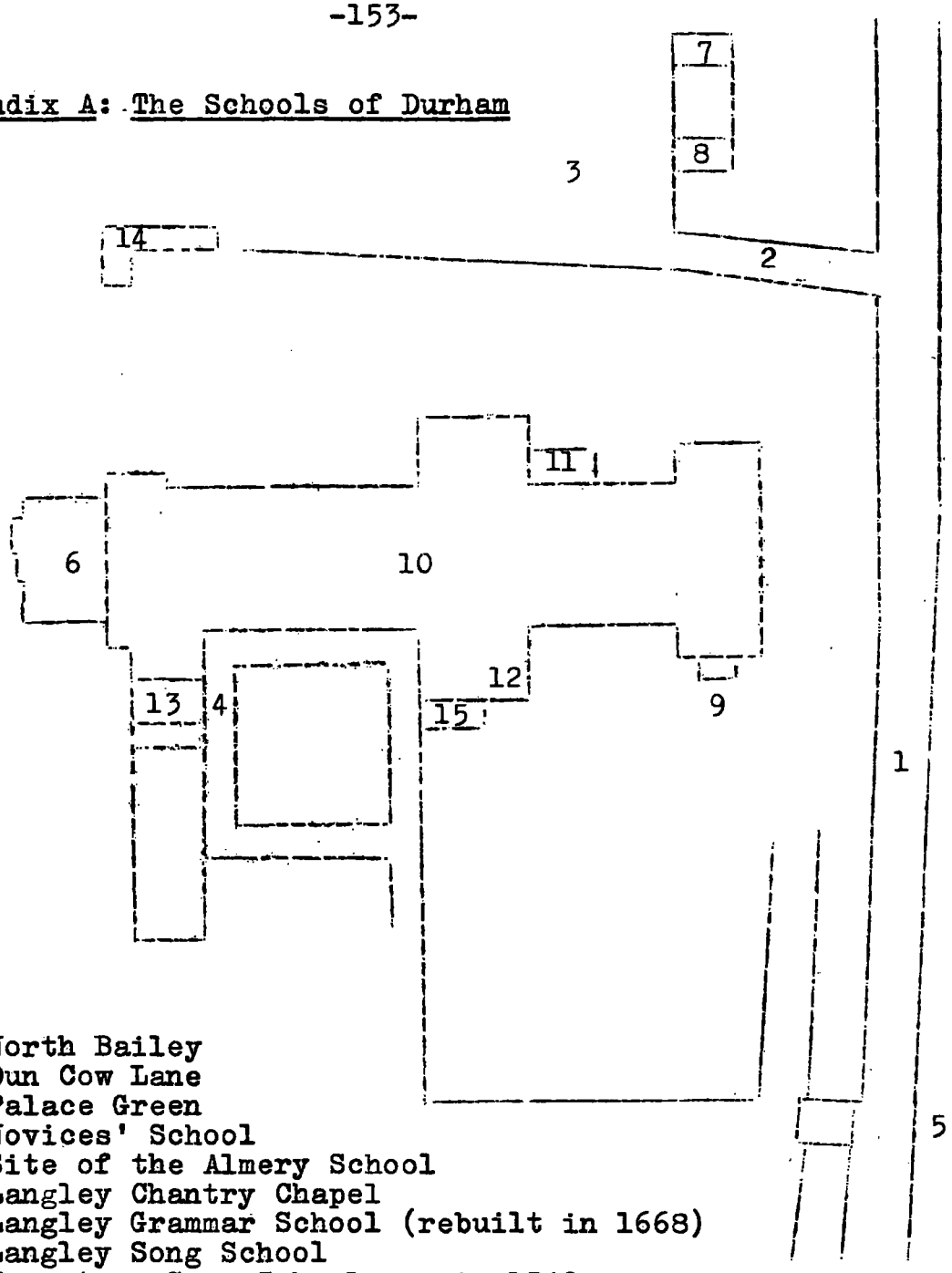
It was at the other Song School that the Choristers were instructed. In that the Novices must have received some musical instruction, it could be claimed that this Song School dates back to 995 A.D. This, however, would not be strictly correct, for those being instructed had not been specially selected just to sing at services. That development did not manifest itself until the fifteenth century, when a lay Cantor was appointed[1] to train a choir. After the Re-Constitution, the same duties were executed by the Master of the Choristers, who was usually

