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THE CHORAL FOUNDATION OF

DURHAM CATHEDRAL, *c.*1350 - *c.*1650

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BRIAN CROSBY

VOLUME ONE

Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Durham

Department of Music
1992

UNIV DUNELM
- 5 MAY 1993

THE CHORAL FOUNDATION OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL, *c.*1350 – *c.*1650

By Brian Crosby. Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Department of Music, University of Durham, 1992.

The muniments of Durham cathedral, city, and diocese have been explored in order to present and assess the contribution made by lay musicians to worship in the cathedral. By 1335-60 the boys and men had become sufficiently established to merit specific payments. Whether or not the lay Cantor dates back that far is uncertain, but in 1390 it was agreed that what was required was a Cantor-Instructor. No proof for the implementation of this earlier than 1415 has come to light, nor has any contract earlier than that made by the monastery with John Steel in 1430. From it and those of his successors, and from *Rites of Durham*, a picture emerges of the Cantor's duties and of the part played by boys and men in the daily Lady Mass in the Galilee chapel and in the Mass of the Name of Jesus on Fridays in the nave.

Following the suppression of its monastic arm in 1539 Durham was re-constituted a cathedral only in 1541. The pattern of worship established *c.*1560 continued until the 1620s, when the innovations introduced by John Cosin caused Peter Smart (a Calvinist) to preach a vituperative sermon on 27 July 1628. From the litigation which ensued much emerges about whole ordering of worship in Durham since the 1560s. Produced whilst the ceremonialists held sway were several sets of new music books for the choir. Some 40% of these are still in Durham. Such is the detail in the muniments that it has proved possible to suggest when the books were transcribed and by whom. It has also proved possible to identify the contributions of no fewer than eight Durham scribes to the music books at Peterhouse, Cambridge. That their work should be so far afield is explained by the fact that when John Cosin became Master of Peterhouse in 1635 he re-established the post of College organist and drew heavily upon the Durham repertoire.

The succession of Cantors and Masters of the Choristers provided the framework on which to interweave details of their lives, historical events and musical developments. Biographical information relating to the other members of the choir has been assembled in Appendix 1. This is followed other Appendices many of which present together all occurrences of certain fields of information.

DECLARATION

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

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ILLUSTRATION 1: 'Sing unto the Lord a new song' (Psalm 98, v.1)
(an illuminated 'C'; Durham MS A.II.10, f.224^{v}; 13th cent.)

That low man seeks a little thing to do,
   Sees it and does it:
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
   Dies ere he knows it.
That low man goes on adding one to one
   His hundred's soon hit,
This high man, aiming at a million,
   Misses an unit.

Robert Browning
(A Grammarian's Funeral,
lines 113-20)

Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.

Ecclesiastes 12, v. 12
(Authorized Version)

Paul you are raving; too much study is driving you mad.

Acts 26, v. 24
(New English Bible)

CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

Abstract ii

Declaration and Copyright iii

Illustration 1 iv

Quotations v

Contents vi

Lists of Illustrations and Tables ix

Preface xii

Editorial policy and abbreviations (general) xvi

Chronological data xxii

PART ONE: MONASTIC TIMES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 2

From Lindisfarne to Durham - The organization of the Durham priory

CHAPTER 2: ORGANS, LAY SINGERS, AND THE FIRST BOYS 18

Background - Organs and music - The lay singers of Durham priory - The role of the singers - The first boys: the boys of the Almonry school

CHAPTER 3: THE LAY CANTOR - HIS INTRODUCTION AND EARLY DUTIES 48

Background - Beginnings at Durham - The Cantor's duties are increased - The clerk of the Galilee - Was formal approval short-lived? - The Langley schools - The monastery's response (William Kibblesworth, William Chanter, Richard Wymond, Hugh Westmoreland, William Davey) - A Durham Processional

CHAPTER 4: JOHN STEEL, CANTOR, 1430-87 85

His background - His first contract - His second contract - Examples of Durham polyphony - Did Steel retire? - Further information about Steel

CHAPTER 5: THE LATER CANTORS 102

Alexander Bell - Foderley, Tildesley, and Langforth - Robert Perrot, William Robson, and Thomas Ashwell - John Brimley, the last of the line - An unanswered question: Who were the singers? - Conclusion

PART TWO: 1541 - *c.*1650

CHAPTER 1: DISSOLUTION, RE-CONSTITUTION, AND STATUTES 123

The surrender of the monastery - The inter-regnum - Re-constitution - Statutes

CHAPTER 2: TROUBLED YEARS 136

Liturgical uncertainties - Music to suit the changes - Unruly boys - The Rising of the North - John Brimley

CHAPTER 3: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHORAL TRADITION 154

William Brown (1st period) - Robert Masterman and William Smith [3] - William Brown (2nd period) - Edward Smith - Francis Dodgson

CHAPTER 4 THE ENRICHMENT OF WORSHIP 167

The Smart-Cosin controversy

CHAPTER 5 RICHARD HUTCHINSON AND WILLIAM SMITH [5] 182

The troubles of Richard Hutchinson - William Smith [5] and his music

CHAPTER 6: FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS, A DISCOVERY, A DEBATABLE POINT, AND DISASTER 193

Cornetts and sackbuts - Part-books and organ books - A Royal visit - Singing from the tower - Visitation schedules and the uncovering of missing names - The structure of the choir - The Scots as victors - After disarray cometh the end

PART THREE: PART-BOOKS AND ORGAN BOOKS OF THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER 1: THE DURHAM MANUSCRIPTS 221

Preamble - The division into sets - The part-books - Early conclusions about order - References to the copying of music - Further conclusions - Miscellaneous Charters 7116 and 7117 - Conclusions

CHAPTER 2: THE PETERHOUSE CONNECTION 290

Durham contributors at Peterhouse (William Smith [5], Henry Palmer, John Geeres, John Todd, Elias Smith, Toby Brooking, James Green, A further Durham copyist, ? John Gaydon) - Conclusions

VOLUME TWO

Contents ii

Lists of Illustrations and Tables iii

Abbreviations iv

APPENDIX 1: Biographical Details 8

Evaluation of Primary Sources - The format of the Appendix - The biographies - Biographical details

APPENDIX 2: Index of Names (according to category) 137

APPENDIX 3: Payments in monastic times to the singers 143

APPENDIX 4: Payments in monastic times to the instructors in music 160

APPENDIX 5: Lists of members of the choral foundation, 1541-1637 173

APPENDIX 6: Items at Peterhouse copied by Durham scribes 219

BIBLIOGRAPHY 224

LISTS OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLES

ILLUSTRATIONS

For their permission to include photographic reproductions I must thank the Dean and Chapter of Durham, the Dean and Chapter of York, the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, and the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

1. 'Sing unto the Lord a new song' iv
2. From Lindisfarne to Durham 3
3. Durham and its dependent cells 13
4. Locellus XXVII no.35, complete with top left portion 60
5. Plan showing significant locations in and about the cathedral 69
6. End Paper and Binding no.25 94
7. Simplified plan of Durham 146
8. Origins of the Durham lay-clerks, 1541-*c*.1650 156
9. Geeres's signatures (Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.8) 228
10. The end of 'The eyes of all' (MS C4:47), composed and transcribed by Geeres 229
11. Part of MS C4:79, copied by Todd 230
12. Part of MS C5:77, copied by Brooking 231
13. 'added later' to Set 1 by Brooking (MS C5:90) 233
14. The hand of Todd (MS C18:72) 236
15. The hand of Brooking (MS C18:75) 236
16. A further example of Todd's hand (MS E4:112) 239
17. Brooking's basic style for Set 3 (MS E5:33) 240
18. Brooking's style developing (MS E10:49) 241
19. The unknown copyist of Set 3 (MS E10:53) 242
20. Part of MS C8:182, copied by Todd 243
21. Part of MS C8:229, copied by Brooking 244
22. The main style of Set 5 (MS C7:102) 248
23. A slightly later addition to Set 5 (MS C14:10) 248

24. The end of 'Hear my prayer O Lord' (MS A5:35), composed and transcribed by Palmer 249

25. Palmer's signatures (Treas. Book, 1632-3, f.8) 250

26. The Dunnington-Jefferson MS (York MS M29S:301) 251

27. A typical page from Set 6 (MS C13:201) 255

28. William Smith's signatures (Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.6) 265

29. MS A1:13, a holograph by William Smith [5] 265

30. John Todd's signatures (Treas. Book, 1609-10, f.5) 269

31. The ascription to Fido (MS A2:404) 270

32. The hand of Todd (MS C18:41) 270

33. Brooking's signatures (Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.8) 273

34. Tables of Contents, MS C10 (copied by Brooking) 273

35. Brooking's agreement with Coates (Hunter MS 27, f.173) 274

36. Peterhouse MS 493:24, copied by William Smith 294

37. Peterhouse MS 480:114^{v}, copied by William Smith 294

38. The organ part of 'Jesus came when the doors were shut' (Peterhouse MS 493:22^{v}) 297

39. The message sent to Thomas Wilson (Peterhouse MS 493:20^{v}) 298

40. Peterhouse MS 491:M2, copied by Palmer 299

41. Peterhouse MS 491:N3, copied by Geeres 301

42. Peterhouse MS 476:141^{r}, copied by John Todd 302

43. Derrick's *Jubilate* - a Cantoris copy (Peterhouse MS 491:A6) 304

44. Elias Smith's signatures (Durham Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.6) 305

45. Elias Smith's reply to the 1665 Visitation Articles (Durham, Hunter MS 11, ga.97) 305

46. Durham MS C2:198, copied by Elias Smith 306

47. Peterhouse MS 491:K3, copied by Elias Smith 306

48. Brooking's formal hand (Peterhouse MS 487:77) 308

49. The 'informal' hand (notice three 'C's) (Peterhouse MS 487:X6^{v}) 311

50. The 'informal' hand (notice 'A's, 'g's, and 'ô's (Peterhouse MS 480:34) 311

51. Brooking's signatures (Durham Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.8) 312

52. Brooking's agreement with Coates (Durham, Hunter MS 27, f.173) 312
53. Table of Contents, Durham MS C10 (copied by Brooking) 313
54. James Green's signature (Durham Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.5^{v}) 318
55. Parts of 'What strikes the clock' by [Edward] Gibbons of Exeter. Copied by Green into his common-place book (Durham, Hunter MS 33, ff.6^{v}-7) 319
56. Two extracts from Green's reply to the 1665 Visitation Articles (Durham, Hunter MS 11, ga.98) 319
57. Peterhouse MS 481:28^{v}, copied by Green 320
58. Durham MS C18:82 (showing end flourish) 324
59. Durham MS C18:90 (notice 'p' in 'depart') 324
60. Peterhouse MS 478:29 (notice the end flourish and the 'p's) 324
61. John Gaydon's signatures (Durham, Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.8^{v}) 328

TABLES

1. Durham's payments to its singers, 1356-1538 28
2. Support from the dependent cells for the singers 31
3. Payments to the singers, 1381 to 1397-8 38
4. Clerks of the Galilee 65
5. Payments to Kibblesworth and the Cantors, 1415-31 82
6. Instructors in music at Durham 103
7. Analysis of the Cantors' contracts 106
8. Early minor canons and lay-clerks 127
9. The first choristers 128
10. Comparison of 'Te Deum' texts 142
11. The lost set of Durham part-books (conjectured contents) 144
12. The age-range of the choristers, 1541-1650 154
13. Durham masters of the choristers, 1541-1681 155
14. Matthew Owen's bill for copying, 1688-9 213
15. Stylistic differences in Set 3 230

PREFACE

In 1987, when this thesis was begun, the intention was, after a relatively short introduction surveying the development of the choral foundation of Durham cathedral, to present the names of as many as possible of its members, assembling at the same time what was known of their lives. It was hoped, though no date had been formally advanced, that the period covered might extend from *c.*1400 to *c.*1850.

However, once this more thorough search of the archives had begun, it was quickly appreciated that there was much more to be discovered about the early stages than had been supposed, that the first date could be pushed back to *c.*1350. To compensate for the substantial coverage of the monastic period it has been found necessary to bring the thesis to a conclusion at *c.*1650, and to reduce the status of the section giving biographical details to that of an Appendix.

This round date of *c.*1650 is readily justifiable. Historically, the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the late 1530s may have brought an era to an end. The monastery at Durham, however, was a cathedral as well. As such it not only survived, but the part played by what had been its lay choir - or, rather, strata of lay singers - became more central to worship. That part continued to develop until *c.*1640. It was then that the reforming reaction, which had threatened ever since the Dissolution of the Monastery, set in. The worship offered in the cathedrals came particularly under attack, and organs and choirs were considered as corrupting as gaming, dancing, and the theatre. The measures passed through Parliament abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, the Bishops, and the Cathedrals resulted in the only break the cathedral choral tradition has suffered.

The phrase 'this more thorough search of the archives' merits explanation. My interest in this subject has been long, and fostered by me being doubly part of it, on the one hand as a teacher at The Chorister School (since 1957), and on the other as an alto lay-clerk (1959-88). The first steps were taken in *c.*1960, when the Revd Canon H.E.W. Turner, Van Mildert Professor of Theology in the University of Durham, dissuaded me from attempting to present for an M.A. something

about Ezra and Nehemiah. He pointed out that I would need to learn German, and that at the end my work could not hope to be of any consequence. Instead he suggested that attempting to trace the origins and history of the Durham Song School would be something worthwhile, and he arranged for me to transfer my affections to the Department of History. There Professor H.S. Offler warned me that although what I proposed was ground others had endeavoured to turn over none had ever found sufficient information. That in my case there was a successful outcome owed much to the encouragement of my tutor, Mr M.E. James, and the personal interest of the Dean, the Very Revd John H.S. Wild. Looking back, it is ironical, in view of what has happened since, that Mr James should have wondered whether I should include a chapter about the music sung by the choir, but that at that time I felt I was not competent to do so.

That project, successfully completed in 1966 under the title 'Studies in the History of the Song School at Durham from the early fifteenth century until the early eighteenth century', established that there were in fact two song schools in Durham throughout the period being studied. One was concerned with instructing its members so that they could provide music at certain services in the cathedral, the other was very much a preparatory school for Bishop Langley's (later the Dean and Chapter's) grammar school. Some biographical information was included. It was mainly about the lay cantors in monastic times and the organists and masters of the choristers thereafter, but the other song school's masters were also examined, not least because some of them were either minor canons or lay-clerks. Such people are, of course, numbered amongst those who appear in the present thesis. The details about them must perforce remain substantially the same, though clearly corrections have been made and additional information discovered.

It was pointed out to me that I was in an ideal position to continue exploring the muniments, and a number of topics were suggested to me. Encouraged by Professor Arthur Hutchings, I responded in October 1967 to that made by the Revd Canon Arthur H. Couratin, the Dean and Chapter Librarian. It was his suggestion that I should complement R. Alec Harman's, *A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library* (1967), then at the printers, with a catalogue the cathedral's music manuscripts. This work was duly published under the title, *A Catalogue of Durham*

Cathedral Music Manuscripts (1986). It considers not only the manuscripts, but incorporates brief biographical details of those with Durham associations who either composed or transcribed music for use by the choir. Again such information has been drawn upon and extended.

In the course of preparing the catalogue, the booklet, *Durham Cathedral: Choristers and their Masters* (Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1980), was published. It made use both of the M.A. thesis and of the information uncovered in the quest to identify composers and copyists. Indeed, it was that search which gave birth to the thought that it might be worthwhile to try to find out as much as possible about all the members of the choral foundation.

Finally, with the approval of the present editors, considerable use has been made of various articles accepted over the years by *The Durham University Journal* and *The Musical Times*.

In all my work during the last thirty years I must express my sincere thanks to the Deans and Chapters of Durham not only for allowing me access to their considerable muniments, but also for the positive interest and encouragement they have given me. I must also acknowledge my great indebtedness to the staffs of the Dean and Chapter Library and of Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library.[1] Martin Snape, Pat Mussett, and Alan Piper of the latter have gone beyond helping me with my many queries, for as their work of building up a computerized record of the muniments has progressed they have drawn to my attention any documents they thought might be of interest to me.

Thanks must also be paid to the staffs of many libraries and record offices throughout the country, and to the many scholars who in the course of conversation or correspondence have communicated useful information to me. I should like particularly to mention Professor E.J. Kenney, at that time Perne Librarian at Peterhouse, for allowing me access to the originals of the Peterhouse music manuscripts, and Dr Roger Bowers, who kindly gave me a copy of an article he had prepared for publication but then set aside. Nor is my debt just to scholars, for it is true that I have invariably

---

1 Formerly known as the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic.

benefited from discussions with undergraduates and new graduates who have turned to me for advice.

There remain two people without whom this thesis would have remained a dream. The first is my tutor, Professor David Greer. Originally, I went to see him to see whether *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* might be considered as part of an offering towards a Higher Degree. Having explained why this was not possible, he enquired if there were any other area I might pursue. When I explained my original intention for the present dissertation, not only did he consider it suitable, but he offered to supervise it himself. I have greatly appreciated his realistic advice, especially when, having discovered some new information I have found it insufficient to reach what I considered to be positive conclusions. The second is my mother. Mentally active herself, she has ever urged me onwards. Seeing the thesis completed was one of the targets she set herself, and my pleasure is great that she has achieved it.

EDITORIAL POLICY AND ABBREVIATIONS

EDITORIAL POLICY

Sources

The vast majority of the sources consulted are those of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, the diocese of Durham, and of parishes in the Durham area. Accordingly, it has been decided to omit Durham from all references except in such cases - for instance, the chapter which investigates the relationship of the Peterhouse music manuscripts to those at Durham - where there could be an element of doubt.

References

Much of the work has involved the consultation of primary sources. This has resulted in what may be considered an excess of references and cross-references. Not all have been expressed as footnotes. Where possible they have been incorporated into the text, either as prefatory remarks or as information given in brackets after quotations. Again, where it is clear that a quotation from an Act Book pertains to a particular date that in itself has been adjudged a sufficient reference.

Spelling of Surnames

The sources provide a wide variety of spellings, even where signatures are available, of Christian names and surnames. Many are of musicians unheard of outside this thesis. In their cases it has been decided to use the version of the name which is most prevalent today, even when the signatures of the individual (*e.g.*, Elias Smyth) are consistently other than the version which has been selected. The value of this decision is evident in Appendices 1 and 2, which list the names in alphabetical order. Even so, consistency has proved to be impossible, for William Byrd, Dean Horne and Prebendary Eleazar Duncon, to give but three examples, are versions which have been often cited in print.

Quotations and Contractions

In the sources consulted Latin contractions abound. Because the scribes writing them did so as part of an accepted policy, it has been decided to expand them to the versions the scribes would have used had they written the words in full. However, no expansions have been suggested for 'sol' and 'solut'. Though the intention of the entry is covered by the English, 'paid', the Latin is capable of a variety of expansions. For help with the Latin contractions I am greatly indebted to the staff of Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library, and to Alan Piper in particular.

On the other hand, because of uncertainty whether the scribes would have used fuller versions - especially in case like 'y^{e}' ('the') and 'y^{t}' ('that') - English quotations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have not been expanded. No attempt has been made to reproduce the contraction signs, instead '~' and '_' have been used.

With the exception of 'u' and 'v', which have been rendered in accordance with modern usage, the spelling of the sources used has been adhered to.

Dates

Throughout the period being studied the year began not on 1 January but on 25 March. That this was so is particularly apparent in the layout of the parish registers. These have the years as headings, and have the entries for January, February, and up to and including 24 March following those for December. Where for the writer of St Margaret's Register the date of Thomas Wilson's christening was 15 February 1617 modern usage would refer to the year as 1618. In presenting such dates two options were available. That of giving all dates simply in the modern style has been rejected on the grounds that there would always be doubts whether the change had been made. Instead, giving the date in both styles - as, in this case, 15 February 1617/18 - has been preferred. Such a mode of presentation reminds the reader of the situation and shows that the reference has not been overlooked.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

The Surtees and other Societies have reproduced much archival material. Though what has been presented has usually been accurate, the space available has resulted in the editors often being selective. Where what has been consulted or quoted is available in the printed edition then an italicized abbreviation, *e.g.*, *Barnes* (referring to the Register of Bishop Barnes), has been used. When information, for instance, the names of ordinands, has had to derived from the primary sources, then the abbreviation 'Barnes' has been cited in the normal font.

Where more than one work by an author has been used frequently, rather than use 'I' and 'II' or the dates of publication or writing, it has been felt more meaningful to state, for example, 'Bowers, thesis' and 'Bowers, article'.

ABBREVIATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Bowers, thesis	R. Bowers, 'Choral Institutions within the English Church:- Their constitution and development 1340-1500' (Univ. of East Anglia, Ph.D. thesis, 1975)
Bowers, article	'Educational provision and policy in a late mediaeval town: - the Grammar Schools and Song Schools of Durham, 1414-1445' (unpubl. typescript, 1984; copy available on request in Archives and Special Collections, Durham Univ. Library)
Cos. Corr.	*The Correspondence of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham,* ed. G. Ornsby. 2v. (*SS* 52, 55) Durham, 1869-72
Crosby, thesis	G.B. Crosby, 'Studies in the History of the Song School at Durham' (Durham Univ., M.A. thesis, 1966)
Crosby, *Choristers*	B. Crosby, *Durham Cathedral: Choristers and their Masters* (Chester-le-Street, 1980)
Crosby, *Catalogue*	B. Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986)
Depos	Consistory Court Deposition Book, 1565-73 (DDR.V.2)
Depos	*Depositions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the County of Durham extending from 1311 to the Reign of Elizabeth,* ed. by J. Raine. (*SS* 21) London, [1847]
DNPRS	Durham and Northumberland Parish Register Society
DUJ	*The Durham University Journal*
High Comm	*The Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham,* ed. by W.H.D. Longstaffe. (*SS* 34) Durham, 1858
Knowles	Dom. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England,* 3 vols, (Cambridge, 1948-59)

Knowles & Hadcock	D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London, 1953/1971)
Morehen, thesis	J.M. Morehen, 'The Sources of English Cathedral Music, *c*.1617-*c*.1644' (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D., Cambridge, 1969)
New Grove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20v, ed. by S. Sadie (London 1980)
Pantin	*Chapters of English Black Monks, 1215-1540*, iii (Camden 3rd series, 54; 1937), ed. by W.A. Pantin
Pocock	J.G.A. Pocock, Survey of Materials available on the History of Education in the North East of England, 1500-1800 (Findings of a Research Fellow in Education, Durham Univ., 1952)
Rites	*A Description or Briefe Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites, and Customs belonging to, or being within, the Monastical Church of Durham, before the Suppression* (*SS* 107; 1902), ed. by J.T. Fowler
Rolls	*Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, 3v (*SS* 99, 100, 103; 1898-1901), ed. by J.T. Fowler
Script. Tres	*Historiae Dunelmensis, Scriptores Tres*, ed. by J. Raine. (*SS* 9) London, 1839
Sermon	P. Smart, *A Sermon preached in the Cathedrall Church of Durham, July 7* (1628)
SS	Publications of the Surtees Society
Statutes	*The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham, with other documents relating to its foundation and endowment by King Henry the Eighth and Queen Mary* (*SS* 143; 1929), ed. by J.M. Falkner
Treatise	P. Smart, *A Short Treatise of Altars*. London, 1641

Val. Eccl.	*Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII*, 6v., ed. by J. Caley and J. Hunter (London, 1810-34)
Wills	*Wills and Inventories*, 4v (*SS* 2, 38, 112, 142; 1835-1929) by various editors

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Primary Sources

D&C	Dean and Chapter
DJ	Dunnington-Jefferson MS (York Minster MS M29S)
Loc.	Locellus
Misc. Ch.	Miscellaneous Charter
Pont.	Pontificalia (documents issued by the Bishops of Durham)
Reg.	Regalia (documents issued by the monarch)
Reg. I, II	Priory Register I, II, *etc.*(indentures, &c)
Reg. Parv.	Small Register (Prior's letters, grants of corrodies, etc.)
RGR	Bishop's Receiver General's rolls
PDLP	Post-Dissolution Loose Papers
Reg. 1, 2	Dean and Chapter Register 1, 2, *etc.*
Treas.	Dean and Chapter Treasurer

Liturgical

Be	Benedicite	N	Nunc dimittis
Bs	Benedictus	Pr	Preces
C	Creed	Ps(s)	Psalm(s)
G	Gospel Sentences	Resp	Responses
J	Jubilate	S	Sanctus
K	Kyrie	Sc	Sursum corda
Lit	Litany	Td	Te deum
M	Magnificat	V	Venite

Further abbreviations relating only to the Appendices are given at the beginning of Volume 2.

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

687	Death of St Cuthbert on the Great Farne
875	Danish incursions cause community of St Cuthbert, with body of their saint, to leave Lindisfarne
883	After wandering for seven years community settles at Chester-le-Street
995	Chester-le-Street abandoned; after a few months community settles at Durham
1083	'Irregular' community of St Cuthbert expelled from Durham; replaced by Benedictine monks
1093	Present cathedral begun
1104	St Cuthbert's body transferred to shrine behind High Altar
1264	Prior Hugh de Darlington has either an organ or a bell-chamber built
1333	Revenue from land in Stannington allocated to Cantor's salary
1334-5	Unknown person paid for playing the organ at Easter
1336-7	First reference to a 'magister puerorum'
1338	New Infirmary (not for monks) built opposite the priory gateway
1340-1	Earliest reference to the 'clerk of the Galilee'
1346	Battle of Neville's Cross
1347-8	Almonry school provided with a room in the new Infirmary
1348-9	Earliest reference to the 'Boy Bishop'
1351-2	Earliest payment to the Almonry schoolmaster
1356-7	First payment to 'singers'
1378-9	Dom Reginald de Wearmouth paid 'ad organa'
1382-3	Earliest payment to a lay Cantor
1387-8	First named lay Cantor - Nicholas
1390	Prior Robert de Berrington agrees there should be an Informator to instruct boys in music
1414	Chantry founded by Bishop Thomas Langley chantry, its two chaplains to keep schools in grammar and song
1415-16	Dom William Kibblesworth paid for giving musical instruction
1416-17	William Chanter first of a new line of lay Cantors
1430	Earliest known contract with a lay Cantor - John Steel

1487	Alexander Bell succeeds John Steel
1535	*Valor Ecclesiasticus* compiled
1539	Durham priory surrenders to Henry VIII's commissioners
1541	Refoundation and endowment as a cathedral only
1545	*King's Primer*
1549	*1st Prayer Book*
1552	*2nd Prayer Book*
1554/5	Philip and Mary issue Statutes for Durham cathedral
1559	Act of Supremacy
1568	New music books provided for the singing-men
1569	Musical personnel questioned following Rising of the North
1576	Death of John Brimley, last monastic Cantor and first Master of the Choristers under the new foundation
1593	Earliest text (the 'Hogg' roll) of 'Rites of Durham'
1607	*Dobsons Drie Bobbes* published
1617	James I visits Durham
*c.*1621	New organ installed at cost of *c.*£700
*c.*1625	Oldest surviving manuscript part-books; two cornetts and two sackbuts introduced at services
1628	Peter Smart suspended after sermon attacking 'high church' practices (many of them musical) introduced by John Cosin
1632	First known instances of choir singing from tower - on anniversaries of (1) Accession, (2) Deliverance from Gunpowder Plot
1633	Charles I visits Durham
1635	John Cosin adds Mastership of Peterhouse to his titles - takes Thomas Wilson, a former chorister, to be organist, draws heavily on Durham musical repertoire
1640	Scots over-run Durham; organ damaged
1644	Parliamentary Act suppressing Book of Common Prayer
1646	Death of Richard Hutchinson, organist
1649	Execution of Charles I
1651	After the Battle of Dunbar cathedral used as prison by Cromwell for 3000 Scots
1660	Restoration of monarchy and resumption of cathedral worship; Cosin enthroned as Bishop of Durham

PART ONE

MONASTIC TIMES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

FROM LINDISFARNE TO DURHAM

The Durham story starts with St Cuthbert. Monk, and recluse, and reluctant bishop of Lindisfarne, he died on the Great Farne in 687. When his body was examined in 698 it was found not to have deteriorated. The fame of this spread far and wide, and Lindisfarne became the objective for pilgrimages. In the ninth century, however, the eastern coast of England suffered at the hands of the Danish raiders. Lindisfarne proved vulnerable, and in 875 the monks under Eardulph their bishop took up the body of St Cuthbert, and began their search for a location on the mainland less open to attack.

Their wanderings ranged far and wide in southern Scotland and northern England, with temporary roots put down at nearly fifty places. These ranged from Edinburgh in Midlothian to Whithorn in Galloway, from where an abortive attempt was made to reach Ireland, and from Halsall in Lancashire to Fishlake in Yorkshire, until in 883 they settled at Chester-le-Street, some seven miles north of Durham.[1] This site the community was granted by Guthred, the young Earl of Northumberland, in appreciation of the part it had played in persuading the Danes to accept him as their king.[2]

For over a hundred years Chester-le-Street was St Cuthbert's resting place and the seat of the bishopric, but in 995 it too was adjudged to be too exposed, and again a period of wandering took place. This time it was much shorter, for after only a few months the strategic site at Dunholme, or Durham, became the saint's resting place. The story of a coffin stuck fast, a monk's dream, and a milkmaid's cow, is legend. More plausible is the explanation that

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1 For the location of these places see Illustration 2 on p.3.

2 *Simeon of Durham: A History of the Church of Durham,* ed. by J. Stevenson (1988 reprint), 48. All modern renderings of the Durham story cannot help but be indebted to Simeon, nevertheless, a convenient account is given in R.B. Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400-1450,* (1973) 16-26, and a brief summary in C.J. Stranks, *This Sumptuous Church* (1973), 1-5.

Uhtred, the son-in-law to Bishop Aldhun and future Earl of Northumberland, was aware that the rocky peninsula well-nigh surrounded by the river Wear would be as secure as his stronghold at Bamburgh.[3] From a temporary covering of boughs St Cuthbert's remains were moved into a rapid succession of possibly as many as three wooden churches. Then, only a few years later, in 999, the building of a stone church was embarked upon by Bishop Aldhun. He died before its completion in 1017.[4]

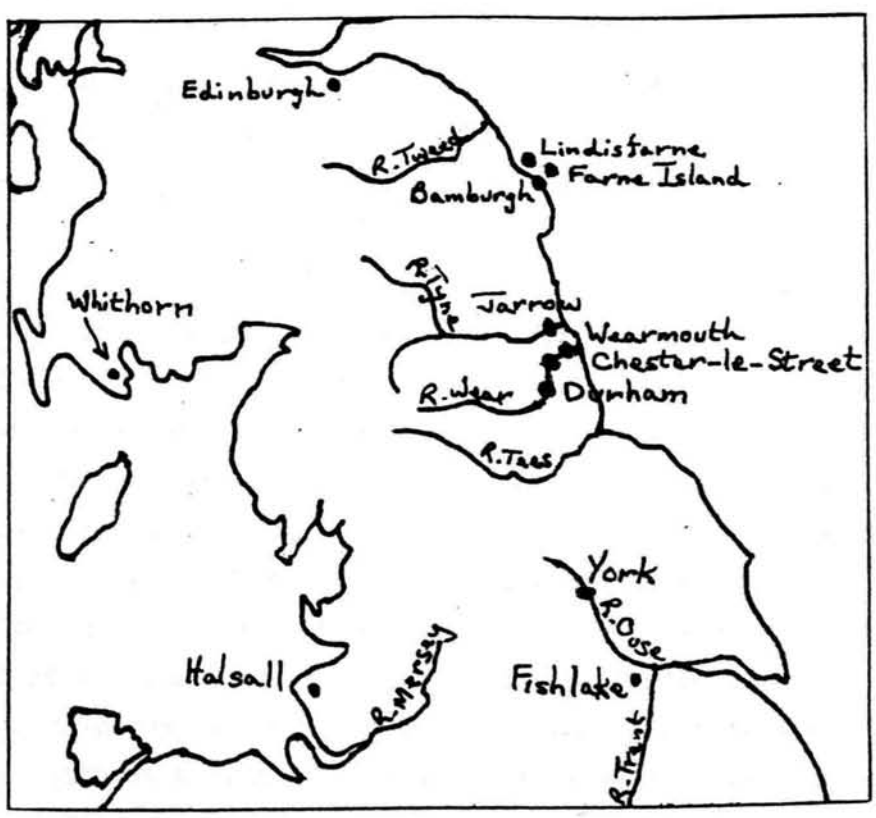


ILLUSTRATION 2: From Lindisfarne to Durham

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3 Dobson, *Durham Priory*, 23.

4 It is hard to determine just which church was 'the white church'. Simeon (d. after 1096) states that it was one of the wooden ones, whereas Reginald (d. after 1172) says that the white church 'had two stone towers, ... each with a spire of brass' - *cf.*, *Simeon*, 56-7, and *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis: Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*, ed. by J. Raine (*SS* 1, 1835), 29. Two of the sources used in *Rites* - pp.66-7 (dated 1593) and 71-2 (*c.*1620) - appear to effect a compromise. They state that it was the chapel to which the remains of St Cuthbert were transferred from the wattle church, and that the chapel became part of the great Saxon church.

Noble though this stone church is said to have been, it lasted only until the coming of the Normans. The north of England was unwilling to accept William I as king. In 1069 the population rose, surrounded Durham, and murdered Robert Cumin, his representative, and nearly all of his seven hundred men. William reacted with severity, employing a scorched-earth policy on the area north of York. Aethelwin, the Saxon bishop of Durham, endeavoured to escape to the continent. Captured, and found to be in possession of some of the cathedral's treasures, he was disgraced.[5] He was replaced in 1071 by Walcher, the first Norman bishop. In 1073 Walcher allowed Aldwin and two other Benedictine monks from Evesham to settle first at Jarrow and later at Wearmouth, but in 1080 he was murdered at Gateshead by a mob incensed by the harshness of one of his officials.

His successor was William of St Calais (1081-96), also known as Carilef. In 1083 he proceeded with Walcher's intention of replacing the community of St Cuthbert. Their way of life could hardly be described as monastic, they were 'more a religious clan',[6] for some of them were married, had families, and lived in their own houses. Introduced in their place were the monks who had been allowed to settle at Jarrow and Wearmouth,[7] monks who were subject to the discipline of the Benedictine rule. Whilst Carilef is remembered principally as the conceiver and initiator of the plan to replace the Saxon cathedral with the present magnificent building, the main parts of which date from 1093 to 1133, he also greatly increased the sphere of the authority of the Bishop of Durham. At the suggestion of William II he purchased from the Earl of Northumberland his temporal powers.[8] In this way the king removed such power from those who might become disaffected and desire more, and gave to the bishop the authority of a Count Palatine. As such the Bishop's powers were far reaching, for as well as representing the monarch in the north-east of England, he had his own army, his own court of law, and his own mint.

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5 Stranks, *This Sumptuous Church*, 4.

6 *Ibid.*, 2.

7 *Knowles & Hadcock*, 64.

8 Stranks, *This Sumptuous Church*, 6.

On the national scene, too, many Bishops of Durham made their mark. Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128), for instance, was financial adviser to William II before acquiring the bishopric of Durham.[9] The first private citizen known to have been imprisoned in the Tower of London, his imprisonment, his escape and flight to Normandy, his role in Robert's vain attempt to gain the English crown, and his restoration to Durham, may reflect the fortunes of a 'double-agent'. Hugh de Puiset (1153-95) was Regent of that part of England north of the Humber whilst Richard I was away on his crusade,[10] and Antony Bek (1284-1310) was chief adviser on Scottish affairs to Edward I and served as a diplomat at the papal and European courts.[11] Finally, Thomas Langley (1406-37) held the office of Chancellor of England immediately before becoming Bishop of Durham and served again in that capacity from 1417 to 1424.[12] Apart from Thomas Wolsey (1523-9), who never visited the see, even being enthroned by proxy, Langley was the only Bishop of Durham to have conferred upon him the title of Cardinal.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DURHAM PRIORY

The monks brought to Durham in 1083 by Carilef were of the Benedictine order. As such they followed the Rule drawn up by St Benedict (*c*.480-543) who passed the last fourteen years of his life as Abbot of the monastery at Monte Cassino in Italy. The Rule itself antedates that period, and was probably formulated in *c*.526 whilst Benedict was still Abbot at Subiaco. He regarded the monastic way of life as being suitable for laymen rather than for priests, and his code of conduct was drawn up for those who lived in communities in a fixed place rather than for hermits or for those who wandered from

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9 It is said that he suggested to the king that money would accrue to the royal funds if bishoprics were not filled promptly but sold to the highest bidder. Durham was vacant for three years before Flambard himself acquired it.

10 Stranks, *This Sumptuous Church*, 14.

11 *Ibid.*, 21. Bek numbered among his titles those of Patriarch of Jerusalem and King of the Isle of Man.

12 A.H. Thompson, 'Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, 1406-37', *DUJ* 38 (1945-6), 1-16.

place to place.[13] He envisaged the waking day being made up of prayer, spiritual reading, and manual work. Prayer was represented by the daily round of matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline, with mass being celebrated only weekly. By the tenth century, however, the restructuring of the daily routine left no time for manual work.

For Benedict the abbot was the head of the community. He was to set a fitting example for the other monks to follow, and appointments to other positions of responsibility within the monastery rested upon his decision.[14] From the outset it was manifest that he would eat apart from the other members of the community, either entertaining guests or inviting some of the monks to join him.[15] The Rule also sets forth the duties of the deans,[16] the cellarer, the guest-master, the prior, and the porter.[17] Furthermore, although it does not use the titles, it shows the need for a sacrist and a chamberlain, and an infirmarer.[18]

As monastic communities grew larger, wealthier through gifts of land, and more powerful in matters temporal, a wider range of obedientiaries, that is, people with particular areas of responsibility, was required. Lanfranc, the Abbot of Caen in Normandy, who had come over to England with William the Conqueror and in time had become Archbishop of Canterbury (1070-89), drew up in *c.*1073 a revised code for the monastic community at Canterbury. Still at Durham is a contemporary copy of this, a copy owned by Carilef and in all probability given to him by Lanfranc.[19] In his 'Constitutions' Lanfranc expounds in some detail the duties of the

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13 Dom J. McCann, *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (1938), 14-17.

14 *Ibid.*, 16-23, 144-9.

15 *Ibid.*, 120-1, 126-7.

16 *Ibid.*, 68-9. A dean (Lat., *decanus*) was probably a monk originally in charge of ten others. In 1530-1 Durham had two deans, Richard Crosby and John Duckett - *The Durham Household Book*, ed. by J. Raine, (*SS* 18, 1845), 25.

17 McCann, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 80-3, 118-23, 152-3, respectively.

18 *Ibid.*, 80-3 for the first two, 90-1 for the last.

19 MS B.IV.24. This manuscript was one of the principal sources used in *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (1951), ed. by Dom D. Knowles.

abbot, prior, sub-prior, roundsmen, cantor, sacrist, chamberlain, cellarer, hostiller or guest-master, almoner, and infirmarer. Added in later texts of the work are the responsibilities of the master of the novices. A senior monk, he was exhorted to be considerate and caring in his manner, especially as some of his charges were likely to be young children.[20] Like all such treatises its provisions were modified to meet the needs of individual establishments.

In the case of the English monastic cathedrals, although the bishop was technically the 'father of the community' his duties in the diocese rendered his title of ABBOT a courtesy one. This was particularly true of the Bishop of Durham whose additional role of Count Palatine meant that he was very much a political figure. In effective control of the Durham monastery was the PRIOR, a person of no little importance. In view of these things, although many over the centuries have described the monastery at Durham as an abbey it is more correct to refer to it as a priory.

Like the bishop, the prior was not inferior to the local nobility and landed gentry. He had his own servants, and his own country residences. In 1310-11 Prior William Tanfield spent time at Beaurepaire (Bearpark), Pittington, Ketton, Bewley, Muggleswick, Dalton[-le-Dale], Merrington, Westoe, and Wardley,[21] but by 1416, when Wessington became Prior, the leasing of estates for farming had reduced this list to just Beaurepaire and Pittington. Occasional visits, however, were made to Witton [Gilbert], where there was a hospital, and also to Sacristonheugh.[22]

The status of the Durham Prior was enhanced further in 1379 when Pope Urban VI granted to Prior Robert Berrington and his successors the right to use the mitre and crosier.[23] This right gave the Prior of Durham precedence over the non-mitred abbots. Between

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20 Knowles, *Monastic Constitutions*, 115-8. It was not until the Lateran Council of 1215 that child-oblates were officially banned.

21 For information about the country residences see, Dobson, *Durham Priory*, 93-4.

22 This last in 1397-8 - rolls of the Almoner, Feretrar, and Hostiller.

23 *Historiae Dunelmensis, Scriptores Tres*, ed. by J. Raine (*SS* 9, 1839), cxlvii, *cf.*, cliv-vi; Dobson, *Durham Priory*, 110; *cf.*, W. Hutchinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, ii (1787), 93-4.

1381 and 1498 the Priors Berrington, John Hemingburgh, John Wessington, William Ebchester, Richard Bell, Robert Ebchester, and Thomas Castell all conducted Visitations of other abbeys to see if they were being run satisfactorily. They usually visited some permutation of the abbeys of Whitby, Selby, Monk Bretton, and St Mary's, York, the only other independent Benedictine houses in the province of York, though in 1453 William Ebchester went as far afield as Coventry.[24] In 1387 Berrington and the Abbots of Glastonbury and Ramsey were joint Presidents of the Benedictine Order in England, as were Wessington and the Abbots of Bury St Edmund's and Worcester in 1426. On this last occasion Wessington enjoyed sole charge at the annual meeting, his co-presidents being unable to attend. During the next ten years Wessington frequently shared the position. In 1429 and 1431 it was with the Abbots of St Albans and Pershore, in 1432 with the Abbot of Pershore, and in 1435 with the Abbot of St Albans.[25]

At Durham the Prior was assisted by a SUB-PRIOR and by a THIRD PRIOR. According to *Rites of Durham*,[26] said to be the memories of one associated with the monastic community, the Sub-Prior acted as a roundsman, checking that the monks were in the dormitory at night, and attending to the daily security of the church. With the Prior eating in his own residence and frequently away the Sub-Prior was very much responsible for the day to day running of the monastery.

Essential in helping to ensure the continuance of the community was the MASTER OF THE NOVICES. He taught his charges in the north aisle of the cloisters near to the south-west door. The author of *Rites* states that their studies lasted for the inordinately long space of seven years,[27] though the more able spent some of this time at Durham College, Oxford. Responsible for the ordering of the musical side of worship was the PRECENTOR and his deputy, the SUCCENTOR. Attending to the needs and trappings associated with

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24 *Pantin*, iii, 236-45.

25 *Ibid.*, 259-62.

26 The oldest source, which is almost 67 feet in length, is dated 1593. Known as the Hogg Roll, it was acquired for £800 by the Dean and Chapter in 1966. For the duties of the Sub-Prior, and for those of the other monastic obedientiaries, see *Rites*, 93-4, and 88-102, respectively.

27 *Op. cit.*, 96-7.

worship was the SACRIST. The purchase of vestments and keeping them in good repair, the provision of the bread and wine used at Communion, and of holy water, incense, and candles, all lay in his care. He was responsible for procuring new bell ropes and maintaining the bells in good condition. The state of the windows and of the lead on the roof came under his control too, as did the general cleaning of the church. Originally, one of his important duties was to ensure the safe-keeping of the body of St Cuthbert, and of the benefactions made at the shrine, but these aspects quickly devolved upon the FERETRAR, or shrine-keeper. Unlike the Master of the Novices and the Precentor, the Sacrist and the Feretrar handled financial transactions. They were expected to be able to account for the money they handled, and to that end kept records which were usually presented annually. Other obedientiaries too had financial responsibilities, for the needs of the community of some thirty to sixty monks had to be attended to, pilgrims had to be received and guests entertained, and through endowments there were considerable estates to administer. Indeed, it was from renting out its farms and tenements that the monastery derived the greatest part of its income. Assigned to the Sacrist, for instance, was the revenue of the estate at Sacristonheugh.

In charge of all kitchen expenses, and particularly the provision of food, whether for the monks or for the Prior, his household, and his guests, was the CELLARER. It was incumbent upon him to see that the meals were properly prepared and decently served at the appointed times. Least onerous were the duties of the COMMUNAR. He saw to the ordering of spices, and on occasions provided delicacies to serve as a relief from the monastic fare. One instance of this was on 16 December each year when he sang the Advent antiphon, *O Sapientia*. In the words of the author of *Rites*,

> Betwixt Martinmes [11 November] and christinmes [there was] a sollemne banquett ... of figs & reysinges, aile & caikes and therof no sup_flwitie or excesse but a scholasticall and moderat congratulac~on amonges them selves. (*op. cit.*, 89)

Ensuring that there was a fire in the Common Hall was also one of his responsibilities. It was long thought that this fire, in what was the crypt under the monks' dormitory, was the only fire to which the ordinary monks had access, but in October 1961 the removal of rubble from beneath the false floor of the Refectory revealed a

central rectangular open hearth dating from *c.*1500.[28] It could be, however, that the author of *Rites*, even though he mentioned that the obedientiaries were not without fires in their 'offices', excluded this fire on the grounds that the Refectory was not a casual meeting place.

The CHAMBERLAIN was responsible for sheets, socks, and for clothing the community, both its monks and its servants. The actual purchase of material, however, is recorded in the Bursar's accounts. Under the heading, *Garderoba*, many of the entries cover the quantity and type of cloth, for whom it was intended, and from whom it had been obtained. A number of lists, of which that quoted in *Rites* for 1510[29] is a convenient example, specify just how much cloth was allocated to each member of the community.

In charge of the accommodation and care of monks who were ill or frail on account of age was the INFIRMARER, whilst the HOSTILLER should have run the Guest Hall, attended to the needs of the guests, and provided hay for their horses. For some reason these duties he shared with the TERRAR, whose correct area of responsibility should have been - as his name implies - the administering of the monastery's estates. The lack of clear areas of responsibility may stem from the fact that in the later part of the monastic period the duties of both the Hostiller and the Terrar were combined in the same person.

Supervising the charitable activities of the monastery was the ALMONER. These included the repairing of bridges within the diocese,[30] the requirements of the hospitals / almshouses at Witton Gilbert, of St Mary Magdalene in Durham,[31] and of the Infirmary established in 1338[32] outside the precincts and directly opposite the gate-house of the monastery. The function of this Infirmary in

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28 Personal reminiscence; *cf.*, E.[A.] Gee, 'Discoveries in the Frater at Durham', *The Archeological Journal, 123 (1967)*, 69-79.

29 *Rites*, 144-7.

30 *Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis*, 242. Reginald also refers to the duties of the Sacrist (pp.79-80, 106-7) and of the Cellarer (pp.240-1).

31 Its ruins are soon visible on the left side of the road leading from the Claypath roundabout to the A1(M); see map on p.146.

32 *Rolls*, i, 200-2; see below, pp.42 and 69 (plan).

no way duplicated that of the one which was the responsibility of the Infirmarer. Rather, it catered for the needs of a number of elderly lay folk. Many of these would have had some connection with the monastery. Some would have been in its service in their younger days, others related either to its monks or to its lay servants. From *c.*1348 this second Infirmary also housed the schoolroom used by the children of the Almonry.[33] Like the Infirmary, this school was not designed to serve the needs of the city,[34] and many of those attending it would have had some family association with the monastery.

Corn and malt were the responsibility of the GRANATOR, and the buying and selling of livestock lay in the hands of the INSTAURATOR, though the running of the stud farm at Beaurepaire (Bearpark) was overseen by the PRIOR'S MASTER OF HORSE. The Prior had other officials too, one of whom, the PRIOR'S MARSHAL, was very much the predecessor of the modern Inspector of Weights and Measures. Essential to the running of Prior's household was the PRIOR'S CHAPLAIN. He saw that furnishings and clothing were in a good state of repair, had care of the plate, and paid out the salaries of the members of the household. Finally, one of the monks acted as controller of the finances relating to the priory's coal mines.

To enable the obedientiaries meet their financial obligations the revenues of specific estates and properties were allocated to them. Even so, the Cellarer, for example, was responsible more for assessing the food requirements than for paying for the supplies. That aspect was the responsibility of the BURSAR, who, as well as meeting the general expenses, paid the wages of the lay work-force and the salaries of legal experts, chaplains, and other obedientiaries.

The Almoner, Bursar, Cellarer, Chamberlain, Communar, Feretrar, Granator, Hostiller, Infirmarer, Sacrist and Terrar, all kept detailed records listing both income and expenditure. Over a thousand of these accounts have survived, usually in roll form. Some of the Feretrar's rolls are scarcely ten centimetres long, whereas some of those of the later Bursars approach ten metres in length.

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33 Almoner's accounts.

34 The city was served by the precursor of the Langley grammar school; *cf.*, Crosby, thesis, 14-16.

In 1438 the complexity of the Bursar's accounts gave rise for concern, and for a while some areas were allocated to the Cellarer and to the Granator. This devolution proved to be short-lived, the Bursar re-assuming full responsibility in 1445.

To this multitude of rolls should be added over nine hundred belonging to Durham's dependent cells. Durham had no fewer than nine of these daughter houses.[35] They were located on Farne Island and on Lindisfarne, at Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Finchale, at Coldingham in the Borders (until it was lost in 1462),[36] Lytham on the Lancashire coast, Stamford in Lincolnshire, and at Durham College, Oxford. This last was of a different nature from the others, for, especially after the enlarging of its foundation in 1381, it was where the more able and younger monks were sent to improve their learning. Stamford, too, may have been somewhat different, for it was there before the ascendancy of Oxford that Durham monks went to study, and it was there that a group of students seceding from Oxford in 1333-4 established a short-lived University.[37]

All the cells were very small, several of them of literally only two or three monks,[38] thus precluding any form of community life. They were served by Durham monks, selected for a variety of reasons by the Prior of Durham, and movement was frequent.[39] The cells were endowed with land, and it was only by providing a continuance of monks for Coldingham, Lytham, and Stamford, that Durham could ensure that rents and tithes in those distant parts were forthcoming.

The mother house may have made grants to its students at Oxford and Stamford, but it called upon all its dependencies for financial

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35 *Knowles & Hadcock*, 52-82 *(passim)*. This number does not include Warkworth or Tynemouth. The former's association with Durham lasted from possibly before 1241-9 until an uncertain date during the 15th century; the latter's was very brief - from *c*.1083 until 1085. See p.13 below for a map (Illustration 3) showing the location of the dependent cells.

36 Dobson, *Durham Priory*, 147-8.

37 A.J. Piper, 'St Leonard's Priory, Stamford' (*The Stamford Historian*, 5, 6 (1980, 1982), especially, 6, pp.10-12.

38 *Knowles & Hadcock*, 58-82 (*passim*).