---

(1) The earliest known contract is dated 22nd December, 1430.

the Organist as well. Except for a break from 1640 to 1660, this situation persisted until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the general education of the boys was taken from the Organist, and given to a more qualified instructor. Since then the school has occupied several sites, and it has expanded so that the number of non-choristers far exceeds those whose duty it is to sing. But whilst some might say that the present school now fills the needs previously met by both the Langley and the Cathedral Song Schools, the Langley School is in no sense a predecessor, for the present situation would have resulted even if the Langley School had never existed.

Appendix A: The Schools of Durham



1. North Bailey
2. Dun Cow Lane
3. Palace Green
4. Novices' School
5. Site of the Almery School
6. Langley Chantry Chapel
7. Langley Grammar School (rebuilt in 1668)
8. Langley Song School
9. Monastery Song School, up to 1540
10. Jesus' Altar
11. Cathedral Song School, c.1540-1633
12. Cathedral Song School, sometime in 17th cent.
13. Cathedral Song School, c.1633-c.1900
14. Cathedral Grammar School, built in 1661
15. Present site of the Cathedral Song School

Appendix B

Details of the foundation of the Langley chantry in 1414:[1]

Inspeximus and confirmation of an ordinance made by John Neuton and John Thoralby, clerks, at Durham, 14 June 1414, founding a perpetual chantry of two chaplains to celebrate divine service in honour of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert at the altar of St. Mary in the church of Durham until another altar be provided in the said church or in a chapel to be built by it in honour of St. Mary by Thomas, bishop of Durham, or his executors, to be called the chantry of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert, Durham, and appointing Master William Broune and Sir John Clayton, priests, as the first chaplains in it. They shall pray for the good estate of the king and the bishop and for their souls after death and the souls of Henry IV, John, late duke of Lancaster, Walter Skirlawe, late bishop of Durham, and William the father and Alice the mother of bishop Thomas; and for their maintenance they shall have a yearly rent of 6 marks from lands in Herdewyk by Norton, Ryton, Boldon, Whytbern, Cashop and the bailiwick of Durham, viz. 40s. each. They shall daily celebrate mass at the altar and say the canonical hours, viz. the office of the day and of St. Mary and the exequies of the dead according to the use of Sarum and the accustomed observances in the diocese of Durham; and if any of the chaplains shall be promoted to a benefice with or without cure or a hospital or shall unduly abstain from the celebration of masses and not correct himself when warned by the ordinary his place shall be vacant and another promoted to it. No one shall be admitted to any place in the chantry unless actually in priest's orders and of good fame, and the chaplains shall be sufficiently instructed and shall keep schools, one in grammar and the other in song, in the city of Durham in places to be assigned by the said bishop or his executors, teaching poor persons gratis and receiving moderate stipends from those who are willing to pay, and the chaplain keeping the school in song shall be bound to be present and sing at the mass of St. Mary with chant in the church of Durham or the said chapel with any of his scholars in competent number, but the one governing the

---

(1) Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry V, 1413-16; p.206 et seq.