39 *The Inventories and the Account Rolls of the Benedictine Houses or Cells of Jarrow and Monk-Wearmouth in the County of Durham*, ed. by J. Raine (*SS* 29, 1854), xiv-xxi.

support. In some cases a fixed sum was paid to one of the Durham obedientiaries. For instance, from 1462-3 to 1495-6, Oxford forwarded annually to 'the chamberlain of Durham' the sum of £6-13s-4d from its revenue from the parish of Brantingham in Yorkshire, and at other times other cells made contributions to various obedientiaries.[40] The cells were expected to share the cost

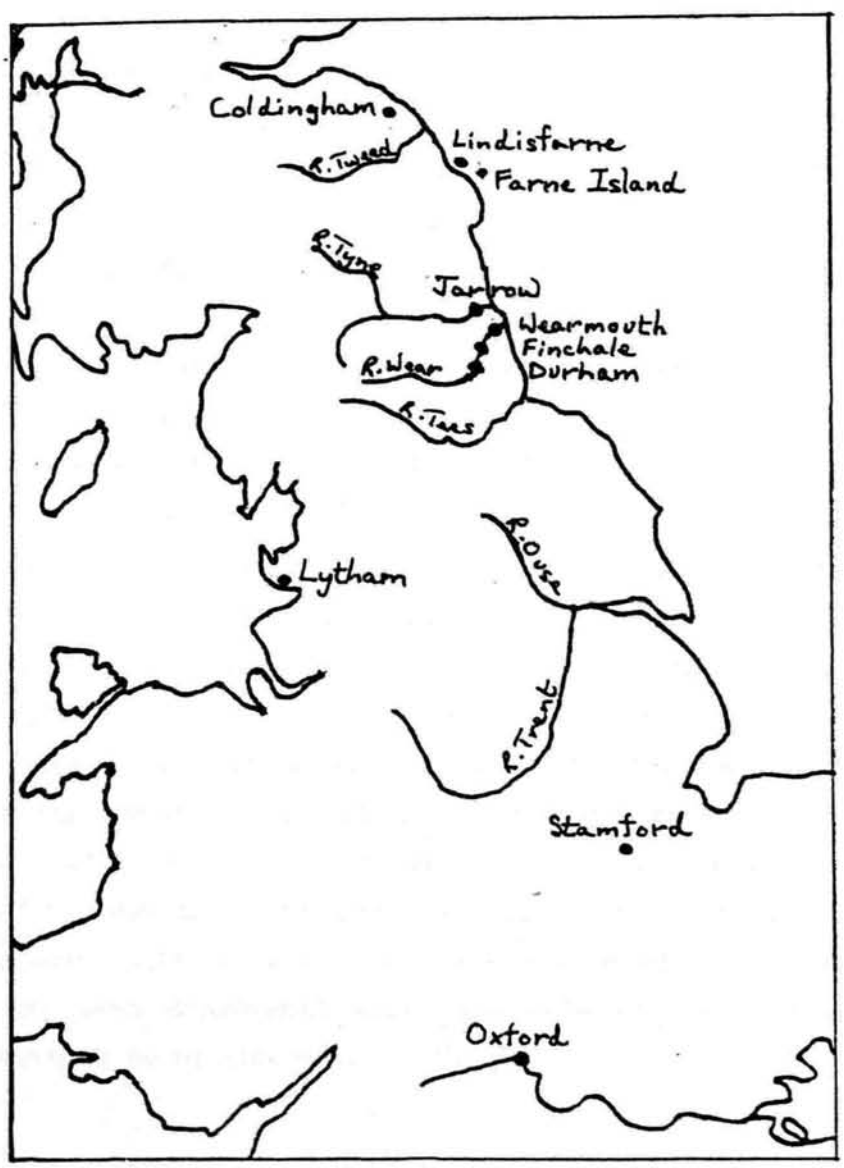


ILLUSTRATION 3: Durham and its dependent cells

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40 *E.g.*, to the chamberlain - Jarrow (1504-5); sacrist - Jarrow (1532-3), Lindisfarne (1432-3); communar - Coldingham (1354-5); bursar - Finchale (1433-4); feretrar (for Boy Bishop) - Finchale (1474-1538); and also to the seneschal (not an obedientiary) - Lytham (1425-7).

of building projects at Durham. These included the new dormitory (1398-1404), the new library (1415-18) and repairs to the bell tower after it had been struck by lightning in 1429.[41] They also contributed towards maintaining the students at Oxford, and helped to fund the festivities associated with the Boy Bishop and those enjoyed by the singers.[42]

Invaluable though the vellum rolls of Durham and its cells are as a source of information about all aspects of monastic life and indeed on the general social scene in mediaeval times, it should be mentioned that they are only the tidy official statements of income and expenditure. They were transcribed not by their obedientiaries but by a professional scribe whose fee is included among the items of expenditure. More informative still, though few have survived, are the working records kept by the Almoner, Bursar, Communar, and Hostiller. For instance, in the case of Pensions and Stipends, where the summary rolls merely state the total a person received during the year, the books record the quarterly payments and even whether any advances were made during those quarters.

Of present concern are the references in the accounts and other muniments to the lay people who contributed to the musical side of worship, and in particular to the lay singers, both men and boys, and to the CANTOR. The singers were the forerunners of the present cathedral choir, the CANTOR was a lay instructor introduced and employed by the monastery to ensure that the musical content of its worship was of the highest standard possible. Although many references to presumably the adult singers have been found, they shed hardly any light on the nature of that group's contribution. Much more has been discovered about the role of the Cantors, but scarcely anything about the boys.

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41 *E.g.*, for the dormitory - Finchale (1398-1405), Jarrow and Wearmouth (1402-5), Lytham (1400-1), Oxford (1398-1401); library - Finchale and Jarrow (1415-17), Holy Island (1414-18), Lytham (1414-15), Wearmouth (1415-16); and tower - Finchale and Jarrow (1432-3), Holy Island and Wearmouth (1430-1), Lytham (1432-6).

42 These aspects feature regularly in most accounts from *c.*1286, *c.*1350, and *c.*1470, respectively. I am grateful to Mr J.S. McKinnell, of the Department of English, for pointing out that the singers featured in the accounts of the cells.

From the rolls and books it would appear that the way of life at Durham was not unlike that of a business corporation specializing as much in estate management as in religious matters. In contrast with the Rule of St Benedict, which decreed that monks should have no private possessions,[43] the monks of Durham received 6s-8d when they celebrated their first Mass,[44] received a small annuity if an ordinary monk and a larger one if occupying a position of responsibility.[45] Further, even though in theory it was incumbent upon all monks to be present at the monastic offices, to have done so would have prevented certain of the obedientiaries from performing their duties effectively. To resolve this the Bursar, Cellarer, Chamberlain, Granator, Hostiller and Sacrist were permitted to be represented at certain of the services by 'vicars'. Such deputies, who were invariably monks, each received 6s-8d per annum for his attendance in the latter capacity.[46] As for the Prior, the chief executive, he had considerable status, socialized, enjoyed a high standard of living waited on by servants in his own residence, and on retirement could look forward to private accommodation, servants, and a pension (in the modern sense of the word.)[47] Nevertheless, the monastic offices were not neglected, indeed every attempt was made to ensure that they were conducted with due solemnity, dignity, and ceremony.

This way of life continued until the beginning of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. It was then that Henry VIII's desire to produce a male heir, more than any theological, liturgical, or financial issue, brought him into conflict with the Pope. This resulted in the break with Rome in 1534. Nevertheless, the sixteenth century was also a time when the church was the subject of much hostility. The relevance of monasticism was being questioned, and

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43 McCann, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, 84-7, 122-3.

44 See Almoner's rolls, under *Dona et exennia*.

45 1.9. Pont. no.3 (Item 35) and 1.8 Pont. no.2 (Item 35); quoted in R.B. Dobson, *Mynisteres of Saynt Cuthbert: the monks of Durham in the 15th century*, Durham Cathedral Lecture 1972 (1974), 30, 37; *cf.*, *Rites*, 97.

46 The situation is summarized in *Rolls*, iii, p.xxi.

47 *E.g.*, William Ebchester in 1457-8 and 1462-3 (Bursar; *cf.*, *Rolls*, iii, 638, for 1458-9).

accusations of unbecoming sexual behaviour levied at those in monastic orders. The assumed authority of the church in matters other than the theological was being challenged, whilst its mercenary nature as seen in the sale of Indulgences was becoming a cause for contempt. Finally, envious eyes were being cast at the great wealth of the church and of the monasteries in particular. Durham was one of the wealthiest houses, its Bursar's accounts indicating an income of about £1400.

A survey of this wealth was commissioned in 1535 by Henry VIII who was intent on diverting to the royal coffers the money paid by all religious houses to the Pope.[48] Its findings were presented in the compendious *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.[49] They were assembled too quickly, and in the sphere of music present a perplexing picture. Take, for example, the scene in the Durham area. In the case of the 'hospitals' at Kepier, Sherburn, and Greatham, and of the collegiate churches at Auckland and Stanhope, even the names of the members of their choral foundations, both men and boys, are given.[50] However, when it comes to the cathedral priory at Durham there is no indication whatsoever of any choral establishment, even John Brimley, the lay cantor and master of the choristers, merely being described as a 'lay instructor of poor boys'.

Almost immediately, in February 1536, was passed the Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries. Those with an annual income of under £200 and fewer than twelve inhabitants were deemed to fall into this category, and over three hundred establishments were suppressed, their assets either sold or seized. Included among these, with the exception of Durham College, Oxford, which lingered

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48 Thomas Wolsey and others had objected to the Pope receiving the annates (first year's income of episcopal sees), and in 1532 had effected the compromise of not more than 5% of the net income of the see. After the break with Rome this sum was quickly transferred to the King (so *Knowles*, iii, 24).

49 *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII*, 6v, ed. by J. Caley and J. Hunter (1810-34); see v.5, for the findings relating to the religious houses in the diocese of Durham.

50 *Ibid.*, *v*, 308, 309, 311, 315; and 302 for the reference to Brimley which follows. See pp.117-8 below for further observations about this situation.

until 1546, were Durham's dependent cells.[51] Their monks were not deprived of their way of life but returned to Durham. Also suppressed, or rather, demolished, was Jervaulx in Yorkshire. It was not one of the smaller monasteries, but its accelerated fate was on account of the part it was suspected of having played in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.[52] Its closure had repercussions in Durham, for among its forfeited lands were those in Kaverdley in Lancashire which had provided most of the revenue to pay the salaries of the masters of the Bishop's grammar school and song school set up in Durham in 1414 by Thomas Langley.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the closure of the lesser monasteries was not a direct consequence of the break with Rome, nor was it the first such pruning action. Some twelve years earlier, on 24 August 1524, Thomas Wolsey had obtained a bull enabling him to visit and reform the monasteries.[53] This was followed by other bulls dated 15 November 1528 empowering him to close those with fewer than six occupants, and to merge those with fewer than twelve. In 1529 he was granted permission to change the status of certain abbeys to that of cathedrals, thereby allowing the monastics the less exacting life of secular canons.

The lesser houses suppressed, all that the greater ones could do was await their own demise. Even though the founding of a nunnery at Kirklees in May 1538 by the king himself[54] may have offered some hope, their fate was sealed in May 1539 by an Act enabling the Suppression of the Greater Monasteries. For many abbeys and priories, such as Fountains, Furness, Crowland, Glastonbury, Rievaulx, Jedburgh, and Melrose, dissolution was the end of the story. Others, however, such as Canterbury, Norwich, Ely, and Durham itself, had enjoyed cathedral as well as monastic status. For them suppression was to prove little more than a pruning operation.

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51 D. Hay, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries in the Diocese of Durham', *Archeologia Aeliana*, 36 (4th series, 1938), 69-114, especially 94, 96, 111. Durham College is now incorporated into Trinity College.

52 *Knowles & Hadcock*, 120.

53 See *Knowles*, iii, 159-64, for the background to the information in this paragraph.

54 *Knowles*, iii, 350.

CHAPTER 2

ORGANS, LAY SINGERS, AND THE FIRST BOYS

BACKGROUND

In matters ecclesiastical the fourteenth century saw both the fixing of old horizons as well as the opening of new ones. By then the division of the country into dioceses had become established as had also the form of worship. For those under monastic discipline their waking hours were spent in offering up praise to God. With Matins, Lauds, and Prime, Terce, Sext and None, Vespers and Compline, they more than fulfilled the psalmist's declaration, 'Seven times a day do I praise thee'.[1]

Music had long been an integral part of this worship, and there is evidence of the use of choirs and organs from the eighth century onwards. In England St Dunstan (*c*.909-88) is said to have supervised the building of organs and to have played them. The first record of one is in Winchester cathedral in the tenth century. It was a monstrous machine whose drone could be heard all over the city.[2] On the choral side, York had a song school for boys as early as 627. Its function was to familiarize the potential novices with the system of plainsong chants which were in introduced at Rome in the time of St Ambrose (340-97) and finalized by Gregory the Great in about 580. The monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth also had training schools for boys in the seventh century.[3] No doubt their curriculum included singing too.

In that sense it could be claimed that there had been a song school at Durham from the moment the monks arrived there. The present quest, however, does not concern what might be described as the routine domestic scene. What is looked for is the moment when it was felt necessary to enhance the musical offering by importing

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1 Psalm 119, v.164.

2 K.R. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (1972), 60-1. His Winchester reference does not equal W.L. Sumner, *The Organ* (1952), 21, though part of it is on p.37.

3 *Knowles & Hadcock*, 71.

individuals with the requisite musical expertise. That in its turn was related to developments in musical form.

The first embellishment of plainsong came in about 900, with the practice of singing in parallel fourths or fifths. By 1100 the less strident thirds and sixths had been introduced as well.[4] Although he was being critical of the musical side of worship, Aelred of Rievaulx (d. *c*.1166) provides a clear picture of the state of the art:

> This man sings a base, this a small meane, another a treble, a fourth divides and cuts assunder, as it were certaine middle notes ... In the meane time, the common people standing by, trembling and astonished, admire the sound of the Organs, the noyse of the Cymbals and musicall instruments, the harmony of Pipes and Cornets[5]

By the fourteenth century, however, the lessons and meditations at services had been determined, as had also the plainsong chants used at those services for items such as introits, psalms, antiphons, and responsories. Only on Sundays and major Feast Days was there any opportunity to elaborate and enhance the musical contribution. More open to experiment was the music offered in the secular cathedrals, the collegiate churches, and also in a new development, in the choirs associated with new college foundations in Oxford and Cambridge.

The secular cathedrals were at Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, London (St Paul's), Salisbury, Wells, and York. Their organization and that of the collegiate churches had much in common. Instead of monks presided over by an Abbot or Prior, their personnel consisted of a college of secular canons led by a Dean. Compared with the monastics who had withdrawn from the world, the secular canons were those who had agreed to live according to a certain discipline and yet be very much in the world. They were required to meet daily for services, though these were not as numerous as those attended by the monks. By the thirteenth century the fact that the secular establishments did not require the same commitment as the monastic led to the canons at the cathedrals being more absent than present. In order to maintain the full complement at services a system of deputies was introduced, each canon being

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4 P.A. Scholes, *Puritans* (1934), 215.

5 W. Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), 279-80. A much fuller version of what Aelred had is given on p.138.

responsible for providing his own deputy.[6] These vicars were known as priest-vicars or as vicars choral. Music played an important part in their worship, and as it developed the recruitment of good musicians resulted in some of the vicars being laymen. At the same time, the opportunity was taken to introduce additional lay singers. From an early date the secular establishments also had a role for the younger generation. Known as choristers, that is, members of a choir, their presence at Salisbury can be traced back to *c*.1091. In 1340 Exeter had fourteen choristers, Lincoln and York twelve each, Chichester ten, Lichfield and St Paul's ten each, and Hereford five; and in 1349 there were ten at Wells.[7] Their earliest duties included assisting at services.

In comparison, it has been generally assumed,[8] the monastic offices by their very nature afforded no scope for the involvement of either lay personnel or their voices. Nevertheless, a development in worship gave the monasteries the opportunity to introduce such voices. Added to the praise offered by man to his Maker was the recognition of the part played in the Incarnation by the Virgin Mary. Appreciation for this took the form of a daily Mass held not in the Choir but in a Lady chapel.[9] The Choir was the part of the church where the monks met and worshipped, using a prescribed order of worship, the nave was a place for private Masses and processions, but the new Lady chapels were places where innovation was possible. They were where the ordinary people were first admitted as hearers of a service, and from there it was not a large step to those with ability being invited to help with the singing.

At Rochester the formal adoration of the Virgin Mary can be traced back to the mid-twelfth century, whilst at Durham a Lady Chapel was built at about the same time. Although the Durham Galilee chapel had been described as a Lady chapel by the close of the

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6 It has already been mentioned (see p.15) that certain of the monastic obedientiaries were permitted to be represented by deputies at some of the monastic offices.

7 Bowers, thesis, 2012-13.

8 But see p.88 for the part played by the lay Cantor.

9 Bowers, thesis, 4068, 4075-7.

1180s,[10] there had been an earlier attempt to build one at the east end of the cathedral. When it had collapsed the cause was not attributed to a weakness in the structure or to the failure to recognize the awkward way the land fell away. Instead it was regarded as a sign that Cuthbert the celibate was protesting at the presence of women so near to where he was buried.[11]

In the fourteenth century there is evidence elsewhere of the use of the Magnificat and the introduction of a Marian antiphon, and in the fifteenth century, of a votive Mass.[12] Bowers discovered references which pointed to an exploratory stage at Ely, with payments to four visiting secular singers for participation at particular services in 1375/6, 1379/80, and 1383/4.[13] The next stage was the employing of a secular choir on a regular basis. Information with regard to this proved to be hard to come by, but as a result of searching through account rolls and studying indentures, Bowers succeeded in tracing their use back to the 1370s.[14]

ORGANS AND MUSIC

Often quoted is the statement that Durham had an organ by 1264. Robert Graystanes, the fourteenth century Durham monk-historian, when reviewing the contributions made by the different Priors, says of Hugh de Darlington,

> Fecit magnum campanile, organa grandiora, parcos de Bewrepayr et Mukelingeswyk; ...[15]

What follows the extract given does not return to the Durham scene but describes the Prior's activities on some of the other estates

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10 M.G. Snape, 'Documentary Evidence for the Building of Durham Cathedral and its Monastic Buildings' ('Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral', British Historical Association, 1980), 23, exercises caution with respect to the traditional date of *c.*1175.

11 So *Rites*, 43.

12 Derived from Bowers, thesis, 4075.

13 *Ibid.*, 4077; *cf.*, J.H. Crosby, Cambridge University Library Add. MS 6383, pp.1-93, and W. Stevenson, *A Supplement to the First Edition of Mr Bentham's History and Antiquities of the Cathedral and Conventual Church of Ely* (1817), 64.

14 Bowers, thesis, 4077.

15 *Script. Tres*, 46.

held by the monastery. The date of 1264, for what was construed to be a replacement instrument, has been thought to compare favourably with the musical situation elsewhere, Winchester excepted.[16] At Exeter, for example, organs are known to have been built or to have been in use in 1280, at Westminster Abbey in 1304, and at Wells in 1310, whilst at York a new organ was commissioned from a 'Master Adam of Darlington' in 1338.[17]

Doubt, however, on what had been provided at Durham has recently been cast by Richard Hird.[18] He has queried whether the passage should be translated,

> He constructed a large bell-tower, *greater works* [not, *a larger organ*], the parks at Beaurepaire and Muggleswick ...

His misgivings were prompted by the feeling that even an organ seems a small item, something of an anti-climax, when placed between a bell-tower and parks. Hird does not suggest what the 'greater works' might have embraced, but they could have included the early stages of the construction of the chapel of the Nine Altars. On the other hand, it may be felt that 'greater works' is an awkward expression, that Graystanes was being specific, and that he was referring to the musical instrument.

Richard Hird's alternative theory may or may not be right, but his wariness is a breath of fresh air. Traditions may be reassuring, but it is necessary to examine them. Unfortunately, such examinations tend to show that the traditions are not wholly accurate, and the revised schemes, based on a thorough appraisal of probably far more evidence than had been previously available, take time to become accepted.

If the 1264 reference is to be dismissed, then one has to wait until just over a third of the way through the fourteenth century for the first specific reference to a Durham organ. Though it may be

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16 See p.18.

17 See respectively, Betty Matthews, *The Organs and Organists of Exeter Cathedral* (n.d.), 1; D. Guest, *A Short History of the Organs of Westminster Abbey* (1979), [1]; L.S. Colchester, R. Bowers, and A. Crossland, *The Organs and Organists of Wells Cathedral* (1974), 1; and, P. Aston, *The Music of York Minster* (1972), 4.

18 The point was made in conversation. It is briefly mentioned in R. Hird and J. Lancelot, *Durham Cathedral Organs* (1991), 7.

claimed that Durham may well have had such an instrument before then, and that various monks had played it as a matter of course, it was not until 1334-5 that the Bursar had cause to record

> Cuidam pulsanti organa in festo Pasche, xijd. (*Rolls*, ii, 526)[19]

With the payment being an isolated one, it is hard to tell from it whether a particular deficiency had resulted in this anonymous individual being introduced, or whether a new phase was being embarked upon. As to the identity of the person, one can do no more than speculate whether he was a layman.

Over forty years then elapse before the next group of payments. It is probable that the payment, 'Domino Reginaldo ad organa, vjs. viijd.', in the Almoner's roll for 1378-9 (*Rolls*, i, 212)[20] was for repairing the organ rather than for playing it, for in the Feretrar's account (*Rolls*, ii, 422) for the same year is, 'in reparacione Organorum, iijs. iiijd.' Reginald was probably the Reginald de Wearmouth who in 1377-8 had received 10s. 'ad facturam Organorum' (Bursar; *Rolls*, iii, 586). Among later payments for 'making organs' are those of 1397-8 (Almoner and Hostiller), 1425-6 and 1435-6 (both Feretrar; *Rolls*, ii, 465, 469). The import of the first of these, 'pro factura cimbali in claustro, ijs.' is not apparent. It may be that it was a portable organ and that it was assembled in the cloisters before being moved into the church. On the other hand, it could be that there was a use for it in the cloisters, for it was near the north-west corner of the same that the novices received their instruction from their master.[21] The other two references reflect the activities of Prior John Wessington (1416-46), who is accredited with spending £26-13s-4d on 'factura diversorum parium Organorum'.[22]

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19 The quotations here and elsewhere are taken from the original rolls. Where they also occur in *Rolls*, this has been noted. In some cases, the slightly different datings of imperfect rolls reflects the thorough research done by the staff of Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library.

20 *Rolls* is in error both here and in the case of de Wearmouth below in rendering the Christian name as Roger.

21 See no.5 on plan (Illustration 5) on p.69.

22 *Script. Tres*, cclxiii.

By the end of the monastic period Durham had five 'pairs of organs'.[23] Three of these were in the Choir. Those above the screen at the entrance to the Choir were used only on principal feast days, whilst those on the north side were played on Sundays and ordinary feast days. Possibly because of their shrill tone the latter were known as 'the Cryers'. Both these organs were removed in the early 1620s. The third pair of organs, on the south side of the Choir, avoided demolition at that time. Known as 'the white organs', they were destroyed by the Scots in 1641.[24] Of the other two organs one was in the second most easterly bay on the north side of the nave, and was used during the Jesus Mass on Friday evenings. The other was in the Galilee chapel, and was played daily at the Lady Mass. It was possibly for blowing this instrument that the Cellarer paid out 17d. per annum 'pro flatu organorum' from certainly 1438-9, (*Rolls*, i, 73) the usual recipient being the 'clerk of the Galilee'.[25]

The introduction and use of organs form just one aspect of musical development at Durham. To the fourteenth century also belong its earliest surviving examples of three-part polyphony. These fragments have been preserved because, their musical life over, they proved to be suitable in size to serve as end-papers, as padding inside pastedowns, or as bindings, for newer books on diverse subjects. Two Kyrie tropes are still at Durham. The first began on a folio no longer extant, whilst the second, *O pater excelse*, lacks its ending.[26] Also in Durham are a *Deo gratias* added at the end of a collection of French and Latin motets,[27] a troped *Gloria in excelsis*

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23 *Rites*, 16, 34, and 43.

24 See p.215.

25 See pp.62-6 for more about the 'clerk of the Galilee'.

26 MS C.I.8, f.1; early 14th cent. The second last sentence of the former begins, 'Clemens creator eloy te tremunt omnes angeli'. For the dating of the fragments, see Crosby, *Catalogue*, 1-11. See also G. Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c.1320-1400)*, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicale*, BIV^2, 218-22; F.Ll. Harrison, 'Ars Nova in England: A New Source', *Musica Disciplina* 21 (1967) 67-85; *New Grove*, xvii, 657, 660-1; W.T. Marrocco and N. Sandon, *Medieval Music* (1977), no.58

27 MS C.I.20; 14th cent. The *Deo gratias* is found on f.4^v; the motets, on ff.1-4, 336*, 337-9. See below, pp.40-1.

Deo,[28] and some movements of a textless Mass together with a *Kyrie Cuthberti*.[29] The *Kyrie Cuthberti* consists of eight 'verses' each ending with *Eleyson*, the musical arrangement being on four systems each of two verses. Not at Durham, and added to its manuscript in the late fourteenth century, is a setting of *Salve regina*.[30] Nick Sandon has examined this and concluded that although only one part is written down that part is in fact the melody of a three-part canon.[31] Following the discovery of the same canon in a manuscript at Strasbourg,[32] Dr Sandon felt that on stylistic grounds its composer might conceivably be the Johannes Alanus[33] to whom four other items are ascribed in the continental source.

Because they date from the early fourteenth century the Kyrie Tropes must have been sung by the monks themselves, whereas who sang the later *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, *Kyrie Cuthberti*, and *Salve regina* is more debatable. It is open to question, partly because it is doubted whether the monks were capable of singing music as complex as the *Kyrie Cuthberti* and *Salve regina*, but more because by the time those items were composed the monastery had felt it desirable to enhance its musical offering by employing skilled lay singers.

THE LAY SINGERS OF THE DURHAM PRIORY

Just as those flying above the clouds and seeing isolated mountain peaks have no knowledge of the terrain which separates them, so apart from three references dated *c*.1386-92, 1390, and 1442, and another pointing to the 1530s[34] little was known about the lay singers associated with the Durham priory. No attempt had been made to determine when they were introduced, possibly because the

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28 Communar's Cartulary, folded inside front cover; last quarter, 14th cent.

29 MS. A.III.11, f.ii^{v}; *c*.1400. The manuscript has 'Cuthberti' where 'Cuthberte' might have been expected.

30 British Library, Royal MS 7.A.VI; see below, pp.83-4, and 95.

31 N. Sandon, 'Mary, meditations, monks, and music', *Early Music* 10 (1982), 43-55.

32 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 222.C.2.

33 Sandon (*op. cit.*, 52) tentatively identifies him with John Aleyn, canon of St George's Chapel, Windsor, d. 1371.

34 These are discussed below, see pp.34-42.

convenient printed source, *Extracts from the Durham Account Rolls*,[35] had proved to be a far from fertile field. It does give some twenty-one references to singers in its Index,[36] but this is a small number given that Durham's wide range of muniments includes well over a thousand of the yearly accounts[37] of its eleven officials, and that these accounts do much to cover a period in excess of two hundred and fifty years. With such facts in mind, at a first reading there is little reason for not concluding that, like the juggler, fool, players, and other musicians mentioned, the singers provided entertainment[38] either in the Prior's residence[39] or at one of his country houses such as that at Beaurepaire [Bearpark].[40]

Typical of the payments included in the selective printed edition to the other categories of entertainers are:

> Cuidam Jugulatori domini Regis, vs., ... Cuidam Cythariste, ijs. (Bursar, 1310-11; *Rolls*, ii, 508)

> In 1 Cythara empta pro Thome Harpour, iijs., ..., Thome fatuo [= fool] ex precepto eujsdem [Prioris], xijd. (Bursar, 1335-6; *Rolls*, ii, 528)

> Et Willelmo Blyndharpour ad Natale, ijs., Et cuidam Haraldo Armorum vocato Volaunt, vjs. viijd., ..., Et Johanni Harpour domini Johannis de Streuelyn et Willelmo Blyndharpour de Novo Castro, iijs. iiijd., Et duobus Trompours Comitis de Northampton apud Wyuestow, iiijs., ... Et cuidam Harpour vocato Rygeway, iijs. iiijd. (Bursar, 1357-8; *Rolls*, ii, 559)

> Item, ministrallo in festo sancti Cuthberti xs., Item, ministrallo Henrici Percy, vjs. viijd., ..., Item, uni trompet domini Regis, vjs. viijd., ..., Item, haraldo Ducis Ebor~, vjs. viijd., Item, ministrallo comitis Cancie [Kent], iijs. iiijd., Item, ministrallo ad nativitatem domini, vjs. viijd., Item, ministrallo de Hilton, iiijs., Item, uno Roto^{ur} de Scocia [Scotland],

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35 3v., ed. by J.T. Fowler (*SS* 99, 100, 103; 1898-1901).

36 16 are under Singers, 1 under Advent, and 4 under Christmas. There are others which are not indexed, *e.g.*, 'to the singers in the church' (*Rolls*, i, 232).

37 Relatively few are for a half-year.

38 This was accepted, virtually in passing, by me in 1966 - see Crosby, thesis, 33-4.

39 Now the Deanery.

40 Three miles north-west of Durham; for other residences, see p.7.

> vjs. viijd.,[41] Item Ricardo Brome, ministrallo, iijs. iiijd., Item, ministrallo in festo Sancti Cuthberti in Marcio, iijs. iiijd. (Bursar, 1394-5; *Rolls*, iii, 599)
>
> in uno viro ludenti in uno loyt et uxori ejus cantanti apud Bewrepayr, ijs. (Hostiller, 1380-1; *Rolls*, i, 127)
>
> Willelmo Pyper et aliis istrionibus ad Natalem, vjs. (Bursar, 1355-6; *Rolls*, ii, 556)

Some of these entertainers were freelance and itinerant, others were in the employ of noble families. Some no doubt appeared because they were aware of the Durham social calendar, others because they were in attendance on their masters, and others purely by chance. Among them, the husband and wife team attracts attention because it was a somewhat unusual combination. Thought-provoking are the circumstances which prompted the priory to countenance the purchase of a new 'harp' for one of the musicians. It should be noted that the names 'Harpour', 'Pyper', and particularly, 'Blyndharpour', are not really surnames, but they do represent an early step in that direction.

To all intents and purposes this varied group invites for inclusion in it the singers who are referred to in terms such as these:

> cantoribus in Adventu Domini cum histrionibus [= players] ibidem ex dono Prioris, xiijs. iiijd. (Bursar, 1363-4; *Rolls*, ii, 567)
>
> cantoribus ludentibus apud Beaurepaire ante Natalem, iijs. [iiijd.] (Chamberlain, 1362-3, *Rolls*, i, 175)
>
> cantoribus ludentibus apud Witton ante Natalem, iijs. iiijd. (Almoner, 1402-3; *Rolls*, i, 220)
>
> cantoribus ludentibus in Infirmaria, xxd. (Communar, 1524-5; *Rolls*, ii, 296)

and

> cantoribus ad ludum suum, ijs. (Chamberlain, 1450-1; *Rolls*, i, 188)

However, although the linking together of singers and players in the first reference of this second group might appear innocuous enough, it must be remembered that those were not the days of 'barber's shop' vocal groups, it was the minstrel who both played and sang. Then again, if singers had indeed been providing entertainment,

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41 A rote-player; a rote was a mediaeval stringed instrument, possibly like a violin.

'playing' is hardly the *mot juste* to describe their offering. On the contrary, the use of *ludentibus* and even more so *ludum* calls to mind the four *ludi* held each year by the Prior at one of his country residences. The *ludi*, which were each of a fortnight's duration, offered different groups[42] within the community relaxation from the monastic discipline. At them unspecified gifts were distributed and the fare was less frugal.[43] They took place round about the Feasts of the Purification (2 February), Easter, St John the Baptist (24 June) and All Saints (1 November).[44]

In order to establish how the status of the singers entitled them to participate in what must have been similar festivities it was decided to examine the account rolls themselves. It became quickly apparent that those of Granator (except when he was briefly responsible, *c.*1440, for part of the Bursar's accounts) and the roll indentures of the Granator-Bursar and the Cellarer-Bursar would be

TABLE 1: DURHAM'S PAYMENTS TO ITS SINGERS, 1356-1538

Obedientiary	*Date of first contribution*	*Number of references*
Almoner	1391-2	83
Bursar	1359-60	69
Cellarer	1364-5	1
Chamberlain	1356-7	41
Communar	1430-1	19
Feretrar	1376-7	15
Granator *	1444-5	1
Hostiller	1375-6	79
Infirmarer		0
Sacrist	1377-8	24
Terrar	1429-30	4
Total:		336

* when assisting the Bursar

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42 See pp.9,34.

43 *E.g.*, Almoner, 1399-1400 = *Rolls*, i, 216.

44 Dobson, *Durham Priory*, 97.

unfruitful ground. In view of this few of their accounts were examined. For all the other account-producing obedientiaries at least one account for every year or half-year was consulted. Duplicate rolls were only examined when the first version proved to be incomplete or difficult to read. Account books were looked at whenever they were available. When the roll for a year is extant, the entries in the books for the same period and in those rolls which cover only half the financial year have not been included in the totals given below. The net result is the impressive total of over three hundred references,[45] the earliest of which is this in the Chamberlain's account for 1356-7,

> cantoribus ludentibus apud Beaurepayre in Adventum, iijs. iiijd.

With the Infirmarer concerned particularly with the health of the full members of the community, it was not surprising that his accounts were devoid of reference to the singers. Though it may be regretted that the series of rolls emanating particularly from the Communar and Chamberlain are not more complete, it does not follow that a greater number of rolls and references would have produced any new information.

The wording of a number of the references served further to confirm that the singers were not casual visitors but members of the household. This was demonstrated in the first place by the occurrence of other technical terms. Among these are:

> Cantoribus ad ludum suum ex curialitate, iijs. iiijd. (Hostiller, 1488-9; *cf.*, *Rolls*, i, 163 and ii, 305)
>
> cantoribus apud Beaurepaire pro Monial, [part of] xxjs. (Cellarer, 1364-5; *Rolls*, i, 44)
>
> in una petancia data Cantoribus per dominum Priorem, vijs. ixd. (Bursar, 1386-7)

Ex curialitate denotes a payment as a courtesy, the monetary significance being made abundantly clear by the Bursar's accounts for the 1430s and 1440s with their

> in denariis datis Cantoribus ex curialitate

Monialis, a rare word, is said to have been a monastic allowance not unlike *coquina* (kitchen provisions) or 'soulsilver' (money paid to

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45 See Appendix 3 (vol.2, pp.143-59) for a Table giving for each year (or part of year) the amounts contributed by the various obedientiaries and dependent cells.

servants in addition to fixed wages or salaries). Originally, the whole wage or part of it would have taken the form of food, but later it was commuted to money. A *pietancia* or 'pittance' was an occasional treat in the way of food.[46] It has already been mentioned how the Communar on the day when he sang the Advent antiphon, 'O Sapientia', relieved the monastic fare with 'figs & reysinges, aile & caikes'.[47] Similarly, entries such as

> In una summa albarum piscium empta per Johannem del Sayles et missa cantoribus ludentibus apud Beaurepaire, iijs. vjd. (Bursar, 1359-60; *Rolls*, ii, 563)

may be regarded in the same light.

Emphasizing further that the singers had some official standing is a small group of payments which mention the sphere of their activity. In his accounts for 1430s the Almoner records

> cantoribus in monasterio, ijs. (1430-1 and 1431-2)

and

> cantoribus in ecclesia, ijs. (1432-3 to 1437-8; *cf.*, *Rolls*, i, 232)

Reinforcing the evidence of the accounts of the Durham obedientiaries are those of the brethren who were sent from Durham to run its dependent cells.[48] Over nine hundred accounts were examined, and, as the Table which follows shows, in excess of two hundred contributions for the benefit of the singers were discovered. These were sent from the houses at Farne, Finchale, Holy Island, Jarrow, Lytham, Stamford, and Wearmouth, though no such sums have been found in the accounts of Coldingham and Oxford.[49]

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46 In *The Charters of Endowment, Inventories, and Account Rolls, of the Priory of Finchale in the County of Durham*, ed. by J. Raine (*SS* 6, 1837), ccccxli, it is suggested that *pietancia* is from 'picta', a small French coin.

47 See p.9.

48 I am grateful to Mr J.S. McKinnell (see p.14, n.42) for directing my attention to these accounts.

49 In the case of Coldingham, Finchale, Jarrow, and Wearmouth, the volumes published by the Surtees Society have been relied on in those cases where they have given full transcripts as opposed to editorial selections. Again the yearly details are given in Appendix 3.

With the exception of Jarrow, which has three isolated payments in 1364-5, 1365-6, and 1371-2, and then a gap until 1469-70, the payments run from roughly the third quarter of the fifteenth century until the cells were suppressed in the 1530s.

TABLE 2: SUPPORT FROM THE DEPENDENT CELLS FOR THE SINGERS

Cell	*Date of first contribution*	*Number of references*
Coldingham		0
Farne	1470-1	44
Finchale	1449-50	34
Holy Island	1466-7	33
Jarrow	1364-5	29
Lytham	1468-9[50]	30
Oxford		0
Stamford	*c.*1491[51]	8
Wearmouth	1467-8	36
Total:		214

Not surprisingly, the wording of the entries is much the same as in the Durham rolls. Found most frequently are

> Cantoribus ad ludum suum, ijs. (*e.g.*, Lytham, 1468-9)

and the even shorter

> Cantoribus, ijs. (*e.g.*, Finchale, 1475-6).

The occasional mention of Beaurepaire,

> Cantoribus apud Bewrepayr, iijs. iiijd. (*e.g.*, Jarrow, 1364-5)

confirms that the singers were indeed those of the mother house. The same is true of the wording

> Cantoribus ex precepto [= at the command] domini prioris[52] hoc Anno, ijs. (Holy Island, 1466-7)

and the somewhat more diplomatic

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50 No accounts survive for 1466-7 or 1467-8.

51 The previous surviving account is that for 1465-6.

52 The title 'dominus prior' was reserved for the Prior of Durham.

> Cantoribus ex voluntate [= at the wish] domini Prioris ad ludum suum, ijs. (Holy Island, 1475-6)

During the course of examining the account rolls of the cells a recurring phrase in the Finchale accounts attracted attention. It ran,

> officio Feretrarii pro Episcopo Puerili, iijs. iiijd. (Finchale, *e.g.*, 1480-1)

It prompted first the query whether such sums might then have become the Feretrar's contribution. That in its turn posed a similar question in relation to other sums sent from the dependent cells.

Fortunately, the Durham Feretrar's account for 1480-1 has also survived, as have those for six other of the years between then and 1538. In all seven accounts the revenue section discloses that the Feretrar was the obedientiary designated responsible for all monies allocated to the festivities associated with the Boy Bishop.[53] The account selected, that for 1480-1, records under the heading, 'Varia Recepta',

> Et de xxjs. receptis de pensione solvi consueta Episcopo puerili

Added at the bottom of the roll, in a contemporary informal hand, is this analysis of the sum's composition:

Finchale	3s-4d
Holy Island	4s. (for two years)
Lytham	2s.
Stamford	1s-8d
Hostiller	3s-4d
Jarrow	2s.
Chamberlain	2s.
Wearmouth	1s-8d
Farne	1s.

From this it transpires that in that year seven of the contributions were made by dependent cells as opposed to only two by Durham obedientiaries. The discovery of the information raised the hope that another obedientiary may have acted as the 'clearing house' for

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53 See pp.42-7.

possibly as much as 25s-4d allocated in a year to the singers.[54] Search was made, but without success.

In the Glossary to the 1837 edition of the Finchale account rolls James Raine remarked that the payments 'cantoribus ad ludum suum' were to the 'singers at the festival of the Boy Bishop'.[55] He justified this statement by explaining that the 'suum' referred to the Boy Bishop, for the references to the singers at first followed immediately those to the Boy Bishop. The editor claimed that later only the reference to the singers occurred, and he further commented that the payment to the singers then included that to the Boy Bishop. In so saying he overlooked the fact that to support his contention the Latin should have been 'eius' and not 'suum', and also that the sum had not been increased from two shillings to three shillings and fourpence. Furthermore, his edition does not bear him out - the payments are not always consecutive, nor is that to the Boy Bishop always the earlier. Finally, there are over forty references to the Boy Bishop before the first one to the singers, and the nineteen references from 1478-9 onwards include payments not to one party but to both. However, it must be remembered that Raine was a pioneer in the field of historical research. There were no other published Durham accounts for him to be able quickly to consult, indeed, he was working some sixty years before the account rolls of the Durham priory were themselves investigated.

The editor of the very selective extracts from Durham account rolls suggested that as well as the four major *ludi* presided over by the Prior there were others, probably of shorter duration, which were enjoyed by other members of the priory.[56] The present examination of the accounts confirms that these lesser *ludi* were enjoyed by various permutations of the sub-prior, the master of the monks' infirmary [=

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54 Based on all contributors in the 1480s contributing in the same year. The composition would appear to be: Almoner 2s., Bursar 1s-8d, Chamberlain 2s., Communar 1s-8d, Hostiller 3s-4d, Sacrist 2s., Farne 1s., Finchale 2s., Holy Island 2s., Jarrow 2s., Lytham 2s., Stamford 2s., and Wearmouth 1s-8d.

55 *The Charters of Endowment, Inventories, and Account Rolls, of the Priory of Finchale*, ccccxxi, ccccxxviii.

56 *Rolls*, iii, p.vii.

infirmarer], the precentor, the succentor, and the singers. These are referred to in terms such as:

> suppriori precentori cum aliis sociis ludentibus apud Beaurepaire, ... (Almoner, 1378-9)
>
> magistri infirmarie monachorum, succentori et cantoribus ad ludum suum cuilibet ijs. vjs. (Almoner, 1455-6)
>
> suppriori et cantoribus ludentibus apud Beaurepair ante Natalem, iijs. iiijd. (Chamberlain, 1377-8)

That the singers feature in such groupings confirms that they were not being casual visitors but members of the household.

Conclusive evidence that the singers were present at the *ludi* in their own right and not as entertainers exists in a muniment dated 10 June [13]90. Locellus XXVII, no.35, which with its suggestions, complaints, and recommendations, appears to be an internal investigation into the running of the Durham priory,[57] not only includes the singers as one of the domestic groups but it associates them with one of the extra *ludi*.

> 41 Item petitur quod a modo claustrales qui portant onus chori et laborem ec[clesie] recreaciones et ludos antiquitus consuetos \ ut praesentia supprior cum sociis plus indigentibus capiat quintum [l]ud[um] [et ut ? supprio]r[58] cum cantoribus ante natalem capiat \ suum ludum et communes minuciae decetero debitis temporibus ... [ca]p[iant] quantum ad quintum ludum non recolimus \ sic factum fuisse.
>
> Item it is sought that henceforth in the same fashion, the 'cloistered ones' who bear the burden of the choir and the labour of the [church] should take at due times the customary 'relaxation of discipline' of long standing as at present the sub-prior, with his more needy colleagues, takes a fifth 'ludum', [and as the sub-prior], with the singers, takes his 'ludum' and common pittances before Christmas. ... We do not remember it thus to be done at the fifth 'ludum'.

What conclusions can be reached at this stage about the singers? The abundance of references, of which a representative selection has

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57 It was consulted because it was thought it might throw light on another discovery, for which, see pp.57-62.

58 'Subprior' is suggested because at this period the linking, 'the subprior and the singers', occurs in the accounts of the Cellarer (1375-6), the Chamberlain (1376-9), and the Hostiller (1375-7). The other grouping of the Infirmarer, the succentor, and the singers, at 3 x 2s., is later. It is found at times in the Almoner's and Sacrist's accounts after 1425.

been used in this chapter, confirms that the singers were not just casual visitors offering entertainment but domestic musicians employed to enhance the musical side of worship. Although no evidence has emerged about their number, never mind their names, they constitute the group referred to in this payment in 1418-19 to the Cantor, a position still to be examined,[59]

> Cantori informanti socios, ijs. vjd. (Feretrar)

When the presence of such a group was first deemed desirable is less certain. It rests not just on the availability of account rolls but also on when the singers were felt to be sufficiently established to merit special reference. The earliest such reference is in the Chamberlain's account for 1356-7, but in view of what has been said it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the Durham priory was using a group of lay musicians by the middle of the fourteenth century.

THE ROLE OF THE SINGERS

The importance of the singers' contribution to worship was quickly appreciated at Durham. Their participation, it transpires, was not confined to the Lady Mass in the Galilee chapel. At some date during the last quarter of the fourteenth century a Visitation of the Durham priory was conducted by John Esyng and Richard Burneby, monks of St Mary's, York, on behalf of the Benedictine order. One of their findings[60] discloses that even though Durham was a monastic cathedral lay singers ('clerks') had been used to enrich at least some of the monastic services:

> 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.
>
> Item, it is found that there were wont to be clerks singing organum and helping the monks with the song known as trebill [= three-part harmony], and they are no longer there, to the great inconvenience and frustration of the brothers singing in the Choir'.

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59 See pp.48 *et seq.*

60 Misc. Ch. 5634, quoted and examined in *Pantin*, iii, 82-4.

No indication is given of what those services may have been, nor whether they were on Sundays or feast days, but the location is clearly described as 'the choir'. The presence of the clerks was appreciated on two counts, for as well as adding their own part ('organum'), possibly at times improvised, they provided the backbone, the stiffening, in three-part polyphony. Few though the fragments of such music be at Durham, the late-fourteenth century three-part *Kyrie Cuthberti* springs immediately to mind.[61] One further thought prompted by the passage is how long the talents of the singers had been used in this fashion. For this too there is no evidence, only the idea that a fuller understanding of their early presence at the *ludi* might lead to the answer.

As such Visitations were supposed to be conducted triennially the date for this document was narrowed down by Pantin to the four years, 1384, 1387, 1390, and 1393. He felt that it had to be after 1381, for the first compertum showed an awareness of the alterations made that year to the constitution of Durham College, Oxford. Equally, the date had to be before 1399, for a complaint about the state of the dormitory roof would hardly have been made if work on a new dormitory had already been in progress for about a year. 1396, too, was excluded by him because that year the Visitation was conducted by monks from Selby and not by monks from St Mary's, York.[62]

Since Pantin's work in 1937 the Dean and Chapter has entrusted the care of its muniments to Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library.[63] This has resulted in a thorough examination and classification of those muniments, and a more ready access to them. The existence of the Abbot of Bardney's citation to hold the 1381 Visitation[64] confirms Pantin's rejection of that year, whilst similar citations from the Abbot of Whitby for 1384 and from the Abbot of Selby for 1390[65] have resulted in those years too being removed from consideration. It also transpires that the Visitations

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61 See pp.24-5.

62 *Ibid.*, confirmed by Misc. Ch. 7022/9.

63 Formerly known as the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic.

64 Misc. Ch. 7022/5.

65 Misc. Chs 7022/7 and /8.

for 1387 and 1393 were each held a year ahead of schedule, and, significantly, both citations were issued by the Abbot of St Mary's, York. The former, dated 8 August 1386, gave notice that the Visitation would commence on 24 September 1386, and the latter, dated 14 May 1392 gave 3 July 1392 as the date when the Visitation would be held.[66]

The document presently being examined affords no internal evidence which might associate it with either 1386 or 1392. An area of investigation which might point towards one or other of these dates is the account rolls with their references to or silence about payments to the singers. The information for the period from 1381 to 1398 is presented on the next page. However, even a brief perusal of the information confirms that to base any conclusions on it would be perilous. For instance, trying to identify the year by looking for years devoid of payments to singers is not a sound approach. The Table shows that for none of the years under consideration is there a full set of rolls. In this respect the complete lack of Chamberlain's accounts is to be regretted, for in the 1370s five of his seven rolls recorded payments as did four out of seven between 1400 and 1410. Equally disappointing is the lack of the Feretrar's accounts for the early 1390s, for there too in the late 1370s there are entries in three out of four rolls, and in four out of seven between 1400 and 1410.

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66 Misc. Chs 7022/4 and /6.

TABLE 3: PAYMENTS TO THE SINGERS, 1381 TO 1397-8

	Alm[67]	*Burs*	*Cell*	*Fer*	*Host*	*Inf*	*Sacr*	*Terr*
1381	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	
1381-2	-	6/8	-	3/4	pt	-	3/4	
1382-3	-	-	-	x	x	-	x	
1383	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	
1383-4	-	x	-	x	x	-	3/4	
1384	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	
1384-5	-	x	-	x	x	x	-	
1385-6	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	
1386-7	-	7/9	-	x	x	x	x	
1387	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	
1387-8	-	inc	x	-	5/-	x	-	
1388-9	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	
1389-90	-	x	x	x	x	x	-	
1390-1	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	
1391	-	x	-	x	x	-	-	
1391-2	3/4	-	-	-	-	x	-	x
1392	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1392-3	x	-	x	-	x	x	-	-
1393-4	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	-
1394-5	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-
1395	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
1395-6	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	-
1396-7	-	x	-	-	x	x	x	-
1397	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1397-8	3/4	x	-	3/4	x	x	x	-

blank	the series of rolls has not started
-	no roll
x	no specific payment to singers
pt	the sum is obscured by being included in a larger payment
inc	the roll is now incomplete

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67 Table taken from Appendix 3 (vol.2, pp.150-1). The headings are short for Almoner, Bursar, Cellarer, Feretrar, Hostiller, Infirmarer, Sacrist, and Terrar. Excluded are the Chamberlain and Communar (none of their accounts for this period has survived), and the Granator (his rolls deal with a very different sphere).

Moreover, even if there had been complete sets, the absence of specific references to singers would not necessarily have meant that there were no singers to pay. In such cases it is possible that the singers were included in the term 'socii' found frequently in the rolls. Consider, for example, four of the payments for 1376-7:

> cantoribus in ludo suo, iij<u>s</u>. iiij<u>d</u>. (Feretrar)
>
> suppriori et Cantoribus ludentibus apud Beaurepair, v<u>s</u>, (Chamberlain)
>
> subpriori et Cantoribus ludentibus apud Beaurepayr ante Natalem, vj<u>s</u>. viij<u>d</u>. (Hostiller)

and

> suppriori et precentori cum aliis sociis ludentibus apud Bieurepayr ad Natalem, v<u>s</u>. (Almoner)

The details vary, but in spite of the 'ad' in the Almoner's roll where that of the Hostiller has 'ante', the last three payments all relate to the same period of relaxation. If that of the Almoner had alone survived, there would have been no indication that there were any singers. Similarly, for the year 1393-4, the group of singers could have been included in the general statement

> in donis datis ad Natalem diversis ministris, vj<u>s</u>. vj<u>d</u>. (Hostiller)

With the apparent lack of payments proving to be insufficient grounds for concluding that a certain year was the year of the Visitation, does the presence of such payments enable that year to be eliminated from consideration? Again, caution must be displayed, for a Visitation made early in a financial year - as happened in both 1386 and 1392 - would have left plenty of time for matters to be rectified and payments made.