grammar school need only be present on Sundays and double feasts. In all their masses, principal feasts excepted, the chaplains shall say the collect Omnipotens sempiterne Deus for the good estate of the king and the bishop of Durham for the time being and for the said souls; and they shall dwell together in a manse or house to be assigned to them within the city by Bishop Thomas or his executors and shall not pass the night outside it without just cause approved by the bishop or absent themselves from the city without licence of the bishop or his vicar general, nor for more than forty days in the year nor both at one time, and the absentee shall always have a suitable substitute to keep school, and they shall not have any women dwelling with them in the house, even though kinswomen, nor any women passing the night in the house, and they shall not frequent plays prohibited to clerks or taverns or dishonest spectacles but occupy themselves with their schools and services, and any delinquent shall be corrected by the bishop and his ministers. This ordinance shall be read to all chaplains before admission, and they shall have a copy if they ask for it and shall take an oath (in words given) on the Gospels, and they shall have letters of the bishop expressly mentioning this. The ordinance shall be read before them every quarter of a year at least, and they shall have a copy with them in their house. If any of the chaplains be hindered from serving by defect or infirmity he shall not be excluded from the chantry or his stipend if it be not through his own fault but he shall pray devoutly for the said souls and shall have a substitute at his own expense to keep school. The advowson of the chantry is granted to the king to grant to the bishop. Any rents and obventions from the chantry in time of vacancy shall be reserved for the successor in it. The bishop during his life may alter this ordinance, and this and any alteration shall be written and sealed in three parts, one remaining with the bishop, another with the prior and chapter and the third with the chaplains and shall be written in the registers of the bishop, the prior and chapter and the archdeacon of Durham. Licence dated at Durham, 13 June 1414, by Thomas, bishop of Durham, by his ordinary authority for the foundation of the chantry. Licence by the same at the same date by the hand of William Chanceller, his chancellor, for the foundation and endowment of the chantry.

Appendix C

The contract drawn up between the Convent and John Tildesley, the Cantor, in 1502: (1)

Haec indentura facta inter Thomam, permissione Divina Priorem ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis et ejusdem loci Conventum ex una parte, et Johannem Tildesley cantorem ex altera parte, testatur, quod idem Johannes est retentus et firmiter juratus ad terminum vitae, sub forma infrascripta; viz. quod idem Johannes Tildesley illos monachos Dunelmenses, et octo pueros seculares, quos Prior Dunelmensis vel ejus deputatus assignaverit sibi ad discendum, assidue et diligenter ac meliori modo, quo sciverit, tam ad modulandum super organa quam ad planum cantum et organicum, scilicet playnsong, priknote, faburdon, discant, swarenote, et countre, quantum in ipso est, gratis laborabit et informabit, ac praefatos monachos et octo pueros, ut praemittitur, quater omni die feriato, videlicet bis ante meridiem et bis post meridiem, nisi legitime impeditus fuerit, diligenter et sufficienter docebit; eorumque lecciones, ut praefertur, audiet, nichil ab eis de dictis scienciis occultando. Tenebitur itaque praedictus Johannes omnibus et singulis missis, vesperis, et salve regina, in choro ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis praedictae cum priknote, discant, faburdon, et organico cantu conjunctim et divisim celebrandis, a principio dictorum cantuum usque ad finem illorum, nisi ipsum aliqua legitima causa impediat, personaliter interesse, habita ad hoc eciam a praecentore seu ejus locum tenente licencia, modulando ibidem super organa, si necesse fuerit, sive admonitus seu assignatus fuerit, tenoremque ad cantus supranominatos, aut aliam voci suae partem magis congruentem, a praecentore seu ejus locum gerente assignatam. Et tenebitur cotidie personaliter interesse missae beatae Mariae Virginis, a principio usque ad finem, cum nota, in Galilea Dunelmensi celebrandae, canendo ad eandem missam planum cantum sive

---

(1) Reg. V, f.70 (dated 23rd June) = Script. Tres. p. cccxcviii.