Nevertheless, in spite of the *caveats*, the Hostiller's roll for 1387-8 is deserving of consideration. Grouped together in it under the heading, *In expensis*, are these four references:

> cantoribus ad Natalem, v<u>s</u>., uni libro organi, iij<u>s</u>. iiij<u>d</u>., uni processionario, vj<u>s</u>. viij<u>d</u>., et Nicholao cantori, ij<u>s</u>. vj<u>d</u>. (*Rolls*, i, 134)

With its payments to singers, unnamed and named, and the provision of books possibly to meet some of their musical needs, this group of references depicts considerable musical activity. That they are grouped together is an indication of a common bond. That link is the choral side of worship. The least clear of the items is the 'liber

organi'. Whilst it could refer to an 'organ book', the organ was more for note giving and sustaining than for providing accompaniment. It, therefore, probably refers to a 'book of organum', one of the two parts mentioned in the Visitation complaint considered above. Even so, these payments are no help in dating that Visitation. On the one hand, it could be claimed that the Visitation could not have been that year for it was a year of great musical activity; but on the other, it might be suggested that the payments showed that the utmost was being done to rectify the situation, especially as 5s. was the greatest sum ever expended by the Hostiller on the singers.

As for Nicholas, of surname unknown, he was singled out because although he was a singer he was not as one of the singers. It is reasonable to conclude that he was not a minstrel, and the lack of the title 'Dominus' disposes of the suggestion that he might have been a monk.[68] In his case the description, 'cantor', may represent the earliest named use of the title given at Durham to the lay instructor whose task it was to ensure that the musical side of worship was abreast of the latest developments in polyphony.

The Durham lay singers feature in a further group of muniments. The Episcopal Visitation conducted by Bishop Neville in 1442 received the complaint that the brethren sitting in the cloisters and occupying themselves either reading or copying manuscripts were being disturbed by the singing of secular and three-part songs in the Chapter House:

> Item quod Cantores canunt in domo Capitulari cantus laicales et tripartitas ad magnam impedimentum fratrum sedencium in claustro.[69]

Whether such songs included the collection of fourteenth century French and Latin motets - admittedly, of more than three-parts - now serving as flyleaves in MS C.I.20 must remain a matter

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68 This is confirmed by the list of monks compiled by Alan Piper from S.L. Greenslade's card index. It supplies several monks named Nicholas, but none for the latter part of the fourteenth century. The list is kept in the Search Room of Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library.

69 1.9. Pont. no.3 (Item 31); *cf.*, 1.8. Pont. no.2 (Item 31), and Loc. XXVII, no.39; quoted in Dobson, *Mynisteres of Saynt Cuthbert*, 30, 37.

for conjecture.[70] This manuscript copy of Huguito, *Summa super derivationibus*, and Isidore, *Etymologiae*, dates from the mid fourteenth century. Of uncertain provenance, it was acquired for Durham by John Wessington (Prior, 1416-46). The flyleaves too date from the fourteenth century, but their origins and where and when they were added are not known. No item is ascribed, though it has been established that 'Vos quid admiramini' and ['O canendo vulgo per compita'] were composed by Philippe de Vitry (1291-1361). Later than the other motets, and possibly added at Durham during the early fifteenth century is a three-part *Deo Gratias*, its notation being *Ars Nova*.[71]

Be that as it may, the Precentor was instructed to ensure that such songs were not sung in the Chapter House. It may well have been as a result of these actions that the song school abutting the south end of the Nine Altars' chapel came into use.[72] As the muniments have offered up no evidence for the date of the erection of this building, it cannot be determined whether the room was purpose-built or whether an existing room was given a new function. On the other hand, it could be that this room had been in use as a practice room for decades, for the complaint is not about the boys practising the music to be sung at services but about presumably adults singing secular music.

Finally, even though the text of *Rites* is to be dated at 1593, it does purport to describe the scene towards the end of the monastic period. It tells how the adult lay singers and certain boys were involved in some of the services held outside the Choir. Central to their function was the Lady Mass. Sung daily in the Galilee chapel, its musical content was supplied by 'certaine decons & quiristers'.[73] Added to the duties of these singers early in the sixteenth century was Jesus Mass. It was celebrated at the Nave altar every Friday after the end of Evensong in the Choir. During

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70 Idea prompted by F.Ll. Harrison's enquiry whether the items could have been sung in the 1380s.

71 Crosby, *Catalogue*, 5-6; see below, p.24, n.27.

72 For a description of this song school see p.75.

73 *Op. cit.*, 43-4; see below, p.113.

the Mass an anthem, known as the 'Jesus anthem', was sung by 'y^{e} m^{r} of quiresters & deacons'. After it was over the choristers, from an organ loft on the north side of the nave, sang another anthem by themselves.[74]

THE FIRST BOYS – THE BOYS OF THE ALMONRY SCHOOL

The evidence of the account rolls, then, points to the group of adult singers being associated with the monastery from certainly 1356-7 onwards. It may be coincidental, but this date is less than a decade after another significant development, for it was in 1348-9 that the monastery put its Almonry school on a firm footing. About this school the oldest source of *Rites* has this to say

> Ther weare certaine poor children onely maynteyned and releyved wth y^{e} almesse & Benevolence of the whole house, w^{ch} weare cauled y^{e} childrine of y^{e} aumerey going daily to y^{e} ferm-ry schole being all together mayntened by y^{e} whole Covent with meate drynke and lerni'ge. (*op. cit.*, 91)

Described regularly in the Almoner's accounts from certainly 1401-2 onwards as a grammar school, the Almonry school occupied part of the new Infirmary. This Infirmary, which was the responsibility of the Almoner, had itself been completed in 1338[75]. It was situated where the two baileys meet opposite the eastern entrance to the cathedral precincts, and should not be confused with the older Infirmary, which attended to the needs of the elderly and infirm monks and which was presided over by the Infirmarer.

The 1348-9 date is arrived at not from any specific notice of establishment, but as a result of considering a number of references. An examination of the Almoner's accounts reveals a payment to the master of the school, 'Magistri puerorum Elemosinarie', in 1351-2, but not in the previous surviving roll, that for 1347-8, or in any earlier account. This date range is narrowed down further by another group of payments, those made by the Hostiller for the festivities associated with the Boy Bishop round about Holy Innocents' Day (28 December). Such payments are not found in his roll for 1347-8 or in that covering from Pentecost to

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74 *Ibid.*, 32, 34; for more about the Jesus Mass see pp.108-10 below.

75 *Cf.*, *Rolls*, i, 200-2.

Martinmas 1348, but commence in that covering the full year from Pentecost 1348 to Pentecost 1349.[76]

For how long before 1348-9 the school had enjoyed an *ad hoc* existence is not known, though the use of the phrase,

> Magistro Infirmarie monachorum [= to the master of the monks' Infirmary]

by the Hostiller in two payments in his account covering the period 1333-5, implies the existence then of more than one Infirmary. Such a situation would not preclude the non-domestic Infirmary being moved from temporary accommodation to a permanent home or even being rebuilt in 1338.

An earlier existence for some school is also pointed to by the payment,

> Clerico Episcopi magistri puerorum, vjs. viijd. (Bursar, 1336-7, insert; *Rolls*, ii, 530)

To what boys he was acting as master must remain a matter of some doubt in view of one of the entries relating to the previous year

> pueris de Capella domini Episcopi Dunelmensis, vjs. viijd. (Bursar, 1335-6; *Rolls*, ii, 527).

However, with the Bishop's finances managed separately from those of the Prior and his convent, the implication is that these payments in the Bursar's accounts were for matters beneficial to the monastery. Even so, in this respect Durham appears to be late in comparison with several other monastic cathedrals. Norwich, for example, had an Almonry school by 1309, and Ely, Canterbury, and Worcester had theirs by 1314, 1320, and *c*.1340 respectively[77] - and the monastery at St Alban's had provided a room for the master and his boys in *c*.1330.[78]

Two scholars have made germane remarks about the development of this genre of school. Roger Bowers has remarked that

> The purpose of this was apparently to satisfy the demands of a statute passed between 1301 and 1309 by the Canterbury provincial chapter (extended to York in 1343) requiring every monastery to be able to supply altar-boys to serve the monks at their private masses.[79]

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76 Crosby, thesis, 17; Bowers, article, note 31.

77 So Bowers, thesis, 4086, but no references are provided.

78 *Knowles*, ii, 295.

79 Bowers, thesis, 4086.

David Knowles, surveying the whole of the monastic period, saw the Almonry schools as one of three inevitable consequences of the banning of child oblates by the Lateran Council of 1215.[80] In order those consequences were the Novices' school, the Almonry school, and, in due time, the Song school. The first dealt with the training of recruits whose age meant that they they could proceed directly to making their profession. The Almonry school, catering for a younger generation, provided the monasteries with a valuable catchment area from which to draw both monks and other employees. Indeed, in the case of the Durham school, John Wessington (Prior, 1416-46) and William Ebchester (Prior, 1446-56) both claimed to have been educated at it.[81] This vested interest at Durham is emphasised by two further muniments. The first placed selection for the school in the early fifteenth century in the hands of the prior, sub-prior, and a group of three monks.[82] The other, dated 1446, may be regarded as a briefing for the selection committee, for it states,

> quod Peuri Elemosinarie admittantur de cetero primo et principaliter de cognatis et propinquis monachorum infra morancium, et hoc habiliores ad monachatum.[83]
>
> that first and foremost the boys of the Almonry should be admitted from the acquaintances and relations of monks accustomed to discipline, and through this better prepared to become monks.

In either 1437 or 1438, shortly after the death of Bishop Langley, when the priory felt the moment was opportune to merge the Almonry school and the Langley grammar school under the care of one of the Langley chaplains, it was stated that there were thirty pupils attending the Almonry school.[84] The merger quickly proved unsatisfactory, and the schools resumed their separate identities at Christmas 1442.[85] Thirty was also the number of pupils mentioned in the survey of the financial situation of the ecclesiastical establishments conducted for Henry VIII in 1535.[86]

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80 *Knowles*, ii, 294.

81 Dobson, *Durham Priory*, 60; Loc. II, no.4 and Loc. XXI, no.23, respectively.

82 *Ibid.*, 60, quoting Jesus College, Cambridge MS 41, f.169^{v}.

83 *Ibid.*, 59-60; Loc. XXVII, no.15, membrane 3 (1446).

84 See p.72.

85 Almoner, 1442-3, but pointed out by Roger Bowers.

86 *Val. Eccl.*, v, 303.

For information about the boys of the Almonry school one has to turn to *Rites*. It tells how they were educated, clothed, and fed at monastic expense, how they spent each Lent burnishing the great Pascal candlestick in readiness for Easter, and how they marked the death of monks by spending the night 'sitting on there knees' on either side of the corpse and reciting the psalter.[87]

Neither *Rites* nor any other source sheds any light on the nature of the Durham festivities associated with the Boy Bishop. Compared with Salisbury, where details of the part played by the Boy Bishop and the Child Prebendaries at services on the Eve of Holy Innocents' Day, and some seven of the sermons preached by the Boy Bishop are available,[88] this is disappointing. It is disappointing too in view of what is known about the scene at York, where there are details of some of the journeys made by the Boy Bishop for the purpose of attracting financial contributions.[89] But whereas at Salisbury and York, both secular cathedrals, the welfare and activities of the boys constituted relatively major items, at Durham, with the daily needs of the community to oversee, the running of its dependent cells, the management of its vast estates, and controlling of over one hundred lay employees,[90] they were much less significant. Their role, too, differed, for at Durham the monastic offices and the presence of novices restricted the contribution the children could make to the pageantry of worship. Practically every reference to the Boy Bishop is nothing more than a bald statement of the annual sum contributed by the particular Durham obedientiary or dependent cell.[91] Typical of these payments are:

> Episcopo Elemosinarii, xx<u>d</u>. (Chamberlain, 1364-5)
>
> Episcopo Elemosinarie ex curialitate, ij<u>s</u>. vj<u>d</u>. (Bursar, 1358-9)

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87 *Op. cit.*, 91, 17, and 52 respectively; for other possible activities, see Crosby, thesis, 50.

88 *Cf.*, D.H. Robertson, *Sarum Close* (Bath), 78-94, and especially 82-3 (services) and 89-93 (sermons).

89 *Ibid.*, 84-5.

90 *Cf.*, *Rites*, 144-7.

91 Very few contributions were received from Oxford (*e.g.*, in 1399-1400 and 1401-2) or Coldingham (*e.g.*, 1364-5 and 1366-7).

> Episcopo puerili Elemosinarie, ijs. (Almoner, 1428-9)
>
> episcopo puerili de elemosinarie Dunelmensis, xxd. (Jarrow, 1432-3)

and

> Episcopo Elemosinarie, iijs.; Episcopo de Elvet, xxd.[92] (Finchale, 1423-4)

What is not clear is whether the sums mentioned were given to the Boy Bishop or whether they indicate how the cost of the festivities were shared out.

Attracting attention solely because they are different are,

> Episcopo puero de Elemosinaria per manus Johannis del Saylles, iiis. iiijd. (Bursar, 1368-9)

and

> diversis pueris ludentibus coram eodem priori in festo sancti Stephani hoc Anno, xijd. (Bursar, 1416-17)

The last of these may afford a glimpse into the social side of the festivities. On the other hand, it may not refer to the boys of the Almonry at all.

It has already been shown[93] that the Feretrar served as the 'clearing house' for the payments made to the Boy Bishop. Mr J. McKinnell, however, has observed[94] that although the total of the sums received is recorded in the revenue section of the Feretrar's accounts there is no trace of it in the expenditure. This made him wonder whether the festivities had ceased and the money was being used for other purposes. This situation is not without a direct parallel, for in the revenue part of the Bursar's accounts there is the section, *Pensiones*. It lists the rents from lands which had been allocated to salaries. Although the lay Cantor is not referred to as such or by name he is known from other sources[95] to have been one of the recipients. As there are no corresponding entries under expenditure, it would appear that in acknowledging the receipt of

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92 The Boy Bishop of Elvet also features in Bursar's accounts - *Rolls*, iii, 143 (x3), 144 - but he too remains a shadowy figure.

93 See p.32.

94 In conversation; see also p.14, n.42.

95 See pp.50-7.

specifically allocated money the Feretrar and the Bursar were also indicating that it had duly been expended.

For the earlier period too McKinnell had misgivings, this time about the time of year the festivities took place. His doubts were caused by this audit-anticipating remark in the Hostiller's account for 1405-6,

> Episcopo Elemosinarie, nil, quia non erat propter guerras eo tempore (*Rolls*, i, 137),

He felt that Holy Innocents' Day (28 December) did not fall during the normal season for military campaigns. This may have been generally true, but the year 1405-6 was a year of major strife. In July there was a rebellion against Henry IV, a rebellion which resulted in the death of Henry 'Hotspur' Percy at the battle of Shrewsbury. This prompted the Earl of Northumberland, Hotspur's father, to rebel not once but twice before fleeing to the continent. There may not have been a battle in December, but those were indeed troublous times for the north of England.

CHAPTER 3

THE LAY CANTOR - HIS INTRODUCTION AND EARLY DUTIES

BACKGROUND

The responsibility for the musical arrangements for the monastic offices lay with the Precentor. With him rested the decision of what should be sung and by whom, and, once polyphony had been introduced, the allocation of parts.[1] However, with the development of polyphony and the introduction of lay singers, it was appreciated that the Precentor needed the assistance of a professional lay musician to serve as a composer, play the organ, sing, and act as an instructor to the boys now associated with the embellishment of the services held outside the choir in honour of Blessed Mary the Virgin.

In collegiate churches and non-monastic cathedrals this instructor was known as the 'Informator', or as the 'Magister Choristarum', but at Durham, as at other monastic establishments, his title of 'Cantor' hardly distinguished him from the other singers or from the monks who began the various plainsong tones. Until the 1960s it was thought that the 1448 contract with John Steel marked the introduction of such musicians at Durham, the reference in 1387-8,

> et Nicholao cantori, ij<u>s</u>. vj<u>d</u>. (Hostiller; *Rolls*, i, 134)

being somewhat ignored because it was inexplicable. My own earlier investigations brought to light a contract with Steel dated 1430 and drew attention to several payments for instruction in music in 1415-16 and 1416-17,[2] whilst as a result of examining the monastic account rolls Dr Roger Bowers uncovered payments to four named cantors who served between 1416 and 1426.[3] His researches revealed

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1 This is made abundantly clear in the contracts with the Cantors; see, *e.g.*, Reg. V, ff. 34 (Foderley, 1496), and 70 (Tildesley, 1502).

2 The contract is in Reg. III, f.137^{v}; the payments are included in *Rolls*; see Crosby, thesis, 32-3 and *Choristers*, 8-9.

3 He mentioned them in a lecture given to the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference held at Durham in 1978.

that with a starting date of 1415-16 Durham compared favourably in this respect with the monasteries at Winchester (1402), Ely (by 1407), Glastonbury (by 1420), and Abingdon (by 1420).[4]

BEGINNINGS AT DURHAM

It now transpires that the Hostiller in 1387-8 knew well what he was doing when he set Nicholas apart from the other singers, that the decision to introduce of paid instructors at Durham is earlier than has hitherto been supposed. Although no new names have been discovered, the further scrutiny of the Durham account rolls and books, conducted to try to find out more about its musicians, has yielded up several other references to 'musical directors' before 1400. As most of these concern some aspect of his salary they provide lights at intervals in what had hitherto been a darkness of nearly thirty years' duration between 1387-8 and 1415-16. At the same time they extend the date-range backwards to 1382-3. They also render necessary a re-appraisal of the realities and implications of the founding in 1414 of the Langley grammar and song schools.

Two of the further payments to the Cantors are also in the Hostiller's rolls. The first is in that for 1386-7, the year preceding that of the payment to Nicholas. In it there is the entry,

> cantori ad Natalem, vs.

The other is for some ten years later, and belongs to 1397-8. Again the payment pertains to relaxation, the wording being,

> cantori spacianti apud le Hegh ex curialitate, iijs. iiijd.[5]

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4 See Bowers, thesis, 4089. The Durham date is not that given by him, but makes allowance for the fact that there were two very different song schools at Durham (see below, pp.67-76.). This point, the principal one made by my M.A. thesis, and in the subsequent article, 'The Song School at Durham', *DUJ*, 60 (1967-8), 63-72, was accepted by Bowers in his unpublished article (p.[16]). His account there of the Langley song school (pp.[17-22, 25-30]) is to be preferred to what he said in his thesis (pp.4094-5).

5 *Spacianti* is another technical word (*cf.*, pp.29-30), denoting the enjoyment of relaxation; *le hegh* is probably Sacristonheugh.

However, with the sum in the 1386-7 roll being the same as that paid by the Hostiller to the singers in 1387-8,[6] and with the Almoner in 1397-8 allocating

cantoribus in ludo suo apud le hegh, iijs. iiijd.,

one is left with wondering, in spite of his preciseness in 1387-8 in distinguishing between the two categories, whether in both the cases under consideration the Hostiller meant 'cantoribus' and not 'cantori'.

A further possible payment occurs in the Almoner's roll for 1395-6. There the recipient is not described as 'cantor', instead this is said of him,

informatori puerorum pro stipendio suo, vjs. viijd.

Here too doubt persists. Even though 'informator' is an apposite word for an 'instructor in music', the payment occurs virtually the same place as 'magistro puerorum elemosinarie' does in other Almoner's accounts. On the other hand, the sum here is smaller, and the phrase, 'for his wages' as unexpected as it is untypical.

With two other references too there are elements of uncertainty. One of the doubts, already expressed in relation to the Feretrar's accounts and the payments to the Boy Bishop,[7] is whether the money reached the person to whom it appears to have been assigned, the second is who that person may have been.

Both references occur under the heading, *Pensiones*, in the income section of the Bursar's Rentals, and indicate an allocation of rents received. That for 1396-7 came to light whilst the proofs for a published version of the Rentals were being checked.[8] It records the receipt of rents from the Abbot of Newminster in respect of lands in Kirk Whelpington and Stannington. The entry divides into three parts, of which the central one reads,

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6 See pp.39-40.

7 See pp.86-7.

8 Bursar's Book E, f.45^{v}. I am grateful to Alan Piper for drawing my attention to it. The Rental for 1396-7 is published in full in *Durham Cathedral Priory Rentals, 1: Bursars Rentals*, ed. by R.A. Lomas and A.J. Piper (*SS* 198, 1989), 71-128.

> De Abbate Noui Monasterii pro ecclesiis de Qwelpington et Stanington *ad terminum*

To the left of this statement are the letters, 'b a', and to the right,

> xs. *et vjs. viijd. ad cantorem.*

The letters 'a' and 'b' signify that the two half-yearly payments for the year had been received, and the sums of money are the amounts due for the respective lands. The parts of the entry given here in italics were added later by an annotator to whom Lomas and Piper have designated the description, *Q*.[9] They detected his hand in the Rental for 1340-1 as well, and asserted that his annotations were preparatory to the compilation of the *Feodarium* of 1430. The *Feodarium* was a survey 'of the freeholdings of land under the Prior and Convent'.[10] It lists separately the income in respect of Whelpington and Stannington in these terms,[11]

> De Abbate Novi Monasterii pro indempnitate ecclesiae de Whelpyngton, ad terminos Pentecostes et Martini, xxs.
>
> De Abbate Novi Monasterii pro indempnitate ecclesiae de Stanyngton ad Cantorem Dunelmensis, ad terminos Pentecostes et Martini, xiijs. iiijd.

Once one early account had yielded up such information all the early Rentals[12] were scrutinized in the hope of finding more. That for 1340-1 was devoid of any reference to Newminster, Whelpington, and Stannington, and consequently to the Cantor as well. But the search did meet with some success, for two other references, both pertaining to the late fourteenth century, were found.

The first of these was in the same book as the Rental for 1396-7, in that for 1397-8,[13] but it merely states,

> De Abbate Noui Monasterii pro ecclesia *[sic]* de Qwelpington et Stanyngton, xs.

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9 *Op. cit.*, 123, where the 'xs.' is put after '*cantorem*' in order to reduce the references to 'Q'; see *ibid.*, 32, for the background of the next sentence.

10 *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, ed. by W. Greenwell, (*SS* 58, 1871), iii.

11 *Ibid.*, 76 and 77, respectively.

12 Books A, B, and C, and Durham Cathedral Library MSS C.I.13 and C.II.13.

13 Bursar's Book E, f.83.

Lacking from it are the payment letters, the sum of 6s-8d in respect of Stannington, and the words 'ad terminum' and 'ad cantorem'.

The other was in an earlier book, in the Rental which was compiled in 1382-3.[14] Like the entry for 1396-7, it has three parts. Its central section lacks only the annotatory 'ad terminum' of the 1396-7 entry. To the right of the page, in ample space, are four columns. Reading from left to right, the second and fourth of these are blank, and in columns one and three respectively are these entries:

xs. et vjs. viijd. xs. et vjs. viijd. *ad cantorem*

To the left of the central quotation, again in ample space and in columns, are these letters:

c d e f g h k b a

Again the sums to the right relate to the rents. The equal amounts in the first and third columns are the agreed rents for each half-yearly period. Where other equal sums are given in columns two and four they are invariably less, often between half and three-quarters of the amounts given in columns one and three.[15] These sums indicate the actual as opposed to the theoretical rent. What is not clear is whether the reduced amounts were in operation when the book was produced or whether they came into being during the period covered by the book.

The letters at the left-hand side are part of a system which obviated the need for a new Rental to be produced each year. As before, the letters 'a' and 'b' signify that the rents for the first two half-yearly periods had duly been received. The remaining letters are to be considered in two-letter groupings, each pair representing a further year. This particular entry in the Rental, therefore, probably covered not just the year 1382-3 but the four and a half years from Pentecost 1382 to Martinmas 1387.

The words, 'ad cantorem', are again additional, their contributor in all probability again being *Q*. That being so, the attempt must be made to determine whether *Q* was indicating the situation which prevailed when he was active *c*.1430, or whether he

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14 Bursar's Book D, f.18^{v}.

15 A cursory glance revealed extremes like 1/9 (2d/18d; f.5^{v}) and 44/45 (7s-4s/7s-6d; f.10).

had grounds for knowing that the allocation was to the Cantor during the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The search to find corroborative information in the Bursar's account rolls did not help to resolve this issue.[16]

The 20s. revenue from Newminster in respect of Whelpington occurred regularly under *Pensiones* in the Bursar's other accounts. That for Stannington featured only in the seven rolls covering the period from 1418-19 to 1424-5, and even there it was mentioned only in conjunction with Whelpington, the income remaining at £1 and not being increased to the £1-13s-4d which should have been forthcoming. As for the Cantor, no reference is made to him, either under *Pensiones* or under any other section. Indeed, with the exception of 1439-40, when the sum allocated was 10s., the Bursar is not numbered among the direct contributors to the Cantor's salary before 1487.[17]

Far from improving, the scene has become more confused. Not only has no explanation been found why *Q* felt it necessary to make the Stannington annotations and to mention the Cantor, but no trace has been found of the supposed 13s-4d for Stannington in the accounts of the any of the other obedientiaries. These failures provoke the query whether the revenue from Stannington might have been a figment of *Q*'s imagination.

It was not. In their notes about the Bursar's Rentals[18] Lomas and Piper refer to the Licences appropriating the land in Stannington and Whelpington to the monastery at Newminster. They also state, having taken due cognizance of *Q*'s annotations, that by the end of the fourteenth century the income from Stannington had been allocated to the Cantor. This prompted a search for and examination of the Licence. Two versions of that relating to Stannington are available. The first is the copy, now incomplete, made for reference purposes in one of the Cartularies.[19] The other, bearing the seals of both parties, is the Durham convent's own half

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16 *Cf.*, *Rolls*, (i), 67 and (iii), 685, respectively.

17 Though from 1439 to 1478 he had paid to the Communar rent for property held by Steel.

18 *Durham Cathedral Priory Rentals, 1: Bursars Rentals*, 224.

19 Cart. II, ff.57-8, with f.58 missing. In its incomplete state it is quoted in J. Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland* (1828), iii, pt 2, 68-70. His description of the document does not agree word for word with that about to be quoted.

of the actual indenture.[20] It is textually complete, and gives the date of issue as 13 June 1333 and that of sealing as 16 June 1333. The description of the Licence, both on the outside of the indenture and in the Cartulary, runs

> Appropriatio Ecclesie de Stanygton Novo monasterio per Lodowyc~ [Beaumont] Episcopum Dunelmensis facta in qua continetur annua pensio unius marce assignata Cantori

An examination of the documents failed to find any reference to the Cantor, the allocation being described in these terms

> Salva etiam pensione annua unius marce sterlingorum .. priori et ..[21] Conventui nostro ecclesie Dunolmensis suisque successoribus apud Dunolmensem singulis annis in festis sancti Martini et Pentecostes per equales porciones fideliter persolvenda

Although the lack of an internal reference to the Cantor was disappointing it was not altogether surprising. What is written on the outside of the indenture and preceding the document in the Cartulary is a quick identifying description of the agreement. The words, 'assignata Cantori', are not fundamental to that description, rather they indicate the way in which it had been decided to allocate the revenue.

But the words, 'assignata Cantori', are there, and it is highly relevant to try to determine when they were written, especially as they seem to suggest a date as early as the 1330s for the Durham Cantor - or even earlier, if it should be thought that the money would only be so allocated after the position had become established.

Attention turned first to the description written on the indenture itself in the hope that the handwriting might be readily datable. Here caution prevailed. Although it was felt that the words, 'ad cantorem', were no later than what preceded them, and that such descriptions were likely to have been appended sooner rather than later, the only opinion expressed was that the style of the letters in which the description was written meant that it was penned before the end of the fourteenth century.[22] This meant that

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20 1.3. Pont. 5.

21 The double dots are in the indenture but not in the Cartulary.

22 I am indebted to Alan Piper for the datings relating to handwriting and the compilation of manuscripts, and for suggesting what avenues to explore.

it was impossible to say whether the appointment of the Cantor antedated the activities already shown as belonging to the 1380s.

As that avenue had proved unproductive, in the hope that something more conclusive might be offered, it was then queried whether the copying of documents into the Cartulary would have followed hard upon the issuing of such documents. Here the answer was not at all what had been anticipated. It was pointed out that the idea of compiling volumes holding transcripts of pertinent documents was not conceived until the early fifteenth century, and that this Cartulary was transcribed between 1407 and 1410. This reply, too, did nothing to suggest that the Cantor might have been introduced before the 1380s.

It was then suggested that there were other places to look, that the way in which the *Repertoria* listed the indenture might provide a pointer to the date when the Cantor was introduced. A *Repertorium* might be usefully described as a constantly growing catalogue which listed, as they were issued, leases and other agreements. A later *Repertorium* would repeat the description of documents still in force. Two such volumes covered the fourteenth century, and both referred to the agreement in virtually the same words as found on the indenture and in the Cartulary.

The presence in the *Repertoria* of the words, 'ad cantorem' provided the grounds on which *Q* had made his assertions. In the case of the later *Repertorium*,[23] datable *c.*1380, the entry accorded well with the activity portrayed in the last two decades of the century. Much more significant was the other,[24] for the part of the manuscript in which it occurs can be assigned to the Episcopate of Richard de Bury, to the period 1333 to 1345. Its evidence cannot be gainsaid, and the conclusion must be that there was a Cantor at Durham before 1350.

However, this does not mean that the Cantor was instructing boys in the art of music, it does not even follow that he was the 'leader' of a group of lay musicians. Still to be resolved is whether the expression 'Cantor' refers to a layman at all, or whether it was being used of the monastic Precentor, the high-ranking monk in charge of all musical matters. The Precentor was an

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23 Bodleian MS. Carte 177, f.12 (photostat copy consulted).

24 Misc. Ch. 426, f.9^{v}. It adds 'Dunelm' after 'Cantori'.

obedientary but unlike most of the others his duties did not entail the keeping of accounts. In the latter part of the monastic period 'Precentor' was his accepted title, but in Lanfranc's late eleventh-century scheme for the ordering of Benedictine establishments he is described as the 'Cantor'.[25] An instance of this usage occurs in one of the poems of Lawrence, an early twelfth century Durham monk-poet. In it he says of himself,

> Cantor eram, nec ab aede decebat in aedem Currere cantorem'[26]

At Durham, however, it transpires that 'precentor' had become the accepted nomenclature before the end of the twelfth century, that to have used the expression 'Cantor' of him would have been archaistic if not pedantic. And yet, instances of this do occur. In the twilight of the monastic period the Hostiller appears to have a contrast in mind when he uses the expression, 'the secular Cantor', of the paid instructor in music.[27]

The grounds for *Q*'s insertions may have been discovered, but the problems still remain. One of these is that with no evidence of the separate revenue from Stannington ever having been received, what prompted *Q* so to amend the Whelpington entries? Could it be that the rent from Newminster had been reduced, so that the total from both sources was 20s., that for the sake of brevity only Whelpington was mentioned? Could it be that with income from Stannington and expenditure on the Cantor cancelling each other out the Bursar simplified his accounts by ingoring them? Or, were *Q*'s annotations merely theoretical, being a combination of his own knowledge of the Cantors, coupled with his awareness of the existence of the Licences? And, if theoretical, is his conjecture about the existence of the position of Cantor or about its funding?

Only with with respect to the last query can any positive response be given. It must be pointed out that the collective memory of the community extended far enough back to trace the history of such an employee to the 1380s, and that the existence of the position cannot be gainsaid, for, as was mentioned at the outset of

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25 Knowles, *Monastic Constitutions*, 80-2.

26 'I was the Cantor, and it did not become the Cantor to run from house to house' - *Lawrence of Durham*, ed. by J. Raine, (*SS* 70, 1880), 14.

27 Hostiller's Book, 1525-34.

this section, there is that payment to 'Nicholas the Cantor' in the Hostiller's account for 1387-8. As regards the Licence with Stannington in 1333 and the decision to use its revenue to remunerate the Cantor, caution must be expressed. Evidence still needs to be found to determine not only whether it was being used of the monastic Precentor or of the lay musical expert, but whether the income was ever received. It may be felt that with payments to the group of singers going back to 1356-7[28] that even then there must have been a *primus inter pares*, that his presence lies hidden in references such as 'in oblationibus datis ministris Abbathie' (Hostiller, 1350-1), 'in suppriori et sociis' (Chamberlain, 1367-8), and in all those relating to the singers. But, no matter whether he were introduced in the 1330s, 1350, or 1380s, there is no indication what his duties might have been, and certainly nothing to associate him either with the boys of the Almonry school or with a select group chosen from its ranks.

THE CANTOR'S DUTIES ARE INCREASED

The final early reference to the Cantor is of considerable moment. It confirms that even before the end of the fourteenth century, and therefore before Winchester and Ely,[29] the Durham priory had felt that one of the skills required of its lay musical expert should be the ability to instruct the younger generation. The evidence occurs - though the crucial words, 'to sing', are now lacking - in a muniment hitherto unknown to musicologists. This document came to light in mid-1987 when descriptions of the archival material were being entered by the staff of Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library, into computer records. A small fragment of paper, dated '10 June [13]90',[30] which on its recto lacked both the bottom and the right hand side, was found to contain a number of what were thought to be either complaints or recommendations about the running of the monastery. The four incomplete lines of Item 2 reviewed the musical scene in these words:

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28 Chamberlain's account; see p.29.

29 See pp. 48-9.

30 Briefly known as Misc. Ch. 7071(c); maximum measurements, 143 x 112 mm. I am grateful to Alan Piper for drawing my attention to the fragment.

Item tam propter cultus divini honorem ampli...
consuetudinem tam organa musicalia ...
feriales sancte Marie in sabbatis que tamen ut ...
instructor ydoneus qui sciat informare juvene ...

With the mention of 'enhancing the dignity of divine worship', 'musical polyphony', 'St Mary on Saturdays', and 'a suitable instructor who knows how to instruct youths', much was clearly happening at Durham. What was disappointing was that only a fragment had been found. That disappointment, coupled with the knowledge that the Visitation of either 1386 or 1392 had also reported on the musical scene,[31] prompted a search for the findings of other Visitations.

It was in the course of this search that Locellus XXVII, no.35, which has already been of value on account of its reference to 'the singers',[32] first attracted attention. It did so simply because a summary list allocated it to the same period as the fragment. The muniment[33] was described as containing the complaints brought to the notice of Prior Robert [Berrington of] Walworth at some date during his priorate which extended from 1374 to 1391. It transpired that the first folio of the document lacked its top left-hand corner, and it was immediately apparent that MC 7071(c) represented the bulk of the missing portion. Since then, the two portions, separate for centuries,[34] have been re-united under the older description, Locellus XXVII, no.35.[35] With about 2.5cm missing from the middle of each of its four lines Item 2 is now only slightly imperfect. These gaps do not affect the meaning of the passage, only its details.

When the fragment was first examined it was noticed that Item 3 mentioned 'the clerk of the Galilee', a position which from the 1440s onwards was deemed suitable for combining with some organ blowing duties. After the pieces had been re-united this Item still had gaps ranging from about 2cm up to 5cm in the middle and of about

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31 See pp. 35 *et seq*.

32 See p.34.

33 Maximum measurements, 296 x 224 mm. With Items 18-37 lost, what survive now are folios 1 and 3. The possiblity of there having been a fourth folio must not be overlooked.

34 This may be deduced from the fact that shrinkage through loss of moisture has had a greater effect on the larger piece and slightly disturbed the alignment of the text.

35 See Illustration 4 on p.60.

2cm at the end of its four lines. Even though in this instance the gaps are obstacles to a full understanding of the passage, yet the linking of the 'clerk of the Galilee' with an 'organist' and a group of boys and the reference to 'monk-singers' merit comment.

In the following transcription of the text of the two sections '/' is a device found in the original text, '\' is editorial and marks the end of a line in the original, [ ] denotes the attempt to supply missing text, and ... where no such attempt has been made.

2 Item tam propter cultus divini honorem ampli[andum quam] devotionem populi excitandam habeantur in choro secundum antiquam \ consuetudinem tam organa musicalia quam [ceremon]alia, precipue in festis solempnibus et quandoque ad missas \ feriales sancte Marie in sabbatis que tamen ut ...g ...o ...neratur de expensis domus unus cantor et \ instructor ydoneus qui sciat informare juvene[s ad canta]ndum / / Responsio / iste articulus corrigatur.

3 Item sint decetero si comode fieri possit Clericus galile ... solarij organiste qui habiles sint ... \ si oporteat habitum suscipere monachalem qui etiam v...u ... suis pueris sicut et monachi cantato[ribus] \ parati sint et proni sine murmure ad v... t... [vesper]is canere. secundum gratiam ipsis ... [\][/] Responsio / placet domino Priori quod queratur talis ... ista facere et complere.

The attempt to reconstruct these items in translation reads:

2 Item, as much as for [enhancing] the dignity of divine worship [as for] inspiring the devotion of the people let both musical harmony and [ceremonial] be had in the choir in accordance with ancient custom. Chiefly on solemn feast days and at other times on Saturdays at festal masses of St Mary, which however as ... let a suitable Cantor-Instructor who knows how to instruct the you[ths to sing] be ... at the expense of the house / / Response / Let this article be rectified.

3 Item, moreover if it should be conveniently possible let there be a 'clerk of the Galilee' ... organist who are skilful, if it behoves them take monk's habit, ... who also/even ... to his/their boys like as also to monk singers ... let them be ready and well disposed without murmur to sing at ... [vespers]. Following thanks to them ...[/] Response / It pleases the Lord Prior that such a ... should be sought to do and accomplish these things.

As has been already stated, from its heading the document purports to be a list of the complaints or recommendations presented to Prior Robert Berrington on 10 June [13]90. It also records the decisions made about the different points. What is surprising is that there should have been such a lengthy examination - the full document

raised no fewer than fifty-five points - so close to the Visitation appointed for 13 June 1390 by the Abbot of Selby in his citation dated 20 April 1390.[36] If the Visitation was in fact conducted ahead of schedule, then Locellus XXVII, no.35 is none other than the findings of that Visitation; but if it was held on the due date then it is not clear whether an internal investigation had been held to forestall any complaints which might have otherwise been made by showing that the points were already being dealt with.

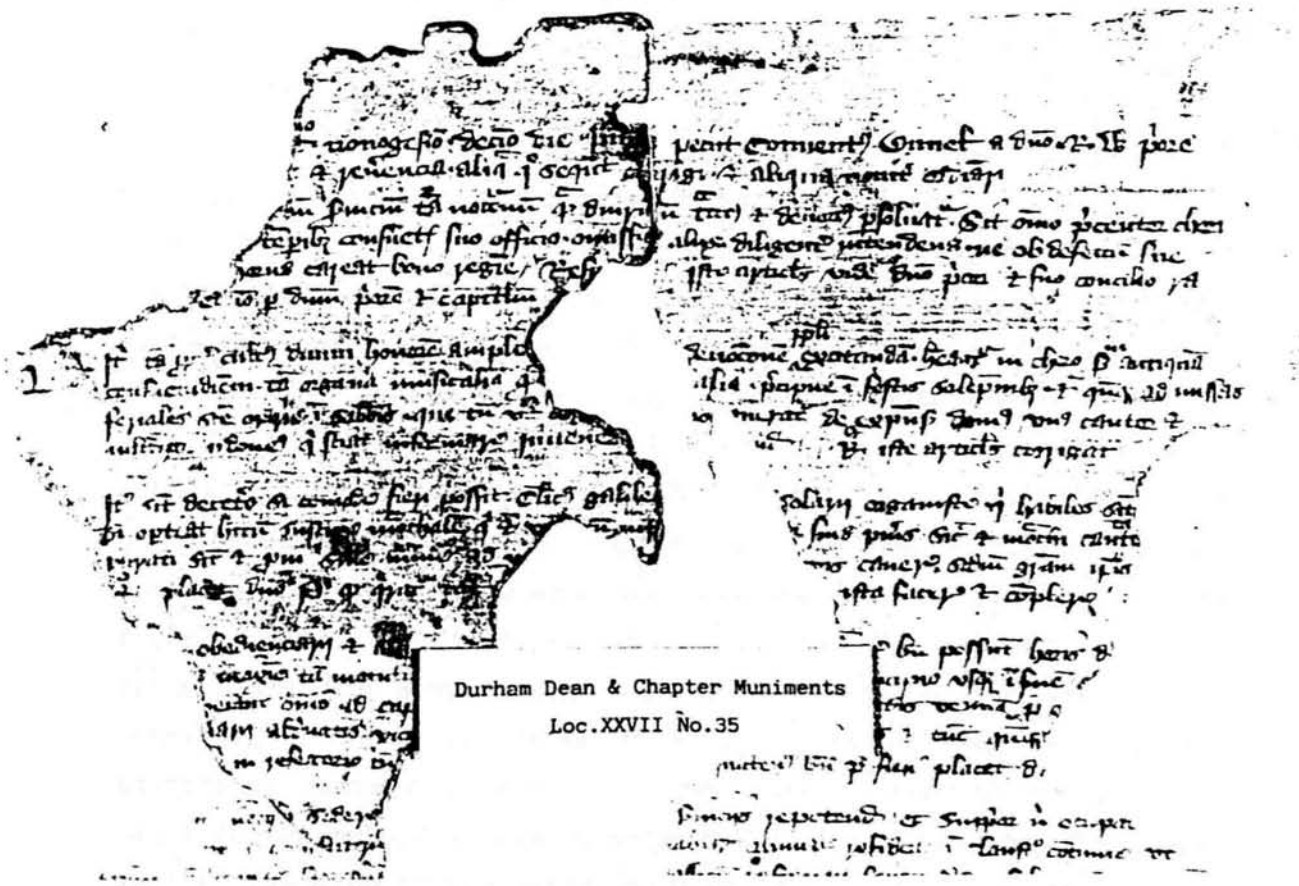


ILLUSTRATION 4: Locellus XXVII no.35, complete with top left portion

Regarding the development of the part played by music in worship the two extracts are of considerable moment. With Berrington agreeing that the matter raised by the first passage should be rectified, much of its content is not innovatory but 'in accordance with ancient custom'. The passage shows that for some time harmony had enhanced the musical offering on major feast days, and that the

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36 Misc. Ch. 7022/8.

cult of Blessed Mary the Virgin was flourishing and being celebrated with a weekly festal mass. It appears that these services were attended by members of the public, and that youths were already contributing vocally. What is not clear is whether the decision to appoint a Cantor who was capable of instructing those youths was prompted by the desire to improve the standard of their contribution, or by the need to find a replacement for a Cantor who had recently left. If it were the former then the Cantor's duties were being increased, a more versatile person was being sought, but if the latter then the use of young voices at Durham goes back to even earlier than 1390.

The use of the expression, 'young voices' towards the end of the last sentence is deliberate, for where Item 2 has 'juvenes' Item 3 has 'pueri'. The former anticipates the payments to Dom William Kibblesworth and the lay Cantors of the 1410s and 1420s, the latter the term used of one of the groups mentioned in the contracts with the lay Cantors starting with that with John Steel in 1430.[37] Are the two words, 'juvenes' and 'pueri', merely synonyms? or is a distinction being made? If the latter, then 'pueri' would constitute a younger group, and the expression, 'informare juvenes' might indicate that the recipients had reached an age to benefit from formal musical instruction. In one sense, the answer does not matter, for the significant point is that the use of the phrase, 'his/their boys', indicates that even before the end of the fourteenth century a group of 'boys' was considered distinct, at least in the sphere of music, from those of the Almonry. The regret is that the gaps in the second extract mean that it is not possible to appreciate more than its general drift.

Another thought prompted by the two passages is that in employing the expression, 'monk-singers' and anticipating the payments to the Cantors, Item 3 appears to portray a situation different from that painted by Miscellaneous Charter 5634. There, the lack of 'clerks' to assist them was deplored by the monks, whereas here it seems to be some of monks themselves who sang the polyphony. This situation sheds no light on whether the Visitation findings should be associated with 1386 or with 1392, for what is

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37 See pp.76-83 for the early payments, and pp.86-93, 102-14 for the contracts.

recorded here could represent either an earlier practice or the solution to the musical problem it had brought to light.

THE CLERK OF THE GALILEE

One of the personnel mentioned in Item 3 above is the 'clerk of the Galilee', the Galilee chapel at Durham being its Lady Chapel. Here the break in the text between 'Galilee' and 'organist' is particularly frustrating, for both men are described as skilful and linked with the musical scene, and both appear to have had some part to play in the training of young singers. Indeed, the use of the phrase, 'his/their boys', in Item 3 prompted the thought that at this stage incumbent upon the clerk of the Galilee may have been some of the duties which later devolved upon the Cantors. If it were so, then the failure to discover references to the Cantor between 1398 and 1415 would not be quite so disappointing. With the clerk of the Galilee mentioned in all seven Cellarer's accounts for the years between those dates it would mean that the old system was being persevered with.

A musical connection is not what had been expected. Before the discovery of the fragment it had been supposed that the role of the clerk of the Galilee was at least subservient if not menial. Bowers too had concluded that a single clerk serving in a Lady Chapel was 'most likely to be of the odd-job-man type'. This he justified by referring to the situation at Ely, where the clerk was paid 4d. per week and cleaned the gutters.[38]

As Ely also has a Galilee the thought occurred that the clerk might have been referred to as the 'clerk of the Galilee'. This proved to be not so, for at Ely the Galilee, though similarly at the west end, is the name given to a porch. The Lady Chapel there is off the south choir aisle. Building commenced in 1321. At first the chapel was the Sacrist's responsibility, though it quickly became

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38 An interest in these accounts was prompted by Bowers, thesis, 4081. Because the original accounts are not in a good state of repair, and for speed and convenience, the transcripts made by J.L. Crosby (now Cambridge University Library (CUL) Add. MS 6383, pp.1-93) were consulted. The 'gutter' account is that of the Custos Capella for 7 Richard 2, *i.e.*, 1384-5, see CUL Add. MS 6383, p.27.

the province of the 'Custos Capella'. Several of his accounts are extant, none, unfortunately, earlier than that for [1365-6]. It names the clerk of the chapel as Dom Robert de Walsingham, hardly a candidate for a menial position. Possibly, the post quickly became down-graded. The same account also records what must be a very early payment to a layman for instructing the young monks,

> Rogero de Luwyco pro informacione Juvenum monachorum, iiij$\underline{d}$.[39]

Why one regrets the lack of a similar account-keeper at Durham is not because of the salary payments to the Cantor and to the clerk of the Galilee, but because his special area of interest made him more expansive about the payments made to the men:

> denariis datis clericis cantantibus in capella die translacionis S. Ethelrede
>
> clericis cantantibus organum ad missam B.M.V. ..., v$\underline{s}$ iiij$\underline{d}$.[40]

He also records - and of this there is no hint at Durham - the involvement of the boys, and the buying of presents for them.

> 12 paribus cultelli emptis et datis pueris Cantantibus ad missam, j$\underline{s}$. vj$\underline{d}$.[41]

At Durham the role of the clerk of the Galilee, the clerk of its Lady chapel, has not previously been investigated. Indeed, had it not been for its occurrence in Locellus XXVII no.35 the present research would at most have dismissed it as being menial. That document apart, the position is found only in the Cellarer's accounts, ranging from that for the first month [October] of the financial year 1340-1, to his last, that for 1534-5. At 1340-1, the Durham date is very similar to what has been found at Worcester, where there is mention of a clerk of the Lady chapel in 1345-6.[42]

There are twenty-one earlier Cellarer's accounts, including those for 1337-8, 1338, and 1339, but the position was not detected in them. Most of the extant accounts before those for 1340-1 and

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39 CUL Add. MS 6383, p.3.

40 *Ibid.*, 17 (account for 1380-1) and 41 (1444-5).

41 *Ibid.*, 41 (1444-5).

42 Bowers, thesis, 4081, referring to the Almoner's account - WorDC [Worcester Dean & Chapter] C171.

1438-9, however, are imperfect in two senses. They are imperfect in that some are damaged and lack their most relevant openings, and also because only rarely is there a complete set of rolls for the year. The Cellarer, who was responsible for the dietary arrangements, kept weekly accounts entered on thirteen rolls each year, one roll for each lunar month. After mentioning his receipts, he then lists, usually for the first week of any month, the people to whom he paid a weekly allowance. There are, however, no such lists in the accounts before that for 1340-1.

As regards these recipients there is a significant difference between the references in the early accounts compared with those produced from 1439 onwards. Where in the later accounts the payment is to a singular 'clerk of the Galilee' (clerico Galilee), before that date the payment is made to clerks in plurality (clericis Galilee). Where in the later rolls the annual amount is 6s-8d, in the earlier accounts, with the payments ranging from 4½d. to 5d. per week the annual amount is round about 20s.

As 20s. is three times 6s-8d, is it to be concluded that where before there were three clerks from 1438-9 onwards there was only one? Had the reduction in their number anything to do with the role of the Langley chantry chaplains being revised c.1438 or with the fact that the role of the Cantor had become abundantly clear by then?[43]

That there might have been three clerks in the earlier period prompted the thought that they may have been 'the singers' who feature in the accounts of the other obedientiaries. The hopes for this idea, however, received something of a setback when it was realized that two (those for 1364-5 and 1375-6) of over ninety years covered by Cellarer's accounts also included payments to the singers.

The early period may be full of uncertainty, but once just one clerk is referred to, the role does appear to have become more menial, for almost invariably from 1440-1 onwards the 'clerk of the Galilee' also received from the Cellarer a further emolument of 17d. *per*

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43 See p.72 for the revised role of the Langley chaplains.

annum 'for blowing the organ'.[44] This, however, was an additional duty attracting special payment, and it could be that some musical ability was the primary requirement. From 1485 onwards the Cellarer

TABLE 4: CLERKS OF THE GALILEE[45]

Date	*Name*	*Monk*
1485-6	William Cliff	... 1494-7 ...[46]
1487-9	William Cliff Robert Jackson	
1489-90	Robert Jackson William Ripon	... 1494-6
1490-1	William Ripon William Ewebutts	
1497-9	William Kendal	... 1506-20 ...
1499-1501	Robert Dawson	
1502-3	William Selby	
1505-6	Thomas Sanderson	
1507-8	John Skipton William Cornforth	... 1511
1509-10	William Cornforth	
1512-13	Richard Smithson	
1516-17	John Watson	
1525-6	George Cuthbert	... 1529-39
1534-5	Richard Whiteley	

names the 'clerk of the Galilee', and only one of them was not remunerated for blowing the organ. For some reason William Ewebutts was not paid for so doing in 1494-5, instead William Manby was.[47]

By becoming monks five of those named in the list - William Cliff, William Ripon, William Kendal, John Skipton, and George

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44 'pro flatu organorum'; the payments in 1438-9 and 1439-40 are simply 'to a certain clerk for blowing the organs'.

45 Although *Rolls*, i, 92 might seem to name Nicholas Wainpan as clerk of the Galilee in 1469-70, the roll itself makes it clear that the name and the title are not in apposition.

46 The dates when they were monks are taken from Greenslade / Piper list - see p.40, n.68.

47 Manby may have been related to John and Thomas Manby who were monks, 1463-95 and 1471-2 respectively.

Cuthbert - fulfilled the hope expressed in Item 3. Presumably, their novitiate commenced soon after they ceased being Clerks of the Galilee. Cuthbert and Richard Whiteley survived the surrender of the priory and became members of the new foundation, Cuthbert as one of its first minor canons, and Whiteley as one of its first lay-clerks. The ultimate position of the latter, and the skill it required, kindles the hope that he might have been one of the monastic singers about whom so little has been discovered.

WAS FORMAL APPROVAL SHORT-LIVED?

With the priory, according to Locellus XXVII, no.35, expressing such firm intentions about introducing a professional musician to instruct the boys, to what extent were its proposals implemented? Possibly for only seven or eight years, possibly not at all. Apart from the payments, already quoted, to the Informator in 1395-6 (Almoner), and to the Cantor in 1396-7 (Bursar's Rental) and 1397-8 (Hostiller), the records from 1390 to 1415, a period of twenty-five years, include no direct evidence of such a singer-instructor. Had there been a dearth of records for the period, then that could have been offered as an explanation, but for nearly every obedientiary there is a more than adequate selection of his accounts. It has to be stated that the records themselves present no clear-cut evidence. All one can do is wonder whether some of the references to otherwise unknown people might conceivably be to the Cantors. Who, for instance, was the William Thirstanton whose salary contribution of 6s-8d from the Almoner was a year in arrears in 1399-1400? And who were the Thomas Sethar who received the same sum from the same official in 1412-13, and the Robert Hall and his colleagues to whom the Hostiller made a courtesy payment of 3s-4d in 1396-7? One cannot tell, though the untypical lack of either any title or indication of what had prompted the payment is a pointer away from them having had anything to do with the position.

The virtual silence about the Cantor is to some extent compounded by the payments to the singers being at their most sparse during the same period. There is one in 1391-2 and two in 1397-8, compared with some sixteen references between 1403 and 1408. In this case it is strange that the flurry of payments should be sandwiched

between two periods of silence, though the situation relating to two of the sources needs noting. Both the Chamberlain and the Sacrist made several payments during the period 1403-8, but from 1390 to 1403 there are no Chamberlain's accounts and only five Sacrist's. With the singers a long-established and appreciated group, it is unlikely that two spells without them would have been tolerated. More probable is the suggestion that they have been included in a larger and more general grouping.

Although this explanation may be acceptable in the case of the singers, more caution has to be exercised in connection with the Cantor in his new and enlarged role. It has to be admitted that the high hopes which blossomed in 1390 may never have borne fruit. The reason why they never developed could conceivably lie in one of the events of 1391. In that year Berrington was succeeded as Prior by John Hemingbrough. Whilst it does not always follow that the elderly are not amenable to innovations, Hemingbrough was certainly not a young man. When he was elected Prior in 1391 he had been associated with the monastery for forty-one years,[48] and may have been sixty-four years old. It is not suggested that he stifled the new development, rather that he did nothing to encourage it and let it fade away. That, however, is all conjecture, there is no evidence to support it. If it should happen to be pointing in the right direction, then the date of the Visitation complaint about the lack of singers may no longer be uncertain.[49] The death of Berrington and the elevation of Hemingbrough could be said to tip the scales in favour of 1392 rather than 1386.

THE LANGLEY SCHOOLS

One of the dates that stands out in the history of education in the city of Durham is 1414. It was in mid-June that year that Bishop Thomas Langley, through his agents John Newton and John Thoralby, founded the chantry of St Mary and St Cuthbert:

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48 Information obtained from the Greenslade / Piper list of Durham monks - see p.40, n.68.

49 See pp.35 *et seq*.

> 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 ... 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 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 ... 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 himself 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 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 some of his scholars in competent number, but the one governing the grammar school need only be present on Sundays and double feasts.[50]

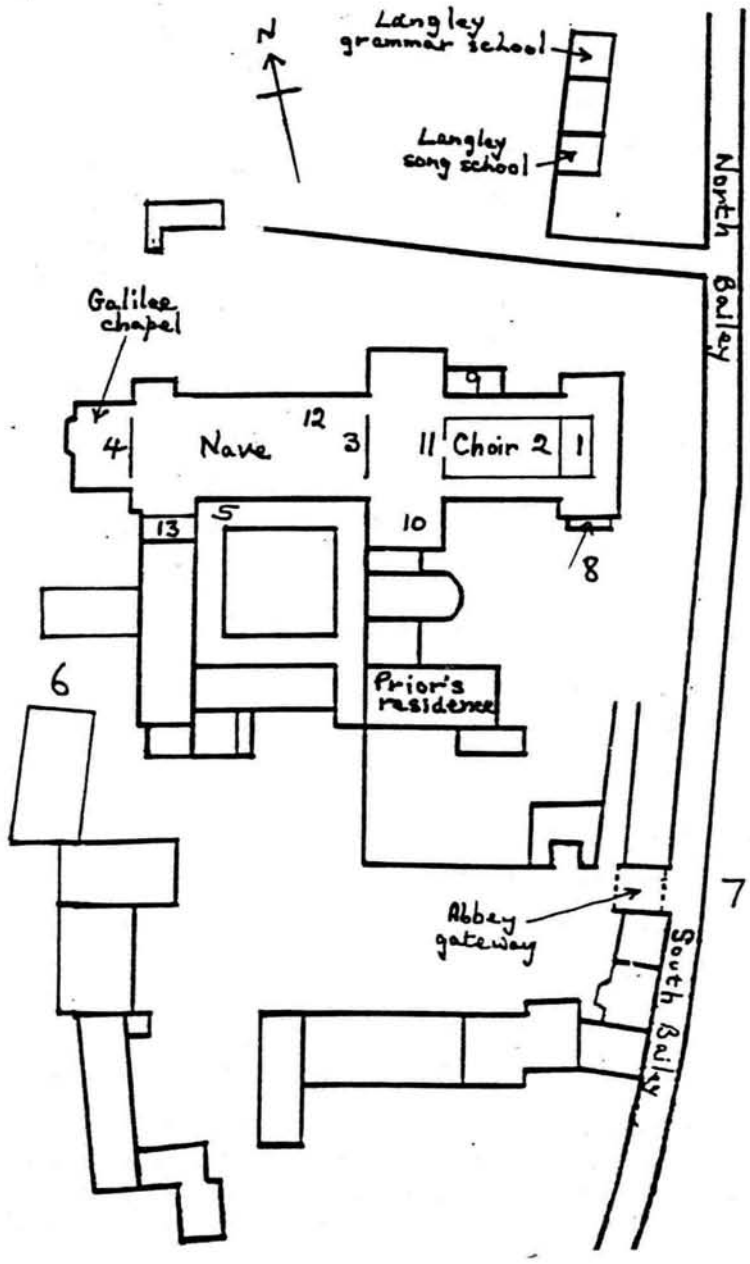
The history of the Langley grammar school is well established up to the present time. Apart from the period 1438-42,[51] when the Prior and Convent entrusted the boys of the Almonry school to the Langley Grammar master, it enjoyed an existence distinct from that of the Almonry school for the rest of the monastic period. After the Durham priory's re-foundation as a cathedral only, the Almonry grammar school and the Langley grammar school again merged, the new school being conducted in what had been the Langley buildings on the east side of Palace Green. The records show that Henry Stafford, the Langley grammar school master at the time of the dissolution, became the first Headmaster of the new grammar school,[52] with Robert

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50 *Calendar of Patent Rolls: Henry V, 1413-16*, pp.206 *et seq.*

51 See p.72.

52 Now known as Durham School.



1 St Cuthbert's shrine
2 High Altar
3 Jesus Altar
4 Altar of BVM and Langley chantry
5 Novices' school
6 site of monastic Infirmary
7 site of Almonry and Almonry school
8 Monastic song school (to 1539)
9 Dean and Chapter song school (1541-1633)
10 Dean and Chapter song school (1634-c.1640)
11 Entrance to Choir (with main organ above)
12 Nave organ
13 Spendement

ILLUSTRATION 5: Plan showing significant locations in and about the cathedral

Hartburn, the last monastic Almonry master, serving as his assistant. Why the the appointments were that way round was until recently a matter of conjecture, it being supposed that the Langley buildings were the more suitable, or that the Langley master was the better qualified. With the re-emergence of a forgotten document[53] it now transpires that the newly constituted Dean and Chapter had accepted the offer by Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall of the Langley schools to meet the educational requirements of them. Tunstall had for some time been concerned about the effect the closure of the monasteries would have upon the state of education, and indeed had written to Thomas Cromwell in 1537 complaining that the closure of Jervaulx had resulted in the stipends of the Langley chaplains being a year in arrears. His sealed deed handing over the control of the Langley schools is dated 31 May 1541,[54] just nineteen days after the deed of re-foundation of the cathedral and the establishing of the Dean and Chapter.

As by the same deed of transfer Tunstall also handed over the Langley song school, it has generally been assumed that that school was similarly the precursor of the school[55] at which the cathedral's choristers have received their education since the 1540s. This, indeed, was presumably adjudged self-evident, for, to repeat part of the Inspeximus quoted above, it was stipulated that

> 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 some of his scholars in competent number.

With the Langley chantry chapel established in the Galilee chapel, what was said in *Rites* about the activities there was regarded as corroborating the relationship. There the author, who had been at least associated with monastic community, recollected that

> o' La: 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 ...[56]

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53 3.3. Pont. 10. I must thank Martin Snape for acquainting me with its existence.

54 The seal, which is in good condition, is the only known impression of his Great Seal.

55 Currently known as The Chorister School.

56 *Rites*, 43-4.

Reasonable though this interpretation of the evidence might appear to be, in 1966 it was shown to be incorrect.[57] Evidence was brought forward to show that even during the monastic period, as well as since, the Langley song school played no part in the choristers' education. It was demonstrated that there were two separate song schools from the early fifteenth century until *c.*1690 when the Langley one ceased, its title becoming a sinecure for servants of the Bishop. This contention was justified by examining the functions, the successions of masters and the sources of their stipends, and the sites of the two schools.[58]

Even in the two short passages quoted above there are details which do not quite accord. Brimley, named admittedly in an interpolation, was never a Langley chaplain, but was the last in a succession of lay Cantors employed by the monastery to train its choristers. The suggestion that the situation then may have resembled that of today, with the choristers receiving their musical instruction in one place from the organist and his assistants, and the rest of their education elsewhere from other teachers, was rejected on the grounds that education then was not sufficiently diverse. Moreover, it was felt that if, after 1541, Brimley, as Master of the Choristers, was responsible for

> their instruction, as well in gentle behaviour as in skill of singing,[59]

then as monastic Cantor he had done no less. As for what that 'gentle behaviour' entailed, the same passage warns the Master of the Choristers to

> take heed also for the welfare of the boys, whose education and liberal instruction in letters and at table and in their common manner of living we commit to his honour and industry ...

It was also felt that if the early choristers were to be associated with any other school then that association would have been with the monastic Almonry school, with whose boys they were included for feeding purposes.[60]

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57 See p.49, n. 4.

58 For a plan showing these and other locations, see p.69.

59 *Statutes*, 143.

60 *Rites*, 63, 92.

Another surprising note was sounded by the Inspeximus itself. When elaborating on the Langley chaplains' role as teachers, it envisaged them

> teaching poor persons gratis and receiving moderate stipends from those who are willing to pay.

This did not accord well with the policy and practice of the Prior and Convent. Its schools not only fulfilled its charitable obligations and gave an education for the families of those associated with it, but they provided it with a catchment area for recruits as well as the means of musically enriching its worship. The Langley schools, on the other hand, were designed to serve the needs of the city and its environs, and those who were able to pay were expected to do so.

Furthermore, in 1438, shortly after the death of Langley, the monastery revised the terms of the chantry foundation.[61] The chaplains were instructed to say their private masses at times not conflicting with those when the monks needed the chapel, and access was restricted to those times when the church was open to the public. The grammar school chaplain was instructed to absorb the Almonry school with its thirty pupils into his school, a situation which Bowers notes took effect in September 1438, though following a complaint to the Episcopal Visitation of 1442[62] the Almonry school resumed its own identity at Christmas 1442. Moreover, the song school chaplain was no longer to attend the daily Lady Mass with his scholars, though he himself was required to attend services in the choir on principal and double feasts, singing one of the parts if so required.

This last point is most telling, and on two counts. The removal of the boys from the daily Lady Mass eliminates any possibility of them being the monastic choristers; and the provision that the chaplain might have to sing a part at certain services invites speculation that he may have doubled as one of the monastery's singers. This speculation is heightened by the knowledge that William Cockey, the Langley song school chaplain when the monastery

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61 See 3.3. Pont. 9 for the original document; the official copy is in Cart. III, ff.283^{v} *et seq.* (not 286^{v} as in Crosby, thesis, 25, n.1).

62 See Dobson, *Mynisteres of Saynt Cuthbert*, 30 (Item 34) and 37 (Item 34).

surrendered in 1539, served briefly as a lay-clerk before joining the ranks of the minor canons.[63]

Another jarring factor was that even before the 1438 revision of duties, the monastery had appointed its own musical instructor. When the suggestion that there were two song schools was first mooted in 1966 much attention was given to the payments to Dom William Kibblesworth between 1415 and 1417 and the detailed contract in December 1430 with John Steel, the lay Cantor. By this contract Steel undertook to train six secular boys and an unspecified number of monks in the art of music.[64] That the monastery should have taken such steps so soon after the foundation of the Langley chantry was seen as demonstrating that it had realized that the Langley song school was not the answer to its musical needs.

Since 1966 Bowers has shown that the payments in 1416-17 were not to Kibblesworth but to a William Chanter, and discovered the names of three other cantors between Chanter and Steel.[65] Bowers also contended that there was no Langley song school before 1438. He claimed that the deed of foundation of the chantry appointed the first pair of chaplains only to say masses, that it was their successors who were to keep schools. William Brown, one of the original chaplains, quickly obtained preferment, and with John Artis, his successor, the grammar school came into being. The other chaplain, John Clayton, however, was not so successful, with the result that the monastery, impatient for a song school, founded its own. Thus when Clayton moved on in *c.*1419 he was not replaced until after Langley's death.

With Bowers's interpretation of the order of events it is possible to claim more categorically than before that there is no reference to the boys, masters, or site of the monastic school in the bishop's accounts nor of the Langley school in the monastic accounts. With no Langley song school in existence, no longer can there be doubts about the identity of the recipients of these payments which burst on the scene in 1414-15:

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63 Mickleton MS 32, f.56 and Treas. roll, 1547-8; see pp.127 below.

64 See pp.86-93 for a detailed appraisal of Steel's contracts.

65 Bowers, article, [22-3].

> pro quinque superpelliceis factis pro pueris ministrantibus ad missas privatas, xvjs. vjd, (Sacrist)
>
> pro v garniamentibus pro quinque pueris ministrantibus ad missas privatas, xxs. (Sacrist; *cf.*, e.g., 1415-16, 1416-17, 1419-20 and 1420-1)
>
> pro togis clericorum ecclesie, xxs. (Terrar)

and, in 1416-17,

> diversis pueris ludentibus coram eodem priore in festo sancti Stephani hoc Anno, xijd. (Bursar).

The wording of the Terrar's entries become more significant as the years progress, for in 1417-18 it is, 'pro quatuor togis emptis clericulis in ecclesia, xviijs. viijd', in 1435-6, 'in panno laneo empto pro v pueris ecclesie, xixs. vijd.', and in 1504-5, 'in liberatura empta pro quinque pueris Ecclesie erga Nativitatis Domini, xixs. iiijd.'

Bowers's suggestion that the keeping of schools commenced only with the successors of the first chantry chaplains is not supported by any explicit statement in the Inspeximus. It is based, rather, on an appraisal of its details in the light of the known situation that there was only one chaplain between 1419 and 1438. What he found was significance in the fact that it was only after the resignation of first chaplains had been contemplated and the qualifications of their successors formulated that there was any mention of any schools. His interpretation may be correct, but it is also possible that only after the liturgical duties of the chaplains had been presented were the other duties required of them and their successors articulated.

Moreover, even if his suggestion that the first pair of appointees were just chaplains should be correct, the foundation of the monastic song school need not have been the result of impatience on the part of the priory at the tardiness of the second chaplain to secure preferment. With the present thesis showing that there had been a small group of singers since the 1350s, that the idea of a lay Cantor of some description had been experimented with in certainly the 1380s, and that the appointment of a Cantor-Informator had been approved in 1390, it is equally possible that the foundation of the Langley chantry fanned back to life the dying embers of an old idea. The effect of this was that the number of

chaplains associated with the chantry was reduced whilst Langley was still alive.

With Langley's death in 1437 there was need for a second chaplain to say Masses for his soul. This also marked the effective beginning of the Langley song school. From 1438 onwards the two song schools enjoyed distinct existences. As has already been stated the names of the Langley song school chaplains are totally different from those of the lay Cantors appointed by the monastery to train its choristers. Moreover, whereas the Langley school was held in a building somewhere on the east side of Palace Green, the Cantor taught his charges in a building abutting the south end of the Nine Altars' chapel. Known as the song school, it served its purpose until the end of the monastic period. The room was:

> verie fynely bourded wthin Rownd about a mannes hight about y^{e} waules and a long deske (did reache) from one of y^{e} scoole to thother to laie there bookes upo$\tilde{}$, and all y^{e} floure Bourded in under foote for warmnes, and long formes sett fast in y^{e} ground for y^{e} Children to sitt on. And y^{e} place where y^{e} m^{r} did sitt & teach was all close bordede both behinde and of either syde for warmnes.[66]

The final proof of the separateness of the two establishments in every respect may be seen in the consequence of the dissolution of the monastery in 1539. Both schools survived this. As the monastery became a cathedral run by a Dean and Chapter so its song school merely changed its title, a situation emphasised by the fact that John Brimley, the last Cantor, immediately became the first Master of the Choristers. The Langley song school for its part became even more demonstrably preparatory to the grammar school. This function is made clear by the wording of the contract issued by the Lord High Treasurer of England on 22 October 1582:

> Whereas Thomas Harrison ... did exercise the room and place of keeping school for bringing up of young children to be instructed in the catechism and further made fit to go to the Grammar School, & likewise to be taught their plain song and to be entered in their pricksong ... [we have] with the assent & consent of the ... Bishop of Durham, assigned & appointed John Rangell to exercise and have the sd schole ...[67]

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66 *Rites*, 62.

67 A copy of this contract is in Hunter MS 13, f.49^{v}; *cf.*, Pocock, p.9.

Thus, when Tunstall handed over his grammar school and song school his own idea of the latter may not have been of a training ground for choristers but of the first of two stages preparatory to going to University.

THE MONASTERY'S RESPONSE

DOM WILLIAM KIBBLESWORTH

It has been demonstrated that over virtually the next three centuries there were two quite distinct song schools. What still perplexes is the fact that the person who first attended to the monastery's additional musical requirements was not a layman, but Dom William Kibblesworth, a monk of nearly twenty-five years standing. His association with the monastery was of sufficient duration to render him aware of the increased musical activity towards the end of the fourteenth century, for in 1390-1, his novitiate over, he received the customary payment of 6s-8d from the Almoner for celebrating his first Mass. That in its turn means he was either a novice or a monk when in 1390 the suggestion to appoint 'a cantor-instructor' received Berrington's approval. In 1392-3 he left Durham to become a student at Durham College, Oxford. At Oxford he remained, serving in various capacities, until he was recalled to Durham in 1409 as Confessor.[68] In 1415-16, in the twilight of John Hemingbrough's priorate,[69] he was paid:

> Domino Willelmo Kyblesworth pro informacione noviciorum iijs. iiijd. (Almoner)
>
> domino W. Kibblesworth pro erudicione juvenum monachorum vs. (Hostiller)
>
> Willelmo Kyblesworth pro informacione juvenum iijs. iiijd. (Sacrist)
>
> domino Willelmo kyblesworth ex precepto domini [Priori], ijs. (Feretrar)

It must be conceded that in none of the references is it specifically stated that the instruction was of a musical nature,

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68 In 'The Song School at Durham' *(DUJ* 60), 66 and in *Choristers*, 8-9 it was erroneously stated that he was the Precentor.

69 Hemingbrough died 15 September 1416 (Dobson, *Durham Priory*, 83); Wessington elected 5 November 1416 (*ibid.*, 52) or 5-6 November (*ibid.*, 86).

and that the last one may not even relate to the imparting of information. As for the first three, the first two of them refer not to secular boys but to the younger members of the monastic community. Nevertheless, no other Durham monk was remunerated in this fashion, and the payments to him have much in common with the more explicit ones made to his lay successors.

The payments to Kibblesworth are restricted to the year 1415-16. In the same way that it is not possible to tell from the muniments why he, a senior monk had imparted the instruction, and not a lay Cantor, so it can not be resolved whether it was his death in 1416, or his willingness to step down once a suitable lay musician had been approached, which brought the payments to him to an end. What is clear is that what Kibblesworth had accomplished in the musical sphere was deemed to have answered the convent's needs. This may be concluded from the fact that he was followed by a succession of lay Cantors - the aptly-named William Chanter (1417-18), Richard Wymond (1418-22), Hugh Westmoreland (1423-4) and William Davey (1424-6) - who were remunerated in very much the same terms.

WILLIAM CHANTER

Chanter, unlike Kibblesworth, was not a member of the monastic community. Attractive though the thought might be that he had received his musical training at Durham, there is no way of telling where he came from. The payments he received in 1416-17 were:

> Willelmo cantori pro informacione juvenum ad cantandum, vij<u>s</u>. (Almoner)
>
> Cantori informanti juvenes in organis, ij<u>s</u>. ij<u>d</u>. (Communar)
>
> magistro organistorum, ij<u>s</u>. vj<u>d</u>. (Feretrar)
>
> In solucione facta Willemo Chantour, x<u>s</u>. (Hostiller)
>
> Cantori informanti juvenes, v<u>s</u>. (Sacrist)

Compared with the payments to Kibblesworth three of those to Chanter make mention of some aspect of music. The first, which also applies to similar payments made to his successors, is whether there is any particular significance in the word *juvenes* [youths] being preferred in these instances to the *pueri* [boys] found in the references about serving at private masses and in the later Cantors' contracts. Were

the servers even younger than those felt capable of receiving musical instruction? or were the singers older than the trebles of today and capable of singing other parts?

The other observation concerns the meaning of the two expressions, 'Cantori informanti juvenes in organis' and 'magistro organistorum'. The uncertainty arises because 'organum' and 'organa' can refer to the musical instrument or to one or more parts in polyphony. In *Choristers and their Masters* (p.9) it was assumed that the Cantor was being remunerated for giving instruction in the art of playing the organ. This is now felt to be incorrect, that he was being paid for rendering his charges competent at providing a part in polyphony. It could be that only the one part, *organum*,[70] was being referred to, but equally, this could be an example of synecdoche, with complete vocal proficiency intended. The latter phrase is, therefore, better rendered as 'to the master of the singers of organum', or even, 'to the master of the polyphonists'.

With no payment for musical instruction discovered in any of the six surviving accounts for 1417-18, it cannot be ascertained whether Chanter continued into that financial period. This is disappointing for the accounts of the Almoner, Feretrar, and Hostiller have five, five, and six entries respectively for the period from 1415 to 1422.

Although Richard Wymond, his successor, served as Cantor from 1418 to 1422, Chanter did not completely disappear from the Durham scene. The Almoner's roll for 1420-1 records the payment,

Et cuidam Willelmo Chauntour ex precepto domini, vjd.

This entry prompts a question. That question is not so much why Chanter was paid such a sum, but rather how he was available to receive it. The answer to the latter may well be that he was one of the singers, that the situation at Durham was not unlike that which prevailed at St George's Chapel, Windsor, between 1361 and 1396.[71] For twenty-three of those thirty-five years no names are avilable, but during the remaining twelve years there were no fewer than fourteen Instructors of the Choristers. As eleven of these served

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70 See pp.35 and 39-40.

71 *Bowers*, thesis, A048.

for a year or less, Bowers concluded that the position there was one at which the singers each took his turn.

RICHARD WYMOND

By 1418-19 Richard Wymond had become Cantor. He continued in the position for four years, and was paid as follows:

1418-19:

> Cantori informanti socios, ijs. vjd. (Feretrar)
>
> sol. Ricardo Wymonde Cantori pro informacione monachorum in cantu, vs. (Hostiller)

1419-20:

> in solucione facta Cantori informanti juvenes, xs. (Almoner)
>
> in toga estavali empta pro Ricardo Wymond ex convencione, vjs. viijd. (Bursar)
>
> Cantori cantanti organum in choro, pro 2 terminis, Pentecostis et Martini, vs. (Feretrar)
>
> Ricardo Wymond pro informacione monachorum in cantu, xs. (Hostiller)
>
> Ricardo cantori, vjs. viijd. (Sacrist)

1420-1:

> in solucione facta Cantori informanti Juvenes, vjs. viijd. (Almoner)
>
> in toga estavali empta pro Ricardo Wymond ex convencione, vjs. viijd. (Bursar)
>
> cantori cantanti organum in choro, vs. (Feretrar)
>
> Ricardo Wymond pro informacione monachorum in cantu, xs. (Hostiller)
>
> Ricardo cantori, vjs. viijd. (Sacrist)

1421-2:

> in solucione facta Cantori informanti Juvenes, vjs. viijd. (Almoner)
>
> Ricardo Wymond ex precepto Prioris, vjs. viijd. (Hostiller)

The instruction both of youths and of monks, the possibly surprising participation by the Cantor in the monastic offices, and the provision of clothing all anticipate the contract issued to John Steel in December 1430. These aspects and the Bursar's use of the

word, 'convencio' [= agreement], in 1419-20 and 1420-1, led Bowers to express the opinion that a contract may well have been drawn up between the monastery and Wymond, a contract which for some reason failed to be recorded in the Register.[72]

Of particular interest and significance is the payment, 'Cantori informanti socios', made by the Feretrar in 1418-19. In showing the Cantor as a *primus inter pares* it confirms that the 'singers' mentioned from 1356-7 onwards were indeed employed by the monastery.

With a John Wymond a monk from 1414 to 1423-4[73] one can do no more than query whether he was Richard's brother, and whether they had previously attended either the Almonry school or an earlier song school. Richard may have left Durham before John's death, for he is probably to be identified with the Richard, described as of the Priory of St Nicholas, Drax, in the diocese of York, who was ordained sub-deacon on 28 March 1421/2, deacon on 11 April 1422, and priest on 6 June 1422.[74]

HUGH WESTMORELAND

No payment for musical activity occurs in the accounts for 1422-3. For 1423-4 one reference has been found. Without describing any group or vocal skill its record runs,

Hugoni Westmoreland Cantori, xxx<u>s</u>. iiij<u>d</u>. (Hostiller).

Compared with the various payments made by a number of obedientiaries to Chanter and Wymond this single contribution by the Hostiller represents a step forward. It has the ring of being the official salary for the position, especially as William Davey, his successor, received the same amount in 1425-6.

The Robert Westmoreland, who went to Oxford in 1427-8 (Feretrar), was a monk from 1424 to 1447. This prompts a query similar to that made concerning the Wymonds, namely, whether Hugh and Robert were brothers, and also whether they might have attended

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72 Bowers, article, [23].

73 His death is recorded in the Finchale account for 1423-4.

74 *The Register of Thomas Langley*, v.5, ed. by R.L. Storey (*SS* 177, 1966), 158, 160, 162. I am grateful to Roger Bowers (Article, n.50) for indicating this source.

the Almonry school or even the song school before embarking on their separate vocations.

That the Almonry school - and the Song school too, if it had already assumed a separate identity - was a preliminary training ground for monks has already been mentioned in connection with the Priors John Wessington and William Ebchester.[75] A further pointer to the Almonry School being a recruitment area occurs in a letter written in the 1390s to Prior John Hemingbrough.[76] Towards its end, Robert Blacklaw, the Prior of Durham College, Oxford, writes:

> Furthermore, reverend sir, I said to Sir William Kibblesworth that he should send his kinsman, John Fishburn, to the house if in song and voice he performs ably and should wish to become a monk, to send the said boy to the aforementioned Sir William, and neither I nor a single colleague of mine at the college under your jurisdiction [would have] the smallest criticisms ...[77]

Fishburn is referred to not as a 'youth' but as a 'boy'. As such he was not of an age to begin his novitiate. What is of some moment is that in the matter of selection vocal ability was ranked alongside the wish to become a monk.

WILLIAM DAVEY

Like Westmoreland before him Davey received payment from just one source. No contract is extant for Davey, who received:

1424-5:

> pro informacione monachorum, xxv<u>s</u>. (Hostiller)

1425-6:

> pro informacione monachorum, xxxiij<u>s</u>. iiij<u>d</u>. (Hostiller)

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75 See pp.44.

76 The date is arrived at from a miscellany of facts - Blacklaw was Prior of the Oxford house *c*.1392-1404, dying in 1405; Kibblesworth said his first Mass in ? 1391 and went to Oxford shortly afterwards; and Fishburn became a monk in ? 1401.

77 Loc. XXV, no.37; Dobson, *Durham Priory*, 59-60. The quotation is a translation of: 'Ceterum Domino reverendo dixi domino Willelmo kyblesworth ut consanguinium suum Johannem fyscheburn domum transmittere si in cantu et voce feret habilem et voluerit monachari qu em puerum mittendum praefato domino Willelmo et ego necnon singuli socii mei de collegio dominacione vestra humilime regracione ...'

The amounts again indicate that a salary had been established and that Davey started during the course of 1424-5. With the accounts covering from one Pentecost to the next, perhaps he commenced his duties round about Michaelmas 1424.

In 1427-8 a Rowland Davey was paid 6s-8d by the Terrar 'ex precepto priori'. He was not a monk, nor is he named among those receiving Pensions and Stipends in the Bursar's roll. It can only be queried whether he was William's brother, whether he too was a musician, possibly one of the singers, or whether indeed he too acted as Cantor for a while.

TABLE 5: PAYMENTS TO KIBBLESWORTH AND THE CANTORS, 1415-31

Date	*Recipient*	*Alm*	*Burs*	*Comm*	*Fer*	*Host*	*Sacr*
1415-16	Kibblesworth	3/4	x	-	2/-	5/-	3/4
1416-17	Chanter	7/-	x	2/6	2/6	10/-	5/-
1417-18		x	-	-	x	x	-
1418-19	Wymond	x	x	-	3/6	5/-	-
1419-20	Wymond	10/-	6/8	-	5/-	10/-	6/8
1420-1	Wymond	6/8	6/8	-	5/-	10/-	6/8
1421-2	Wymond	6/8	x	-	x	6/8	x
1422-3		x	x	-	x	x	x
1423-4	Westmoreland	x	x	-	x	33/4	x
1424-5	Davey	-	x	-	x	25/-	x
1425-6	Davey	-	x	-	x	33/4	-
1426-7		-	x	-	x	x	-
1427-8		-	x	-	x	x	-
1428-9		x	x	-	x	x	-
1429-30		x	x	-	x	x	-
1430-1	Steel	x	-	x	x	6/8	-

The intermittent nature of the succession is hard to account for. During the period 1415 to 1431 six of the obedientiaries made at least one payment each to the musical instructors. The Table[78] above again gives the sum when one was contributed, employs 'x' when an

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78 The Table draws on the relevant information presented in Appendix 4 - see vol.2, pp.160-72.

extant account is devoid of any such payment and '-' when the account has not survived.

An examination of the Table prompts the conclusion that the list of instructors might have had fewer gaps had more than one Communar's account been preserved and had there been full sets of the Almoner's and Sacrist's accounts. Against this, it must be pointed out that the size of the amounts in the Hostiller's accounts for 1423-4, 1424-5, and 1425-6 indicates that he was paying their full salary - and his set of accounts is complete. All the rolls for the silent years have been examined several times for payments relating to musical instruction, but without success.

A DURHAM PROCESSIONAL

Contemporary with the early fifteenth century Cantors is a Durham Processional dated *c*.1420. Dr Sandon, attracted by the other and slightly later music in Royal MS 7.A.VI, a manuscript now in the British Library, did no more than comment that the Processional was in an untidy hand.[79] He observed that the deterioration in calligraphy reflected the poor esteem in which the manuscript had come to be held once its original contents had become obsolete. This may well be so.

The rubric of the Processional[80] indicates the different groups to whom the music could be allocated. For instance, on f.117 sections are allotted to 'duo fratres' and to 'chorus', and on f.117^{v} to 'Chorus' and 'Cantores', and there is also the instruction, 'cum cantore et alio fratre'. It might be reasoned that in the monastic offices the term 'cantor' meant no more than 'soloist', and that the expression, 'with the cantor and another brother' implies that the 'cantor' in question was indeed a monk. It is also clear from the rubric that there was some attempt at contrast, at dramatization, for f.119 mentions two different groups of 'two brothers' - 'ij fratres' and 'alij duo'.

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79 Nick Sandon, 'Mary, meditations, monks and music', 43-55; for the other music in the manuscript see pp.25 above and 95 below.

80 It is written in black ink, not red.

The adults may have been monks, but the rubric also includes, on f.118, clear proof of the use of boys' voices. There it states,

> pueri in loco excelso cantabunt antiphonam Gloria laus et honor.[81]

The 'high place' may have been an organ loft, it may have been the triforium or even higher, but who 'the boys' were is not clear cut. They may have been a group of the early choristers, but equally, with Palm Sunday a special occasion and one associated with children, the possibility that they were the ordinary children of the Almonry must not be excluded. Before leaving the Processional it should be pointed out that the comment, 'Chorus: cui puerili et tuti pueri', does not sub-divide the boys into two groups, but allocates that phrase of the antiphon to the Chorus.

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81 'The children in a high place sing the antiphon, "Glory, laud and honour"'.

CHAPTER 4

JOHN STEEL, CANTOR, 1430-87

HIS BACKGROUND

After the payment to Davey in 1425-6 the mists of uncertainty again descended, but this time only briefly. When they lifted late in 1430 it had become clear to the Durham Prior and Convent precisely what was required of their Cantor. Chosen for the position was John Steel. It is probable that he belonged to a Durham family, and not inconceivable that he had progressed from being one of the youths instructed in music by one of the early Cantors to one of the mysterious group of lay singers.

Such hypotheses are not mere wishful thinking, they are based on an array of facts gathered from the account rolls. In making payment to Steel in 1444-5 and again in 1447-8 the Chamberlain appends to his name the description, 'de Dunelm'. This is supported by a reference in, for instance, the Cellarer's account for 1438-9. There payment is made to Thomas Steel and Richard Steel, both of whom are described as 'horse-minders'. It is likely that they were either his brothers, or his cousins, or even his uncles, for even allowing for longevity and supposing John Steel was eighty in 1487 this hardly leaves time for them to have been his children. Certainly there was in Durham a Steel family, for the Almoner's account for 1398-9 includes three payments to an earlier John Steel. This John may be the same as the John Steel who was one of the tradesman fined for non-appearance before the Prior's Marshall in 1424.[1] If they were not the same person, one of these two may well have been John's father, for it transpires that he too was called John. This fact emerges from the grant, on 1 February 1450/1, of a corrody in the hospital of Blessed Mary Magdalene to Helen Steel, a widow, and to John Steel the Cantor, the son of John and Helen.[2]

To the generation after Cantor John belong Richard and another John. Richard became a monk in 1461, was Granator in 1464-5,

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1 *Rolls*, ii, 367.

2 Reg. Parv. III, f.50^{v}.

Cellarer in 1466-7, a colleague of the Feretrar in 1480-1, Hostiller for at least the period 1485-6 to 1492-3,[3] and died in 1493-4 (Bursar); and John, who became a monk in 1459, was a colleague of the Feretrar in 1459-60, and died in 1502.

HIS FIRST CONTRACT

Returning to Cantor John, it was on 20 December 1430 that he entered into an agreement with the Prior and Convent. A copy of this agreement has been preserved in the contemporary Priory Register.[4] No earlier contract at Durham has been found, but at 1430 its date is late in comparison to that of the contract issued at Winchester to John Tyes in 1402.[5] Bowers has advanced the view that because the provision of summer garments for Wymond in 1419-20 and 1420-1 are described in the Bursar's accounts as 'ex convencione' he may have had a contract setting forth his duties and salaries.[6] This is a plausible suggestion. Lending support to it are the sizeable payments - 33s-4d in a full year - by the Hostiller to Westmoreland in 1423-4 and to Davey in 1425-6. Even so, where most of the payments to Chanter, Wymond, and Davey detail some aspect - *e.g.*, 'pro informacione monachorum'[7] - of the instruction they imparted, the early ones made to Steel are 'ex ordinacione prioris et Conventus'.[8] This anxiety on the part of the keepers of the accounts points to the payments being for a new departure.

Whilst it is highly likely that what was expected of Steel embodied what had been required of his predecessors, there is no justification for the statement by Bowers that it was stipulated 'in Steel's contract that he fulfil certain duties "just as it has occasioned others"'.[9] No clause either in Steel's contract or in any of those of his successors can be so translated, all that can be

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3 The Hostiller's rolls 1477-8 to 1484-5 are missing.

4 Reg. III, ff.137^{v}-8.

5 Winchester, Priory Register 1, f.15^{v}; see above, pp.48-9.

6 Bowers, article, [23]; see p.79 above.

7 Hostiller, *e.g.*, 1418-19, 1425-6.

8 Hostiller, *e.g.*, 1430-1, 1435-6.

9 Bowers, article, [23].

suggested is that Bowers has misunderstood the import of the last few words of the first passage below. There the clause, 'sub forma infra scripta', refers to the terms about to be set out in the contract, not to what might have happened in the past.

Partly so that comparisons may be made the more readily, but chiefly because the contract itself merits it, the contract is now presented in its entirety. Without any need for re-arrangement it divides conveniently into five sections, each of which is preceded by a paragraph giving the gist of the Latin, and followed by observations which include comparisons with the Winchester contract with John Tyes.

The contract offered to Steel and accepted by him was to serve the Prior and Convent for the rest of his life.

> Hec indentura facta inter Johannem Priorem et Capitulum ecclesie Cathedralis Dunelmensis ex parte una, et Johannem Stele cantorem ex parte altera, testatur, quod idem Johannes Stele est retentus et firmiter iuratus ad serviendum dictis Priori et Capitulo bene et fideliter usque ad terminum vitae suae sub forma infra scripta.

This formal opening has much in common with the contract with Tyes. What is different is that Steel is described as a musician and that Tyes was appointed for a period twenty years.

It was required of Steel to teach diligently and to the best of his ability the whole art of music to a group of eight secular boys and to such monks as were selected by the Prior.

> Videlicet quod idem Johannes illos Monachos Dunelmensis et octo pueros seculares quos prior Dunelmensis assignaverit sibi ad discendum diligenter et meliori modo quo sciverit tam ad modulandum super organa quam ad organum decantandum, scilicet, Pryktenote, ffaburdon, Deschaunte et counter quantum in ipso est informabit nichil ab eis de dictis scienciis occultando durante termino supradicto.

The contract with Tyes does not give any details of the areas of musical proficiency, nor does it make mention of any monks benefiting from his knowledge. Instead, it talks about him instructing in chant 'the boys of the convent' on the understanding their number was never more than four. The Durham contract is not so specific about their association, though it has always been assumed that they were drawn from the Almonry school.

The Durham extract again raises the question, 'What is meant by *ad modulandum super organa* and *ad organum decantandum*?' Is a musical instrument being referred to, or is it a vocal part? The answer in this case is probably, 'Both, and in that order'. The idea that 'modulating on the organ' involves changing the key, the tonal colouring, in which a piece is written, dates only from the early eighteenth century. Prior to that it simply meant, 'accompanying', the changing of keys in another sense. This skill was deemed just as desirable as proficiency in 'singing' different parts. Those parts or vocal forms are named as 'Pryktenote, Faburdon, Deschaunte, and counter'. The list is impressive in that it shows awareness of the latest developments in harmony, indeed, it is claimed that this contract with Steel includes the earliest known references to pricknote and faburden.[10]

Imparting musical skills was only one aspect of Steel's role. In addition, he was required to attend Mass and Vespers in the Choir, either accompanying on organ or singing the tenor part as instructed [by the Precentor]. It was also incumbent upon Steel either to play on the organ or to sing one of the parts at the daily celebration of the Lady Mass held in the Galilee chapel.

> Tenebitur itaque idem Johannes missis et vesperis in choro ecclesie 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 misse beatae Mariae Virginis cum nota in galilea Dunelmensis celebranda canendo ad eandem missam planum cantum sive organum sicut contigerit alios ibidem cantare pro tempore nisi legitime excusetur.

The Lady Mass requirement was the same as at Winchester, but more was expected in relation to services held in the Choir. At Winchester, participation was restricted to Masses and other services requiring accompanied chant on festival days only. The Durham requirement, that Steel should be present at the Masses and Vespers held in the Choir, comes as something of a surprise, for he was a layman, his wife is referred to later in the contract. That Steel was required to be there serves to prompt the query, 'Who sang any other parts at the monastic offices?' No evidence is available

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10 Bowers, thesis, 4096; and B. Trowell, 'Faburden' (*New Grove*, vi, 350-1).

to indicate precisely what those parts were nor whether they were sung by the more musically able of the monks or by the lay singers.

In return for Steel performing these duties the Prior and Convent, for their part, undertook to feed, clothe, and accommodate him. For food he would have a daily allowance of bread and ale, and of meat or fish in accordance with the monastic menu. Every year at Christmas he would be supplied with a robe of the same colour as those worn by the prior's 'generosi'.[11] His salary was to be five marks [£3-6s-8d][12] *per annum* paid in two equal instalments at Pentecost and on St Martin's Day (11 November). With respect to housing, Steel was given the choice of either a tied house in the Bailey or one mark [13s-4d] per year if he preferred to provide his own accommodation.

> Pro quibus omnibus et singulis serviciis in forma praenotata bene et fideliter impendendis et sustinendis dicti Prior et Capitulum concesserunt dicto Johanni Stele singulis diebus unum album panem monachalem et una lagenam cervisie melioris et unum ferculum carnium vel piscium secundum exigenciam diei prout servietur uni monacho in monasterio suo Dunelmensis et annuatim unum garniamentum de panno coloris secte generosorum erga sui nativitatis domini et annuatim quinque marcas argenti ad festa pente[costis] et sancti Martini in hyeme per equales porciones. Necnon unam domum infra ballium Dunelmensis pro habitacione eiusdem Johannis competentem vel annuatim unam marcam argenti pro eadem habenda et percipienda omnia supradicta de dictis priore et capitulo ad monasterium suum Dunelmensis ad terminos supradictos.

At Winchester, where the salary was eight silver marks, the domestic arrangements were different and the offer from the outset of a room points to Tyes being a bachelor. That Steel availed himself of the option of the tied house in the Bailey is confirmed by payments made by the Bursar to the Communar. Right from the earliest relevant account of 1430-1, the Communar claimed that a sum was owed him in respect of Steel's accommodation there. In 1430-1, the sum was 3s-4d, but in the years which followed the amount was 6s-8d. This situation continued until 1449-50. That year the amount increased to 10s. At 10s. it stayed until 1478-9 when only 5s. was claimed. The reduced sums in 1430-1 and 1478-9 indicate incomplete years.

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11 The *generosi* (gentlemen) were superior to the *valecti* (higher class servants) and *gromi* (grooms and lower servants).

12 It is incorrectly stated in Crosby, *Choristers*, 9, that the sum was £1-6s-8d.

Finally, the contract looked to the future. It stated that if Isabel, his current wife, should predecease him and he not re-marry, then the corrody he had been enjoying or the money granted in lieu of it would cease, and the Prior would provide him with 'an honest room' within the monastery itself.

> Insuper concordatum est inter partes praedictas quod si contigerit Isabellam uxorem eiusdem Johannis modernam ante eum in fata decedere et ipsum Johannem de cetero non maritari quod extunc cessabit corredium antedictum et idem Johannes erit commensalis cum generosis de curia Prioris et idem prior assignabit eidem Johanni honestam cameram infra monasterium Dunelmensis pro habitacione sua cessante domo praedicta vel marca debita pro eadem in cuius rei testimonium partes praedictae presentibus indenturis sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Data in domo capitulari Dunelmensis xxij die mensis Decembris anno domino mcccc tricesimo.

Corrodies were a form of 'sheltered accommodation', usually in one of the 'hospitals' or almshouses associated with a monastery. They were in the donation of the Prior, and at other places were often leased out in order to supplement revenue. This does not appear to have happened at Durham, where they were granted to those who had, or had had, some tangible association with the monastery.

HIS SECOND CONTRACT

In the margin opposite the first contract is the entry,

> Vacat per posteriorem convencionem factam ut patet in iv^{to} registro folio 60

The second contract with Steel is well documented. Not only is the official copy in the Priory Registers at the specified place, but the convent's part of the actual indenture, which shows where the seal was attached, has survived the ravages of time. So too have unissued duplicates for both parties.[13]

The new contract became operative on 2 January 1447/8. My earlier suggestion,[14] that it came into being because William Ebchester, who had succeeded John Wessington as Prior in 1446, wished to set his seal of approval on the new position created by

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13 Loc. XXVIII, no.16 for the original half, and nos 15 and 16* for the unissued duplicates.

14 Crosby, thesis, 31.

his predecessor, did not pay sufficient attention to the fact that legally this was pointless as Steel's appointment was 'for life'. Similarly, in stating that the second contract was needed because Steel's wife had died, Bowers[15] overlooked the fact that in presenting acceptable alternative arrangements should that happen the first contract had rendered a second contract on that account unnecessary.

Why then was it provided? It was entered into because, although the first one had appointed Steel for life and had covered many aspects, it had not considered the implications of either old age or illness rendering him incapable of carrying out his duties. However, before stating what would happen should that eventuality arise, the new contract made full use of the opportunity to make a number of minor revisions. The first of these concerned the musical curriculum. The requirement to teach his charges to play the organ was retained,[16] and plain chant and plainsong, presumably taken for granted in the previous contract, were added:

> ... tam ad modulandum super organa quam ad planum cantum et organum decantandum, scilicet playnsange, Prikenote, ffaburdon, dischaunte, et countre ...

The opportunity was also taken to make official the change in one of his benefits in kind. The second contract replaces the daily allowance of meat or fish, dependent on the monastic fare, with a financial payment made monthly and amounting to 26s-8d in a year. This arrangement had been partly evident in the Cellarer's accounts since 1440-1. His basic salary, however, remained unaltered at £3-6s-8d.

> ... concesserunt dicto Johanni Stele, singulis diebus, unum album panem monachalem, et qualibet septimana septem lagenas novae cervisiae suae conventualis, ad celerium vel ad pandoxatrium, videlicet ad le tunnyng, unica vice simul, vel duabus vicibus separatim, recipiendas, cum viginti sex solidis et octo denariis legalis monetae Angliae, annuatim pro le coquina sive le soulsilver, videlicet quolibet mense ij<u>s</u>. iij<u>d</u>. minus in toto per annum iiij<u>d</u>., per manus cellerarii ...

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15 Bowers, in an annotation written in my copy of my M.A. thesis, opposite p.31.

16 In stating that it was removed, Crosby, *Choristers*, 10, is again incorrect.

With Steel well established this contract had no need to offer alternatives in respect of accommodation. It portrays him as resident in the Bailey, and undertakes either the responsibility of keeping it in a good state of repair or allowing Steel 6s-8d for that purpose.

> necnon illam domum infra Ballium Dunelmense in qua idem Johannes inhabitat, sumptibus suis et successorum suorum, quando necesse fuerit reparandum, vel annuatim unam marcam argenti pro eadem.

In conclusion, the second contract presented what would happen should infirmity or old age prevent Steel from carrying out his duties. In that eventuality his allowance of bread and ale would be halved, the ale being of a poorer quality, and his soulsilver, the money he received in lieu of food would be halved too. It was stated that the terms for repairing his house would remain the same.

> Si vero contigat dictum Johannem tantam delibitatem morbo incedere vel aetate quod praemissa facere et perimplere nequiverit, extunc idem Johannes qualibet quindena, durante vita sua, habebit ex dono et concessione praedictorum Prioris et Capituli infrascripta, videlicet una septimana quatuor albos panes monachales et quatuor lagenas novae cervisiae suae conventualis, et alia septimana tres albos panes monaches et tres lagenas uovae cervisiae suae conventualis, similiter ad celarium vel ad pandoxatrium, videlicet ad le tunnyng, unica vice simul recipiendas; necnon tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios legalis monetae Angliae annuatim pro coquina sive le soulsilver ad festa Pentecostes et Sancti Martini in hyeme, per equales porciones, per manus cellerarii pro tempore existentis; ac eciam illam domum infra Ballium Dunelmense in qua praefatus Johannes mod inhabitat, in forma predicta reparandam, vel unam marcam argenti pro eadem; nichil ultra ista de eisdem Priore et Capitulo petendo vel exigendo.

In the earlier part of the contract the amount of Steel's salary was stated between the feeding arrangements and his accommodation. This part of the contract specifies what changes in the latter two areas there would be should Steel become incapable of carrying out his duties. Lacking is any statement concerning his salary, presumably because it was assumed that this would cease. Missing too is any reference to Isabel, Steel's wife. She may well have died, but as has been explained earlier in this section that in itself was not the grounds for the new contract. Equally, whether she were still alive or not, it may have become clear that Steel was content where he was and had a family who would look after him when the need

arose. Missing too, for the same reason, is the option of the 'honest room' offered in the first contract.

The provision of accommodation was an area covered in both contracts. That in the Bailey, however, was not the only accommodation enjoyed by Steel. On 1 February 1451/2 Prior William [Ebchester] granted a corrody in the hospital of Blessed Mary Magdalene near Kepier to Helen Steel, widow, and her son, John Steel the Cantor.[17] The grant was for the rest of their lives. This corrody was confirmed in the names of John Steel the Cantor and his daughter Agnes by Prior Richard [Bell] on 23 June 1466.[18] The third reference to the corrody marks the end of its association with the Steels, the entry recording that the corrody which had been enjoyed by Agnes Steel had been given to Richard Slater.[19] The statement is undated, but is in the same ink as the donation which follows it. That grant is dated 4 January 1489/90.

From 1447-8, which is before first donation given above but of the same date as Steel's second contract, up to and including 1477-8 John Steel is listed in the Almoner's accounts as one of the corrodians at the hospital dedicated to St Mary Magdalene. Thereafter up to and including the account for 1487-8 only Agnes Steel is mentioned. What cannot be determined is whether John Steel lived there and sub-let the house in the Bailey, or whether he himself resided in the latter, the hospital accommodation being a prudent provision for his family, particularly in the event of him predeceasing them.

EXAMPLES OF DURHAM POLYPHONY

Two fragments of polyphony from the time of Steel have been preserved. The first, End Paper and Binding no.25, is at Durham. The central bifolium of a gathering from a part-book, its survival is somewhat fortuitous. On it is written, all in an imperfect state, the end of the *Agnus Dei* from one Mass (f.1), and the *Kyrie fons bonitatis* (ff.1^{v}-2), and from another the *Gloria* and beginning of

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17 Reg. Parv. III, f.50^{v}; for the location of the hospital see below, Illustration 7, p.146.