organicum, meliore modo quo sciverit et poterit, sicut contigerit alios ibidem cantare pro tempore, nisi legitima et magna causa ipsum impediat. Quod si talis causa emerserit quod ibidem interesse non poterit tunc alium ydoneum ejus loco et officio subrogabit. Tenebitur eciam ad vocacionem praecentoris praefatae ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis, seu ejus locum tenentis, pro cantibus praevidendis tociens quociens ad hac praemunitus fuerit. Insuper idem Johannes, quolibet anno, durante termino supradicto, quamdiu bene et commode laborare poterit, unam novam missam quatuor vel quinque parcium, vel aliquid ei equivalens, sicut praefatis Priori et praecentori pro tempore existentibus visum fuerit, in honorem Dei, beatae Mariae Virginis, et sancti Cuthberti, facere tenebitur. Pro quibus omnibus et singulis serviciis, bene et fideliter impendendis, dicti Prior et Conventus pro se et successoribus suis, concesserunt dicto Johanni Tildesley decem libras legalis monetae Angliae ad iiij^{or} anni terminos, scilicet ad festa annunciacionis beatae Mariae Virginis, sancti Johannis Baptistae, sancti Michaelis Archangeli, et nativitatem Domini, per equales porciones, una cum tribus ulnis panni de secta generosorum clericorum quolibet anno ad nativitatem Domini recipiendis; habendum et tenendum supradictas decem libras et tres ulnas panni prefato Johanni a dicto Priore et successoribus suis apud monasterium Dunelmense annuatim, ad terminos supradictos, quamdiu omnia et singula praemissa modo et forma praenotatis fecerit et bene perimpleverit. Si vero contingat dictum Johannem in tantam delibitatem morbo incidere vel infirmitate quod praemissa facere seu perimplere nequeat, extunc idem Johannes erit contentus percipere annuatim de praefatis Priore et Conventu et successoribus suis, pro tempore incumbenciae suae, quinque marcas usualis monetae Angliae. Item tamen quod omnia onera suprascripta, quantum absque sua molestia facere poterit, perimpleat seu faciat. In cujus rei testimonium uni parti istarum indenturarum penes praedictum Johannem Tildesley remanenti praefati Prior et Conventus sigillum suum commune apposuerunt; alteri vero parti penes dictum Priorem remanenti praefatus Johannes sigillum suum apposuit. Data Dunelmi, in domo nostra capitulari, XXIII^{o} die mensis Junii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo secundo.

Appendix D

The petition made by Thomas Wandlesse to the Lord Treasurer for the Langley Song School stipend, together with the Lord Treasurer's granting of the stipend:(1)

To the right honourable Richard Lord Weston, Lord High Treasurer of England. The humble petition of Tho: Wandlesse Clerk.

Sheweth unto your honour that whereas one Robert Maland of the city of Durham did teach a petty school in Durham for the education of poor children which was granted unto him by warrant (?) from your honourable predecessors with the yearly stipend and allowance of viiil. vis. viiid. allowed by his Majesty and paid half yearly by his Majesty's Auditor, and the said Robert Maland being about half a year ago deceased, the said place is become void and but for your petitioner's care appointed thereunto by the now Lord Bishop of Durham had been utterly neglected.

His humble suit unto your honour is that you would be pleased in regard that your petitioner is both able and willing to teach the same, and in regard that it being a place of so mean value hardly any other able man will take pains in it, to bestow the said place and stipend thereunto belonging upon your suppliant for which he shall ever pray, etc.

Let the petitioner be admitted to the place of schoolmaster and the pension of viiil. vis. viiid. from henceforth paid him, as the same hath been formerly paid to those that have supplied that place. And these presents being grounded upon former precedents shall be a sufficient warrant.

Rich. Weston

xxviii Julii 1631.

---

(1) Taken from Pocock, p.11. Pocock himself obtained it from the accounts and minutes of the Auditor and Receiver at the Public Record Office: Class L.R. (Land Revenue) 1/200, f.129.

Appendix E

Chronological Table of the Masters of the various Schools.

Besides listing the Cantors, and the Chaplains responsible for the Langley Song School, the early part of this Table also includes the Chaplains in charge of the Langley Grammar School. These have been mentioned partly to complete the picture, and partly because the order as given in DSR[1] may well be incorrect - the editor seems to have assumed that the Rolls listed the 'Grammar' chaplain before the 'Song' chaplain, whereas it is much more likely that the order is based on seniority of service. The Almery School has been mentioned partly because the Choristers may have had some association with it. As the earlier Bishop's Grammar School flourished outside the period being considered, the Table has not been extended to include it.

In the later part of the Table, the presence at first of the same names shows that the Masters of the Choristers and the Grammar School Headmasters continued the work of the Cantors and the Langley 'Grammar' chaplains respectively. The Under-Masters of the Grammar School are included principally to show that they are different[2] from those

(1) p.1 et seq.