18 *Ibid.*, f.132.

19 Reg. Parv. IV, f.17^{v}.

the *Credo* (ff.2-2^{v}).[20] The layout of the *Kyrie fons bonitatis* is deserving of mention. Not all of it is given, the third, sixth, and eighth sentences being indicated by groupings of eight-beat rests - the first of these can just be made out as the end of the fourth stave in the illustration. Such an arrangement points to the employment of one or more solo voices.

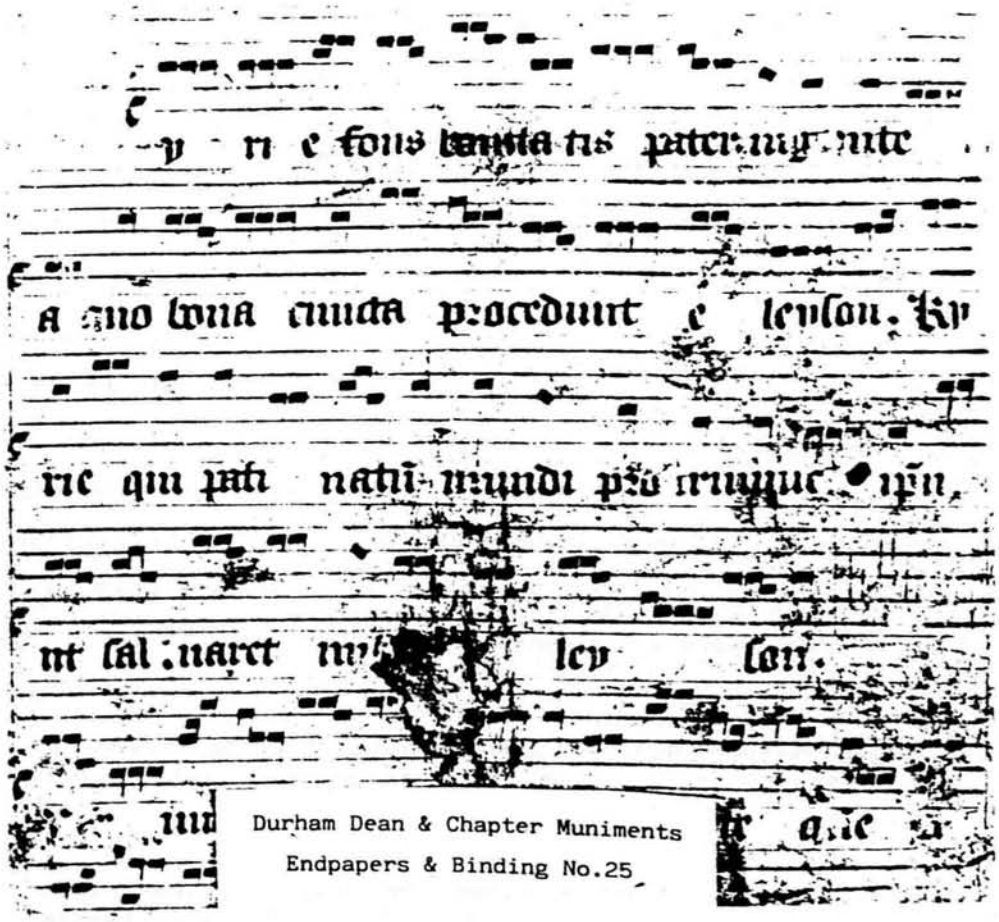


ILLUSTRATION 6: End Paper and Binding no.25

The Durham fragment employs 'stroke' notation, a short-lived system in which the repetition of the note-symbol served to indicate

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20 End Paper and Binding no.25; mid 15th cent. For a critical appraisal of this fragment see, R. Bowers and A. Wathey (compilers), 'New Sources of English Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Polyphony' *Early Music History*, 3 (1983), 123-73, and especially pp.126-36.

the length of a note. It has been suggested[21] that it was used at Durham by Steel to train his inexperienced singers. If that were so, then those singers were more likely to have been the monks allocated to the Cantor by the Prior rather than the group of singers associated with the priory since *c.*1356.

The other fragment survives in a manuscript which has already been mentioned, in British Library Royal MS 7.A.VI.[22] This fragment, a tenor part to *Stella celi*, also employs stroke notation. Dr Sandon felt that the part fitted quite well under John Cooke's setting of *Stella celi*.[23] As it differs from Cooke's tenor part, Dr Sandon accepted it as a Durham setting. In that case, the possibility of it being arranged and transcribed by John Steel must not be discounted.

DID STEEL RETIRE?

Steel is named as Cantor until 1486-7. Whether he was able to carry out his duties in his later years is another matter. Bowers has suggested that the year 1478-9 marked Steel's retirement.[24] This conclusion he reached as a result of observing that from that year onwards, but not entirely, the payments to Steel were couched in terms such as,

> in quadam pensione nuper solut Johanni Steyll Cantori, xiij<u>s</u>. iiij<u>d</u>.' (Chamberlain, 1478-9),

and

> solut Domini priori pro pensione solut Johanni Steyle Cantori, vj<u>s</u>. viij<u>d</u>. (Infirmarer).

Certainly, that year marked a significant change in Steel's life. Since 1430-1 the Bursar had been paying the Communar in respect of Steel's house in the Bailey. The sum had risen from 6s-8d in a full year to 10s. in 1449-50, but in 1478-9, the last year in which this payment was made, the amount was only 5s. Again, from 1447-8 to 1477-8 Steel was named, first with his mother and later his daughter, as one of the corrodians at the hospital of St Mary

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21 Bowers and Wathey, 'New Sources of English Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Polyphony', 135-6.

22 f.127^{v}; see pp.25 and 83-4.

23 N. Sandon, 'Mary, meditations, monks, and music', 53-4.

24 Bowers, article, [23].

Magdalene[25] - but in 1478-9 his daughter Agnes is named on her own. As John was still very much alive, what could have happened to him? If old age - he was by then at least sixty-five years old - and infirmity had rendered him incapable of carrying out his duties then living with his daughter in the corrody at St Mary Magdalene would have been the natural consequence, not him ceasing to be a corrodian.[26] The exaplanation may be that the monastery took upon itself the responsibility of looking after him.

However, it does not follow that such a decision meant that Steel had become incapacitated, that he had retired. According to his first contract, 'an honest room within the monastery' was one of the options offered to Steel, whatever his own state of health, in the event of his wife predeceasing him. Furthermore, though this 'honest room' was not mentioned in his second contract it was stated that his soulsilver of 26s-8d would be halved if he were prevented by old age or infirmity from carrying out his duties. Although it is a combined sum of 40s. which is paid to the Prior on behalf of Steel and Robert Bartram, the Notary, that total is the same as the 26s-8d and 13s-4d they had previously had paid to them as individuals. When considering Steel, the long-serving Bartram must also be borne in mind, for he had enjoyed a similar corrody at the hospital at Witton [Gilbert], and at the same time as Steel ceased to be listed as a corrodian so too did Bartram.

Bearing in mind the suggestion that Steel had retired, three words in the quotations in the first paragraph of this section merit consideration.[27] Those words are 'pensio', Prior, and 'nuper'. One of the sections in many of the domestic accounts is headed *Pensiones et Stipendia*. All those listed under it were active in their respective spheres. Those receiving *Pensiones* included obedientiaries, incumbents of parishes, and the more professional of the retainers, whereas the humbler strata of the work-force were in receipt of *Stipendia*. The older, more literal meaning of 'pensioners' has been revived in the *New English Bible*. In the narrative which culminates in Elijah's triumph on Mount Carmel, his

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25 See p.85.

26 It is, of course, possible that his daughter was not capable of looking after him.

27 The payments 'to the Prior' and those 'formerly due to ...' are noted clearly in Appendix 4 - see vol.2, pp.168-70.

adversaries, the prophets of Baal and of the Asherah, are described as 'Jezebel's pensioners'.[28] Accordingly, the unqualified use of the word 'pension' has nothing to do with retirement.

The position regarding the payments 'due to the Prior' is also capable of an explanation other than that Steel had retired. Steel was not the only Cantor to have some of his income handed over in this fashion. The records show that it happened to no fewer than five of his seven named successors. As none of Alexander Bell, Thomas Foderley, John Tildesley, Robert Langforth, and William Robson (first spell) served as Cantor for as long as ten years, it is unlikely that the convent would have appointed a succession of elderly musicians, and improbable that all five should have to retire because of ill-health. One only has to look at the dates of the different payments to the Prior to realize that the situations contemplated in the previous sentence are irrelevant. With all the five Cantors named above the payments were made throughout their periods of office. Further, Bell's contract was not for life, and after about eight years in Durham he moved to a similar position at Salisbury; and Robson, whose appointment was temporary and without a contract, began a second spell of at least six years duration some thirteen years later.

An examination of the payments to see which obedientiaries were responsible for making them to the Prior affords insight into the reason why. Most of them were made by the Cellarer. For the period from 1479-80 to 1534-5 some twenty-four of his accounts survive. In all but three of them - and one of those is imperfect at the crucial point - the payment is made to the Prior and not to the Cantor. This is a readily understandable re-allocation of funds if the Cantor were a bachelor and the accommodation allotted to him meant that he did not have to provide his own food and drink. That such a situation did prevail is borne out by *Rites*. Of the Master of the Choristers it says,

> Also y^{e} m^{r} of y^{e} said Childrin had his chamber nyghe vnto y^{e} said schoole a litle distant from it where he did live, having his meite & drinke in y^{e} p$^{\sim}$ors hall, emong$^{\sim}$ y^{e} p$^{\sim}$ors gentleme$^{\sim}$, and all his other necessaries found of y^{e} p$^{\sim}$or & of y^{e} house coste besyd'...[29]

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28 Publ. 1970; see 2 Kings 18, v.19.

29 *Rites*, 63.

Six other payments were similarly directed to the Prior. Five were made by the Infirmarer - on behalf of Steel in 1485-6 and 1486-7, Bell in 1492-3, Foderley in 1496-7, and an unnamed person in 1526-7 - and one by the Chamberlain - on behalf of Langforth in 1509-10. In the case of the payments made by the Infirmarer all five accounts are in his last nine, and there might have been more had any of his accounts for the period 1477 to 1485 been extant. However, whereas in Steel's case the payments were made at a time when he could have become incapacitated, that on behalf of Foderley was made in respect of his first year as Cantor, and those relating to Bell and Langforth pertained to years in the middle of their tenure of the position. In this respect there is a further point to be made, namely, that only in Steel's contract are the financial arrangements for alternative accommodation contemplated. If Bell and the others were provided with a room within the monastery then it was only right that part of their salary should be re-directed. Accordingly, it must be concluded that the payments to the Prior do not in themselves indicate retirement.

Remaining are the expressions incorporating the word 'nuper'. They are not used in connection with any other Cantor, and all relate to at least part of Steel's last nine years. They occur as follows:

Almoner	1478-9 to 1481-2 (but not 1482-3 to 1485-6)
Cellarer	1479-80, 1480-1, 1482-3 to 1485-6 (which were also paid to the Prior)[30]
Chamberlain	1478-9, 1480-1, 1481-2 (but not 1486-7)
Hostiller	1479-80, 1480-1 (in 1485-6 and 1486-7 the payments are to a Hall and Bell respectively)
Sacrist	1483-4 and 1486-7

The Infirmarer's two accounts for the period, those for 1485-6 and 1486-7, do not use 'nuper' in relation to the payments due to Steel - but it has been mentioned above that they directed the money to the Prior.

In making their payments the Almoner and the others use these turns of phrase,

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30 In the payments relating to soulsilver. The allocation in respect of the revenue from hides continues to use the expression, 'to the Chamberlain, Chancellor, and Cantor ...'.

> in (quadam) pensione nuper solut Johanni Steyll (Almoner, 1478-83; Hostiller, 1479-81)
>
> in pensione nuper solut Johanni Steyll et Roberto Bartram (Hostiller, 1479-80)
>
> in (quadam) pensione nuper solut Johanni Steyll, Cantori (Chamberlain, 1478-9, 1481-2; Sacrist, 1483-7)
>
> Johanni Steyll Cantori pro pensione nuper sibi solut. (Chamberlain, 1480-1)
>
> sol domino Priori de pensionibus nuper Magistris Roberti Bartram [the Notary] et Johannis Steyll Cantoris pro suo soulsilver, xl<u>s</u>. (Cellarer, 1479-86)

With 'nuper' meaning 'former' or 'formerly' on the face of it the situation is beyond equivocation. And yet, the position of 'nuper' in the entries is different from what might have been expected. In the payments made to John Wessington and William Ebchester after they had from being Prior, each is described as 'nuper priorem'. Typical of those payments is,

> Et sol. Magistro Willelmo Ebchestre, nuper Priori, pro pensione sua, 40<u>li</u>. (Bursar, 1458-9; *Rolls*, iii, 638).

They had resigned, they had retired, and what they were advanced was in recognition of their former status. Steel on the other hand, is still described as 'Cantor' and Bartram as 'Notary', it is their salaries which are described as 'nuper'.

It must be queried whether it was an oversight which resulted in 'nuper' being omitted from the Almoner's accounts for 1482-3 to 1485-6, the Chamberlain's for 1486-7, and the Infirmarer's for 1485-7, and, conversely, whether the strange 'to John Steel the Cantor for the salary formerly due to him' in the Chamberlain's account for 1480-1 was the copyist's way of try to compensate for an incorrect start.

With the payments which were also 'to the Prior' it is clear where the money was going. The same appears to be true for the sum from the Chamberlain in 1479-80, but not for the others. Possibly, the Prior was receiving them, but the obedientiary felt that there was no need to mention what to him was the accepted procedure. Possibly, Steel and Bartram had retired, but as they had been appointed to their positions 'for life', the money was being paid to unnamed deputies. On the other hand, it could be that to enable Steel and Bartram still to perform their duties it was agreed to

provide them with convenient and adjacent accommodation within the precincts and to re-direct the greater part of their salaries.

A point initially lending support to the latter idea in the case of Steel was the presence among the monks of a Richard Steel. As he became a monk in 1461 he could have been John Steel's nephew or even his son. In 1466-7 Richard Steel served as the Cellarer, and in 1480-1 as the Feretrar. And yet, the presence of Richard also points to John's retirement, for from at the latest 1485-6 through to 1492-3 Richard was the Hostiller. His financial account for 1486-7 is extant, and in it Edmund (a mistake for Alexander) Bell is named as the Cantor, whereas the Chamberlain, Infirmarer, and Sacrist have John Steel. This is not necessarily as significant as at first might appear, for where Hostiller Richard chose to name the newly appointed holder, they may have preferred to name the person who had served the monastery for so long and who had still been alive at the beginning of the financial year. Of potentially more import is the situation in 1485-6. Where the Almoner, Cellarer, Infirmarer, and Sacrist have John Steel and Robert Bartram (sometimes in separate entries), Hostiller Richard has

> in pensionibus solut. magistri Johanni Batmanson et Johanni Hall

Had the only difference compared with other years been the name, 'Hall', the inclination would have been to suggest that it was nothing more than a scribal error on the part of the copyist. The evidence, however, points to it being no accident. In the case of the Notary both the Christian name and the surname are different - and the person named duly succeeded Bartram. Further, 'Hall' would have been a most surprising mistake for Hostiller Richard to have committed even if John Steel and he were not related but merely had the same surname.[31] In this respect the lack of any Hostiller's accounts for the four years prior to 1485-6 is regrettable. If any of them had been extant, who was Hostiller, and whom he named as Cantor could have been highly significant. As for John Hall, there was one of that name associated with the Durham monastery. In 1474-5 the Cellarer paid him 3s-4d for looking after vases and windows.

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31 It is unlikely that an error was made by the scribe producing the summary version of the year's accounts.

Had it not been for the entry in the Hostiller's account for 1485-6 the urge to conclude that Steel did not retire would have been strong. That statement alone prompts the conclusion that if Steel did not retire in 1478-9 then his role was being performed by deputies for some time before his death.

FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT STEEL

With Steel an active Cantor for upwards of forty-eight years the information about him is not confined to the sphere of music. On two occasions in the 1440s he was paid for mending clocks. As the payment of 13s-4d in 1441-2 was made by the Sacrist, the clock in question may have been in the cathedral. The other payment, of 3s-4d, made by the Bursar in 1446-7, was for Stele's attention to a clock at Beaulieu,[32] one of the Prior's country residences. It also transpires that in 1440-1 Steel had rented a garden from the Cellarer for three shillings. The garden was said to be 'next to the monks' ferry', a description which places it on the banks at the southern end of the peninsula near the ruins of the so-called 'Count's house' and opposite the path up to Palmer's Close. Finally, in the Cellarer's accounts for the period from 1455-6 to 1485-6 - there is no roll for 1486-7 - there was a payment 'to the chamberlain, chancellor, and cantor' for 'ox hides'. The number of hides occasionally varied, but it was usually eighteen, and for these the Cellarer paid out 30s. This proved to be a source of income for the later Cantors too.

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32 Now Bewley, near Billingham.

CHAPTER 5

THE LATER CANTORS

ALEXANDER BELL

Compared with Steel's long tenure of the position of Cantor, those of his immediate successors were but fleeting, for none of the next four lasted even ten years. Immediately after Steel came Alexander Bell (1487-96).[1] He had previously held positions at New College (1485-6) and at Magdalen College, Oxford (1486-7). That he should have come from Oxford was hardly surprising, for with Durham College,[2] as one of its dependencies, the Durham priory would be well aware of the reputation and ability of likely musicians there. It was possibly suspected that Bell would not settle permanently in Durham, for no provision was made for his retirement. At £10 per annum his salary was considerably larger than Steel's had been, but more was required of him. As well as directing the choir and being personally involved in services, he was expected yearly to compose a four-part or five-part Mass in honour of Blessed Mary the Virgin or St Cuthbert or else produce some other work of equivalent merit.

In 1495-6 Bell moved to a similar position at Salisbury. This too he had relinquished by 1501, when his successor there is named. He himself undertook a greater commitment to worship, for he was presented to the priest-stall of Bytton in 1501. He last occurs in the Salisbury minutes for 22 April 1503.[3]

Emden asserts that prior to 1507-8 Bell had studied for eleven years at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere;[4] but in view of the more recently discovered details about his association with Salisbury it could be that the details of two Bells have been confused.

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1 For his contract, dated 23 June 1487, see Reg. V, f.3.

2 Its buildings now form part of Trinity College.

3 Bowers, thesis, 6080, quoting SDC [Salisbury, Dean and Chapter], A/cs of Collector of choristers' rents, 1495/6 and 1500/1, and DSC Reg. Harward, ff.1^{r}, 14^{r}.

4 A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540* (1974).

TABLE 6: INSTRUCTORS IN MUSIC AT DURHAM

From	*To*	*Name*
1382-3		cantor
1387-8		Nicholas[5]
1390		cantor et instructor
1395-6		infirmator puerorum
1396-7		cantor
1397-8		cantor
1415-16		Dom William Kibblesworth[6]
1416-17		William Chanter
1418-19	1421-2	Richard Wymond
1423-4		Hugh Westmoreland
1424-5	1425-6	Richard Davey
1430-1	1486-7	John Steel[7]
1487-8	1495-6	Alexander Bell
1496-7	1500-1	Thomas Foderley
1501-2	1505-6	John Tildesley
1506-7	1511-12	Robert Langforth
1512		Robert Perrot
1512-13	1513-14	William Robson
1513-14	1524-5	Thomas Ashwell
1525-6	1526-7	magister puerorum
1527-8	1533-4	William Robson (no name in 1528-9, 1529-30; no entry in 1530-1)[8]
1534-5		magister puerorum
1535-6	1539-40	John Brimley

5 Nicholas differs from the others in that there is no evidence that he had any hand in teaching the young to sing.

6 As Kibblesworth was a monk, strictly speaking he was not one of the Cantors.

7 Deputies may have acted for Steel after *c*.1478. In 1485-6 the Hostiller gives the name John Hall (without the title of Cantor) in the same place as he had in previous years had John Steel.

8 For what happened after Robson's second spell came to an end at some point during the third quarter of 1533-4 see pp.111-12.

FODERLEY, TILDESLEY, AND LANGFORTH

Bell was followed by Thomas Foderley (1496-1501), John Tildesley (1501-06), and Robert Langforth (1506-12). For Langforth, unlike the other two,[9] no copy of his contract has survived, but he, like them, is described as Cantor in the account rolls of the obedientiaries. About Foderley and Tildesley nothing else is known, but from 1507-8 onwards the name Robert Langforth occurs twice in each of the Bursar's rolls and in each of the accounts in Bursar's Rental Book 'H'.[10] The one is named as Cantor, and in most instances the other is referred to as 'janitor abbathiae'. Possibly they were father and son.

Langforth is also described as Cantor on 6 July 1510. On that date he witnessed the arrival and acceptance of Ralph Bransby who was claiming sanctuary for having possibly committed what might be regarded as manslaughter.[11]

For those on contracts their salary of £10 per annum was larger than Steel's, but more was required of them.[12] It was now stipulated that they were to teach music on four occasions each day

> quater omni die feriato, videlicet, bis ante meridiem et bis post meridiem. (Foderley's contract, Reg. V. f.37)

This in itself was a demanding occupation. What is not stated is how long those sessions were to be nor what permutations of monks and boys were to attend which.

Compared with Steel the later Cantors were also required to attend a further monastic office service in its entirety, namely, the *Salve Regina*. The music sung had become more complex for where Steel was required to sing tenor, organum, and plain chant, their

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9 For Foderley's contract, dated 23 June 1496, see Reg. V, f.37, and for Tildesley's, dated 23 June 1502, Reg. V, f.70. With Bell's, Foderley's, and Tildesley's contracts all dated 23 June it must not be supposed that they all started then. June 24 was one of the Quarter Days, and the previous day was clearly one when the monastery attended to its records.

10 Bursar's Book 'H' includes lists giving the clothing allowances for everyone associated with the monastery, both monks and lay employees. That for 1509-10 is quoted in *Rites*, 144-7.

11 *Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacense*, ed. by J. Raine (*SS* 5, 1837), 58.

12 As well as the comparison which follows see Table 7 on p.106.

contracts make reference to descant and faburden. Like his contract, theirs make it clear that the use of polyphony was not restricted to Sundays and major Feast Days.

> Tenebitur itaque ... omnibus et singulis missis, vesperis, et salve regina, in choro ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis praedictae, cum priknote, dischaunti, faburdon, et organico cantu conjunctim et divisim celebrandis, a principio praedictorum cantum usque ad finem ... (Foderley's contract, Reg. V. f.37)

Such embellishments were not beyond the capabilities of the monks, for all contracts with the Cantors from Steel onwards state that musical instruction was to be given to selected monks as well as to the group of eight boys.

With polyphony such an integral part of worship, it is not surprising to find the later contracts requiring the Cantors to exercise their talents as composers. In this latter respect it was incumbent upon them to produce every year either a four-part or five-part Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary or St Cuthbert, or some other work of equivalent merit.

> Insuper ..., 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 (Tildesley's contract, Reg. V, f.70)

As none of their compositions has survived there is no way of telling to what extent they fulfilled this contractual obligation.

ROBERT PERROT, WILLIAM ROBSON, and THOMAS ASHWELL

In the quest for a successor to Langforth the priory thought that it had been successful in acquiring the services of Robert Porret, better known as Perrot.[13] Like Bell Perrot was a musician in the employ of Magdalen College, Oxford. His Durham contract is dated 28 April 1512, but has 'vacat' - *i.e.*, 'null and void' - written against it. As it is not known whether appointees had to serve a probationary period, nor indeed how quickly contracts were issued and an official copy recorded in the current Priory Register, it

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13 See also, vol.2, p.98.

cannot be determined whether Perrot actually came to Durham. Negotiations could have been conducted at Oxford through Durham College, the monastery's dependent cell, there. What is known is

TABLE 7: ANALYSIS OF THE CANTORS' CONTRACTS

Name	*Contract*	*Skills*	*Services*	*Salary*	*Retired*
John STEEL	22 Dec 1430 (Reg. III, f.137^{v})	*to teach:* pricknote, faburden, descant, and counter; organ	*to play/sing at:* Masses, Vespers in Choir; Lady Mass daily in Galilee chapel	5 marks + food, clothes; and house or 1 mark more	no provision
	2 Jan 1447/8 (Reg. IV, f.60)	as 1430 + plainsong	as 1430	as 1430 + 26s-8d soulsilver from Cellarer	13s-4d from Cellarer; corrody
Alexander BELL	23 Jun 1487 (Reg. V, ff.3^{v}-4)	as 1447/8 *+ to compose:* 4/5-pt Mass	as 1430; + Commemoration of BV Mary and St Cuthbert; + Salve	£10 + clothes	no provision
Thomas FODERLEY	23 Jun 1496 (Reg. V, f.37)	all as Bell; + swarenote, in 4 sessions, 2 in a.m. and 2 in p.m.	as 1430; + Salve	£10 + clothes	5 marks
John TILDESLEY	23 Jun 1502 (Reg. V, f.70)	as Foderley	as Foderley	£10 + clothes	5 marks
Robert PERROT	28 Apr 1512 (Reg. V, f.142^{r-v})	as Foderley	as 1430; + Commem. of Mary and Cuthbert	£10 + clothes	no provision
Thomas ASHWELL	24 Dec 1513 (Reg. V, f.152)	as Foderley	as Foderley	£10 + clothes	5 marks
	24 Dec 1513 (Reg. V, f.153)	as Foderley	as Foderley; + Mass of Name of Jesus on Fridays	£10 + clothes	5 marks
John BRIMLEY	17 Feb 1536/7 (Reg. V, ff.261^{v}-262)	as Foderley	as Ashwell (2); + Jesus antiphon on Friday afternoons	£6 + clothes	4 marks

that in 1512 Magdalen College increased Perrot's salary from £7 *per annum* to £8 plus 20s. for accommodation and 13s-4d for clothing.[14] Even though this was still short of the £10 plus clothing offered by Durham, that an increase was made seems to have been a sufficient inducement for him to prefer the position at Magdalen. There he remained until his death in 1550.

Perrot does not feature in the account roll of any obedientiary. Named as Cantor in the Bursar's roll for 1512-13 and in the Almoner's for 1513-14 is William Robson.[15] His may have been nothing more than a temporary appointment whilst the attempt to attract an able musician continued. This must be the explanation rather than that like Perrot, he preferred to be elsewhere, for, unless there is a remarkable coincidence in names, Robson served again as Cantor for several years each side of 1530.[16]

The question in Robson's case is how he happened to be so readily available. The first idea that he might have been one of the monks instructed by an earlier Cantor is not tenable, for his name does not occur in any list of Durham monks. Moreover, his name lacks the prefatory 'Dom.' found before Wearmouth's in 1378-9 and Kibblesworth's in 1415-6. More importantly, the discovery of a payment to an Elizabeth Robson after payments to him as Cantor had come to a sudden end in 1533-4 points to him being a married man.[17] Another possible explanation of his availability, which can neither be verified nor rejected, but which is made the more likely by the preceding discovery, is that he may have been one of the group of lay musicians associated with the monastery. Indeed, in connection with this, it had been hoped that with the Bursar's accounts for 1509-10 to 1511-12 and 1513-14 to 1515-16 all extant Robson's name might have been included in one of the groups listed either under 'Pensions and Stipends' or in the section which gives details of the length of cloth allocated to upwards of one hundred named individuals. Robert Langforth (Cantor, 1506-12), had featured officially in the latter,[18] and the hope was that if Robson had

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14 Bowers, thesis, 6079.

15 The Almoner mistakenly calls him, 'Robinson'.

16 See pp.111-12.

17 See p.112.

18 Bursar's Book H; *cf.*, *Rites*, 144-7.

been included in either category in those years when he was not acting as Cantor, then possibly other singers would have been identified too[19] - but his name was nowhere to be found. Equally theoretical, and without any evidence for or against, is the conjecture that Robson may have been a member of the choral foundation of one of the hospitals or collegiate churches in the diocese.

Whatever his origins, Robson's first spell was brief, for in 1513 the convent succeeded in attracting Thomas Ashwell from Lincoln. In the Priory Register are two versions of his contract, both dated 24 December 1513.[20] The first agrees in its details with those of Bell, Foderley, Tildesley, Langforth, and Perrot; and the second is the same as the first apart from an inter-linear insertion. With no monastic part of the actual indenture to compare with, one is tempted to conclude that the scribe, in his attempt to get the details correct, was too faithful to the first version, and in the end could do no more than insert the additional requirement between the lines he had copied. Extra in Ashwell's contract is his participation in the Mass of the Name of Jesus. This extract puts the insertion, given here in italics, in its probable place:

> Tenebitur itaque idem Thomas Hasewell omnibus et singulis missis, vesperis, et Salve regina, in choro ecclesie cathedralis Dunelmensis predictae, cum priknote, dischaunte, faburdon, et organico cantu conjunctim et divisim celebrandis, a principio praedictorum cantuum usque ad finem illorum, *in missis nomine Jhesu singulis sextis feriis celebrandis*, nisi ipsum aliqua legitima causa impediat ...

Where Ashwell's contract does no more than mention that the Mass of the Name of Jesus was celebrated every Friday, that of his successor, John Brimley, supplies additional information. It states that there was a Jesus Antiphon too, and that it was sung every Friday after noon.

> Preterea idem Johannes se obligat quod ipse etiam personaliter intererit misse de nomine Jhesu in Nave ecclesie cathedralis Dunelmensis singulis sextis fferiis celebrande et etiam Antiphone post meridiem in eisdem sextis fferiis, canendo et modulando ad eandem missam et

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19 For the attempt to identify these, see pp.114-18.

20 Reg. V, ff.152 and 153. *Script. Tres*, ccccxiii, followed by F.Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 429-30, gives the unamended f.152 version; see also, vol.2, p.14.

> etiam Antiphonam prout honorifice et laudabiliter ad honorem dei temporibus retroactis fieri consuevit.

Such is the wording that the possibility is admitted that the Antiphon was not sung during the Mass. The impression that it was quite separate is also conveyed by the author of *Rites* who reminisces that

> ther was an alter called Jesus alter where Jh'us mess was song eu~y fridaie thorowe y^e^ whole yere.[21]

and

> Also 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 y^e^ whole yere by y^e^ m^r^ of the quiresters & deacons of y^e^ said church, and when it was done then y^e^ quirest~ did singe an other anthe~ by them selues sytting on there kneis all y^e^ tyme that ther anthem was in singing before y^e^ said Jesus alter w^ch^ was verie devoutly song eu~y fridaie at nyghte by y^e^ toulling of one of y^e^ Gallelei Belles.

The Jesus altar was at the east end of the Nave, immediately to the west of a screen which joined the two western pillars supporting the central tower. Also in the Nave

> there was on y^e^ north syde betwixt two pillers a looft for y^e^ m^r^ & quiresters to sing Jesus mess eu~y fridaie conteyni~ge a paire of orgaines to play on, & a fair desk to lie there bookes on in tyme of dyvin s~vice[22]

From these passages it would appear that the choristers, presumably boy choristers, were responsible for at least some of the music at Jesus Mass. Their contribution, however, was made on their own, they did not sing in conjunction with the adult voices.

Instrumental at Durham for enhancing the status of the cult of the Name of Jesus was Thomas Castell, Prior from 1494 to 1519. That he was responsible is made abundantly clear by two entries[23] in the revenue section of the Sacrist's account for 1535-6. The first states that it was Castell who allotted the rent from land in East Merrington and Wolviston to the Sacrist's office so that it might have the income to meet the cost of celebrating the Mass and [singing] the Jesus anthem in 'front of a large crucifix every Friday, for supplying candles and ensuring that the bell was rung at

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21 *Op. cit.*, 32.

22 *Rites*, 34, for this and the next quotation.

23 Both are quoted in *Rolls*, ii, 418.

the appropriate times, and for providing lights in front of the Sacrament for three days and nights before Easter.

> Et de xlvjs. viijd. de terra nuper Johannis Trotter in Estmerynton ex novo impetratione per magistrum Thomam Castell, Priorem, una cum iiijs. de terra nuper Willemi Boyth in Wolveston per eundem impetrata et assignata Officio Sacriste pro Celebracione misse et antiphone de Jhesu coram magno crucifixio singulis diebus veneris, ac pro candelis inveniendis ibidem, pro pulsacione[24] campane temporibus predictis, una cum iiij cereis coram Sacramento illuminandis omni tempore trium dierum et noctium prox. ante Pascha

The second similarly assigned the income from the Jesus mill, at the end of the weir to the west of the cathedral to the chantry of the Name of Jesus,

> Et vjli. receptis de molendino vocato Jhc mylne et assignatis officio Sacriste per venerabilem patrem magistrum Thomas Castell, nuper Priorem, pro cantaria Nominis Jhesu

A third reference, near the end of 'Necessary expenses', shows that the cost of providing candles and ringing the bell were duly being met,

> sol. George Peyrson pro illuminacione et pulsacione ad missam et antiphonam nominis Jhesu, xijs.

Ashwell, one of very few musicians associated with Durham cathedral to enjoy a national reputation, was active as a composer. The complexity of the music being sung during the early part of the sixteenth century may be gathered from a number of his works.[25] Complete are his 'Missa Ave Maria' and 'Missa Jesu Christe', both in six parts. Lacking various permutations of voice parts and movements are his Mass 'God save king Harry', 'Missa Sancte Cuthberte',[26] 'Stabat mater dolorosa', and 'Sancta Maria mater dei' - though the last named item is probably by William Pasche. One of Ashwell's secular compositions, 'She may be callyd a sovrant lady', was

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24 Words from 'pello' and its more intensive form, 'pulso' denote 'striking'. In this instance it is a bell which is being struck or rung, but as the notes of the organ had to be struck to make them sound it is also used of playing that instrument.

25 For the location of all the sources for Ashwell's compositions see M. Hofman and J. Morehen, *Latin Music in British Sources, c.1485-c.1610* (ECCM, supplementary vol.2; 1987).

26 British Library, Add. MS 30520, f.2.

included in *xx songes ix of iiii partes and xi of iii partes*, a collection published in 1530. He himself was one of the 'Practicioners' whose works had been examined by Thomas Morley in connection with his writing of *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*.[27]

None of Ashwell's compositions survives at Durham, and, although his contract as Cantor required him annually to compose a Mass in honour of the Virgin Mary or St Cuthbert, only his 'Missa Sancte Cuthberte' may with any certainty be assigned to his period at Durham. All that is extant of it is a folio with portions of its *Gloria* and *Credo*. On f.2^{r} are the second lowest (C4 clef) and second highest (C2 clef) parts of the start of the *Gloria*, and on f.2^{v} those of the highest (G2 clef) and lowest (C5 clef, cantus firmus) parts of the end of the *Gloria* and the beginning of the *Credo*. This points to certainly four singers singing from the same copy. Although there is no way of ascertaining whether this particular manuscript was ever used in Durham, its size, notation, and calligraphy, are called to mind by a later set of Durham part-books, MSS E4-E11. These were transcribed in *c.*1630 and designed to be used only on the six major Feast Days of the church's year.[28]

On 5 October 1515 Ashwell was one of those who witnessed Christopher Hellard's claim for sanctuary. Hellard supposed that he might have killed someone.[29] Ashwell last occurs in the Durham records in the Almoner's roll for 1524-5.

After Ashwell's death or departure for pastures new William Robson was again suitably placed to take over. This time it was presumably in his own right, but again no copy of any contract is extant. Robson served for about seven years, from 1527-8 to 1533-4.[30] He alone of the succession of Durham lay Cantors is described not as 'Cantor' but as 'Cantor secularis'. This may because in some way his status was different, or it may be simply a

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27 Publ. 1597; Ashwell is included in the list of names on the back page.

28 For a discussion of these mss, see pp.237-42.

29 *Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacense*, 70.

30 He occurs in the Chamberlain's account for 1527-8, and in the Bursar's accounts to 1533-4. For the latter see also *The Durham Household Book*, ed. by J. Raine (*SS* 18).

pedantic Hostiller contrasting the position with that of the monastic Cantor, more usually described as the Precentor.

For how much of the financial year 1533-4 Robson held the position is uncertain. The Bursar paid him for two full quarters and for half the next, but the fourth quarter was paid to a James Standley. The Almoner, for his part, paid Robson for three quarters, but appears to have allocated 18d. of the third quarter to Robert Dixon. Of this 12d. was for Dixon's son, Robert. As a man-servant employed by the priory, Dixon features in his own right in the accounts. The 18d. is mentioned in his section too, as is an Elizabeth Robson, presumably William's wife. The payment for the fourth quarter of the year is described as due to John Heron. In the Almoner's account for 1534-5, William Foster, a monk and the Prior's chaplain, received on 3 October 1534 the contribution due to the Cantor at the half-year stage. No information is available to throw light on what happened during the second half of that financial year.

JOHN BRIMLEY, THE LAST OF THE LINE

It was during the next financial year, that for 1535-6, that John Brimley succeeded to the position of Cantor. He proved to be the last of the line, but survived the dissolution of the monastery to become the first master of the choristers under the new regime.[31]

He may well have been a local musician. *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (v, 308) has a William Brimley a choral chaplain at Kepier in 1535; and a John Brumley was sufficiently established in the town to be church-warden at St Nicholas's Durham in 1542-3 (SN). Furthermore, as a result of being aware of leases relating to the environs of Chester-le-Street being granted to Brimleys, Bromleys, and Brumleys during the period 1525-40, Linda Drury has queried whether John Brimley acquired his musical expertise through being associated with the collegiate church there.[32]

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31 Because he served for four years before the dissolution and for thirty-four afterwards, Brimley's contribution is discussed in various places - see pp.124-5, 141-3, 151-3.

32 Of Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library. The point was made during a discussion.

It was with Brimley in mind that the author of *Rites* described the song school in which generations of choristers had acquired their expertise.[33] He was no doubt mentally in the background when the musical content of the services associated with the 'Name of Jesus' was being described;[34] and it is his name which has been inserted in one source's description of the Lady Mass celebrated in the Galilee chapel:

> o~ La: masse was song daly by y^e^ m^r^ of the songe schole [cauled Mr. John Brimley, *interlined*] w^th^ certaine decons & quiristers, the m^r^ playing upo~ a paire of faire orgaines the tyme of o~ La: messe[35]

Brimley's salary was lower than that for any Cantor since Steel. His contract,[36] dated 17 February 1536/7, sets it at only £6 per annum, compared with the £10 they had received. The delay in the production of his contract and the smallness of his salary reflect the uncertainties, both financial and political, of those times. Cuthbert Tunstall, the Bishop, and Hugh Whitehead, the Prior, would have been well aware of Henry VIII's disagreement with the Pope, and equally aware that Henry's commissioners had but recently presented to him in their compendious *Valor Ecclesiasticus* their findings about the financial situation of all religious houses. In that survey, compiled in 1535, Brimley is given the misleading description, 'lay instructor of poor boys'. According to it his salary was £6-13s-4d, the money being the supposed income from Prior Castell's land endowment in Hebburn and Simonside.[37] This statement confirms that Brimley was the Cantor, for Castell had assigned the income from those lands to that position. The details of the entire section of *Valor Ecclesiasticus* are repeated in Miscellaneous Charter 7283 (f.2). This document represents a binding together of a number of fragments of various accounts of the late 1530s, and the particular fragment is probably part of a Bursar's account. It is quite unlike any other Bursar's account, and one is sceptical whether it accurately represents the financial transactions of the

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33 *Rites*, 62-3; see above, p.75.

34 *Rites*, 32, 34; see p.109.

35 *Op. cit.*, 43-4; also quoted above, p.71.

36 Reg. V, ff.261^v^-2.

37 *Op. cit.*, v, 302.

year. One wonders whether it was prepared for the benefit of Henry VIII's commissioners, or whether it is a copy of their findings.

In 1536-7, however, Brimley's salary was neither £6 nor £6-13s-4d. The Almoner's book covering that period records his own contribution, states the total sum due to the Cantor, and gives these details of its composition:

Hostiller	13s-4d
Sacrist	10s-0d
Almoner	13s-4d
Infirmarer	3s-4d
Bursar	43s-4d
Cellarer	20s-0d
[*Total*:	£5- 3s-4d]

Of these accounts, apart from the Almoner's, only the Bursar's is extant, and at £4 the sum it records does not concur with the amount listed. Two other Bursar's accounts, those for 1538-9, and 1539-40 reflect the deterioration in the monastery's financial position in the late 1530s.[38] In the former the sum was indeed 43s-4d. This amount would no doubt have been repeated in 1539-40 had not the monastery surrendered to Henry VIII's commissioners on 31 December 1539. By that date Brimley had received two payments of 10s-10d each.

AN UNANSWERED QUESTION: WHO WERE THE SINGERS ?

Even though there are about five hundred and fifty payments to the singers between 1356-7 and 1537-8, it is disappointing that in no case is there any indication of either their salary or their number, never mind their names. In the attempt to discover some information about them four specific investigations were launched, but none met with any success.

Three of these were based on the monastic account rolls, and in particular the Bursar's accounts which give long lists of names under the headings, *Liberatura Specialis* and *Pensiones et Stipendia*. Some of the former give the clothing allowances for in excess of one hundred employees. Where the recipient held a specific position this is invariably supplied. No-one, apart from the lay Cantor has what may be termed a musical description, but there are plenty who are

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38 They are located in Bursar's Book 'M'.

merely described as 'servants'. Whilst investigating what was happening towards the end of Steel's long tenure of the position of Cantor[39] it was observed that under 'Pensions and Stipends' in the Bursar's account for 1487-8 a Robert East, M.A., and Alexander Bell were bracketed together. As Bell was Steel's official successor, it was wondered whether East had acted in some way on Steel's behalf. Search backwards through the Bursar's accounts showed East on his own from 1484-5 to 1486-7, whilst search forwards showed Bell on his own and East listed first in a group of six names. The examination backwards was therefore extended. It revealed that before East a Robert Mason, M.A., also occurred on his own in the accounts which survive for the period from certainly 1476-7 to 1482-3. This, however, demolished the hypothesis, for there are no grounds for supposing that Steel was enjoying other than good health in 1476-7. It also seemed unusual that two graduates should have deputised for Steel. It transpired that as Archdeacon of Northumberland Mason had strong connections with the Durham diocese, though East's most northerly known appointment was as chapter clerk of York.[40] Both, however, had legal experience - and an examination of the Bursar's later accounts disclosed that others in the list of six names had legal qualifications too. It was then appreciated that the linking together of East and Bell was fortuitous. Bell is the first Cantor to be listed under 'Pensions and Stipends' in a Bursar's account, probably because with him the Cantor's salary increased considerably. Whereas in 1487-8, with Bell only there part of the year, his name was something of an *addendum*, by 1488-9 the scribe was aware of the new policy.

Again, it has already been mentioned[41] that an intensive search was made of lists of names in the rolls preceding before 1512 and between 1513 and 1527. This was done in the attempt to discover how William Robson, who acted as Cantor in 1512 and 1513 and then served in his own right from 1527 to 1533, came to be so readily available.

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39 See pp.95-101.

40 A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, (1957-9), i, 648 (for East), and ii, 1240-1 (for Mason). Mason was also Rector of Norton (resigned) and later of Gateshead. Both men died in 1493.

41 See pp.107-8.

The hope was there too that if his name were listed within a small group of names then the key to unlock the mystery of the identity of the singers might have been found. But nowhere was Robson listed, and that hope was dashed.

The same hope, that the locating of one name might lead to a group, fostered the third approach. It involved scrutinizing all accounts of the 1530s, rolls and books - and again particularly those of the Bursar - in case they yielded up the names of any of those who were the first lay-clerks after the monastic cathedral had been reconstituted a cathedral only in May 1541. In this respect a summary payment list for the period March to September 1541,[42] may be significant, for it pays not ten but only six unnamed lay-clerks. This reduced number is capable of two interpretations. Whilst it may indicate that Durham itself had six suitable musicians available, it is equally possible that it may have had fewer but had managed to increase the number.

The earliest list of the names of the lay-clerks is one given by James Mickleton in the 1690s, but which purports to relate to the time of the foundation, *i.e.*, to May 1541. Mickleton states that he had derived the names from a manuscript in the possession of Nathaniel Lord Crewe but written by John Cosin.[43] Although efforts to trace the manuscript have met with no success, with far more early records then extant, there is no cause to doubt the veracity of the details quoted. Only one of the ten lay-clerks listed by Mickleton occurs in the monastic account rolls. Richard Whiteley by name, he is described in the Cellarer's roll for 1534-5 as 'clericus Galilee'.[44] Subordinate to the Master of the Galilee, the position can be traced back to 1340, whilst going back to 1441-2 (Almoner) is an additional payment 'pro flacione organorum'. Whilst there is no proof that Whiteley sang in monastic times, he must have been of known vocal ability to secure a lay-clerk's position under the new foundation.

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42 Misc. Ch. 2697.

43 Both Crewe (1674-1722) and Cosin (1660-72) were Bishops of Durham. Cosin had previously been a Prebendary of Durham (1624-60), and it is not known when he made the transcription.

44 Quoted, *Rolls*, i, 110; see above, pp.62-6.

The same is true of William Cockey, who had transferred to the ranks of the minor canons by 1547-8. He does not feature in the monastic account rolls, but it is known from those of the Bishop's Receiver General that he had been the chaplain in charge of the Langley song school since 1523-4. He may not have been a member of the monastic foundation, but the 1438 revision of the Langley chaplains' duties did point to him being capable of singing a part. Indeed, the Cockey situation provokes the thought that the expression, 'iiij cantoribus in Ecclesie cuilibet eorum, xls.', under 'Pensions & Stipends' in the Bursar's accounts for 1501-2 and 1504-7, where other accounts describe them as 'cantaristis' and 'cantariis', may hold at least a germ of truth.

A third person in Mickleton's list could also have been one of the elusive singers. Even though Richard Dychaunt does not feature anywhere in the monastic accounts a John Dychaunt does. In the Bursar's account for 1536-7 he is named as a miller, an occupation which points to the family being settled in the area. If Richard were a member of this family the case would be strong for him having been at least a chorister in monastic times.

The last attempt was also directed at finding the names of the singers in the 1530s. This time the examination was not of the cathedral's muniments but of *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, that survey of the financial position of all religious houses compiled in 1535 for Henry VIII. It had been hoped that it would provide the answer, especially as for several collegiate churches and hospitals in the diocese the very names of their singers are supplied.

Close to Durham were the hospitals at Kepier and Sherburn. At Kepier there were four choral chaplains, two lay-clerks, and ten named poor boys, at Sherburn two lay deacons and four lay choristers.[45] Several of the surnames have a familiar ring, none more than William Brimley, one of the choral chaplains at Kepier. Further afield, at Greatham hospital there were four lay deacons and four lay choristers, at Auckland collegiate church a lay deacon and six lay choristers, and at Stanhope collegiate church six choral

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45 For Kepier, see *Val. Eccl.*, v, 308, for Sherburn, *ibid.*, 308-9. The foundation at Sherburn, given new Statutes by Langley in 1434, provided for 4 chaplains, 4 clerks, and 2 choristers (so Bowers, thesis, 1510).

chaplains.[46] For the monastic cathedral itself, however, there is no hint that there were any musicians associated with the foundation. Even John Brimley, the Cantor, whose contractual duties included the musical training of the choristers, is not described as such but as 'a lay instructor of poor boys'.

The lack of information about secular musicians is not peculiar to the Durham priory. An examination of *Valor Ecclesiasticus* with respect to the monasteries at Selby, Whitby, Bardney, and St Mary's, York, and the monastic cathedrals at Carlisle, Ely, Chester, and Bristol, has similarly revealed no trace. Whilst some of these may not have had choral foundations, others presumably had. The reason why the musicians are not evident may be because they were not mentioned to the compilers of the survey, but equally it could be because they were employed in more than one capacity and received their income, possibly augmented, in respect of their other function.

Theoretically, one solution remains. As every payment to the singers pertains to their 'relaxation' rather than to their salaries, could it be that this was because the singers were drawn from the ranks of the monks? One of the *comperta* of 1390 makes reference to the 'monk-singers',[47] and in all the contracts from that with Steel in 1430 onwards it is the training of an unspecified number of monks which ranks alongside the training of boys. Such a possibility is not ruled out by the passages in *Rites* describing the adult singers at the Lady Mass and the Jesus Mass as 'deacons'.[48] It is, however, unlikely, for those services did not form part of the monastic round of offices. Moreover, there is the payment, admittedly an unique one, to Richard Wymond in 1418-19, 'for instructing his colleagues'.[49] Further, it must be said that normally one would have expected the singers to be competent musically, whereas it was only natural and logical for the monastery to have made use of the opportunity to develop any musical talents its monks might have. The final point, that no monk is included in the list of the first lay-

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46 *Ibid.*, 309, 315, and 311, respectively.

47 Loc. XXVII no.35; see pp.59-60.

48 *op. cit.*, 34 and 43-4.

49 Feretrar; see p.79.

clerks at the time of the re-foundation in 1541,[50] may or may not have any relevance at all. None may have become a lay-clerk, but all twelve minor canons had previously been monks. It all depends on the role of the minor canons of the new foundation - and that is another uncertain situation.[51]

CONCLUSION

It is tempting to conclude that by 1350 the Prior and Convent of Durham had taken due cognizance of the role which music could play in the adoration of Blessed Mary the Virgin and had established its Lady chapel choir. This choir had three, possibly four, different elements - a group of boys, the Cantor, the clerk of the Galilee, and a small group of adult lay singers. The parts played by the different strata are far from clear.

The dates that are about to be given are all 'the latest possible' dates. There are two reasons for this. The first is because the sets of accounts are incomplete, the reference selected may follow a *lacuna* of several years. The second is not of an empirical nature, but is derived from an appreciation of the thinking of those responsible for the accounts. Even where the account does not follow a gap of some years it is possible that the first reference to a particular individual or group of individuals may mean no more than that the position, the group, had become sufficiently established to merit specific mention.

Both these reasons apply to the first *stratum*, to the boys of the Almonry school. The earliest payment in the Almoner's accounts to 'the master of the Almonry school' is in 1351-2, but with the Hostiller making payment to the 'Boy Bishop of the Almonry' in 1348-9 the school was already in existence then. The Almoner may have made a payment to the master of the school in 1348-9 too had that account survived, but his account prior to 1351-2 is that for 1347-8, and it has no such reference. In the case of the Hostiller, on the other hand, his annual accounts for the four years prior to

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50 For what happened to the last monks of Durham, see S.L. Greenslade, 'The Last Monks of Durham Cathedral Priory', *DUJ*, 41, (1948-9), 107-13.

51 For an examination of it, see pp.205-14.

1348-9 are all extant. Although there is no reference to the Boy Bishop in any of them there is a hint at the school's existence in the mid-1330s, for in 1336-7 the Bursar made a payment to 'a clerk of the Bishop, the master of the boys'.[52] With the finances of the Bishop being totally distinct from that of the monastery, this payment is not to be dismissed as applying to a totally different school, the clerk in question must have been rendering some service to the monastery. He may have been an early master of its Almonry school, a sort of *ad hoc* appointment whilst the school was being established.

The Almonry was a 'first-stage song school',[53] its boys were available to attend services, to act as servers, and to sing. It seems that its master was responsible for their entire education, for it was only in 1390, when the need was felt for a 'Cantor-Instructor' to teach the boys,[54] that a more specialized group, a 'second-stage song school', was envisaged. What is not clear is whether the second-stage school was immediately embarked upon in 1390, whether its existence was short-lived, or whether one has to wait for the payments to Dom William Kibblesworth and to the laymen, William Chanter, Richard Wymond, and others in the years from 1415 onwards.

The decision in 1390, however, did not mark the introduction of the lay Cantor, what it did was to alter what was required of him. The position can be traced back - though there must be some doubt whether the Cantor then was a musically-able monk (the Precentor) or a layman - to June 1333.[55] It was then that the Prior of Durham entered into an agreement relating to lands in the region of Stannington. In return for enjoying the revenue from them the Abbot of Newminster was, amongst other requirements, to pay an annual rent of 13s-4d to Durham. This sum was allocated to the Cantor. What is disappointing is that, apart from *Q*'s annotation in the Bursar's rental for 1382-7,[56] the next reference to a Cantor is that to

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52 *Rolls*, ii, 530; see above, pp.42-3.

53 Bowers in his thesis, 4086, uses the expression, 'Second generation Lady Chapel choirs' of the next deveopment.

54 Loc. XXVII no.35; see pp.57-62.

55 See pp.50-7.

56 Those in the Bursar's account covering 1382-6 were inserted in the early 15th century - see pp.52-5.

'Nicholas the Cantor' in the Hostiller's account for 1387-8.[57] As Nicholas antedated the 1390 decision he presumably had nothing to do with the training of the boys.

It was also in the 1330s, in 1334-5, the year after the Newminster agreement, that the Bursar made a quite isolated payment to 'a certain person for playing the organ at Easter'.[58] In the same way as 'the clerk of the Bishop' may have been of assistance in the establishing of the Almonry school, so too this unnamed individual may have helped whilst the Cantor's duties were being formulated.

Another position, that of 'the clerk of the Galilee', has been traced back as far as the Chamberlain's account for 1340-1. This is only a few years later than the founding of the Almonry School and the provision of a salary for the Cantor. From 1440-1 onwards, when the clerk's duties including blowing the organ, the position had its menial aspect. Such it may have had from its inception, though it is also wondered whether its holder may have sung or even, in the light of the recommendations of 1390, had some part to play in the musical training of the boys.[59]

There remains the group of singers. Their number is not known, their role has not been established, but by 1356-7 they had become sufficiently well established for the Chamberlain to make the first of over five hundred specific payments to them.[60]

Many may be the uncertainties, but when the monastic period ended and a new era began Durham's lay musical tradition was of virtually two hundred year's standing.

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57 See pp.39-40, 48-9.

58 See p.23.

59 See pp.59-66.

60 See pp.25-42 for a survey of the payments, and p.29 for the 1356-7 reference.

PART TWO

1541 - *c.*1650

CHAPTER 1

DISSOLUTION, RE-CONSTITUTION, AND STATUTES

THE SURRENDER OF THE MONASTERY

On 31 December 1539, in accordance with the Act earlier that year suppressing the greater monasteries, the Prior and monks of Durham acknowledged the supremacy of the Crown and surrendered their monastery. In so doing they had been preceded by, for example, Norwich (6 April 1539)[1], Winchester (14 November 1539), Ely (18 November 1539), and Peterborough (29 November 1539), and quickly followed by Gloucester (2 January 1539/40), Carlisle (9 January 1539/40), and Worcester (18 January 1539/40).

Those that surrendered before Durham had not been left abandoned but had been entrusted to the care of a much reduced band of monks, a band which usually was headed by the last prior. That they were not left desolate was because they were cathedrals as well as monasteries, and it was not their bishoprics which had been dissolved. The plan was that the monastic cathedrals would assume some of the characteristics of the secular collegiate cathedrals, the cathedrals of the old foundation, such as those at Lincoln, Salisbury, and York, and be served by a Dean and a number of prebendaries.

Thus, by the time the monastic cathedral at Durham surrendered to the Royal Commissioners on it was already clear that for it there would be a future. The continuance of worship was duly entrusted to the Prior and some of the monks. Counting the Dean, the Prebendaries, George Cliffe,[2] the minor canons, the epistoler and

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1 The dates of surrender are taken from *Letter and State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 13 (for 1538), 14 (1539), and 15 (1540-1). In the case of Norwich this appears to have been a second surrender. It appears first to surrender on 28 July 1534, and to have been re-founded a cathedral only by a charter issued with parliamentary authority on 2 May 1538.

2 He was one of those still at Durham College and returned to Durham as Prebendary of the 12th Stall in 1558; *cf.*, S.L. Greenslade, 'The Last Monks of Durham Cathedral Priory' (*DUJ* 41, 1948-9), 107-13.

gospeller, and five monks 'released' at the re-foundation,[3] some thirty-two of the sixty-six monks present at the surrender were retained. Of the remainder some were still at Durham College (which had not yet been suppressed), some were beneficed, and twenty-seven were discharged with a pension.[4] It was not the round of monastic services which they followed, but the pattern in use at St George's, Windsor.

THE INTER-REGNUM

Among the cathedral muniments are two financial documents which relate to the period between the dissolution and re-constitution, and the first few months of the new foundation. Responsible for Miscellaneous Charter 2697 was Robert Bennet, the Treasurer.[5] His account covers the period from Michaelmas (29 September) 1540 to Michaelmas 1541. The account includes (f.1^{r}) group payments to six lay-clerks, and to an unspecified number of minor canons, a gospeller [= deacon], and an epistoler [= sub-deacon]. None of these is named, and in no case does the payment relate to the whole year. Collectively, the six lay clerks received £8 for the Pentecost term, that is, for the period which commenced at Pentecost 1541. This was soon after 12 May, the date of Durham's re-foundation. At £1-6s-8d each the amount was the equivalent of two-fifths (*i.e.*, 32/80) of the salary of £6-13s-4d paid to the lay-clerks in 1547-8. The others were paid for the first three-quarters of the financial year. Again working on the 1547-8 salaries of £10 for a minor canons and £6-13s-4d for each of the others, the £43-6s-8d expended on all of them is smaller than expected. At seven-sixteenths (35/80) the fraction is only slightly better than the lay-clerks received.

Disappointingly, neither John Brimley nor his choristers feature in the account. Reference to him, however, is made in the other document, in Miscellaneous Charter 7283, an assemblage of fragments of various accounts pertaining to the late 1530s. Two of

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3 *Letters and State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 16 (1540-1), (827).

4 *Ibid.*, 14, pt.2, (772). The pensions seem to have been assigned on 30 December, the day before the surrender.

5 He had been the last Bursar of the monastery.

the items which either refer to him or name him belong to the monastic period and are not relevant here.[6] The third (f.25) lists disbursements, and on its verso has the heading,

Stipendia famulorum ad finem iid termini A° 1540

One of the payments is, 'Johanni Brymley m^ro choristarum, C^s'. This amount is proportionately the same as Brimley received once the cathedral had been re-constituted. What is uncertain is when this 'second term' was. If the account ran like its monastic forbears, from one Pentecost to the next, then the payment covers November 1540 to Pentecost 1541, *i.e.*, the period preceding the re-foundation on 12 May 1541. If, however, the starting date had been changed to Michaelmas, then the account relates to the first six months under the new regime.

RE-CONSTITUTION

On 12 May 1541 came Durham's re-constitution as a cathedral only. The deed of foundation names the Dean and the twelve prebendaries responsible for the offering up of continual praise, transfers all the property within the precincts to the new authority, and states that the Dean and prebendaries would be complemented by 'other ministers needful for divine worship'.[7] Some four days later, on 16 May 1541, the newly constituted cathedral was given most of the lands and livings formerly controlled by the monastery. The deed of foundation and the deed of endowment both served officially to approve the measures which had been in operation ever since the surrender of the Durham priory.

It is immediately apparent from the names in the two deeds that at Durham too the more able members of the monastic community had been retained. Hugh Whitehead, the last Prior, was appointed Dean, and the best qualified academically of the former monks - four of them held the degree of Doctor of Divinity and five that of Bachelor of Divinity - were selected as the first corpus of twelve

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6 f.2^v (Bursar's account, 1535/6), which uses of him the expression recorded in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (see pp.16,113); and f.28^v (Almoner's, 1538-9), which uses the expression 'magistro puerorum ad cantum'.

7 *Statutes*, 5-7.

prebendaries. That Whitehead continued to be in charge, though under a new title, may well explain why today Durham cathedral is very much the exception - though not unique, for the same is true at Ely - in having Decani, the Dean's side, on the north. In monastic times, the Bishop as the titular head had his stall on the south side of the choir, and the Prior as the next in seniority had his on the north. It is not inconceivable that as in Whitehead's eyes the stall on the northern side was the seat of real power the option of moving never occurred to him.

As well as naming the Dean and the twelve prebendaries the deed of endowment states that in the offering of continual praise those dignitaries would be assisted by other ministers, but what others is not specified. From *Henry VIII's Scheme of Bishopricks*[8] it transpires that at Durham there were to be twelve minor canons, a deacon, a subdeacon, sixteen singingmen, a master of the choristers, and ten choristers, and two sacrists.

The earliest Dean and Chapter muniment giving the names and status of the lesser members of the foundation is the Treasurer's summary roll for 1547-8, though James Mickleton, a local antiquarian writing in the 1690s, claims to supply lists embracing every member of the foundation at the time of its establishment in May 1541.[9] His lists, which he claimed he had copied from a manuscript of Bishop John Cosin then in the possession of Bishop Nathaniel Lord Crewe, may not be quite as old as he supposed, though only by a few months. Mickleton's lists agree with the Treasurer's roll in naming ten, not sixteen, lay-clerks, but where the latter has a precentor and a sacrist the former has two sacrists.

All twelve of the minor canons listed by Mickleton had certainly been monks, though just which monks is not always clear, as several of them had abandoned the toponymics and other names they had adopted whilst monks and reverted to their own surnames. As for the lay-clerks, how they had been occupied in monastic times remains for the most part obscure. Why their number in Bennet's statement is given as at six, and not ten, is open to suggestions. Was it because

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8 Ed. by H. Cole (1838), 29.

9 Mickleton, MS 32, ff.27^{v} (gospeller, epistoler, master of the choristers), 28^{r} (choristers), 52 (minor canons) and 56 (lay-clerks); see Tables 8 (p.127) and 9 (p.128).

it was not yet known just how many lay-clerks would be required? or was it because it had not proved possible to supply all ten from those associated with the former monastery? That there were six, however, must not be taken as indicating that that had been the size of the monastic lay-choir or as meaning that all or indeed any of the six in question had been so associated.

TABLE 8: EARLY MINOR CANONS AND LAY-CLERKS

Mickleton, for 1541	*Treasurer's Roll, 1547-8*
Minor Canons	
Henry Brown	Henry Brown
John Erysden	John Erysden
William Hackforth	William Cockey
George Cornforth	William Hackforth
William Smith	William Smith
John Brown	John Brown
John Foster	Thomas Ellison
Thomas Ellison	George Cuthbert
John Bindley	John Bindley
George Cuthbert	John Foster
Richard Robson	Thomas Foster
Thomas Foster	John Brown Junior
Lay-clerks	
Richard Whiteley	William Hudson
Simon Garston	Richard Bell
Thomas Gibson	Thomas Gibson
Robert Tipping	Thomas Balland
Thomas Balland	Richard Whiteley
Richard Dychaunt	Robert Tipping
Thomas Booth	John Pearson
William Cockey	Thomas Knighton
Richard Dobson	Richard Dobson
Thomas Knighton	Thomas Booth

Towards the end of the section on the monastic period[10] the attempt was made to track down the names of some of the singers of monastic times. The hope was that if only one group of names could be pointed to with confidence, the likelihood that there would be some repetition of the names in the same place in other muniments, would mean that as far as the names went the floodgates would have been opened. Various avenues were explored, all without real success. One such avenue was the monastic accounts of the 1530s, and in particular the Bursar's working account books. These were closely scrutinized in the hope that some of those named in Mickleton's list for 1541 might occur in a group there too. As has already been stated, only Richard Whiteley's name was found, and that in his capacity as 'the clerk of the Galilee'. It was also observed that the surname Dychaunt was that of the priory miller in 1536-7, and it was queried whether John might have been a member of that family, and whether in monastic times he might have been first a chorister and later one of the singers. It was further remarked that William Cockey [1], who by 1547-8 had become a minor canon, was in Durham in the 1520s and 1530s. He was not directly associated with the priory, but was the chantry chaplain with responsibility for the Langley Song school, a position he continued to hold until 1557-8. As such he features in the episcopal as opposed to monastic accounts. In his case it was speculated whether he might have combined singing with teaching before as well as after the Dissolution.

Those named by Mickleton also include the members of the younger generation, the ten choristers, and the eighteen King's Scholars at the grammar school. The number of choristers represents

TABLE 9: THE FIRST CHORISTERS

Christopher Mayer
Thomas Whitehead
William Sim
John Hunter
Edward Raw
Richard Stott
William Chapman
John Watson
Robert Biddick
Oswin Chapman

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10 See pp.114-18.

an increase on the eight mentioned in the contracts with the Cantors and the six as remembered by the author of *Rites*.[11]

Presumably, some of them, like John Brimley their master, had commenced their association with the choir before the close of the monastic period. Of them only William Sim definitely featured later on the Durham musical stage. From 1558-9 until his death in 1572 he served as a lay-clerk. The latter date rules out any possibility of him being identified with the William Simmes (*fl*.1607-16) who composed a few anthems and several pieces for viols.[12]

STATUTES

The new foundation cathedrals, *i.e.*, those monastic cathedrals which had been re-constituted cathedrals only, were fourteen in number They were at Bristol, Canterbury, Carlisle (re-constituted 8 May 1541)[13], Chester, Durham (12 May 1541), Ely (10 September 1541), Gloucester (3 September 1541), Norwich, Oseney (later Oxford), Peterborough (4 September 1541), Rochester, Westminster Abbey, Winchester (28 March 1541), and Worcester (24 January 1541/2). They are to be contrasted with those of the old foundation, such as Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, London, Salisbury, Wells, and York, which were never monasteries and whose status as cathedrals consequently suffered no interruption, no modification. Those of the new foundation had received deeds of re-establishment, but Statutes formulating their heirarchy and discipline were needed. The task of providing these was entrusted to Nicholas Heath (Bishop of Worcester), George Day (Bishop of Chichester), and Richard Cox (Archdeacon of Ely). They worked quickly, and most of the new cathedrals received their Statutes in June and July 1544. Exceptions were Norwich (which had been allowed to formulate its own) and Carlisle (which received its in June 1545).[14] All these Statutes,

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11 *Rites*, 62; see pp.86-90 for the contract with John Steel.

12 For the sources for Simmes's anthems see Daniel and le Huray, *The Sources of English Sacred Music, 1549-1644*, 138; see also Norman Joseph's article in *New Grove*, xvii, 323.

13 The dates of re-constitution are given only for those cathedrals instanced on p.123. As there, the information is derived from *Letters and State Papers*.

14 *Statutes*, xxviii-xlii.

however, lacked full legal authority for they were not issued indented and under the great seal as mentioned in the letters patent founding the cathedrals.

No trace of the Henrician Statutes for either Westminster or Durham has come to light, though that is not the same as saying that they were never issued. Evidence that the Durham ones were at least formulated is afforded by the commission appointed by King Philip and Queen Mary with parliamentary authority on 19 January 1554/5 for new statutes to be based on the earlier ones. By it the formulating panel of Bishops was empowered

> to provide new statutes for the cathedral church of Durham by examining changing, correcting, adding, and explaining the statutes which had been drawn up some years earlier for 'our most beloved father' [Henry VIII] by the bishops Nicholas [Heath] of Worcester and George [Day] of Chichester.[15]

The panel consisting of the bishops Edmund Bonner of London, Durham's own Cuthbert Tunstall, the same Nicholas Heath of Worcester, and Thomas Thirlby of Ely, and William Armysted, the royal chaplain, responded quickly. Durham's Statutes were issued indented under the great seal by Philip and Mary on 20 March 1554/5. That Durham's proved to the only Statutes to be issued by them, even though they had Parliamentary authority to do so for the other new foundation cathedrals, may have been because of what had happened under Edward VI. His short reign saw the disbanding of the Durham diocese, and although the production of annual accounts in 1550-1 and 1552-3 confirms that the Dean and Chapter did not cease to function, it may have been judged necessary to give Durham priority.

To support the Dean and the Prebendaries the Statutes provided a foundation consisting of twelve minor canons, one deacon, one sub-deacon (all priests), ten lay-clerks (they are described as clerks, as they could be laymen or priests); one master of choristers and ten choristers; one headmaster, one under-master, and eighteeen King's scholars at the grammar school; and two vergers, a bell-ringer, a clock-winder, two porters (one of whom was also a barber),

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15 4.5. Reg. 6. I am grateful to Pat Mussett for drawing the document to my notice and for the help he has given me with it. The indented paragraph is not a translation but a paraphrase of the relevant portion. *cf.*, *Calender of Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary*, 1554-5, pt 15, 344.

a butler, an under-butler, a cook, and an under-cook.[16] All of these have been mentioned, for choristers progressed to some of them, and lay-clerks in some cases combined positions. The role, the function, of the minor canons and the lay-clerks was to honour God 'with hymns, psalms and perpetual prayers'. Again, speaking of the minor canons, lay-clerks, gospeller (= deacon) and epistoler (= sub-deacon), the Statutes declared,

> all of whom we appoint to chant the praises of God and the canonical hours continually ... (*Statutes*, 131, 133)

Those appointed to such positions were required to be

> of good report, of honest conversation ... and as far as may be learned, and finally skilled in song and fit to do service in Choir with voice and cunning. (*Statutes*, 133)

It fell to this group to maintain the daily round of services. Those services, as prescribed in the Statutes, were much the same as those of monastic times - the procession, high mass, matins, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline. In addition there were to be daily celebrations at 6 a.m. of the Mass of the Holy Ghost (said), at 8 [a.m.] of the Mass of St Mary (sung), and on Fridays of the Mass of the Name of Jesus.[17] These, however, are not the services described in the writings of Dean Whittingham (1563), in *Dobsons Drie Bobbes* (published in 1609, but relating to the 1560s), or during the Smart-Cosin controversy (1628-41). This is because the Durham Statutes were issued during the Marian reaction to the changes in worship introduced by the reformers during the brief reign of Edward VI. With the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552 the nature of the services had been radically altered and emphasis placed on Matins and Evensong. The music of the old rite had become irrelevant, but composers had had little time to respond to the requirements of the new services when Edward died and was succeeded by Mary. Under her the Latin rite was restored, and the reformers persecuted.

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16 *Statutes*, 85, 87.

17 *Ibid.*, 159.

In those days when clocks and watches were neither as common nor as reliable,[18] lateness at services seems to have been construed as unavoidable. The lesser members of the foundation were advised that a system of fines would be applied if they were not in their places either by the end of the first psalm at Matins and Evensong or by the end of the *Kyrie eleison* at Holy Communion.[19] Absence without due cause on the part of the lay-clerks was not contemplated. The routine of the minor canons was somewhat different, for they could hold one benefice, though that had to be not more than twenty-four miles from Durham.[20] The Dean on his own could give them leave of absence for up to eight days, but for longer periods the consent of Chapter was needed.[21]

In the old foundation cathedrals the precentor was second in seniority to the Dean. At Durham, however, as at the other new foundation cathedrals, he was of lower rank, chosen from among the minor canons. Even so, his powers were considerable. He was responsible for the discipline of the choir, for the state of its music, and for the selection of suitable voices for it. In the words of the Statutes, it was his duty

> 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. (*Statutes*, 135)

Whatever the choir's behaviour outside the cathedral may have been like, at Durham there was no hint of unruliness inside prior to what Dean Granville had to say in 1680/1.[22] Not so at Ripon,[23] where on 25 May 1637 it proved necessary to give these instructions:

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18 In this respect it should be noted that Prior Castell's clock, now situated at the south end of the south transept, did not originally have a minute hand, that the *four* divisions between each number served to indicate the quarter hours.

19 *Ibid.*, 135. It is said that it was the custom of the choir processing in together dates only from when the Revd. J.B. Dykes was Precentor (1849-62).

20 *Ibid.*, 135.

21 *Ibid.*, 81.

22 R. Granville, *Life of Dean Granville* (1902), 249; *cf.*, Crosby, *Choristers*, 24-5.

> That the Vicars & Singingman carye themselves reverently in servicetyme attendinge to the Preacher, not leanynge upon there Elbowes & sleeping upon payne of such mulcts, as the Residentiary in his discretion shall impose upon them. (Ripon, Act Book 40.1 (Registrum A), 1626-89, p.41)
>
> ...
>
> That they [the choristers] carry themselves reverently in Service & sermon tyme, kneeling upon there knees in tyme of prayers, not leanynge upon there Elbowes, standing up at the Creeds, Gospell & Gloria patri, boweinge at the name of Jesus, attendinge to the Preacher, not janginge one with another. If any of these things beinge oftentymes admonished, & corrected by there Master, they doe not reforme themselvs; let any of them so faultie be removed from there places & others put in. (*ibid.*)

To the precentor fell the ordering of the musical side of the services, and it was also incumbent upon him to keep a record of attendances at services.[24] By the late eighteenth century this last duty had devolved upon one of the lay-clerks. Many of the other duties continued to apply until the retirement of Canon Charles K. Pattinson in 1972.[25] He helped to choose the music to be sung, his permission had to be sought for the occasional absence, and his was an important role at voice trials held for men and for boys.

Where after the Restoration once a minor canon achieved the position of Precentor he remained in it as long as he was associated with the cathederal, from 1541 until 1643 many of the minor canons held it, seemingly in turn. Early exceptions include John Wells (1559-67) and Thomas Little (1576-90), whilst the period from 1598 to 1631 is dominated by Edward Harrison, John Todd, and Mark Leonard. On 4 March 1622/3, during one of his spells as Precentor, Chapter granted Todd

> twentye shillinge for his Jorney to goe and p_cure suitable voices for the Church. (CA2)

From the ranks of the minor canons too was chosen the sacrist. His sphere of authority was similar to that of his monastic counterpart, for he was responsible for all the moveable objects within the cathedral, from furnishings and vestments to candles and

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23 Most of the Ripon muniments are now in the keeping of the Brotherton Library, Leeds University; the Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths are at Northallerton Record Office.

24 *Statutes*, 137.

25 Minor Canon and Precentor, 1948-72. As a former chorister - 1914-21 - he was well aware of the Durham choral tradition.

keys. He was required to keep an inventory of such goods and to ensure that nothing went astray. One such inventory, compiled by James Green in *c.*1665,[26] survives. It is a thorough and useful record, ranging as it does through the church, the choir, and the song school.

At the time when the Statutes were issued many of the clergy were still unmarried. Accordingly, there was to be a common table for all the minor canons, the deacon and the sub-deacon, and the headmaster and under-master of the grammar school. They were to be joined by the master of the choristers, if unmarried, such lay-clerks as were single, and the choristers.[27] It is this communal way of life which explains why butlers and cooks were included as members of the foundation.

It will have been observed that the master of the choristers and his charges were not numbered amongst those whose duty it was to offer perpetual praise to God. The absence of the choristers is not altogether surprising, for they had played but a minor role in monastic times, and the services envisaged by the Marian Statutes were very similar. One can only surmise that they sang at the Mass of St Mary, the Mass of the Name of Jesus, and on Sundays and feast days. There was a further reason too for their limited activity, and that, quite simply, was that there was a dearth of suitable music. Their master, who was not supposed to be one of the lay-clerks, was the organist as well, and as such was expected to play the organ at those services which needed it. However, so that he could instruct the boys he was permitted to be absent on weekdays - when a minor canon or lay-clerk would deputize. An indication that John Brimley did not always play the organ[28] is afforded by a small payment made on 10 October 1545

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26 Misc. Chs 7116-7; see pp.280 *et seq.*

27 *Statutes*, 151.

28 That is, unless by 'organist', polyphonist was still intended.

> to John Richardson for working with William the organist in blowing the organs during the time of their tuning, for two days at 3d., in total, 6d.[29]

It is not clear who William may have been, but in 1541 there were William Hackforth and William Smith [1] among the minor canons and William Cockey among the lay-clerks, and by 1547-8 Cockey had joined the other two as a minor canon and William Hudson had become a lay-clerk.

The instruction imparted by the master of the choristers was not just in the art of singing. It was also intended to cover their

> education and liberal instruction in letters and at table and in their common manner of living. (*Statutes*, 143)

The pessimism of the formulators of the Statutes concerning the qualities of would-be masters of the choristers was no doubt based on the shortcomings of such instructors at collegiate churches and at secular and monastic cathedrals during the monastic period. The master of the choristers was instructed that he was not allowed to hand his duties over to a deputy. He was also warned that if it transpired that he were negligent in his duties, or that his own way of life were an unsuitable example, then after threefold admonition he would be deprived of his position. As regards the minor canons and lay-clerks too their appointments were for life provided that their life-style gave no cause for reproach. During the late 1620s Richard Hutchinson received more than three admonitions, and although the mastership of the choristers was withdrawn from him yet he was allowed to continue as organist. Even after further trouble he was not ejected but was merely suspended for a short time. But where Hutchinson's ability as an organist saved him, with Alexander Shaw in 1681 it was very different. Although Act Book 3 affords no evidence of any trouble, Mickleton, the contemporary local historian, asserts that Shaw was 'ejectus ob contumaciam'.[30]

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[29] A translation of the relevant part of Misc. Ch. 2765. The Latin text reads, 'Et sol. Johanni Ricardson laboranti cum Willielmo organista in flacione organorum per temporem tonancionis eorundem videlicet pro ij dies ad iijd. in toto - vjd.' *Rolls*, iii, 739 has made an understandable error in reading the date as 1595. Even though a William [Smith 3] was organist in the 1590s, the earlier date is confirmed by the naming of Robert Bennet (d. 1558) as Treasurer.

[30] Mickleton, MS 32, f.55^{v}.

CHAPTER 2

TROUBLED YEARS

LITURGICAL UNCERTAINTIES

Where Henry VIII had been content to do little more than change the language of the offices, under the boy king Edward VI the reformers gained the upper hand. It is apparent from the Prayer Books of 1549[1] and 1552 that the number of services had been reduced. Hardly had composers begun writing music for the new rite when in 1553 Edward died. Under his half-sister Mary reaction set in. The new trends were suppressed, and the services of the Roman Catholic church were re-introduced. At Durham in 1554-5 Richard Eland was paid 7s-6d for an antiphonary and the same year William Cockey, one of the minor canons, received £3-6s-7d for another,[2] but it is not clear whether these payments were for transcribing or for handing over books pertaining to the restored rite. Mary, however, died in 1558. Elizabeth I re-introduced the Prayer Book and in 1559 confronted the clergy with the Act of Supremacy. At Durham Dean Thomas Robertson, seven of the prebendaries, and possibly four minor canons refused to subscribe, and were duly deprived of their positions.[3]

For Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall too this last change was one too many. He had witnessed the decline and dissolution of the monasteries, and on 14 November 1537, before the surrender of the monastery at Durham, had written to Thomas Cromwell expressing his concern about effect the closure of the monasteries was having on

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1 The Act of Uniformity of 21 January 1548/9 instructed that from 9 June 1549 (Whitsunday) only the Book of Common Prayer was to be used.

2 British Library Add. MS 31983 (= Treas. Book, 1554-5), f.6^{v}. Missing are the opening pages giving the members of the choir.

3 The prebendaries were George Bullock, Robert Dalton, Nicholas Marley, Stephen Marley (eventually), Anthony Salvin, William Todd (eventually), and John Towton; the minor canons, William Smith [1], John Foster, William Hackforth, and William Cockey. It was also ordered that the prebends of John Crawford and George Cliffe should be forfeited, but Crawford died before he could be deprived and Cliffe continued to enjoy the revenue as well as the position until his death in 1596; so *The Royal Visitation of 1559*, ed. by C.J. Kitching (*SS* 187, 1975), 23-8.

the state of education in England. It was not just the loss of the monastic schools, but of other schools reliant on the revenue from land held by the monasteries. He was personally aware of this because part of the salary of the Langley schoolmasters was in arrears as a result of Jervaulx, which had held land in Kaverdley in Lancashire, being suppressed. He requested Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, to give orders for the payment of the stipends.[4] This must have happened, for in the early seventeenth century the Lord High Treasurer's approval was being sought for appointments to one of the positions.[5] Tunstall's concern then for his schools may have been words, but on 31 May 1541,[6] nineteen days after Durham had been reconstituted a cathedral only he safeguarded their future by handing over the complete control of the chantry schools founded by Bishop Langley to the newly appointed Dean and Chapter. Tunstall had also accepted the vicissitudes of the 1540s and 1550s under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Philip and Mary, but in his old age he found he could not acknowledge Elizabeth as the head of the Church in England. At the ripe old age of eighty-five he refused to subscribe and was deprived.

Those were unsettled days for the church musicians as they waited to see which way the church in England would go. Would the changes rest with the fact that the monarch, not the Pope, was the Head of the Church and that English was the language of the liturgy, or would the ceremonial and musical enrichment go too now that the Genevan influence was in the ascendant?

That the part which had been played by music in worship was an anathema to some continental reformers is all too apparent from part of Erasmus's commentary written in 1516. On 1 Corinthians 14:18-19, 'Yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, then ten thousand words in an unknown tongue', he had these thoughts:

> They chant nowadays in our churches in what is an unknown tongue and nothing else, while you will not hear a sermon once in six months telling people to amend their lives.

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4 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII,* 12 (1537), pt.2 (1083).

5 See p.70.

6 See 3.3. Pont. no.10.

> Modern music is so constructed that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word. The choristers themselves do not understand what they are singing, yet according to priests and monks it constituted the whole of religion. Why will they not listen to St. Paul? In college or monastery it is still the same: music, nothing but music. ... Money must be raised to buy organs and train boys to squeal, and to learn no other thing that is good for them. ...
>
> They have so much of it in England that the monks attend to nothing else. A set of creatures who ought to be lamenting their sins fancy they can please God by gurgling in their throats. Boys are kept in the English Benedictine colleges solely and simply to sing morning hymns to the Virgin.[7]

The opinions expressed by Erasmus and others of like mind were far from new. Aelred of Rievaulx (d. *c.*1166), who has already been quoted somewhat selectively to show the state of the musical art in his day, had this to say,

> ... whence hath the Church so many Organs and Musicall Instruments? To what purpose, I demand, is that terrible blowing of Belloes, expressing rather the crackes of Thunder, then the sweetnesse of a voyce? To what purpose serves that contraction and inflection of the voyce? This man sings a base, this a small meane, another a treble, a fourth divides and cuts assunder, as it were certaine middle notes. ... One while the voyce is strained, anon it is remitted, now againe it is dashed, and then againe it is inlarged with a lowder sound. ... In the meane time the whole body is stirred up and downe with certaine histrionical gestures: the lips are wreathed; the eyes turne round, the shoulders play; and the bending of the fingers doth answer every note. And this ridiculous dissolution is called religion; and where these things are most frequently done, it is proclaimed abroad that God is there more honourably served. In the meane time, the common people standing by, trembling and astonished, admire the sound of the Organs, the noyse of the Cymbals and musicall instruments, the harmony of Pipes and Cornets: but yet looke upon the lascivious gesticulations of the Singers, the meretricious alternations, interchanges, and infractions of the voyces, not without dirision and laughter: so that a man may thinke that they came, not to an Oratory, or house of prayer, but to a Theater; not to pray, but to gaze about them ...[8]

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7 P.A. Scholes, *Puritans*, 216; *cf.*, P. le Huray, 'The English Anthem, 1603-60' (Cambridge Univ., Ph.D. thesis, 1959), 6.

8 W. Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), 279-81. For a more selective extract, see pp.19.

The musicians had not long to wait. At a meeting of Convocation held in February 1562/3 the reformers made their proposals. These included,

> That the Psalms appointed at Common Prayer be sung distinctly by the whole Congregation, or said with the other Prayers by the Minister alone, in such convenient Place of the Church, as all may well hear and be edified: and that all curious Singing and Playing of the Organs may be removed.[9]

For the reformers, it was a battle lost, but not the war. Their proposals were defeated, but by only one vote.

In another outcry, made in about 1571, the practice of antiphonal singing also attracted censure. Objections were made about

> playing upon organs, curious singing, and tossing about from side to side.[10]

Again, in 1586 prayers were offered that

> all cathedral churches may be put down where the service of God is grievously abused by piping with organs, singing, ringing, and trowling of psalms from one side of the choir to another, with the squeaking of chanting choristers disguised in white surplices.[11]

At Durham Deans Robert Horne (1551-3, 1559-60) and William Whittingham (1563-79) were of the Genevan persuasion. It is alleged in *Rites* that Horne broke up the Corpus Christi shrine in the church of St Nicholas, and that Whittingham caused St Cuthbert's picture in the cathedral to be broken into pieces.[12] Whittingham, a co-translator of the Geneva Bible and writer of several of the metrical psalms published by Sternhold and Hopkins in 1562,[13] was indicted for refusing to wear a surplice or a cope.[14] According to *Rites*, Whittingham took away the tombstones from the Priors' graves and

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9 J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, i (1709), 335-7; *cf.*, P. le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, 35, 39, and Y. Bannard, 'Music of the Commonwealth', *Music and Letters*, 3 (1922), 394-5.

10 Bannard, 'Music of the Commonwealth', 395.

11 *Ibid.*, 395.

12 *Op. cit.*, 68-9, 74-5, and 77.

13 *Rites*, 217.

14 M.A.E. Green (ed.), 'Life of Mr. William Whittingham' (Camden Soc., *Miscellany VI* (1871), 22, note 2.

made a laundry of them, and removed the Holy Water stones and used them in his kitchen to soak fish and meat in. His wife was of a similar disposition, and she burned St Cuthbert's banner.[15] At Durham Whittingham established the pattern of worship which was to last there until the High Church movement gained the ascendancy in the 1620s.[16]

In a letter to Cecil, the Queen's Secretary, on 19 December 1563, Whittingham described the services which were being held at Durham. He wrote:

> First in the morning at six of the clock, the grammar school and song schole, with all the servants of the house, resort to prayers into the church; which exercise continueth about half-an-houre. At nyne of the clock we have our ordinary service; and likewise at thre after none. The Wednesdays and Fridays are appointed to a general fast, with prayers and preaching of God's word. The Sundaies and holydays before none we have sermons and at after none the catechisme is expounded.
>
> Because we lak an able scholmemaster I bestow daily three or four hours in teaching the youth, till God provide us of some that may better suffice.[17]

The comment about education is perplexing, for all teaching positions on the foundation were filled and some four years were to elapse before a vacancy occurred. At the grammar school Thomas Reeve (headmaster) and Thomas Iveson (under-master) both served from 1559 to 1567; and John Brimley, the master of the choristers, held that position from 1535 until his death in 1576. Moreover, even John Pearson, the master of the 'petty' school (formerly the Langley song school), was in the middle of his spell which extended from 1558 until his deprivation in 1569.

Regrettably, Whittingham had nothing to say about the part that music had played in those services. It will be shown in the next section that in that respect he was not an extremist, that, a musician himself, he appreciated that music could inspire and uplift the mind.

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15 *Op. cit.*, 60-1, 26-7. In view of details such as these, it is surprising that the author neither describes the one hundred and seven statues which graced the Neville Screen nor comments on their destruction.

16 See pp.167-81.

17 Green, 'Life of Mr. William Whittingham', 23, n.1; taken from J. Strype, *Parker*, i (1821), 267-8.

MUSIC TO SUIT THE CHANGES

Reference has already been made to the possibility of music continuing during the short inter-regnum following the surrender of the monastery.[18] Durham's earliest recorded acquisition of music with an English text took place in 1544. It was in that year that the requirement was introduced for the Litany to be sung in English, and Durham duly responded with

> 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, 726)

The Litany was presumably the version set by Thomas Tallis.

The next musical activity, by Durham's own John Brimley, cannot be dated as accurately. Surviving only through being re-copied into an early seventeenth century part-book[19] are portions of the tenor part of a *Te Deum* and *Benedictus*. Whilst the text of the latter canticle accords with that of the Prayer Book of 1549, the Te Deum closely resembles that first found in *A Goodly Primer,* 1535, and presumably repeated, because the editor supplies only the opening sentence, in *The Bishop's Primer* of 1539, and *The King's Primer* of 1545.[20] The verses given below are not continuous, and the two differences between the texts are shown in italics.

Complete, but again surviving only in early seventeenth century manuscripts, is Brimley's setting of the 'Kerrie', or, to be more precise, Responses to the Commandments.[21] The work is not as elaborate or extensive as Alan Smith and Peter le Huray have supposed.[22] Its four sentences were not joined together and sung through once like an anthem. Brimley's setting, like those in use

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18 Misc. Ch. 7283; see above pp.124-5.

19 MS C13:189, 200-2.

20 E. Burton, *Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII* (1834), 82-3.

21 MSS C13, E4-E11a. Does the spelling, 'Kerrie', reflect the contemporary northern pronunciation?

22 A. Smith, 'The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches, and at the Court, during the reign of Elizabeth I' (Birmingham Univ., Ph.D. thesis, 1967), 586; P. le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1540-1660* (1967), 186.

through to the 1940s,[23] was designed to be used not with a summary of the Law but with each of the Ten Commandments being read out separately. His first Response was designed to be sung after each of the first three Commandments, the second similarly after the fourth to sixth, the next after the seventh to ninth, and the last after the final Commandment. From the learning point of view this

TABLE 10: COMPARISON OF 'TE DEUM' TEXTS

Brimley	*Primer, 1535*
To thee crieth Cherubim and Seraphim *thus* continually	To thee *thus* crieth Cherubim and Seraphim continually
Holy art thou (x3), Thou art the Lord God of Hosts	Holy art thou (x3), Thou art the Lord God of Hosts
The holy congregation of the faithful throughout all the world	The holy congregation of the faithful throughout all the world
They knowledge *thee* honourable and very only Son	They knowledge *thy* honourable and very only Son
They knowledge the Holy Ghost to be the comforter	They knowledge the Holy Ghost to be the comforter
Thou art believed to come our Judge	Thou art believed to come our Judge
O Lord let it be thy pleasure to keep us this day without sin	O Lord let it be thy pleasure to keep us this day without sin

was easier for the choir to handle than a 'Kyrie' '10 severall ways'.[24] In the manuscripts the *Kyrie* is linked with the Creed to John Sheppard's Second Service. With no known manuscript anywhere supplying Sheppard's own *Kyrie* to this Service, it is not inconceivable that Brimley composed his to rectify the lack. The Responses are well written, and have a mellow sonorousness. Though the comparison is probably anachronistic, two phrases call to mind

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23 Personal reminiscence as a parish church chorister.

24 William Smith [5] wrote one like this after 1630 - *cf.*, MSS A6:243-6, E11a:287-90.

William Byrd's, 'O Lord make thy servant Elizabeth our Queen'. The second version of 'have mercy upon us' employs the same notes as Byrd's 'grant her her heart's desire', and the opening of 'And write all these thy laws' has similarities with 'And grant her a long life'.

The first specific payment to a member of the Durham choir for copying music occurs in 1561-2. During that year John Wells the precentor received five shillings

> pro paupir~ pro Le preckeinge of their songes infra ecclesiam (Treas. Book, f.19^{v})[25]

But where the purpose of this payment is clear, the same is not true of two payments to Richard Bell (lay-clerk, 1547-77). On three occasions he was paid by the Treasurer for books for the church. In 1566-7 the sum was 9s., on 9 January 1569/70 it was 39s-8d and later that year, 13s-4d.[26] However, as Thomas Knighton (lay-clerk, 1541-76) was paid 36s. on 29 June 1570 for a large Bible for the church the nature of the books Bell was concerned with must remain uncertain. Even though the Treasurer's Book for 1568-9 records the expenditure of 6s.,

> for six quere of paper to make bookes for the singing men,

one can do no more than speculate whether Bell was a bookbinder, book supplier, or music copyist.

That paper should have been bought for such a purpose accords well with the statement,

> And concerning Singing in the church Mr. Whittingham did so far allowe of that as he was very carefull to provide the best songs and anthems that could be got out of the Queen's chapell to furnish the quire with all, himselfe being skillfull in musick.[27]

Although no fragment of a contemporary Durham cathedral music manuscript has been found the attempt to identify these 'songs and anthems' is not without any hope of success. An inventory of moveable church goods, compiled *c.*1665[28], lists six sets of part-

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25 Wells was Precentor, 1559-67.

26 See the relevant Treas. books for these references and that which follows.

27 Green, 'Life of Mr. Whilliam Whittingham' 22-3.

28 Misc. Chs 7116-7, *cf.*, Brian Crosby 'A 17th-century Durham Inventory', *The Musical Times*, 119 (1978), 167-70.

books, each having ten members. Representatives of five of these sets are still extant at Durham, but of the set containing 'Services and Anthemes for men' no survivor remains.[29] However, an indication of some of their contents is afforded by the presence of a number of services and anthems for men's voices in the post-Restoration Durham MSS A3, C17, and C19, in British Library Add. MSS 30478-9 (both Durham 'exiles'), and in the post-Restoration additions to Durham MS C11. Included in the list of these are a few anthems which, although they are in the Peterhouse music MSS, were transcribed by Durham scribes at some point between 1624 and 1643.[30]

TABLE 11: THE LOST SET OF DURHAM PART-BOOKS

(Conjectured Contents)

Mundy	Service for '2 basses'[31]
Mundy	Service in '3 pts for men'
Mundy	Service in '4 pts for men'
Giles	He that hath my commandments (also at Peterhouse)
Mundy	He that hath my commandments
Mundy	Let us now laud and magnify
Mundy	Rejoice in the Lord alway
Mundy	This is my commandment (in Durham organ book MS A1 but not in part-books; in Peterhouse part-books)
Sheppard	I give you a new commandment (only at Peterhouse)
Sheppard	Submit yourselves
Tallis	Hear the voice and prayer
Tallis	If ye love me

The thought that these items might in some way be related to the acquisitions in 1568-9 was prompted by the realization that not only were they all for men's voices but nearly all were by Mundy, Sheppard, Parsons, and Tallis, the pre-eminent composers of the 1560s.[32] Such compositions suited both periods, for the 1550s had been a decade of upheaval. Composing for the new rite had had to start all over again, and it was only natural that while the first steps were being taken the anthems and services were for men's

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29 See pp.221 *et seq.*, for an examination of Durham's early seventeenth century music MSS.

30 For why this is so, see pp.290 *et seq.*

31 It comprises a Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus, Kyrie, Creed, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis. The two services which follow it do not include Venites.

32 Hence the preference, expressed in Crosby, *Catalogue*, 193, for William Mundy. The item by Giles could have been added later.

voices. So too, after the reactions of the Commonwealth period and the Protectorate, the 1660s marked a new beginning. In this case, moreover, the choral traditional had to be revived after a lapse of sixteen years. Several of the lay-clerks appointed in the 1640s were still alive, but the boys had to be trained from scratch.

UNRULY BOYS

One of the choristers of this period was George Dobson. His name occurs in the Treasurer's accounts for 1559-60 and thereafter until 23 November 1568 when he became one of the King's Scholars at the Dean and Chapter's grammar school. There his time was of but short duration, for he received only the relevant portion of the quarter's salary due to him at Christmas 1568. His departure was hardly the result of normal circumstances, for written ominously against his name are the words 'a fugityve'. The lack of any Act Book for this period precludes the discovery of the incident which precipitated his flight.

Possible examples of Dobson's behaviour are afforded in print, for he would appear to be the 'hero' of *Dobsons Drie Bobbes*, a work published in London in 1607.[33] With a 'bob' thought to have been a physical 'blow', it is felt that a 'dry bob' was something like a 'practical joke'. As the episodes, which are not disjointed but follow an orderly sequence, range from schoolboy and the like pranks through the coarse to the malicious, 'joke' is hardly the most apposite word.

Such is the wealth of local detail that it is only logical to conclude that the work is autobiographical. Certainly, the cathedral and other muniments establish that Thomas Pentland, described in *Dobsons Drie Bobbes* as Dobson's uncle, was a minor canon of the cathedral, though there is conflict regarding which city parish he served. In *Dobsons Drie Bobbes* he is described as the incumbent of

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33 Ed. by A.E. Horsman (1955). Valentine Simmes, the printer of the original edition, was in many ways a kindred spirit to Dobson, for 'he was constantly in trouble for printing books that were obnoxious to the authorities ...' (R.B. McKerrow (ed.), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers ..., 1557-1640* (1910)). See also under Brimley, Pentland, Rakebaines, and Telfer in vol.2, Appendix 1, for the skeletal details of their lives and for any additional information about them.

St Giles's, Durham. He is portrayed as a bachelor, with his widowed sister[34] keeping house for him. He used to walk home for lunch after the morning service in the cathedral (all *op. cit.*, 5-7). The muniments, however, associate Pentland with St Oswald's and not with St Giles's. One might wonder whether Dobson had proved forgetful or whether he was camouflaging the facts, for in the incident where he tried to convince the other boys that it was a holiday (pp.79-84) he mentioned that Barty Mitforth's shop was closed (p.80). This shop was at the east end of Elvet Bridge.[35] As such it was on the way from St Oswald's to the cathedral, and out of the way from St Giles's. On the other hand, when Pentland was appointed to St Oswald's in 1562 he had been a minor canon for some ten years, and Dobson had stayed with him for some time before becoming a chorister in 1559-60. It could be that Pentland was at that time associated in some way with St Giles's church. His will indicates this too, for in

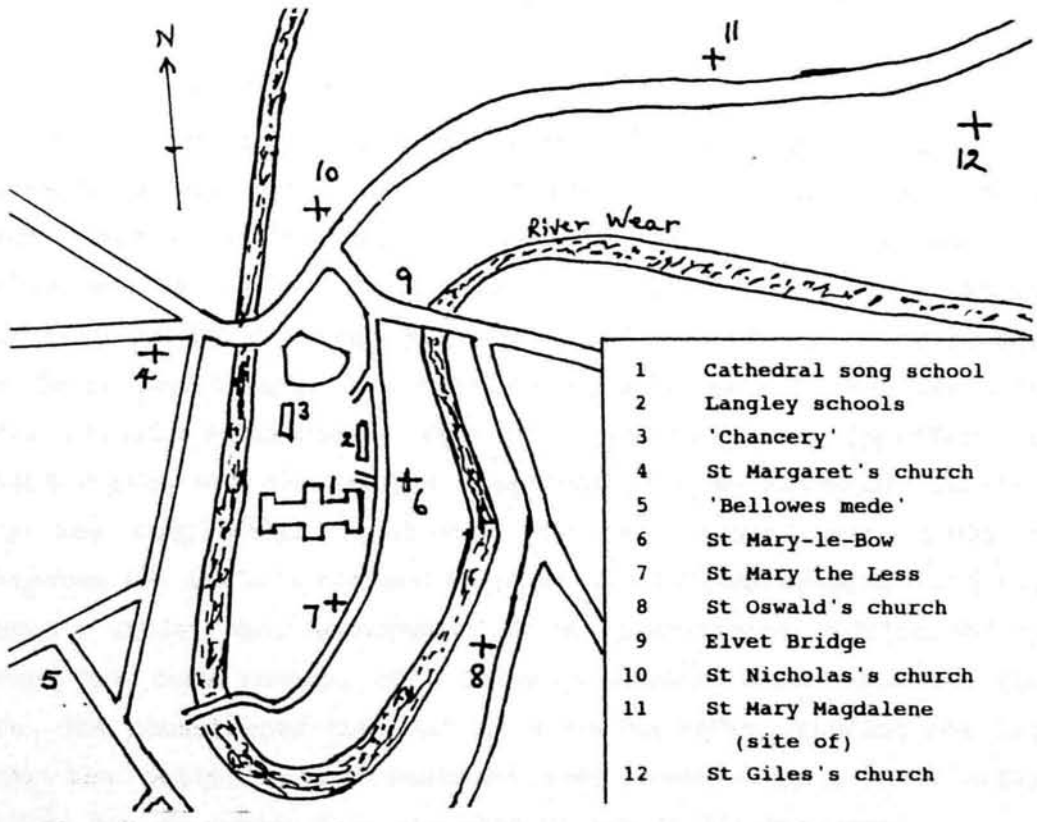


ILLUSTRATION 7: Simplified plan of Durham

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34 She was probably the Helen Pentland who was buried 25 March 1594/5 (ML).

35 Midforth was a cutler - Reg. 2, f.39^{v}.

it he describes himself as 'of the parish of St Giles's, and expresses the wish to be buried in 'my said parish church of St Giles's. The phrase, 'my parish church', however, is not just the preserve of the incumbent of a parish.

The 'holiday' incident brings out more local details. It names 'Bromeley' (John Brimley) as the master of the choristers and shows that there was no school on 'holy days' (p.82). The episode also confirms that the song school was in the cathedral and not on the east side of Palace Green, for the boys 'marched forth of the Abbey' (p.81),[36] and to the cathedral they returned (p.83). 'Bellowes mede' (p.81), where the boys went with their bows and arrows, is Bellasis where Durham School now stands. From a musical standpoint, Dobson's remark, that the visitors from London had brought 'some diversitie of descant, lately set forth by Maister *Bird* of Doctor our Arte' (p.83), affords an insight into one of the ways a composer might circulate his compositions. It matters not that with Byrd at Lincoln until 1572, some years after Dobson ceased being a chorister, the reference is anachronistic.

But to return to the Dobson story, Pentland clearly wanted his nephew to do well and to have every advantage, and he was willing to exert himself to that end. He quickly came to realize that his nephew was a rogue and behind all kinds of mischief. Whilst initially he would defend his nephew, he was careful to ascertain the facts for himself and take appropriate action. For instance, after releasing Rakebaines from the candle-cupboard (pp.48-50) he struck Dobson who then sought opportunity to be revenged. Dobson's plan was complicated (pp.50-6), for he arranged for others to overpower his uncle's orchard keepers. One of them escaped, and told Dobson's uncle, who, accompanied by his housekeeper, confronted the group. Far from running off, Dobson's acquaintances attacked them both. The housekeeper they sat on a wooden horse, binding her legs under the belly, whilst Pentland they covered in a sack before putting him up a pear tree and binding him to its branches.

This was probably the most malicious of Dobson's 'roguish tricks'. Harmless in comparison were the incidents in which he caused his uncle's horse to be impounded (pp.56-60), watered his ale

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36 More is said about this on p.149.

(pp.60-4), and bought some clothes and charged them to his uncle's account (pp.64-6).