(2) Thus again differing from DSR (pp. 7 & 8), which claims several Petty School Masters as its Under-Masters; cf. above, p. 95.

receiving the Langley Song School stipends, and that, therefore, the 'Petty School' conducted by the latter was quite independent of the Grammar School.

Date	Cantor	Almery Master	Langley Gr.Chaplain	Langley Song Chaplain
1414			Wm.Brown	Jn.Clayton
1415-6	Wm. Kibblesworth			"
16-7	"		Jn.Artays	"
18-9			"	"
24-5			"	
c.1430		Jn.Garner	"	
1430-1	Jn.Stele		"	
34-5	"		"	
38-9	"		"	Rob.Sotheron
53-4	"		Rob.Grene	"
60-1	"		"	"
64-5	"		Jn.Spicer	"
65-6	"		"	"
66-7	"		Nich. Kelchith	"
67-8	"		Hugh Forster	"
1477	"	Jn.Mynsforth	"	"
1478-9	"		"	"

Date	Cantor	Almery Master	Langley Gr.Chaplain	Langley Song Chaplain
1479-80	Jn.Stele		Jas. Frerselet	Wm.Dosse
84-5	"		Th.Todd	"
86-7	"		"	"
87-8	Alex.Bell		"	"
1493	"	Rbt.Milner	"	"
1494-5	"		"	"
96-7	Th.Foderley		"	"
98-9	"			
c.1500		Geo.Trewhytt		"
1502-3	Jn.Tildesley			"
04-5	"		Jn.Hochenson	"
1510	Rbt.Langforth	Cuth.Marshall	"	"
1510-11			"	"
11-12				Th.Sanderson
12-3			Wm.Watson	"
13-4	Th.Hashewell		Ed.Watson	"
c.1515		Jn.Hutchinson	"	"
18-9		"	"	"
20-1		"	G.Fowberry	"
21-2			"	"

Date	Cantor	Almery Master	Langley Gr.Chaplain	Langley Song Chaplain
1523-4			G.Fowberry	Wm.Cokey
c.1527	Wm.Robson		"	"
1528-9	"		"	"
29-30	"		Ralph Todd	"
33-4	"		"	"
34-5			"	"
36-7	Jn.Brimley			"
37-8	"		Hy.Stafford	"
40-1	"	Rbt.Hartburne	"	"

Dissolution and Re-Constitution

Date	Master of Choristers	Gr.School Under-Master	Gr.School Headmaster	2nd Langley Stipends
1541-2	Jn.Brimley	Rbt.Hartburne	Hy.Stafford	Wm.Cokey
42-3	"			"
43-4	"		Rbt.Hartburne	"
55-6	"		"	"
56-7	"		Rbt.Thewles	"
57-8	"	Rbt. Richardson	"	"

Date	Master of Choristers	Gr.School Under-Master	Gr.School Headmaster	2nd Langley Stipends
1558-9	Jn.Brimley		Wm.Thewles	Jn.Pereson
59-60	"		"	"
60-1	"		Th.Reeve	"
62-3	"	Th.Iveson	"	"
66-7	"	"	"	"
67-8	"		"	"
68-9	"	Rbt.Murray Chris. Moberley	Rbt.Cooke	
71-2	"	"	" (1)	discont.this year
72-3	"		"	"
74-5	"		" (2)	"
75-6	"		"	
76-7	Th.Harrison Will.Browne	Chris.Grene	"	
77-8	"	"	" (3)	Th.Harrison(3)
79-80	"	"	Fr.Kay	"
80-1	"	"	"	"
82-3			"	Jn.Rangell

(1) Described as chaplain.

(2) Described as chaplain & Grammar Master.

(3) Described as Grammar Master & Singing Master respectively.