The autobiographical nature of the work is further supported by a number of incidents which name Thomas Rakebaines and Matthew Telfer as Dobson's contemporaries in the choir. Both were considerably junior to him. Telfer was a chorister from 1567-8 to at least 1572, and although Rakebaines (chorister, 1565-71) is consistently called James instead of Thomas, the identity is secure, for no other Rakebaines was ever a chorister or King's scholar. Rakebaines features in some four of the incidents told in *Dobson's Drie Bobbes*. The narrative claims that he came from a village some six miles out of Durham, and lodged with relatives (p.45), but it will be shown that memory may have foreshortened the distance. In the first incident, Rakebaines brings his bow and arrows to school, is frustrated by the usher from having a half holiday, and later comes across the usher in a wood. He shoots at him but misses (pp.30-32).

In this escapade too Brimley is named as the master of the choristers, and it is interesting to note that he might take a chorister with him to a dinner to provide musical entertainment (p.31). Where it provokes thought is in stating that Brimley was the 'superior Maister' who had an usher to assist him (p.31). Although there was a second master at the grammar school neither the Statutes nor any Treasurer's record hints at any assistant at the song school. The position is referred to in a publication relating to the episcopate of Bishop Richard Barnes (1577-87).[37] The edition opens with a document giving details of the positions associated with the cathedral foundation and of the livings in the diocese. One gets the impression that having written grammar master, then his usher, then master of the choristers, the compiler supplied an usher before he appreciated that a mistake had been made. There is a sequel to this story, for Dobson decides to take revenge on behalf of his friend. This he does in a most spiteful way, arranging for the Dean to catch the usher in a compromising situation (pp.32-44).

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37 *The Injunctions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham from 1575 [sic] to 1587*, ed. by J. Raine (*SS* 2, 1850), 1.

One hint as to the identity of an unofficial helper called William - assuming that that name is correct - has emerged from the contemporary records. When examined about his part in the services held in connection with the Rising of the North in 1569, William Sim, one of the lay-clerks, included in his statement that

> He haith not had to do with the teaching of any the queristers thes 4 yeres now last past (Depos, f.185).

As Rakebaines became a chorister in March 1565, Sim is not to be excluded on that count. It also helps that Robert - the name attributed by Dobson to the usher's brother - was one of the names used by the family of Sims living in St Oswald's parish. On the other hand, Sim may never have married - or else his wife soon died childless - for in his will he leaves everything to his mother and sister.

A more typical schoolboy prank tells how Dobson was offered half a pudding by Rakebaines if he would act as his protector, only to have Dobson steal it all (pp.45-8). The story shows that the boys were required to attend 6 a.m. prayers, and that during the break before school started at 8 a.m. some boys returned to the town for their breakfast. With Rakebaines climbing up to look out of the window the incident again demonstrates that the song school was not the one founded by Thomas Langley and located on Palace Green,[38] but was the cathedral's own which was sited in the angle between the north transept and the north choir aisle. With its windows facing north and east it was just as easy to see from there the temporal Chancellor's Court on the west side of Palace Green, and even easier to see whether the boys were returning from the town towards the cathedral. That its only entrance was from inside the cathedral[39] also explains why Dobson's flight, after stealing the pudding, went through the cathedral instead of directly onto the banks of the river (p.47), and why, as has been referred to earlier in the 'holiday' story, the boys both left the cathedral only to have to return there later.

In a third episode, Dobson, partly out of revenge for being punished for the 'pudding' incident, finds an opportunity to lock

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38 In stating that it was, Horsman (p.xiv) was only following the view current at that time.

39 *Rites*, 165.

Rakebaines in the sacrist's cupboard (pp.48-50). Finally, when it is the turn of Rakebaines, Telfer, and Dobson to collect suitable birch rods, they go eating and drinking at an ale-house in Witton Gilbert - a village a few miles from Durham - with Dobson acting as the master, the other two as his servants (pp.67-76).

In associating Rakebaines and Telfer, the author did not simply pick on the names of two choristers. That the two of them were indeed firm friends is evident from the will of Thomas Rakebaines (d. 1574), the chorister's father.[40] In it he describes himself as of 'Caderley' and expresses the wish to be buried in St Andrew's church. One of his bequests - that of a young dun horse to a Matthew Telfer - is of telling significance. It is most unlikely that in the diocese of Durham in the 1570s there were two Thomas Rakebaines each of whom was friendly with a Matthew Telfer.

The location of 'Caderley' has not been established. Its name may appear to have similarities with the 'Cawlderley' mentioned in the will of John Bindley in 1565. This is the same as Cold Rowley, a hamlet in the parish of Muggleswick, of which parish Bindley was the incumbent. However, Victor Watts,[41] feels that from an etymological standpoint this cannot be correct. He has suggested that it should be identified with Chatterley (near Wolsingham). Chatterley was originally a chapelry attached to the parish of St Andrew, Auckland. Although both Cold Rowley and Chatterley are much more than six miles from Durham, both are inside the twenty-four mile radius within which the benefices of minor canons had to lie.

Dobsons Drie Bobbes has Dobson proceeding to Cambridge, a fact which may seems surprising in the light of his hurried departure from the grammar school. That he is shown as at Christ's College (p.85), again discloses an awareness of the special association Durham had with that College as a result of a scholarship set up there in 1544 by Thomas Pattinson, Rector of Wearmouth.

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40 The will is dated 10 November 1574. All wills of this period are held by Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library.

41 One of the editors of the forthcoming *The Dictionary of English Place-Names*; the point was made in correspondence.

Trivial and no doubt distorted though the incidents recorded in *Dobsons Drie Bobbes* may be, their detail shows that their writer had first-hand experience of what he was describing. Only at the very end, where a reformed Dobson is rewarded with position and respect, are the details manifestly incorrect. The cathedral records have no trace of a minor canon called George Dobson (although there was one called Robert from 1588 to 1593), nor was Thomas Pentland, whether he served at St Oswald's or St Giles's, even remotely succeeded by one of that name.

THE RISING OF THE NORTH

Durham and other cathedrals may have had Bishops and Deans who were supporters of the new regime, and other members of the ecclesiastical foundations may have in the end subscribed to the Act of Supremacy, but others remained openly hostile to Elizabeth and the course she was following. The Roman Catholics presented her with a challenger in Lady Jane Grey, but the Rising of the North in 1569 was short-lived. Its repercussions were felt not only by its leaders and clear supporters, but by many of those involved in a number of services held according to the old rite in the cathedral. Of them Dean Whittingham was not one, for he had warned the Bishop what was happening. His warning ignored, he had helped to organize the successful defence of Newcastle, and had returned some weeks later to Durham with the Queen's army.[42]

At Durham depositions were obtained from, amongst others, Richard Banks, Roland Blenkinsop, William Harding, Thomas Matthew, John Pearson, and William Smith [2], all minor canons; Richard Bell, John Clark, George Cuthbert, Thomas Gibson, Thomas Fawell, Thomas Harrison [1], Thomas Knighton, William Sim, and Miles White, all lay-clerks; and John Brimley, the master of the choristers.

In his deposition[43] Brimley admitted that he had played the organ at the services and also that he had instructed the choristers

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42 Green, 'Life of Mr. William Whittingham', 23-5.

43 Depos, 184^{v}-5^{r}. In the quotation which follows and in most cases elsewhere the primary manuscript source has been preferred to *Depositions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the County of Durham extending from 1311 to the Reign of Elizabeth*, ed. by J. Raine, *SS* 21 (1847).

what they were to sing and do. Questioned further about the instruction Brimley stated that

> he knowth not what is woorde [become] of the graill [book] y^{t} he com~only used for the teachinge of the children.

He expressed contriteness for the part that he had played, named 'M^{r} Cuthbt Nevil and therle of Northumbe~land' as leading figures, and explained 'y^{t} he dyd yt by compulcion'. His submission was accepted, for judgment was not passed against him or against any of the lay-clerks, but four of the minor canons - Brown, Matthew, Pearson, and Smith - were deprived of their positions. The decision to remove them was inevitable, for all four were among those who had been bound over in 1559 following their refusal to recognize the Act of Supremacy.[44]

JOHN BRIMLEY

Commenting not so much on the Rising of the North as on Brimley himself both Peter le Huray and John Morehen state that he was a Roman Catholic at heart and still sympathetic towards the old rite as late as 1569.[45] Although in his deposition Brimley says that he took part because he was compelled to, possibly his heart did thrill at having the opportunity to do again what he had done over thirty years before when, as lay Cantor of the monastery, his formal association with Durham cathedral had begun. A possible indication that this was so occurs in the deposition of Oliver Ash, the curate of St Nicholas's church. Ash stated,

> ... when the sacring bell range this ex[aminate] loked towerd y^{e} p~st but he could not discern the elyvac~on/ whereupon he loked up to M^{r}. bromley then in y^{e} loft over y^{e} quier door & smiled at hym.'[46]

Reading between the lines, no doubt Brimley returned a knowing smile.

As first lay Cantor and then as Master of the Choristers Brimley was associated with Durham for about forty-one years. Though

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44 See p.136.

45 le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1540-1660*, 186-7, where he mistakenly has *Creed* instead of *Kyrie*; Morehen in *New Grove*, iii, 284-5.

46 Depos, f.170^{r}.

the nature and language of the services changed, task of imparting musical skills to the boys remained the same. How active he was as a composer is uncertain, for of his music little remains.[47] It gives every indication of him being a capable musician. In the absence of any Chapter Act Books, one is grateful for the insight afforded by *Dobsons Drie Bobbes* into the musical and social sphere in which Brimley moved.[48]

After the Rising of the North only one reference to Brimley - other than a salary payment - has been found. On 7 March 1569/70 he was named as joint leasee of Magdalene Close. His co-leasee was Isabel Wilson, the wife of John Rudd, one of the prebendaries. The lease was to apply from the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March) 1572, and was for twenty-one years should Brimley live that long.[49] This clearly was thought to be unlikely, and so it turned out to be.

He died on 13 October 1576. The record of his burial the following day is recorded with a hint of affection in the St Nicholas's Church Register. It states,

> John Brymlory Singingman of the Cath~rall Church of Durham M^r^ to Will~ Watson Clerke then of St Nicholas,

and mentions that he was buried under a marble stone. Engraved on such a stone in the Galilee chapel, where in monastic times he had daily contributed to the music of the Lady Mass, is this memorial:

> 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

That the stone has not been moved there at some later stage from elsewhere, but may well mark his grave, may be concluded from the will of Thomas Harrison [1]. Harrison's hope was that he might be buried in the Galilee chapel as near as possible to Brimley, whom he names as his uncle.[50]

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47 See pp.141-3.

48 See pp.145-51.

49 Dean & Chapter Register 3, f.17.

50 *Wills* 3, 93-4.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHORAL TRADITION

WILLIAM BROWN (1st period)

Immediately before Brimley's death on 13 October 1576 and during the brief inter-regnum which followed it Thomas Harrison, Brimley's nephew[1] and the master of the Langley song school, was in charge. Then on 20 November 1576, on the very day that he ceased being paid as a chorister, William Brown [1] took over as master of the choristers and, *ipso facto*, organist. This promotion is not as remarkable as might at first appear, for Brown had been a chorister since September 1566, and in view of this length of service may have been at least eighteen years old. This surmise is based upon an analysis of the ages of some sixty-six early Durham choristers for whom probable dates of birth have been established. It showed that

TABLE 12: THE AGE-RANGE OF THE CHORISTERS, 1541-1650

Age	*Number joining at this maximum age*	*Number leaving at this minimum age*
8	4	-
9	1	-
10	8	1
11	12	2
12	17	4
13	10	4
14	8	10
15	2	6
16	3	14
17	1	8
18	-	10
19	-	6
20	-	-
21	-	1

1 See immediately above.

in only five cases was there a possibility of a boy being under 10 when he joined the choir.[2]

It was not only in Brown's case that a former chorister was chosen to be the new master of the choristers. Apart from Thomas Harrison, who deputized briefly during John Brimley's final illness and until a successor was appointed, and Henry Palmer, who was appointed master of the choristers when Richard Hutchinson was partially deprived in the late 1620s, it happened in every case, including deputies, temporary appointments, and split appointments, right up to 1681. This policy of in-breeding restricted the cultivation of musical talent, for of the Durham choristers of this period only William Smith [5] composed anything - his Preces and Responses - which is still sung regularly anywhere today.

TABLE 13: DURHAM MASTERS OF THE CHORISTERS, 1541-1681

Name	*In office*	*chorister*
John Brimley (mo)	1541-76	possibly
Thomas Harrison [1] (t)	1576	---
William Brown [1] (mo)	1576-88	1566-76
Robert Masterman (t)	1588-9	←1557-67
William Smith [3] (mo)	1589-99	1564-70
William Brown [1] (mo)	1599-1607→	as above
Edward Smith (mo)	←1608-12	1597-1602
Francis Dodgson (t)	1612-13	1580-4
Richard Hutchinson (mo) (o) (o?m)	1613-28 1628-34→ ←1640-6	1600-7→
Henry Palmer (m)	1628-34→	---
John Foster (mo)	1660-77	←1630-8→
John Nicholls (m)	1677-81	1637→
Alexander Shaw (o)	1677-81	1661-4

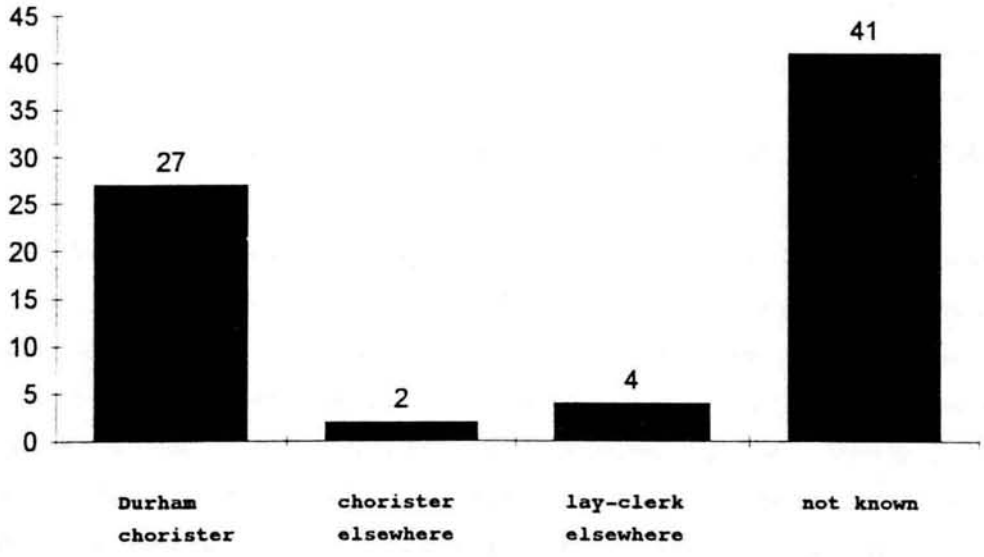
m = master of choristers
o = organist
t = acted during an inter-regnum

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2 The five were: Robert Fisher (aged 9), Robert Murray [2], Henry Wanless, John Watson [3], and William White (all aged 8).

With the Durham lay-clerks, too, the Table which follows shows that nearly 40% of them had previously been choristers at Durham - and no doubt that percentage would have been greater had the longevity of a relatively small number of lay-clerks been not so great. Some seventy lay-clerks have been identified. Fourteen of these were associated with the choir for at least twenty-five years, and account for 520 of the 1020 lay clerk-years from 1541 to 1643. Clearly leading the service table are Robert Masham (54 years), Nicholas Hobson (53 years), and Miles White (51 years).[3]

ILLUSTRATION 8: ORIGINS OF THE DURHAM LAY-CLERKS, 1541-1650



Compared with his successors Brown had the disadvantage of assuming the position of master of the choristers without any break. To ensure that he was in control required firmness, and this is reflected in Mickleton's assessment that Brown was 'An excellent Master of Musick, a severe man'.[4]

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3 The others are Thomas Humble (41 years), John Rangell (38), Robert Cooper, Thomas Gibson, John Hawkins, and Thomas Knighton (each 35), George Cuthbert [2] (33), John Clark (31), Richard Bell (28), Matthew Telfer (26), and Thomas Fawell (25).

4 Mickleton, MS 32, f.55^{v}; see vol.2, Appendix 1 for factual biographical details.

ROBERT MASTERMAN and WILLIAM SMITH [3]

The editor of *Rites* was of the opinion that Robert Masterman and William Smith [3] acted on behalf of Brown between 1580 and 1598.[5] He concluded this because of Mickleton's assertion that Edward Smith succeeded Brown.[6] He was aware that Brown was named in the Treasurer's book for 1603-4, and claimed that Masterman was in those for 1580-1 and 1588-9, and Smith in those from 1588-9 to 1597-8. Apart from the fact that he was in error in that Brown not Masterman is named in the book for 1580-1, he did not contemplate the possibility of Brown having two spells in the position. Since *Rites* was edited in 1903 more muniments relating to this period have come to light, in particular the Treasurer's summary rolls.[7] There are rolls for all the intervening years of the 1580s except 1585-6, and all name Brown as master of the choristers. As a result, it can be concluded that he was such from November 1576 until September 1588, and again from at the latest September 1599 until at least September 1607.

As for the interim period, it is clear that the Treasurer's book for 1588-9 was drawn up with no name against the heading, 'Master of the Choristers'. That of Robert Masterman, a lay-clerk as well as a former chorister, was inserted during the first quarter. He was paid for three quarters even though William Smith [3], a minor canon and yet another former chorister, took over from him during the third quarter. William Smith is then named in the position without interruption until the account roll for 1598-9 when Brown resumes. There is no reason to suppose that Masterman and Smith were deputies for Brown, for it is their names not his that occur against the position, and they were paid the full salary. Even so, Watkins Shaw has queried whether Brown may have been appointed 'for life', but for reasons unknown 'farmed' the position out and received private payments from Masterman and Smith.[8] This, however,

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5 *Op. cit.*, 298.

6 *Ibid.*, 162.

7 Although scholars of the 1950s and 1960s were unaware of these, Canon Professor S.L. Greenslade, the Dean and Chapter Librarian clearly made use of them in his article 'The Last Monks of Durham Cathedral Priory', *DUJ*, 41 (1949), 107-13.

8 In correspondence, and later in *The Succession of Organists* (1991), 90.

would have been contrary to the Statutes, which required the Master of the Choristers 'to perform his office faithfully in his own person'.[9]

In the absence of a Chapter Act Book for this period, there is no way of telling either why Brown disappeared from the scene for ten years, or whether Masterman's appointment was intended to be of a temporary nature. It may have been, but equally, with Smith already a member of the foundation and Masterman continuing as a lay-clerk after Smith's additional appointment, it could be that Masterman was not equal to the opportunity offered him. Even if he had not been replaced in *c.*June 1589 Masterman would have had to have been shortly afterwards, for in September that year tragedy struck. Both he and his wife died of 'the plage', and some six to nine days later four of their children also succumbed.

Minor canon William Smith [3] who succeeded Masterman was a thoroughly practical musician. It is not known just how old the organ was, but no sooner had he been appointed Master of the Choristers than Smith set about restoring it to good working order. It was not, however, simply a labour of love for he submitted this somewhat ingratiating petition for recompense for his labours:

> To the right worshipfull M^{r} Doctor Pilkington vicedeane And the chapter of Durh^{a}m.
>
> May it please yo^{w} to understand right worshipfull that whereas yo^{w} have one pare of Orgaynes w^{ch} standeth above the Quere doore, & hath not bene played vpon thes many yeres for lacke of mendinge, I have bestowed a weekes labor in mendinge the sownd boord, the wynd stop, the springe wyers, and in tuninge the pipes, so that I have mayd them in good order as now they will much delight bothe the auditorie and the player because they yeld the most principallest and imperiall sound of all the rest. And if it seame strainge unto yo^{r} worshipes that I have tayken in hand to doe it, yo^{w} shall vnderstand that I have had some practise in mindeinge of an Instrument, and also I have geven diligence in markinge men of greater skill that haith bene here in tymes passed when they have been recompensed five markes or fortie shillinges for lesse paynes than I have taken (w^{ch} I referr to the quere) so that now I leve my paynes to yo^{r} good considerations, for because I did not so much seeke after the recompence of

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9 *Statutes*, 143.

> rewarde as I did the excellencie of the Instrumente regarde, and as also that yo^{w} should see my redinesse & good will to indevour my selfe in what soev^{r} I may to profitt o^{r} Churche
>
> Yo^{rs} in whatt soev^{r} he is able
> Willam Smythe pettica'no'.[10]

Chapter was not inattentive to his plea, and on 28 September 1589 paid him thirty shillings for his labours. Nor did Smith allow the organ thereafter to fall into disrepair, for in 1593 a Mr Brough received £12-12s-0d on one occasion and £5 on another for repairing and altering the organs.[11]

The needs of the choir were attended to next, for on 2 December 1589 an allocation of 25s. was made to Robert Cooper 'pro Libris Cant'.[12] It is not clear whether a second payment of 25s. on the same note, in favour of the otherwise unknown D. Dobson, was for the same project. A few years later, in 1596-7, Smith himself received two payments in respect of music books. He was paid forty shillings 'for a sett of singing bookes gylded', and given twenty shillings by Chapter consent 'for a songe booke'. Bearing in mind that paper cost six shillings for ten quires in 1567-8, and that stringing and binding and gilding also had to be paid for, four shillings per book hardly includes the cost of transcribing any contents. In contrast the cost of the solitary book implies that it was full of music. As for the gilded covers, the devices used in the tooling and the state of the leather point to several of them still serving that purpose, though not on their original contents. Such covers are found on MSS C4, C5, C9, and C10, all members of a set of anthem books copied in the 1620s, and also on MS C17, the 1670s replacement for one of the bass members of the same set.[13]

Smith was also mindful of the state of the song school. A bill dated 28 September 1590 shows that 14s-2d had been expended on a new door, making steps, breaking the wall, and attending to the lead

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10 See Misc. Ch. 3198 for the undated petition and the dated payment. The petition is reprinted in *Rolls*, iii, 733.

11 Misc. Chs 3310, and 3327 - *cf.* Misc. Chs 3311, 3326/2 (countersigned by John Philpot, the sacrist), and 3335.

12 Post-Dissolution Loose Papers, Box 25.

13 I am grateful to Dr A.I. Doyle, formerly Keeper of the Rare Books, University of Durham, for the information about the leather and the tooling; see pp.224-34 for an examination of this set of part-books.

guttering on the roof.[14] A new key for its door was obtained in 1593 and again in 1597.[15]

With William Smith [3] serving as master of the choristers and organist, and thus being a known Durham musician, it was assumed, until John Buttrey proved otherwise in 1962,[16] that he was the composer of the Preces and Responses which are still highly regarded, and of the anthems and other matter grouped together on the first forty-one pages of MS A1. In demonstrating that he was not, that those items were composed and transcribed by William Smith [5] in the 1620s and 1630s, Buttrey produced two telling arguments. He pointed out that stylistically the compositions belonged to that later period, not only because of a certain amount of imitativeness of Orlando Gibbons, but also because the range of compositions matched those complained about by Prebendary Peter Smart in 1628.[17] Even more conclusive was his discovery that the way Smith's name was written at the beginning and end of his compositions agreed exactly with the signatures of William Smith [5] in the Treasurer's books of the 1630s.

WILLIAM BROWN (2nd period)

In the Treasurer's roll for 1598-9 the Master of the Choristers is again a William Brown, and his son, also William, is named as one of the choristers. The father signed for both salaries in the Treasurer's book with a signature in no way distinguishable from that of William Brown [1]. This renders unnecessary Conrad Eden's suggestion[18] that the second spell was presided over by a different William Brown from the first. That the second Brown may have belonged to a different family is ruled out by the similarity of the signatures, whilst the possibility of the second Brown being the first's son is not really feasible as the first was aged only about forty-two in 1598, hardly old enough to have a grandson starting as a treble.

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14 Post-Dissolution Loose Papers, Box 25.

15 Misc. Chs 3311, 7111.

16 In 'William Smith of Durham', *Music and Letters* (1962), 248-54.

17 See pp.169-75.

18 C.W. Eden, *Organs and Organists* (1970), 3, 4, and 23.

Brown's return was complemented by the arrival at virtually the same time as John Todd arrived from York to be a minor canon. The overall effect was a widening of the repertoire. This is evident from two references. The sum of five shillings was paid on 21 March 1599/1600

> for a sarvice booke from Yorke' (Treas. book),

and on 15 August 1600 the same John Todd received ten shillings

> for wrytinge certein Antheemes (*ibid.*)[19]

The Treasurer's records confirm that Brown's second spell lasted until at least September 1607. It was terminated not by death, but by his acceptance of an offer from York. That such an offer was made is apparent from two payments to York Minster lay-clerks in the York Fabric Roll which covers the period from [1 January] 1606/7 to [1 January] 1607/8. The first is,

> to M^{r} Barton for playing the Organs in the absence of M^{r} Browne, x[x]s.

the other,

> To M^{r} Morle[y] for his joyrney to Durisme for the Organist there, xxvjs.[20]

Admittedly, the Christian name of the Brown, who was organist at York Minster from 1607 to 1616, is never mentioned in any York muniment, but the evidence in favour of making the connection is strong.

EDWARD SMITH

At Durham Brown was succeeded by Edward Smith,[21] who was already a chorister when Brown resumed in 1598. After his voice broke in 1601 his association with the foundation continued through his election to the place of a King's Scholar. This he occupied until certainly 1605. His family too was well known, for his elder brother, Christopher, had served as a minor canon from 1597 until his death in 1603 at the early age of twenty-seven. The earliest mention of

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19 See pp.267-71, for this and later payments to him for copying music.

20 York MS E3/62/1-2 (Fabric Rolls); *cf.*, *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, ed. by J. Raine (*SS* 35; 1859), 119.

21 See vol.2, Appendix 1, for basic biographical details.

Edward as 'Organess' is in the record of his marriage at St Nicholas's church on 21 October 1608.

On 20 November 1609 Smith submitted a bill for 33s-4d 'pro libris'.[22] As the bill itself is not extant there is no way of telling whether the books were ruled ready for the inclusion of transcriptions, whether they were printed, or indeed whether they were music books at all.

These compositions by Smith are found in the early seventeenth century music manuscripts:

Anthems
If the Lord himself (5 November)
O Lord consider my distress
O Lord my God to thee I do complain
O praise God in his holiness

Preces and Festal Psalms
Blessed are those that are undefiled (All Saints)
Let my complaint (All Saints)

From the wording of the heading in some Durham manuscripts it is implied that a further festal psalm, 'O Lord our governor', is by Smith, but elsewhere it is found as an anthem by John Mundy. It cannot be determined whether the items associated with particular occasions were composed with them in mind, or whether they were deemed appropriate by those responsible for the compilation of the choir books in the 1620s and 1630s. 'O praise God in his holiness' makes a certain amount of noise, but is musically dull. It is in the key of C, and only once in *c*.100 bars does it modulate, and that to G. The bass part is nearly all tonics, mediants, and dominants.

For a while the thought persisted that the composer of, for instance, 'O Lord consider', which is one of the group of anthems 'added later' to MS C4,[23] might have been a slightly later Edward Smith, possibly even the organist's son, born after his death. The time factor and the failure to find any other member of the foundation with that name has resulted in the idea being abandoned.

Smith's early demise appears to have taken Chapter by surprise, for some eighteen months elapsed before the post was effectively filled. The date given for his burial (4 February 1611/12) conflicts with that of his will (10 February 1611/12). The originals of both

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22 Treas. Book, 1609-10, f.20.

23 See pp.226 and 232.

documents have been examined, and there are no grounds for supposing that a digit has either been erased or added. The will, moreover, is signed by Smith himself, but in a far from steady hand. John Todd and Richard Jackson, minor canons, were among those witnessing it. Among those receiving bequests were his father (his best cloak), his surviving brother John - Christopher and Richard were already dead - his nephew William, and a child about to be born. Nephew William was none other than Willam Smith [5], and in view of his later reputation on the keyboard it is significant that he was left Edward's 'best clarigandes'. This instrument is presumably the same as the virginal which was valued at 40s. in the inventory of Edward's possessions.

FRANCIS DODGSON

It is at this point, after the death of Edward Smith, that Mickleton asserts that a certain Dodgson acted as Master of the Choristers for 'about a year and a half'.[24] The Treasurer's Book for 1612-13 is extant, but it records neither a name nor payments against the position. Silent too is the Visitation schedule for 13 June 1613.[25] However, a thorough examination of the Treasurer's book resulted in the discovery, on the pastedown inside of the back cover, of this series of five 'payments':

> Lent to Mr. Dodshon pro termino nativitatis, dec 9 1612, 50s.
>
> Lent to him the same, 33s-4d.
>
> Jan 25 1612[/13] Lent to Mr Dodson upo~ Mr Rangell word and promisse to see it repayed at the end of the quarter yf it be not allowed at ye quarter day the ... iiijl. iijs. 4d. *[sic]* John Rangell
>
> Jun 17 1613 Lent to Mr Dodson for midsumer, iiijl. iijs. 4d.
>
> Lent to Mr Dodshon for michelmas Sept 4 1613, iiijl. iijs. 4d.

The payments cover the period from 29 September 1612 to 29 September 1613. Their purpose is not specified, but the fact that John Rangell, one of the lay-clerks, guaranteed that the third sum, paid

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24 Mickleton, MS 32, f.55^{v}; *cf.*, *Rites*, 162.

25 Reg. 8, f.279^{rv}.

as early as 25 January 1612/13 would be repaid 'if it be not allowed at the quarter day', prompted an examination of the amounts. At £16-13s-4d the total is exactly equal to the combined basic salary of the master of the choristers (£10) and a lay-clerk (£6-13s-4d). Support for such a dichotomy is afforded by the two payments on 9 December. These are listed as 50s. and 33s-4d, sums which are quarters of the respective salaries. That this is not just a convenient coincidence may be concluded from the fact that even after a new master of the choristers had been appointed a 'Frauncis Dodshon' was listed and paid as a lay-clerk. He is named in that capacity in the accounts covering the period from September 1613 until September 1617, but is not included in the Visitation schedule for 28 July 1618. It would therefore appear that Dodgson had no security of tenure as master of the choristers, but was merely helping out until an appointment was made. Mickleton may well be right about the length of time, for with no records surviving for 1611/12 it is not possible to ascertain how soon after Edward Smith's untimely demise in February 1611/12 Dodgson took over.

Even if the delay in making a permanent appointment was because Chapter's attempts to persuade someone - possibly even Brown - were not meeting with success, that Dodgson should have been called upon to act in even a temporary capacity is demanding of an investigation. Like Edward Smith before him he was a former chorister, but in his case of thirty years previously, for his name occurs in the records from 1580 to 1584. What is surprising is that Dodgson should have been chosen to deputize rather than a more recent or even current member of the choir.

This surprise is increased by the discovery that Dodgson could have been brought back to Durham from Southwell. During an exchange of correspondence in 1989 Dr H. Watkins Shaw mentioned that in the Southwell records the notice of the burial of a Francis Dodgson on 7 December 1622 described him as 'organist of Southwell'.[26] An examination of the Southwell archives failed to discover any date for his appointment to that position, though it was observed that Edward Manestie, who had been appointed organist and master of the choristers on 6 April 1596, was buried on 21 August 1617. Although

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26 Information now included in, Watkins Shaw, *A Succession of Organists*, 275. The original Register is not extant.

it has already been mentioned that Dodgson was paid as a Durham lay-clerk until 29 September 1617, that date, a Quarter Day, is somewhat arbitrary. Singers could start after a Quarter Day or finish some time before one but be paid in full as a gesture of goodwill. It is therefore not inconceivable, especially as the name is not as common as 'William Smith', that only one Francis Dodgson is involved.

The queried Southwell connection in its turn poses problems, for the Southwell Act Books and Register point to the Dodgsons being a Southwell family. Most telling is the fact that Francis, the son of William, was baptized on 7 March 1567/8. On 2 January 1589/90 William took out a forty-year lease on a cottage and garden,[27] and Francis, described as a yeoman, took this over on 29 December 1607.[28] In an undated late 16th / early 17th century list of members of the foundation a further Dodgson, Thomas, is described as verger.[29] Francis does not occur among the list of lay-vicars, neither do the Act Books refer to his appointment as such. In view of all this, the first problem is how someone admittedly of the right age - he was just twelve at the time - born in Southwell should come to be a chorister at Durham, especially as the rest of the family does not appear to have left Southwell. Possibly, a Durham prebendary or minor canon had Southwell connections. In this respect it must be mentioned that a Richard Farbeck was a chorister at Durham (*c*.1576-82) and a minor canon (1590-3), and that a Richard Farbeck was a vicar choral of Southwell and held livings in that area from 1597 until his death in 1617.

The second problem is how Dodgson came to be aware that Edward Smith had died unexpectedly. Again, one explanation is that someone with Durham connections had a living in the Southwell area. This would also explain how he returned to Southwell so soon after the death of the organist there. Another possible explanation, especially as his spell as Master of the Choristers at Durham was at best only probationary, is that he had arrived in Durham hoping to obtain a position as a lay-clerk only to find that there was a more responsible position which needed covering.

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27 Southwell MS 9, p.430.

28 Southwell MS 10, p.194; his father had been buried on 18 July 1591.

29 Bur. 29 March 1617.

The period of uncertainty at Durham was brought to an end round about September 1613[30] by the appointment of Richard Hutchinson as the Master of the Choristers and Organist. A chorister from 1600 to 1607, he was a native of Durham. What is not clear is why he had not been appointed earlier. One explanation is that he was turned to only after it became apparent that Dodgson had not the necessary skills. Another is that Hutchinson was the original choice, but either had an apprenticeship to complete or needed time to regain his proficiency on the keyboard.

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30 That Misc. Ch. 5916 covers the period beginning in September 1613 is my own dating. It is based particularly on a comparison of the choristers named in it with those who signed for their salaries in the Treasurer's Books for 1612-13 and 1614-15. Misc. Ch. 5916 lists the same boys in the same order as the Book for 1612-13, but replaces Swinhoe and Wanless after the first quarter. It also indicates that a replacement for Watkins was at least in the wings for the third quarter. The book for 1614-15 starts with the new team and lists it in order of seniority. See also vol. 2, pp.174-5.

CHAPTER 4

THE ENRICHMENT OF WORSHIP

THE SMART-COSIN CONTROVERSY

The period during which Richard Hutchinson presided over the choristers was one of considerable activity. The first event of note took place in 1617 when James I visited Durham on his way to Scotland and attended Holy Communion on Easter Day. In connection with the royal visit Thomas Coates was paid 20s. for tuning the organ,[1] but the King expressly commanded that at the service there was to be no chanting by the choirmen and no playing on the organ or other instruments.[2] A payment of 38s-2d was made 'For ringinge the bells and other things at the kings cominge', and there were also payments for the ringing of bells on 5 August and 5 November.[3] The last payment has been crossed out, probably because the payment properly belonged to the financial year 1617-18 rather than because the bells were not rung after all.[4]

The year 1619 marked the beginning of John Cosin's association with and influence on the cathedral and diocese Durham. Appointed in the first instance as a chaplain to Bishop Neile, he so commended himself that he was soon deemed worthy of a more influential position. On 4 December 1624 he became a prebendary of the cathedral, being collated to the Tenth Stall. Sincere and conscientious in his duties, he quickly demonstrated that he was a

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1 Treas. Book, 1616-17, f.20.

2 Peter Smart, *A Short Treatise of Altars* (1629), 19, point 20, marginal note. The date of publication is incorrect, for 1641 occurs on p.[3], and in the Introduction Smart mentions that he had written it before he was 'expeled, deprived, degraded, and imprisoned for the space of twelve years'.

3 Treas. Book, 1616-17, ff.20, 20, 22. Just as 5 November was the anniversary of an attempt on James I's life, so too 5 August was the anniversary of the Gowrie conspiracy, an earlier attempt, which took place in 1600. For the Gowrie conspiracy, see A. Fraser, *King James, VI of Scotland, I of England* (1974), 70-4.

4 It also shows that there was some delay in starting the account book for the year commencing on 29 September 1618.

leader and not a follower. His influence was most apparent in the embellishment of the daily form of worship, and in particular its musical content. His sympathies lay with the High Church movement, sometimes known as Arminianism, indeed he was very much the arch-disciple of Archbishop Laud. Cosin first laid himself open to attack by the very title of *A Collection of Private Devotions or The Houres of prayer*. This he compiled in 1627, at the request of King Charles I, for use by the English ladies in attendance on Henrietta Maria, Charles's Roman Catholic queen.[5]

At Durham too Cosin's actions did not meet with the approbation of all his colleagues. Diametrically opposed to his views were those of Peter Smart, the senior Prebendary and a former Headmaster of the Dean and Chapter's grammar school.[6] Smart was of the Genevan school of thought, and no lover of ornate worship. As 'one of His Majesties High Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical in the Province of York'[7] he had no doubt endeavoured to counter-act Cosin's many innovations, but without success. Matters came to a head on 27 July 1628 when Smart preached his infamous sermon on the text 'I have hated them that hold of superstitious vanities'.[8] In this, possibly in desperation, he over-reached himself, for in inveighing against the recent changes to the pattern of worship in Durham Cathedral, he could not avoid attacking those who had introduced them. Although in the sermon he named no names and went no further than alluding to 'Our young Apollo'[9] the targets of his displeasure were Bishop Neile and his chaplains Cosin, Augustine Lindsell, Francis Burgoine, Eleazar Duncon, and [Ferdinand] Moorcroft.[10] Not only Cosin but all the other chaplains were Smart's fellow prebendaries, and such a public outburst could not be overlooked. They met that afternoon not as Chapter but as members of the High Commission, and instructed him to apologize. He refused, and was suspended.

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5 *Cos. Cor*, i, pp.x *et seq*.

6 Headmaster, 1597-1610; Prebendary, 1609-30 and 1641-9.

7 Petition to Parliament, 3 November 1640, point 14.

8 Ps. 31, v.7 - is v.6 in modern psalters.

9 *Sermon*, 24.

10 See *A Short Treatise of Altars* (1629), preface pp.[2, 8], and MS Rawl. D.821, ff.4, 5, 8, 108. It is surprising that the contemporary Act Book of the Dean and Chapter is devoid of any reference to the altercation.

Now is not the occasion to investigate the removal of Smart's preferments, his degradation from Holy Orders, his excommunication on 2 September 1630, the fine of £700 imposed upon him and his imprisonment for eleven years, or his petition to Parliament on 3 November 1640 followed by his successful prosecution of Cosin and restoration.[11] The sermon itself,[12] however, and the charges and counter-charges made over the ensuing thirteen years are fields deserving examination, for they are rich in information about the nature of the worship offered in Durham cathedral in the 1620s.[13]

Smart attacked the proliferation of candles, the wearing of vestments, the introduction of statues and images, the practice of reverencing the altar, the very use of the word 'altar', Cosin's general conduct, and various musical matters. His standpoint, like that of those of the same persuasion in the 1560s,[14] was that

> ... if religion consist in Altar-ducking, Cope-wearing, Organ-playing, piping and singing.
>
> Crossing of chushions and kissing of clouts, oft starting up and squatting downe, nodding of heads, and whirling about, till their noses stand Eastward
>
> ... *without doubt there is no religion in that Church* (*Sermon*, 23)

That his statement was not a generalization but was directed specifically at Durham he makes clear by saying,

> Our young *Apollo* repaireth the quire, and sets it gayly with strange Babylonish ornaments; the hallowed Priests daunce about the Altar, making pretty sport, and fyne pastimes, with trippings, and turnings, and crossings, and crouchings ... (*Sermon*, 24)

As for the extent of the musical intrusion which displeased him it is ranged over in one paragraph:

> 9: ... you have built a new payre of gorgius organes, which have cost at least 700li, which you command to be

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11 *Cf.*, *High Comm.*, 198-250, and Peter Smart, *Canterburies Crueltie* (1643). Cosin presented his answers to Smart's charges on 28 May 1541, and was impeached on 15 March 1641/2.

12 The 1628 and 1640 editions both erroneously give the date as 7 July. One of the copies in the Dean & Chapter Library - I.VII.87 - has added to it, *A briefe, but true historicall Narration of some notorious Acts and Speeches of Mr. Iohn Cosens, and some other of his companions contracted into Articles*

13 *Cos. Cor.*, i, 155; *High Comm.*, 198; P.H. Osmond, *A Life of John Cosin* (1913), 57 and 90.

14 See pp.138-40.

> played upon not only at the 6 o'clock prayer in the morning (whereby you have driven away from the church all schollars and artificers, which were wont to frequent that morning prayer, when it was short, and playnly said, so that they might understand it) but you also injoyne the organist to play upon the same organs, all the tyme that both the sacraments of Baptisme and the Holy Communion are administred (*Cos. Corr.*, i, 167, Item 9)[15]

This brief survey is then expanded in paragraphs of which the following are representative:

> 7 Seventhly, he hath divided the Morning Service into two parts, the 6. of clocke Service, which used to bee read onely and not sung: hee chaunts with Organs, Shackbuts and Cornets which yield an hydeous noyse, and makes that Service, which was scarce one quarter of an houre long before, one houre and an halfe at least: and this hee calls Mattens. The second Service at 10, of the clocke hee calls Masse, which consists of Epistles and Gospels, the 10 Commandments, and the Nicene Creed, which are onely to be read on Sondayes and Holydayes, by the order in the Common Prayer Booke. (back of *Sermon*, *cf.*, *High Comm.*, 220)
>
> 8 Eighthly, hee enjoynes all the people to stand up at the Nicene Creed ... which he commands to bee sung with Organs, Shackbuts, and Cornets, and all other instruments of Musicke, which were used at the Consecration of NABVCHADONOZERS golden Image, (unfit Instruments for Christian Churches where men come for to pray, and not for to chaunt, or heare a sound or consort of they know not what) ... (*ibid.*; *cf.*, *Sermon*, 19, also *Cos. Corr.*, i, 183, Item 16)
>
> 9 Ninthly, hee hath turned most of the Service into Piping, and singing, so that the people understand it not no more then they doe Greeke or Hebrew: ... Hee will not suffer so much as the holy Communion to be administered without an hydeous noyse of vocall and instrumentall Musicke (the tunes whereof are all taken out of the Masse-booke:) ... (*ibid.*)

and

> 11. Neither rest they contented with the horrible prophanitation of the Lords Supper, with immoderate chaunting, and Organ-playing, and with other superstitious vanities; but the Sacrament of Baptisme also, they will not suffer it to be administred, without an heideous noise of musick, both of voyces and instruments ...
>
> In the meane time [on 7 September 1628] while one of the Prebendaries baptized the child, which is a

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15 This part of *Cosin's Correspondence* is quoting the Articles sent by Smart to Bishop Harsnett.

> principall part of Divine [Evening] Service,[16] two Prebendaries remaining in the Quire, commanded the Organist to play, and the Quire-men, and boyes to sing the rest of the Service, at the same instant that the Sacrament was administered, with such a noise, that they could not heare one another at the Font ... (*Treatise*, 9)

Although the manner in which Smart made his original attack cannot be condoned, and although how one reacts to Smart's point of view will depend upon the reader's own churchmanship, yet the scene he depicted was accurately portrayed.

The installation of the new organ to which Smart refers was on 15 November 1621 described as 'lateley begunne'. Its cost was met not by Chapter but by Dean Hunt. Chapter, however, on 16 March 1621/2, did grant the Dean the lease of Bywell St Peter for twenty-one years so that its revenue could be offset against 'buyledinge the newe organe at my onley charge'. Just over two months later, on 27 May, the Bishop was granted 'one of y^{e} lesser Organes in the Church and he to make choice of the said organe'.[17] Richard Hutchinson, adjudged by Mickleton - or rather by his sources - to be a brilliant organist, responded to the challenge offered by the new instrument, so much so that added to those remunerated in the Treasurer's books was 'a boy at the hand of the organist'. A Chapter Minute for 3 April 1627 makes it clear that this youth was responsible for

> turninge over the orgaine booke, upon Mr. Hutchinson playeth on the orgaines.[18]

It has generally been supposed that the role of the cornetts and sackbuts was to double the treble and bass parts played by the organ. Professor David Greer, however, has pointed out that this would have resulted in a bare hollow sound. To obviate this effect he has queried whether the cornetts may have played the treble and counter-tenor parts, the sackbuts, the tenor and bass.[19] In the absence of any of the parts they played from the question must remain unresolved.

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16 It took place after the second Lesson - so *Cos. Corr.*, i, 182, Item 15.

17 For the three references to the organs see Act Book 2, ff.10, 17^{v}, and 23.

18 *Ibid.*, f.49^{v}.

19 The point was made in conversation. For more about these instruments see pp.193-5.

Returning to Smart's quotation, it is not clear whether the expression 'a multitude of melodious instruments' is synonymous with 'organs, sackbuts, and cornetts' or whether viols and other instruments may have been used as well. Elsewhere Smart does mention a wider variety of instruments, but his statement may be nothing more than an instance of hyperbole:

> 5 ... especially the horrible profanation of both the sacraments with all manner of musick, both instrumentall, and vocall, so lowde that the Ministers could not be heard, what they said, ... with fluits, and bag-pipes; with tymbrells and tabers ... (*Cos. Corr.*, i, 165)

There are no references to viols in the muniments, nor for that matter in any of the contemporary parish registers, wills or inventories which have been examined. The Cathedral Register does record the burial on 12 April 1627 of Robert Greenwell, a lutenist, but there is nothing to associate him with the music of the cathedral. When John Foster, Hutchinson's successor as master of the choristers and organist, died in 1677 he had an organ, three virginals, a dulcimer, two bass viols, two violins, and a 'Cittraine'. The organ and the virginal apart,[20] however, there is no way of determining whether he had received instruction on any of those instruments whilst a chorister in the 1630s.

Smart's criticisms were not confined to the instruments of music. Also incurring his displeasure was the music sung by the choir:

> Lastly, why forbid they the singing of Psalmes in such a tune [*i.e.*, in metre],[21] as all the people may sing with them, and praise God together, before and after Sermons, as by authority is allowed, and heretofore hath been practised both here and in all reformed churches? How dare they, in stead of Psalmes, appoint Anthems (little better then prophane Ballads some of them) I say, so many Anthems to be sung, which none of the people understand, nor all the singers themselves ... (*Sermon*, 19-20; *cf.*, *Cos. Corr.*, i, 183-4, Item 16, and 166, Item 8)
>
> 6: For prohibiting Psalms to be sung in metre, and procuring songs and anthems to be sung of the Three Kings of Cullen [Cologne] ... (*High Comm.*, 224, Art 6 sent from Commons to Lords 1641)
>
> 9: He hath brought meere ballads and Jigs into the church, and commanded them to bee sung for Anthems: and,

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20 See p.184.

21 The bracketed insertion is Smart's.

> among many others, the three Kings of Colen [Cologne], IASPER, MELCHIOR, and BALTHASER. (back of *Sermon*, part of 9)
>
> On the fast day after Easter last, he commanded the last prayer at the end of the Communion, to be sung with the Organes as an Anthem, so that no man could understand one word ... (*ibid.*)

For Smart then the singing of the Psalms in metre by all the people was more satisfying than the far from intelligible renderings by the choir. For him the Creed at Communion and the Collects were parts of the service designed to be said and not offered up as anthems. As for what was a legitimate anthem, he had strong views about that too, feeling that its text should be drawn from the Bible, hence his objections to the 'Three Kings of Cologne'.[22]

Such was Smart's position. Cosin, for his part, in his defence claimed that:

> The singing of the metre psalms was never forbidden, by him or any other (that he knoweth) in that church, where he used daily tosing them himself (as in other places his custom is to do) with the people assembled at six o'clock morning prayer. But as to the singing of them before and after the sermon (which is always there preached in the quire) the use was long before him coming thither, and is so still afore the sermon to sing the Creed, (as the Book of Common Prayer by law doth appoint), and after the sermon to sing an anthem or hymn, which that the people might the better know what was at any time sung, was always publickly declared by one of the quire-men, out of which psalm (being many times a metre psalm) or other part of Scripture, or the Book of Common Prayer, the same was taken. (*High Comm.*, 225-6, Cosin's reply to Art 6 before Parliament in 1641)

As for the particular anthem mentioned by Smart, Cosin replied that

> The anthem the Kings of Colen (as in the impeachment it is called) was never sung, since defendant came to be prebendary, nor (as he hath been informed) in the memory of man before, and it is not like to be sung hereafter, for at his first coming to be chosen treasurer (about 14 years ago)[*i.e.*, *c.*1627] he caused the said anthem to be razed and cut out of the old song book belonging to the quire, and the common school of the choristers, where it had remained all the time Mr. Smart had been both schoolmaster and prebendary before. Defendant hath

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22 There was a tradition that the Wise Men set out from Cologne in their search for the infant Jesus. According to *Rites* (p.47) the scene was depicted in monastic times in the central light of a window in the west wall of the Galilee chapel.

> frequently shewed his dislike of singing any anthem which is not part of the Scriptures or a hymn publicly allowed by authority (*ibid.*)

In view of Cosin's alleged action, it is not surprising that that anthem is not to be found in any of the music manuscripts. All one can do is query whether its text might in any way have been related to the following six lines which are recorded in the private notebook of Elias Smith (minor canon, 1628-76):

> Three kings unto the king of kings 3 gifts did bring
> Myrrhe, incense, gold, as unto man god king
> Three holy gyftts be like wise given by thee
> To Christ, even such as acceptable bee.
> For Myrrhe bring teares, for Frankincense impart
> Submissive prayers, for pure gold a pure hart.
> (Hunter MS 125, p.133)

On the page in question Smith states 'These verses are extant in y^{e} principall Church of y^{e} citty of Collon', and he gives them in Latin as well as in English. Speculation that they may even be the text of the anthem is increased by the inclusion in the notebook of 'The Blessed lambe' (p.105), another non-Biblical anthem. Edmund Hooper's setting of this text as an anthem is still extant in the survivors of a set of Durham part-books dating from the 1630s.[23] That Smith was transcribing the text of this anthem and not just that of a religious poem is confirmed by the inclusion of the words 'vers' and 'cho:' at the appropriate points.[24]

Although no book survives from which the anthem 'Three Kings of Cologne' might have been cut, the cathedral does hold one of the major collections of early seventeenth century music manuscripts. Included in those manuscripts are choral settings of some of the psalms, of the Nicene Creed, and of many of the Collects special to each Sunday and Feast Day of the church's year. All of these aspects detested by Smart adopted the popular contemporary Baroque format of extensive sections for solo voices, with short, often recapitulative, sections for the full choir. Conspicuous among the writers of these 'verse' anthems are Richard Hutchinson (the organist), John Geeres and Henry Palmer (lay-clerks), and William

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23 MSS C2, C3, C7 (1st fascicle), and C14.