Date	Master of Choristers	Gr.School Under-Master	Gr.School Headmaster	2nd Langley Stipends
1588-9	Rbt. Masterman	Cuth.Nicholle	Fr.Kay	Jn.Rangell
94-5	Will.Smythe	Rbt.Bowlton	Jas. Calfehill	"
96-7	"	"	Peter Smart	"
97-8	"	"	"	"
1599-1600	Will.Browne	"	"	"
1603-4	"	Geo.Cocknedge	"	"
06-7			"	"
09-10	Ed.Smythe	"	Smart Th. Ingmethorpe	"
12-3	None	"	"	"
14-5	R.Hutchinson	"	Nich.Walton	"
16-7	"	"	"	"
17-8	"		"	"
1622	"			"
1623	"			Mark Leonards
1628	"			Leonards Rbt.Maland
1629	"		Th.Miller	

Date	Master of Choristers	Gr.School Under-Master	Gr.School Headmaster	2nd Langley Stipends
1631	R.Hutchinson		Th.Miller	Th. Wandlesse(1)
1632-3	"	Martin Shaxton	Th.Miller Ric.Smelt	Jn. Pattison (1)
33-4	"	Shaxton Is.Gilpin	"	"
39-40			Elias Smith	Sam.Martin
40-1			"	"
1653		Jn.Dury	"	
1657		Ric.Watchin	"	
1660-1			"	Sam.Martin
61-2	Jn.Foster		"	"
63-4	"	W.Handby	Ric.Smelt	
64-5	"	"	Smelt Sam.Bolton	
65-6	"	"	"	
66-7	"	"	Th. Battersby	

(1) Pattison, who received only the 40s. from the Bishop's Receiver, was subordinate to Wandlesse, who received the £8. 6s. 8d. from the Royal Auditor.

Date	Master of Choristers	Gr.School Under-Master	Gr.School Headmaster	2nd Langley Stipends
1667-8	Jn.Foster	W.Handby(1)	Th. Battersby(2)	Jn.Nicholls
1676-7	Jn.Foster(3) Jn.Nicholls Alex.Shaw	"	"	" (4)
79-80	Nicholls & Shaw	"	"	"
80-1		"	"	Th.Barkas
82-3	Wm.Greggs	"	"	"
89-90	"	"	"	"
90-1	"	"	Battersby Th.Rudd	
91-2	"	"	Rudd	Wm.Greggs
92-3	"	"	"	"

(1) From 1673 onwards, Handby was not the only Under-Master: 1673-4 to 1676-7, Nich. Fewster; 1676-7 to 1680-1, Th. Thompson; 1682-3, W. Salkeld; 1682-3 & 1683-4 W. Singleton; 1684-5 & 1685-6, Barn. Hutchinson; 1685-6 to 1687-8, Leo Deane; 1687-8 to 1690-1, Jo. Perkins; & G. Jackson, 1690-1 until the removal of Handby (DSR, p.9), when he became the only Under-Master. It is possible that the extra member of Staff testifies to the expansion of the Grammar School so as to include its own Preparatory section.

(2) In 1667-8 & 1668-9 the 40s. was given to Sam. Martin.

(3) After Foster's death his duties were shared: Nicholls became Master of the Choristers, and Shaw, Organist.

(4) Whilst Nicholls was Master of the Choristers, John White may have deputised for him in the Petty School.

Date	Master of Choristers	Gr.School Under-Master	Gr.School Headmaster	2nd Langley Stipends
1693-4	Wm.Greggs	G. Jackson	Rudd	Wm.Greggs
95-6	"	"	"	"
96-7	"	Fr.Clement	"	"
98-9	"	"	Rudd Nic.Burton	"
1699-1700	"	"	Burton	"
1700-1	"	Wm.Randolph	"	"
09-10	"	"	Burton Rudd	"

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a) MS. Sources:

Priors' Registers: II, III, IV, V.

Cartulary: III.

Dean & Chapter of Durham: a selection of the Account Rolls of various Monastic Officials.

Dean & Chapter of Durham: Treasurer's Account Books - all from 1557-8 to 1709-10 (69 vols.)

Dean & Chapter of Durham: Acts: 1, 2, 2A, 3, 4 (covering the period from 1578 to 1700).

Church Commissioners: Register Nonum. (No.184966)

Church Commissioners: Receiver General's Rolls (of the Bishops of Durham) - a selection before 1540; many from 1567-8 to 1701-2.

MSS. Music: A1, A2, A5; C13; E4-11, E11a.

Hunter MSS: 3, 11, 14.

Mickleton MSS: 25, 32, 91, 97.

Raine: Vol. 31.

Randall: Vols. 10, 14.

Sharpe: Vols. 94, 96.

(b) Printed Sources:

Bishop Cosin's Correspondence, ed. G. Ornsby, 2 Vols. (Sur. Soc., Vols. lii & lv; 1868 & 1870 respectively).

Bishop Hatfield's Survey, ed. W. Greenwell (Sur. Soc. Vol. xxxii; 1856).

Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry V: 1413-1416

Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540, ed. W. A. Pantin, 3 Vols. (Camden Series, Vols. 45, 47, & 54; 1931, 1933, & 1937).

Depositions & Ecclesiastical Proceedings, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur Soc., Vol. xxi; 1945).

Dobsons Drie Bobbes, ed. A. E. Horsman (1955).

Durham Account Rolls, ed. J. T. Fowler, 3 Vols. (Sur Soc. Vols. xcix, c, & ciii; 1898, 1898, & 1900).

Durham Annals & Documents: Cent. XIII, ed. F. Barlow (Sur. Soc., Vol. clv; 1940)

Durham Cathedral Statutes, ed. J. M. Falkner (Sur. Soc., Vol. cxliii; 1929)

Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Bishop Barnes, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxii; 1850).

Henry VIII'ths Scheme of Bishopricks, etc., ed. H. Cole (1838).

Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres. ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. ix; 1839).

Lawrence of Durham, ed. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. lxx; 1878).

Reginaldi Dunelmensis, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. i; 1835).

Miscellanea: ed. G. Ornsby (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxxvii; 1860).

Registers of Tunstall & Pilkington, ed. G. Hinde (Sur. Soc., Vol. clxi; 1946).

Rites of Durham, ed. J. T. Fowler (Sur. Soc., Vol. cvii; 1902)

Sanctuarium Dunelmense, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. v; 1837).

Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, ed. H. Bradshaw & C. Wordsworth, 3 Vols. (1892 & 1897).

Symeonis Dunelm Opera, ed. J. H. Hinde (Sur. Soc., Vol. li; 1867)

Symeon of Durham, ed. T. Arnold (1882)

The Acts of the High Commission at Durham, ed. W. H. D. Longstaffe, (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxxiv; 1857).

The Baptismal, Marriage and Burial Registers of the Cathedral Church ..... at Durham, 1609-1896, ed. G. J. Armytage (having previously been transcribed for the Harleian Soc. by E. A. White) (1897).

The Durham Household Book, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. xviii; 1844).

Valor Ecclesiasticus, Vol. 5 (1825).

Wills & Inventories, Vol. 1, ed. Dr. J. Raine (Sur. Soc., Vol. ii, 1835).

Vol. 2, ed. J. C. Hodgson (Sur. Soc., Vol. xxxviii; 1860).

Vol. 3, ed. W. Greenwell (Sur. Soc., Vol. cxii; 1906).

Vol. 4, ed. H. M. Wood (Sur. Soc., Vol. cxlii; 1929).

(c) Works of reference:

A Dictionary of English Church History, ed. S. L. Ollard, G. Crosse, & M. F. Bond (1948).

Alington, C. A. - Durham Cathedral (n.d.)

Allan, G. - Historical & Descriptive View of the City of Durham & its Environs (1824).

Boyd, M. C. - Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism (1962).

Boyle, J. R. - The County of Durham (1892).

Bukzofzer, M. F. - Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Music (1951)

Buttrey, J. - William Smith of Durham (Music & Letters, Vol. 43, Number 3, June 1962)

Carlton, C. M. - History of the Charities of Durham & its Immediate Vicinity (1872)

Carpenter, N. C. - Music in the Medieval & Renaissance Universities (1958)

Colgrave, B. - Dobsons Drie Bobbes (Durham Univ. Journal: New Series, Vol. 12; 1951).

Comber, Th. - Memoirs of Dr. Comber, Dean of Durham (1798).

Cook, G. H. - English Monasteries in the Middle Ages (1961)

Cox - History of Durham, (no date, but c.1691-9: "the late Dean Cumber", p.638).

Dent, H. C. - The Educational System of England & Wales (1961).

Dickinson, J. C. - Monastic Life in Medieval England (1961)

Durham School Register: ed. T. H. Burbidge (1940).

Eden, C. W. - Some notes on Durham Cathedral Organs and Organists (Friends of Durham Cathedral, 1963/4).

Eden, F. S. - The School History of the County Palatine of Durham (1909)

Edwards, K. - The English Secular Monasteries in the Middle Ages (1949).

Emdem, A. B. - A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500: (1963).

- A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500, 3 Vols. (1957 onwards).

Endowed Charities, Durham, etc. - Vol. 1 (1904).

Fellowes, E. H. - William Byrd (2nd edit., 1948).

Fordyce, W. - The History & Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (1857).

Fordyce - The Bishops of Durham (1868).

Fowler, Rev. J. T. - The Durham Cathedral Choristers' School (The Cath. Quarterly & Church Music Review, Vol. III, No. 9, 1915).

Granville, R. - Life of Dean Granville (1902).

Grove, G. - Dictionary of Music & Musicians (5th edit., 1954).

Harrison, F. Ll. - Music in Medieval Britain (1958).

Howitt, W. - Visits to Remarkable Places, Vol. 2 (1856).

Hughes, H. D. - A History of Durham Cathedral Library (1925).

Hutchings, A. - The Seventeenth Century Music in Durham Cathedral Library (Durham Univ. Journal; Dec. 1963).

Hutchinson, W. - The History & Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, Vols. 1, 2. (1785).

Keir, D. L. - The Constitutional History of Modern Britain, (1946).

Kitchin, Rev. G. W. - The Deanery, Durham (1912)

Knowles, Dom. D. - The Monastic Order in England, 943-1216 (1941).

Leach, A. F. - English Schools at the Reformation (1896).

Low, J. L. - Durham (Diocesan Series, 1881).

- Historical Scenes in Durham Cathedral (1887).

Mackenzie, E. & Ross, M. - County Palatine of Durham, Vol. 2 (1834).

Mackie, J. D. - The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558 (1957).

Ogilvie, V. - The English Public School (1957).

Ornsby, Rev. G. - Sketches of Durham (1846).

Osmond, P. H. - A Life of John Cosin (1913).

Palmer, R. L. - English Monasteries in the Middle Ages (1930).

Pocock, J. G. A. - Survey of Materials available on the History of Education in the North East of England, 1500-1800 (1952 - not published: the work of a Research Fellow in Education).

Raine, J. - St. Cuthbert (1828).

Record of Benefactions, 1750-1857 (Private circulation, 1858).

Robertson, D.H. - Sarum Close (1938).

Sanderson, P. - The Antiquities of the Abbey or Cathedral Church of Durham (1767).

Smith, H. M. - Henry VIII & the Reformation (1948).

Snell, L. S. - Chantry Certificates (No. 6 in Short Guides to Records).

Some Account of Durham College, Oxford, (1840).

Storey, R. L - Thomas Langley & the Bishopric of Durham, 1406-37 (1961).

Sturge, C. - Cuthbert Tunstal (1938).

The Oxford Companion of Music - ed. P. Scholes (9th edit., 1955).

The Victoria History of County Durham - ed. W. Page Vol. 1 (1928).

Thompson, A. H. - Song-Schools in the Middle Ages (1942).

- Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, 1406-37 (Durham Univ. Journal; New Series; Vol. 7, No. 1, 1945).

Trevelyan, G. M. - History of England (3rd edit., 1945).

Weldon, E. C. & Wall, J. - The Story of Durham Cathedral (no date).