24 This has been checked against MS C1:104-6, a Medius (= treble) part-book.

Smith [5] (minor canon).[25] Of these, Hutchinson stands apart, for he did not set any Collects, and his anthems are of a personal contemplative nature. The other three, however, clearly responded to the impetus injected by Cosin, and William Smith particularly so. A former chorister and lay-clerk, and an expert keyboard exponent, Smith copied nearly all of his compositions onto the first forty-one pages of organ book MS A1. Even a cursory examination of those compositions prompts the feeling that Smith's musical activities could well have been upmost in Smart's mind, for Kyries, Gospel Sentences, and Creeds, Preces and Festal Psalms, and the most extreme of verse anthems with Collects as their texts, are all there. Smith's second setting of the Nicene Creed must have been particularly offensive, for probably only the final 'Amen' was sung by all the choir.[26] But Cosin's defence is also true in the case of Smith's compositions, for the texts of all his anthems were drawn from either the Psalms, the metrical psalms, other parts of the Bible, or the Book of Common Prayer. In the case of Candlemas, the First Sunday in Lent, Ascension, and the Conversion of St Paul, Smith made use of the Collects for the day.

Cosin had also indicated earlier that Smart's statement about the musical content of services was exaggerated. In a letter dated 16 January 1630/1 and sent to Eleazar Duncon, a fellow Prebendary, Cosin and Lindsell stated that the Creeds and Anthem-psalms were not sung apart from on Sundays, and then not on every Sunday. Adding their names in support of this, were William James (another Prebendary) William Smith (described as Sacrist), and Richard Hutchinson (described as Organist).[27]

Smith is not named in any of Smart's printed works, but there is one specific reference to him in one his notebooks. In it Smart writes,

> If the house of God were ever made a theatricall stage for the people to heare and see playes acted therin, the Cath: church of Durha~ is such an one at this tyme,

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25 Elias Smith has been disregarded as he was not sworn as a minor canon until about a week after Smart's Sermon. His solitary anthem, 'How is the gold become dim', was inspired by the execution of Charles I and consequently does not belong to this period.

26 MSS A1:6-9, C8:192-3, C13^{v}:89, and Ella:336.

27 *Cos. Corr.*, i, 200-2.

> especially when the sacraments are admynistred, w^{ch} if St Jerome were now alyve to heare and see, when M^{r}. Burgoyne, M^{r}. Cosyn, Smyth, and Leonards in theire Babalonish and pybald vestments are the Actors with theyr glittryng picturs, and histronicall gestures, with all the confused voyces of the singing-men and quoristers with a multitude of melodious instruments, no doubt but Jerome would say, that the wicked spiritt cast out of Saule is entred into Cosyn and his fellow-singers, pipers, ~~tobacconists and drunkards~~ [*sic*] ... (MS Rawl. D.1364, ff.8-9^{v})[28]

Of the efforts of composers, instrumentalists, and singers Smart then was quite unappreciative. His reference to the evil spirit which had left King Saul showed that he regarded their offering in much the same way that Elijah viewed the dancing, shouting, and raving prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel. Tame in comparison are remarks such as,

> Choristers, and singing-men, and parti-coloured Cope-wearers, *fremunt*, they shout and cry, and make most sweet *Apollinian* harmony. (*Sermon*, 24)

> And though our Leiturgy be not in Latine, yet order is taken by reason of the confusednesse of voices some squeaking, some blating, some roaring, and thundering with a multitude of melodious instruments that the greatest part of the service, is no better understood, then if it were in Hebrew or Irish. (*Sermon*, 24; *cf.*, *High Comm.*, 235, Ans. 13.ii)

It is one thing to criticize the mode of worship and the music sung by the choir, another to be disparaging of the reputations of the members of the choir and of the behaviour of one of his colleagues. Wisely, Smart did not commit this attack to print, it occurs in the same private notebook. He remarks,

> ... As for some of our quire-men of Durham more notable drunkards then whom no Cath. church of England hath, they sitt night and day quaffyng and carousing in Alehouses and tavernes ... Silly person among such, renowned John Cosyn delytess Is to be, with his tobacco-pipe, and to chant with them all day long, in comparison of whom he cares not for preachers, for he sayd before his Lord and many others, that he had rather goe 40 myles to a good service then 2 myles to a sermon. (MS Rawl. D.1364, ff.8-9^{v}; *cf.*, *Cos. Corr.*, i, 185, Item 17)

The evidence concerning what was happening at Durham is not just confined to the broadsides fired by the two antagonists. How two

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28 Leonard, like Smith, was a minor canon. He had been brought from Windsor on account of the quality of his voice - see vol.2, pp.79-80.

adult members of the choir felt about the innovations is on record too.[29] Added to the copy of *Canterburies Crueltie* in the possession of Trinity College, Cambridge,[30] are a number of testimonies Smart thought fit to include. One of these was by Richard Hutchinson, who is described as 'Singing-man and Organist of Durham'. Summoned by Parliament in 1628, Hutchinson arrived after Parliament had been dissolved on Tuesday, 16 March. Before he returned to Durham, he put in writing the evidence he would have offered. His detailed description of what happened during services merits quoting in its entirety.

> [1.] In former times, the six a clock prayers was read according to the Statutes in a convenient place, so that all Gentlemen and Tradesmen came to it, where they did reade and sing Psalmes, every one understanding another, what was said or sung.
>
> 2. But after a controversie fell betwixt the Deane and M. *Cosin*, that the one will have it in the Quire, and the other in the older prayer stead, where formerly it hath been used.
>
> 3. It was ordered betwixt them that Prayers should bee sung in the Quire, after the same forme, that we have our ten a clock service from the beginnins [*sic*] unto the ending wirh [*sic*] two Lessons read.
>
> 4. And all the whole members to come in with their gowns and surplices.
>
> 5. But not halfe so many of the Town as did use when prayers were read as formerly have been used.
>
> 6. Then for our ten a clock Service we were commanded to begin with the ten Commandements, and with the Epistle and Gospel, Creed and Anthem, with the Collects after, and so an end, for Munday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saterday.
>
> 7. On Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, to begin with the Letany, the ten Commandements, the Epistle and Gospel, Creed.
>
> 8. Then the Sermon, and after an Anthem, the Collect, and an end.

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29 I am grateful to Nicholas Heppel, a student (1990-1) at the Durham University Centre for Seventeenth Century Studies for drawing my attention to their testimonies as quoted in *Hierugia Anglicana, Documents and Extracts Illustrative of the Ceremonial of the Anglican Church after the Reformation*, 3v., ed. by V. Staley (1902-4).

30 By Peter Smart (1643).

> 9. So that before and after Sermons and Lectures we have had of late no Psalmes but all Anthems, and many of the ditties neither in the Bible nor Communion book.
>
> 11. [*sic*] And every Sunday two or three Copes worne.
>
> 12. And for the order of the Communion, when they come first to the Communion Table, at the entring of the door every one doth make a low congie[31] to the Altar, and so takes their place.
>
> 13. And then the Priest goeth up to the Table, and there he makes a low congie.
>
> 14. Taketh up the bason, and maketh a low congie.
>
> 15. He goeth to all the Communicants, the Quire excepted, and taketh the offerings in that bason; he goeth up to the Table, maketh a congie, and setteth down the bason.
>
> 16. Then he goeth to the end of the Table, and beginneth the exhortation, and goeth on until he commeth at *Lift up your hearts*, that he singeth, and the quire answereth, singing in strange tunes, so far as the Priest and the Answer goeth: then for the rest, one of the Priests reads some part of it at the end of the Table.
>
> 17. And another sitting on his knees at the middle of the Table, and after the prefaces the priest begins, *Therefore with Angels and Archangels*, until he come to the three holies, and then the quire singeth untill the end of that: so in order hee doth administer the Communion.[32]

Although Hutchinson's evidence does not say that the choir sang the Responses to the Commandments or Creeds, the contemporary manuscripts contain something in the order of twenty settings of each, and also a setting of the Sentences after the Gospel. On the other hand, the only composer setting a Sursum Corda or Sanctus was John Foster.[33] He was active in the 1630s and again after the Restoration, but at the time of Smart's original outburst in 1628 he had not even started out as a chorister. Although the copyist responsible for transcribing the items into Durham MSS C1, C4, C5, C7 and C10 has neither been assigned a date nor identified, that the items were composed by 1640 is apparent from the Dunnington-

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31 A variant of 'congee', that is, a bow or reverence.

32 Pp. 26-7 of the additions to the Trinity College, Cambridge, copy of *Canterburies Crueltie*; *cf.*, *Hierugia Anglicana*, ii, 226-7.

33 Chorister, ←1630-8→; master of the choristers, from Christmas 1660 until his death in 1677; see vol.2, Appendix 1.

Jefferson MS, a Durham exile now deposited in York Minster Library.[34]

> In like manner our Altar-worshippers, bow their bodies downe to the ground to the Altar standing on the earth, directly before their faces, yet they say they make legs to God, and to Christ, not to the altar, then which, what can be more absurd? ... To teach the Coristers, going up to the Altar, to make legs to God, when they light the Tapers, and when they have done them, to goe backwards with their faces to the East, and looking on the Altar, make legs againe to God; at every approaching neere it, and every departing from it, at the taking up, or setting downe of any thing upon the Altar, ever and anon to make a low curtsie ... is vain, superstitious, and Idolatrous. (*Treatise*, 13-14; *cf.*, *Hierugia Anglicana*, ii, 105-6)

A 'congie' or 'low legs' was not, as might be supposed, the act of genuflecting but a gravity-defying bow which in Hutchinson's eyes was both demeaning and ridiculous:

> D. Cosin dishonoured and reviled Christian people in the Church, yet he made low legs to the Altar, so low that his breech was higher than his head, as was proved before the Lords in Parliament. (*Treatise*, 15, marginal note; *cf.*, *Hierugia Anglicana*, ii, 105-6).

Where Hutchinson's evidence was secured within a year of Smart's infamous outburst from the pulpit, that of Nicholas Hobson was obtained some fourteen years later when the wheel had turned and Smart was in the process of being re-habilitated. Possibly not all that surprisingly, Nicholas Hobson, that doyen of lay-clerks, who claimed he was aged about ninety-two[35] when his testimony was set down in writing on 14 May 1642, was not over-enthusiastic in what he had to say. He swore to the veracity of his testimony on 12 June 1642. Less than three weeks later he was dead. His testimony is long, and full of interesting details relating to the furnishings and customs as he contrasts what Cosin had introduced with what had prevailed from the 1570s onwards.

> Whereas I *Nicholas Hobson* was by vertue of a Warrant from the right honourable Lords in Parliament assembled, summoned to appeare to attest my knowledge for the proofe of the Impeachment against Doctor *Cosins*, and others on M. *Smarts* behalfe, depending before their Lordships; I

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34 For details of this manuscript, see pp.250-4.

35 Hobson's memory deceived him. As he was still a chorister in 1580, it is unlikely that he was born before 1560. That being so, in 1641, his age was at the most eighty-one.

having attended now above these seven months, and not able in respect of my age and infirmities to contine my attendance any longer have set downe this my answer to every Article in the Impeachment, upon my oath under my hand as followeth.

1. To the first Article I say, that after the death of Bishop *Iames,* Doctor *Neale* comming to be Bishop of Durham, the Communion Table was taken away, and a stone Altar (commonly so called) set up at the East-end of the Chancel on Columnes with many Cherubins thereon, and a carved skreene curiously gilded by the then Deane and Prebendaries, to which Altar there was frequent bowings, which bowings did much increase after D. *Cosins* came to be Prebend there. And I having beene a member of that Church about sixty yeeres before the erection of the said Altar, nor knew, saw, or heard of any bowings towards the Communion Table there, but after it was set up it hath beene continued with the bowings, Ceremonies and other perquisites thereunto belonging, by the joynt consent and approbation of the Deane and Prebends of the said Church for the time being (M. *Smart* excepted) for ought I heard, onely D. *Cosins* was the most strictly, and violently Ceremonious of all the rest.

In the second Article, which is less relevant to the present analysis, Hobson speaks out about three copes. He mentions how two, one with a picture of the Trinity on the back, the other with a crucifix, had been cut up and used as covers for cushions. The third, which is said to have cost £200, was sent to the Queen's Chapel. He then moves on in the third Article to show how he personally had been affected by the changes in the nature of the early service.

3. To the third I say, That D. *Cosins* was the principall man that made the alteration mentioned in the morning Prayer, and a new solemne service to be sung at 6. of the clock in the morning, to which both my selfe and other Members of the said Church were compelled to come by D. *Cosins*, and amerced by him with consent of the others for default therein, which for my owne part I was so afraid of, that my course being come to reade the first Lesson, I arose at twelve o'clock one night (supposing it had chimed foure) and sate at the Church doore untill it was five, for which my long and weary watch D. *Cosins* had my prayers for the new tricks he had brought in amongst:

The fourth Article refers to pictures and statues, and the fifth to the great increase in the number of candles used about the cathedral, particularly at the Feast of Candelmas, the Feast of the Purification of Blessed Mary the Virgin (2 February). This day ranked highly with Smart's adversaries, for by the late 1630s William Smith [5], Henry Palmer, and John Geeres had all used its

Collect as the text for one of their verse anthems. Included in Hobson's observations on the use of candles is the statement, 'though I have been a member of that Church about 80. years'. This number, which accords well with his erroneous estimate of his age, corresponds roughly with his remark in the first Article that at the time of the erecting of the stone altar in the mid 1620s his association had been of some sixty years duration.

> 6. To the sixth, I say, That for above thirteene or fourteene yeeres last past, there were no Psalms in the vulgar meeter tunes suffered to be sung by the Congregation as formerly before and after Sermons, and at the administration of the holy Communion in the said Cathedrall Church ... ... and at a Fast about fifteene yeeres agoe, D. *Cosins* commanded the Choristers and Singing men to come to Church in their habits, and the Organs to play after the Commination, &c, *Turne us, O Lord*, &c being turned into an Anthem was solemnly sung. so as I understood no more then mine owne part, and therefore verily beleeve that the people did not understand it; and the rather because Doctor *Cosins* did send Vergers to the people, to command them to kneele. As for the three Kings of Cullen, I have severall times sung my part thereof in the said Church among the rest of the Quire, and I have severall times knowne the Organs to play, and the Quire to sing at the administration of the Sacrament.[36]

In elaborating on the changes made to the nature of the early morning service, and commenting on the disappearance of the metrical versions of the Psalms and the increase of anthems, Hobson confirmed the picture painted by Peter Smart. The custom that the lay-clerks should read one of the lessons continued into the eighteenth century. In excusing John Blundevile and Thomas Parkinson in November 1718 from attending the early service on the the grounds of age the Minute instructed that the other lay-clerks were to take over their turns at reading.[37]

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36 Pp.18-20 of the additions to the Trinity College, Cambridge, copy of *Canterburies Crueltie*; *cf.*, *Hierugia Anglicana*, ii, 225-6.

37 Act Book 4, p.128; a John Hawkins and James Smart had been excused for the same reason in November 1690 (*ibid.*, pp.1-2).

CHAPTER 5

RICHARD HUTCHINSON AND WILLIAM SMITH [5]

THE TROUBLES OF RICHARD HUTCHINSON

The troubles of 1628 were not confined to the Smart-Cosin controversy. Richard Hutchinson, the master of the choristers and organist, whose testimony has been quoted above, had his own problems too.

Richard Hutchinson, the son of Nicholas, was baptized in St Margaret's church on 4 October 1590. From 1600-1 to certainly 1606-7 he was a chorister under William Brown [1].[1] His appointment in 1613-14 as master of the choristers followed an inter-regnum of about eighteen months. Mickleton deemed him to be a first-rate instrumentalist - 'Praeexcellens fuit organista' - an ability which undoubtedly played no little part in him avoiding expulsion.

In 1621-2 the organ which William Smith [3] had repaired in 1589 was replaced by a magnificent instrument. Its specification may not be known but its cost was alleged to be about £700.[2] This expense was met chiefly by the Dean. Hutchinson's contribution on the keys must have been appreciated, for in April 1627 he was allowed a boy 'at his hand' to turn over the pages of the organ book for him.[3]

Throughout the country the 1620s and 1630s were a period of considerable liturgical and musical activity as those of the Arminian persuasion gained the ascendancy. At Durham the contribution of the organ was complemented by that of two cornetts and two sackbuts. It also saw the production of five organ books and five different sets of part-books, and compositions written by William Smith [5] (minor canon), John Geeres and Henry Palmer (lay-clerks).

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1 For further biographical details see vol.2, Appendix 1.

2 See p.171.

3 The decision is recorded in Act Book 2, f.49^{v}, and evidence of its implementation in the Treasurer's books.

Judging from his testimony in 1628 Hutchinson was out of sympathy with the many innovations.[4] This may be one of the reasons why he was barely active as a composer. Only these three anthems are attributed to him:

Lord I am not high-minded
O God my heart prepared is
Ye that fear the Lord

It has also been suggested[5] that this lack of sympathy is borne out by the text of the first of these, especially when the personal pronouns and possessive adjectives are stressed. Its text runs,

Lord, I am not high-minded,
I have no proud looks;
I do not exercise myself in great matters
Which are too high for me.
But I refrain my soul
And keep it low,
Like as as child that is weaned from his mother,
Yea, my soul is even as a weaned child.
O Israel, trust in the Lord,
From this time forth for evermore. Amen.

The anthem occurs among the verse anthems in MS C4, and is the second of those copied between 1625 and 1630 by one scribe in the Decani books and by another into the Cantoris volumes MS C4. As the first anthem in that part of the book was composed by minor canon William Smith [5], from whose pen flowed many compositions to delight John Cosin and dismay Peter Smart, the suggestion is not without some merit. It must, however, be pointed out that Hutchinson in his setting of the text does not stress the words in question. The atmosphere created musically is that of the contemplative penitent, not that of the indignant reactionary.

Hutchinson's private life, as the Act book reveals, was fraught with problems. As early as 12 February 1621/2 he was given 30s., and on 22 November 1622 he was lent £16 with the condition that it was to be repaid at the rate of £1 per quarter. In late 1626 or early 1627 he had spent some time in jail, for on 3 April 1627[6] William Smith [5] had been given 40s.

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4 See pp.176-8.

5 By Nicholas Heppel, a student (1990-1) at the Centre for Seventeenth Century Studies, University of Durham.

6 Buttrey, 'William Smith of Durham', 252, and P. le Huray (*New Grove*, xvii, 420) mistakenly give the date as 8 April.

> for his painestaking in the tyme that Mr. Hutchinson orgainest was in the Gaole.

In 1628 matters moved from bad to worse, for on 1 April

> In regard for R.H.'s frequent hanting of Aile houses of 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[7]

Chapter felt that it had no option but to give Hutchinson

> 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, which is expulsion from this Church ...

But this did not bring him to his senses, and on 7 May, although a debt of £10 was forgiven, he was partially deprived of his position. Chapter 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 further that the tuition of the said Quiristers shalbe wholie comitted unto Henry Palmer or to such others as to the Deane and Chapter shalbe thought mete from tyme to tyme with the full powre and authorities 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 p_mise 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.

The details of this passage confirm that at Durham the duties of master of the choristers and organist were usually combined in the one person. They show that an attempt was made to give the choristers a thorough musical education, no fewer than three

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7 It would probably be going too far to suggest that this was not altogether a coincidence. Brooking was greatly involved with the new music - as a counter-tenor with a fine voice, and also as a music copyist.

afternoons being set aside to check the boys' vocal expertise and to give them lessons on the organ or virginal.

Strong though Chapter's action was, it was still not enough, for on 8 July it was decided

> Richard Hutchinson organist to have an allowance of twenty marks per annum durante beneplacito nostro, and he to be whollie discharged from any further service or dealing in the Church untill midsomer next unlesse that hereafter he shall give further cause of greater punishment.

Chapter had proved to be extremely long-suffering, for the Statutes enjoined expulsion after the third admonition. This time what it had decided must have had the desired effect, for a little over four months later, on 23 November 1628,

> Richard Hutchinson restored this day to the organist place in this Church

After three other matters raised that day comes the statement that what had been decided had been '... upon certaine condicons agreed on'. Those conditions must have included Henry Palmer continuing as master of the choristers, for the relevant coal allowance was still being paid to him by the Treasurer in 1632-3 and 1633-4. But whatever they were they served their purpose, for thereafter Hutchinson succeeded in avoiding censure. The only other reference in the Act Book relating directly to him is that for 24 August 1638 when he received £5 from the Treasurer.

What is not known is whether Hutchinson was ever restored to the position of master of the choristers, either before Palmer's death on 29 December 1640 or after it.

In view of how it has been said that after the Re-constitution the Langley Song school became a school preparing boys for the grammar school,[8] it is interesting that Hutchinson should have had a dispute before Judge Hutton in Chancery with John Rangell about half the song school stipend.[9] His point was at least worth discussing, for the Statutes had established two schools, a song school at which the choristers were educated, and a grammar school - and Bishop Tunstall

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8 See p.75.

9 *Cos. Corr.*, ii, 203. Cosin was incorrect in supposing that he was a prebendary at the time - he did not become one until 1624, and Rangell died in 1623.

had handed over the Langley schools to become those the new Dean and Chapter were required to provide. Even though the Chancery record has not been traced, the salaries paid to Mark Leonard, Robert Maland, and Thomas Wanless confirm that Hutchinson's attempt was not successful.

Several of his children made their contribution to the music scene. Some became organ boys, some choristers, and some progressed to become lay-clerks. It had been thought that the John Hutchinson who was appointed organist at York in 1634 was Richard's son, baptised 2 July 1615, but the Durham records show that that child's name was not John but James.

Hutchinson had the unfortunate experience of seeing the magnificent organ built in 1621 damaged by the Scots. They had over-run and occupied Durham in September 1640, but it was not until Midsummer Day 1641 that the keyboard was broken up.[10] This led to the organ pipes being removed at night to save them, and it is not known whether they were replaced after the Scots left. But the choir may well have continued, for several lay-clerks were appointed in 1642 and 1643.[11] Even so, Hutchinson's last two years may have been spent in enforced idleness, for in 1644 a Parliamentary Act suppressed the Book of Common Prayer and replaced it with a more sombre order of worship.

WILLIAM SMITH [5] AND HIS MUSIC

Where Hutchinson was to say the least uneasy about the changes made to the services held in the cathedral, William Smith [5] revelled in them. When Cosin became a Prebendary in 1624 Smith was an impressionable young man aged twenty-one. The way in which he responded to the innovations has resulted in him being the best-

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10 *Rites*, 163.

11 Act Book 2A, between f.9^{v} and 10, f.10, and Mickleton MS 32, f.56. It is possible that the appointments were nothing more than an attempt to maintain the statutory numbers, so that there could be a prompt resumption of worship once more settled days returned.

known of Durham's musicians, and the subject of various pieces of research.

It was in 1962 that John Buttrey[12] proved conclusively that the group of compositions at the beginning of MS A1 was not by William Smith [3], but was a holograph collection by William Smith [5]. Telling though his arguments based on stylistic grounds, and on an examination of the charges levelled by the 'low-church' Peter Smart at the 'high-church' John Cosin were in themselves, they merely corroborated his most formidable evidence. This was that the signatures on the compositions were the same as those made by William Smith [5] in the Treasurer's books.

Buttrey's suggestion, however, that William Smith [5] became a chorister in September 1609 has never seemed likely. In the first place it did not take into consideration the fact that Smith would have been only six years old at the time. Apart from this being considerably below the ten to fourteen age-range for boys joining the choir,[13] the signature in December 1609 acknowledging what would have been his first salary payment is too mature. Further, the suggestion overlooked the fact that with no accounts for either 1607-8 or 1608-9 surviving there was no proof that September 1609 was indeed Smith's starting date.

A pointer to a later starting emerged from Miscellaneous Charter 5916, an on-going summary of payments to members of the foundation. As a result of comparing its names with those in the Treasurer's books for 1612-13 and 1614-15, it was decided that it applied to the year 1613-14. It listed not one but two choristers named William Smith. The senior of these left in June 1614, the junior started in December 1613. Again, it seemed far more plausible that a boy should start his career as a chorister shortly before his tenth birthday than leave shortly after it.

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12 J. Buttrey, 'William Smith of Durham', *Music and Letters*, 43 (1962), 248-54.

13 See Table 12 on p.154; for further biographical details about Smith see vol.2, Appendix 1.

Any doubts were finally laid to rest by the discovery in 1990 of a number of Visitation schedules.[14] These named all the members of the foundation who were required to be present when the Bishop conducted his triennial inspection. Several of them relate to years for which there are neither Treasurer's books nor rolls. Among those is a list dated 10 August 1607, and included among its choristers is a William Smith. At that date William [5] was just over four years old, and far too young either to sing or write. The earlier dates, therefore, have been assigned to William Smith [4].

As for William [5], it is much more likely that he entered the choir in December 1613 and is the William Smith listed as a chorister in the Visitation schedule for 28 July 1618. This means that Buttrey is further incorrect (p.252) in identifying him as a King's scholar at the grammar school in 1612-13 and 1614-15. That also was William [4]. Two William Smiths are named as King's scholars in the Visitation list for 13 August 1621, and William [5] could well be the senior of these. In view of this it is likely that it was William [5] who on 25 May 1622 was promised 'a Schollership in Christe Colledge in Cambridge when yt shall falle voide nexte' (CA2).[15] What has not been established is whether this came to pass.

In 1624 Smith certainly was in Durham, for in the Visitation schedule for 10 August 1624 his name has been inserted in the part where the lay-clerks are enumerated. On 3 April 1627 Chapter awarded him

> Forty shillings for his painestaking in the tyme Mr Hutchinson orgainest was in the Gaole (Act Book 2).

Some three months later, on 20 July, he was elected and sworn as a minor canon. Four months after that, on 20 November 1627, he was appointed Sacrist. Smith next appears in the Act Book in 23 April

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14 See pp.204-5, and vol.2, Appendix 5 (pp.179-218), *passim*). In June and July 1990 I came across a number of Visitation lists in the Dean and Chapter Registers. At such episcopal Visitations all members of the foundation were required to present themselves, and these lists supply the names of all from the Dean down to the Under-Cook. Particularly important are the lists for the years 1618, 1621, 1624, 1627, and 1630, a period for which no Treasurer's book or roll has survived.

15 From other entries in the Act Books and Registers it is clear that this was the scholarship founded by the Revd Thomas Pattinson, D.D., rector of Wearmouth, in 1544.

1628 when he was given £10 per annum 'until a benefice fall void'. This came to pass on 13 May 1629 when

> in regard of the good service he hath alreadie pformed and is willinge and likly to contyneue and pforme more hereafter unto this Cath~all Church of Durha~ duringe his life

he was given the parish of Witton Gilbert. This living he held until early 1631 when he transferred, following the death of John Todd, to St Mary-le-Bow, Durham.

What the 'good service' was which attracted him favourable notice is not indicated in the Act Book. It may be gathered from the internal strife which came to a head on 27 July 1628. It was then that Prebendary Peter Smart inveighed against his colleagues, and in particular John Cosin, in a sermon preached on the text, 'I have hated them that hold of superstitious vanities'. For Smart legal proceedings, imprisonment, and eventually restoration lay ahead. Smart was at the Calvinist end of the spectrum, and in his defence he went into print, naming the high church practices which offended him. Among his complaints the developments in music featured prominently. He could not tolerate the noise of the organs, sackbuts, and cornetts, but even more offensive to him was the music sung at the services. Singled out were items which were being sung where before they had been said, such as the Responses to the Commandments and the Creeds at Communion Services, and the fact that at Easter the Collect for the day had been rendered as an anthem.

Even after the removal of Smart there was not peace, for in January 1630/1 the Dean berated William Smith, the sacrist, because there had been an anthem after the sermon at Communion on the first Sunday in January 1630/1.[16] Apparently, it had been agreed that there would not be anthems on Sundays and Holy Days when there was a congregation, but on this occasion there had been. A comment in the margin stated that the anthem was started by [Thomas] Wanless. Again, in Smith's own church in 1634 there was a disturbance by John Richardson during Communion.[17]

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16 *Cos. Corr.*, i, 201.

17 *High Comm.*, 82-100.

In the Durham music books for this period by far the most prolific composer of the genre which had displeased Smart was William Smith himself. Let this list of his compositions speak for itself:

Anthems
Almighty and everlasting God we humbly beseech (Candlemas = Purification of Blessed Mary the Virgin)
Grant we beseech thee (Ascension)
I will preach the law (Christmas)
I will wash my hands (Communion - so at Peterhouse)
My heart is set to laud the Lord
O God which for our sakes (1st Sunday in Lent)
* O God which hast taught (Conversion of St Paul)

Preces and Responses
* one set

Festal Psalms
Awake up my glory (Easter)
God be merciful to us (Whitsunday)
I will give thanks unto the Lord (Easter)
Lord thou art become gracious (Christmas)
The Lord said unto my Lord (Christmas)

Communion Service
1st Kyrie, Creed, and Gospel Responses
2nd Kyrie, Creed, and Gospel Responses
* Kyrie, '10: severall wayes'

Organ Music
* ? two Fantasias

These compositions - except those marked, * - occur in an orderly sequence at the beginning of MS A1. The collection is holograph, the date of its assembly being in all probability the mid-1630s. This date is suggested because the corpus precedes the transcriptions started by Henry Palmer in 1637 or 1638, and because it lacks 'O God which hast taught in all the world'. A setting for the Feast Day commemorating the Conversion of St Paul, this anthem is one of the slightly later additions to the MS C2 set of books thought to have been transcribed *c*.1632-4. Smith's other Collect-anthems were included in that set as it was being transcribed. One further link between MS A1 and MSS C2, C3, and C14 is the presence on their covers of the same version of the cathedral's coat-of-arms, tooled in gilt.

Smith's verse anthems, which are very much verse and very little chorus, have a certain facility of expression but also a certain monotony. Minor keys are preferred, and within a piece there is little straying from the home key. Even so, the festal psalm,

'Awake up my glory', was for a while regarded as being by Orlando Gibbons, whose style may well have influenced Smith. Of his anthems, in 'My heart is set to laud the Lord' the use of the word 'laud' instead of 'praise' may be seen as a deliberate pun honouring Archbishop Laud with whose High Church ideas John Cosin, the inspirer of Smith, readily concurred. It is the most complicated of Smith's anthems, and in one brief antiphonal section shortly before the end divides into ten parts. It has been queried whether it was composed for the visit of Charles I in 1633, Archbishop Laud being in attendance. Certainly, it was as a result of this visit that Cosin added the Mastership of Peterhouse to his preferments. Smith's setting of the Preces and Responses is generally regarded as his most inspired composition - but then in a short phrase there is no opportunity for an anti-climax.

Smith's copying was not restricted to his own compositions, and at Durham his activity may also be found in organ books MSS A2 and A3. He was also one of the Durham scribes whose work is recognizable in the Caroline part-books at Peterhouse.[18] Some of the parts in his hand are of anthems not in the contemporary Durham part-books. In this category are some of the vocal parts of 'This is my commandment' by Mundy, 'I give you an new commandment' by Sheppard, and of 'O God of Gods' by Hooper, though organ parts to the Hooper anthem are extant in Smith's hand at both Durham and Peterhouse. This situation leads one to suppose that the voice parts may be the originals of anthems no longer required at Durham.

Another originally loose item, the organ part of 'Jesus came the doors being shut', by Thomas Tomkins, was clearly sent from Durham, for written on its paper cover is, 'To my loving scoller Thomas Willson at Cambridge' (MS 493:23^{v}). Morehen supposed that the copy and the comment had been penned by Smith, but there are now doubts about this. What those doubts are is presented in the chapter on the Peterhouse manuscripts.

At the end of his article, John Buttrey remarked that too late for discussion evidence had come to hand which showed that Smith paid a visit to Cambridge.[19] In correspondence he explained that this was because Smith had added one piece after the books were

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18 See pp.293-9.

19 'William Smith of Durham', *Music and Letters*, 43 (1962), 48-54.

bound. The reason for this conclusion was that in MS 475 the copyist ran out of space for the last item and added a stave on the flyleaf in order to finish it. Unfortunately, the hand responsible for the item in no way resembles that of Smith. However, there is an indication in the Durham Treasurer's book that something was different about Smith's behaviour in 1635-6. In that year, although he was paid the statutory salaries as minor canon and sacrist, the full customary augment was not added for the period after Christmas. Against his section is written,

> nihil illi solvendum post nativatem χρ~ι (*op. cit.*, f.25)

Furthermore, Smith is not named as either precentor or sacrist in November 1636 but is again precentor in 1637 (Act Book 2).

From Smith's will, which is both signed and sealed, it emerges that he lived in the North Bailey. Its date (20 April 1645), however, conflicts with that of his death (19 April), though not with that of his burial (21 April). In his will he names a cousin as Edward.[20] He bequeathed his 'paire of bowles' to a Stephen Arundel, his 'playing Tables' to George Hodgson, his brother-in-law, and ten shillings to Luke Hutchinson.

William Smith is one of only two Durham composers who died before the present century to have a composition still sung regularly anywhere.[21] His lively setting of the Preces and Responses still occurs not only on Durham service sheets lists but also on those of Anglican choral establishments throughout the world. Those who knew him, however, were impressed more by his ability at the keyboard, for it was their memories which prompted Mickleton in the 1690 to write of Smith:

> [He was] an excellent organist and at times played the organ in the cathedral church of Durham for Richard Hutchinson, the most celebrated organist.[22]

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20 The son of organist Edward, born after his death - bapt, 6 May 1612 (*Cath*).

21 The other is Thomas Ebdon (1738-1811). From 1748 to his death he was succesively chorister, lay-clerk, and master of the choristers.

22 A translation of Mickleton's Latin, 'Organista praeexcellens et super organo in Cath. Eccl. D. aliquando ludet pro Ricardo Hutchinson Organista praeclarissimo.'

CHAPTER 6

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS, A DISCOVERY, A DEBATABLE POINT, AND DISASTER

CORNETTS AND SACKBUTS

That such instruments were used to embellish the performance of worship at Durham first emerges from Smart's complaints.[1] It is unfortunate that for the period from September 1617 to the Parliamentary edict of 1644 suppressing the Book of Common Prayer the only surviving Treasurer's books are those for 1632-3, 1633-4, and 1635-6. From them it transpires that there were then two cornett players and two sackbut players in the cathedral's employ. Their attendance at services was not just confined to Sundays, for a Minute for 22 November 1633 warned them that they would be fined 12d. if they were absent on Sundays, and 6d. if absent on weekdays. Their function may well have been respectively to double at least the treble and bass parts,[2] though no copy they played from has been discovered, nor do the organ books and part-books afford any hint of their contribution.

With the Treasurer's books up to and including that for 1616-17 devoid of even *ad hoc* payments to such musicians, the first attempt to date their introduction reaches the conclusion that it was at some point between September 1617 and Smart's sermon of July 1628. Proof that this period can be reduced to between 1624 and 1628 is afforded by a post-Restoration muniment. One of the documents relating to the Episcopal Visitation conducted by John Cosin in 1665 includes in the margin this comment about cornetts and sackbuts:

> the Bishop likes them very well having been established in his time when he was a Prebendary heretofore.[3]

It has already been stated[4] that although Cosin's connection with Durham began in 1619 when he was appointed a chaplain to Bishop

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1 See pp.170 *et seq.*

2 But see p.171.

3 Hunter MS 11, ga.83.

4 See p.167.

Neile, it was not until 4 December 1624 that he became a Prebendary, being collated to the Tenth Stall. Assuming that the memory of the writer of the comment in the Articles of Visitation was accurate, this narrows the date for the introduction of the instruments to between December 1624 and July 1628.

Playing the instruments in the 1630s were John Hawkins and George Barnfather (cornetts) and William Sherwin and Miles Atkinson (sackbuts). In 1632-3 and 1633-4 Sherwin's salary was £6-13s-4d, the others were paid £4 each. By 1635-6 Atkinson had joined Sherwin on £6-13s-4d, and Barnfather started moving in that direction for he received an augment of 13s-4d in the fourth quarter. These sums are to be compared with the £3-6s-8d received by the choristers, and the £6-13s-4d plus augments ranging from nil to £13-6s-8d enjoyed by the lay-clerks. Barnfather had been a chorister from September 1613 to September 1615, Hawkins a supernumerary lay-clerk from *c*.1601, but no information has been uncovered about either Sherwin or Atkinson.

A general search of the Durham Parish Registers revealed that Thomas Wilkinson (bur. 5 July 1614), Ferdinand Daber (bur. 7 January 1624/5), Roger Richardson (bur. 5 April 1630) and Robert Richardson (daughter bapt. 4 May 1642) were all sackbut players.[5] Of these, Wilkinson can hardly have been a cathedral musician, but the Richardsons could have been. As for Daber, he too must surely be eliminated - unless the instruments were introduced earlier than the writer of the 1665 comment supposed.

A further name emerged unexpectedly during an examination of some of Peter Smart's notebooks. In one of them Smart states that a book recording all the innovations introduced by John Cosin and his associates into the services was kept by John Watkins, one of the sackbut players.[6] Unfortunately, no date is given, but one telling factor in favour of the middle and late 1620s is the burial of a John Watkins on 8 June 1629.[7] He too had served his musical apprenticeship as a chorister. Although a Philip and a Richard Watkins were choristers in the 1630s, one wonders whether it was John who wrote 'Watkins' on MS A2:35.

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5 Wilkinson and Daber occur in the St Margaret's Register, and the Richardsons in that for St Giles's church.

6 MS. Rawl. D.821, f.98^{v}.

7 Register of St Mary-le-Bow.

The Treasurer's books confirm that the cornetts and sackbuts were used in the years following the Restoration. The sackbuts were discarded *c.*1680, but the cornetts continued to be used until their users, Robert Arundel and Matthew Ridley, who had being playing them since 1663, died in 1696 and 1698 respectively. Possibly, by then their positions had become sinecures.

PART-BOOKS AND ORGAN BOOKS

The Dean and Chapter Library at Durham houses what is probably the largest domestic collection of early seventeenth century liturgical music manuscripts. Much has been written about the books, but their origins are still not clear. A further review of the information available is undertaken in Part 3.

A ROYAL VISIT

On Saturday 1 June 1633 Charles I visited Durham on his way to Scotland. He was received by the Dean and prebendaries and attended Evensong at 5 p.m. in the cathedral. According to John Cosin's account,

> The whole choir, minor canons and clerks, [accompanied] on the organ and by other musical instruments, sang a *Te Deum*. ... Then the minister (who was the principal bass on *Decani*), standing up, uttered, according to the English liturgy, 'O Lord show thy mercy upon us'; the choir, [accompanied] on the organ, replied, 'And grant us thy salvation'. The Minister then continued, 'O Lord save the king', &c., together with the three Collects which are said daily at Evensong. After they were finished, the anthem, 'I will exalt thee O Lord, &c.', from Psalm 30, was sung.
>
> After that the Minister proclaimed in a loud voice, 'O Lord save the king' - the choir responding - two Collects for the King and the Queen, and their most august progeny, &c., ... and finally, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.'[8]

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8 *Cos. Corr.*, i, 212-15. Cosin's account is in Latin, but as he himself says the services were according to the English rite. The various quotations from his account are my own translation.

Early the following morning the King attended Morning Prayer and Lauds, which proceeded as normal. At the end of the third Collect for Grace the entire choir sang the anthem, 'Sound [Blow out] the trumpet in Sion'. The sermon then followed, and after the sermon, the choir sang another anthem. This was a setting of the final Psalm, 'O Praise God in his holiness'. When that was concluded the officiant at the service stood up and declaimed, 'O Lord save the King'. As at Evensong this was followed by the Collects for the King and Queen.

A second Evensong, presided over by the Bishop, was not attended by the King. At that service the anthem, 'O God of gods and King of kings' was sung.

Interesting among the details are the titles of a number of anthems. Sung at different times were 'I will exalt thee', 'Sound [Blow out] the trumpet in Sion', 'O Praise God in his holiness', and 'O God of gods and King of kings'. With several members of two contemporary sets of anthem books surviving and five organ books[9] the urge to try and identify these compositions is strong, though it must be conceded that special copies may have been used.

Daniel and le Huray, in *The Sources of English Sacred Music, 1549-1644*,[10] list only Christopher Tye's setting of 'I will exalt thee'. It, however, does not feature in the contemporary Durham books. For 'Sound [Blow out] the trumpet in Sion' *Sources* gives William Byrd, Michael East, and Martyn Peerson as composers. Of these, Peerson's anthem is represented at Durham. In the case of 'O Praise God in his holiness', *Sources* supplies no fewer than six composers, namely Adrian Batten, Benjamin Cosyn, Edward Smith, Matthew White, Robert White, and William White. Of these only the anthems by Edward Smith and William White, both, as it happens, musicians with Durham connections, occur in the Durham manuscripts. Only John Bennet and Edmund Hooper are known to have set 'O God of gods and King of kings' to music. The version by Hooper occurs in all the contemporary Durham manuscripts, that by Bennet only in

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9 The first is represented by MSS C4, C5, C6, C7 (2nd fascicle), C9, and C10, the second by MSS C2 C3, C7 (1st fascicle), and C14, and both sets by MSS C11 and C16; the organ books are MSS A1-A3, A5, and A6.

10 ECCM, supplementary vol.1; 1972.

organ book MS A6. What may be of significance here is that parts of the Hooper anthem, in the hand of William Smith [5], the Durham minor canon, are found in seven Peterhouse music manuscripts.[11] The relationship between the Durham and Peterhouse manuscripts, arising from John Cosin adding the Mastership of the Cambridge College to his preferments, will be examined below.[12] With the anthem not in the Durham part-books, it seems unlikely that Cosin was referring to 'Great king of gods', composed by Orlando Gibbons. It had been composed for King James's visit to Scotland in 1617, during which itinerary he too came to Durham.

In 1962 John Buttrey suggested that 'My heart is set to laud the Lord', by William Smith [5], was sung during the royal visit.[13] This anthem is the most ambitious of Smith's compositions. For a few bars towards the end it breaks briefly into ten parts, the words 'thy majesty and might' being twice taken up by Cantoris and answered by Decani. It was felt that it must have been composed for a special occasion such as this and sung probably by a combination of the royal choir and the Durham choir. Cosin's failure, however, to mention this anthem, which in setting the word 'laud' instead of 'praise' is making a pun on the name of Archbishop Laud, for whom Cosin had a great admiration, seems a conclusive argument against.

The ordering of worship may have been impressive, but not everything seen by Charles I was deemed satisfactory. About 10 a.m. on the third day this statment was issued

> ... wee observed some things which wee cannot but thincke most unfittinge for that place, and altogether unbeseeminge the magnificence of soe goodly a fabricke. As namely at our entrance on the north side wee observed certaine meane tenements uppon the Church-yard, and some of them adjoyninge to the walls of the Church, which we conceave to be a greate annoyance unto that place: And we are since informed that one of the sayd tenements hath the Church yard annexed unto yt by lease, a thinge by noe meanes to be indured.
>
> Given at our Court in Durham 2d June 1633.[14]

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11 MSS 475-8, 480-1, and 493.

12 See pp.290-332.

13 Buttrey, 'William Smith of Durham', 254.

14 *Cos. Corr.*, i, 215.

At that time the Song School was in an outbuilding in the angle between the north choir aisle and the north transept and abutted the cathedral. In monastic times the room had served as the Sacrist's Exchequer. Chapter reckoned it among the buildings being criticized, and it was demolished in either 1633 or 1634.[15] From an eighteenth century comment included in the printed edition of *Rites* it transpires that the choristers were then taught in what by then had become the morning prayer chapel.[16] This prompts the thought that that might also have been the function of the area before it became the song school, for Cosin's innovations had altered both the nature of the early service and its location.

SINGING FROM THE TOWER[17]

As well as including payments to the cornett and sackbut players the three Treasurer's books of the 1630s provide the earliest references to the cathedral choir singing on top of the tower. This is an important discovery, for it sheds new light on a tradition supposedly commemorating originally the battle of Neville's Cross fought on 17 October 1346, and later the Restoration of the monarchy on 29 May 1660. Tradition also asserted that the reason why the choir sings anthems facing north, then east, and finally south was that the monks of Durham did not face west as they were apprehensive about the outcome of the battle being fought to the west of the

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15 *Rites*, 164.

16 *Rites*, 170, and 264.

17 See B. Crosby, 'Singing from the Tower', *The Friends of Durham Cathedral* (53rd Annual Report, 1985-6), 24-6.

city. This last aspect of the tradition is hardly credible, for it flies in the face of natural curiosity.[18]

The search for the origins of the tradition turned first to Durham's monastic muniments. Though these had been examined primarily for references to its musicians, notes had been made on a variety of activities which caught the eye. Those notes, however, contained no reference either to singing from the tower or to any commemoration of the battle of Neville's Cross. Next to be examined was *Rites of Durham*, that memorial of monastic times written *c.*1593. It recounts the story of the battle in some detail, but, far from having the monks singing from the tower, records that they escorted the banner of St Cuthbert to the field of battle.[19] Its failure to mention any annual commemoration, either in the closing years of the monastic period or in the fifty years which had elapsed since the re-foundation as a cathedral only, leads to the conclusion that there was none to comment upon.

The notes at the back of *Rites* refer to the writings of Henry Knighton, a monk of Leicester, and a contemporary - he died in *c.*1366 - but clearly not local historian. According to *Rites*, Knighton states in his *Chronicon* that some of the monks watched from the campanile and sang a *Te Deum* when the Scots fled. His statement, however, referred to the very day in 1346 and provides no proof of any tradition.

With nothing to substantiate that the singing at one time commemorated the battle of Neville's Cross, attention was then directed to the revised tradition. Parliamentary records show[20] that on 29 August 1660 Charles II had approved an Act appointing 29 May,

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18 Having been born in the diocese of Durham I was aware of the tradition long before I came up to St John's College in 1952. In a lecture about Durham to Freshers' Conference that year Dr C.W. Gibby enjoyed narrating another 'tradition' associated with the battle. He mentioned that some years ago it was thought that some rods sticking out of the pinnacles on east end of cathedral were the shafts of arrows fired during at the battle of Neville's Cross. He felt in duty bound to point out that the tradition was suspect, to say the least, because (1) the so-called shafts were made of iron, (2) they had landed well beyond the range of long bows, and (3) with the battle of Neville's Cross to the west of the city arrows would have had to clear cathedral and then turn round to stick in east end!

19 *Op. cit.*, 23, 28-9.

20 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, 1660-1*, 205.

the date of his approbation by Parliament, as a thanksgiving day. Although to the royalists he had been King ever since the execution of Charles I, the anniversary of the date on which that took place was scarcely one for rejoicing.

At Durham, first the Treasurer's books and then the Audit books confirm that 29 May did not pass unnoticed. The only disappointment is in the earliest recorded date. The Treasurer's books pertaining to the 1660s are somewhat sparse in entries of a non-stipendiary nature, and the first recorded payment occurs in the book for 1671-2.[21] There it states:

> May 29 [1672]. For singing on y^e^ steeple,[22] & ringing y^e^ bells, £2-0s-0d (p.2)

That these activities were the Durham way of marking the royal occasion, and not some other local custom, is made clear by the entry in the book for 1674-5. It states:

> May 29 [1675]. To y^e^ ringers & singing men on y^e^ King's Day, £2-0s-0d (p.39)

Since then, with a few inevitable gaps,[23] the choir has sung annually from the tower. From May 1672 until May 1968 it sang its anthems on 29 May, no matter what day of the week that might be. The

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21 There are eight earlier post-Restoration account books.

22 Although Sir Gilbert Scott may have proposed one in the 1870s, there has never been a spire on the central tower. The western towers did have 'broaches' on, but one had been blown off and the other removed by 1665 - Hunter MS 11, Art. 13 of gatherings 94 and 98. 'Steeple' means no more than 'high place'. The word is used with this meaning in 'In at this Door is to the Steeple Top 1783'. This direction is painted on the wall as one leaves the vault over the south transept to enter the central tower.

23 Two of the breaks are worthy of comment. The first was for a few years in the second half of the 1680s. This may be the result of inaccurate book-keeping, uncertainty whether the tradition should die with Charles II, or even a form of protest against James II. The second break, from 1812 to 1827 (inclusive) is an established fact, for it is recorded in J. Sykes, *Local Records; or Historical Register of Remarkable Events which occurred in Northumberland and Durham* (1833), i, 46, and ii, 218. Some of the latter interruption may have been on account of anti-royalist sentiments, though some was when major alterations were being carried out in the cathedral.

Sykes states that in 1830 the three customary anthems were sung from the tower, but he does not supply their titles. Between *c.*1855 (*cf.*, MS D24) and certainly 1907 they appear to have been 'Lord for thy tender mercy's sake', by Hilton (but attributed then to Farrant), 'Therefore with angels', by Novello, and 'Give peace in our time', by Callcott.

size of any 'audience' was irrelevant, for as with the daily services the choir was fulfilling its appointed duty of offering praise to God. For some years prior to 1969 the annual meeting of 'The Friends of the Cathedral'[24] had been held on 29 May, again irrespective of what day that was during the week. Starting in 1969 the priorities were reversed. In the hope of attracting a more representative attendance it was agreed that the Friends' meeting would be held not on 29 May but on the Saturday nearest to it, and that the choir would sing on that occasion. Finally, in 1986 the connection with the restoration of the monarchy was completely broken, for it was decided that the singing from the tower should take place on Ascension Day.

Although the symbolic appropriateness of the last change is apparent, nevertheless to the traditionalist, whether he be a monarchist or not, the change stripped away the unique aspects of the Durham custom, and made Durham appear merely to be imitating the practices of certain collegiate establishments.[25]

Even though the silence of *Rites* pointed to there being no singing from the tower in the second half of the sixteenth century, it was decided to check the Act Books and the Treasurer's books and rolls covering the period from 1541 to 1644. Nothing prior to 1593 (the date of *Rites*) emerged to alter that opinion. The Treasurer's books for the 1630s, however, did include a number of references. Understandably, none was for 29 May, but equally none was for 17 October either. Those references were:

1632-3:

27 March 1633:

'for Ringers on y^{e} Kinges Day ..., £1-0s-0d'

5 November 1633:

'Give~ y^{e} Ringers, £1-0s-0d' (f.27^{v})

'Give~ y^{e} Quire for singinge on y^{e} Topp of y^{e} Steeple, 10s-0d' (*ibid.*)

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24 Founded in 1933.

25 St John's College, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford.

1633-4:

27 March 1634:

'To y^{e} Ringers on y^{e} Inauguration day of y^{e} King, £1-0s-0d'

5 November 1634:

'Given to the Quire by appointm^{t} of y^{e} Chapt^{r} for singing on y^{e} steeples y^{e} King's Day & this, £1-0s-0d'

'To the Ringers on y^{e} day, £1-0s-0d' (all f.31^{r})

1635-6

7 April:

'pulsatoribus [bell ringers] march. 27. die Inaugurationis, £1-0-0d (f.34^{r})

The King's Day in this case, as the payment to the bell-ringers makes clear was the 27 March, the anniversary of Charles I's accession; and 5 November was the anniversary of James I's escape from the consequences of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. With the monarch the head of the Church of England, prayers for the well-being of the Royal Family played an integral part in the worship of the Church. Elizabeth I had decreed that the anniversary of her accession should be commemorated, and an order of thanksgiving was introduced after the foiling of the Gunpowder Plot. That these occasions were duly observed in the diocese of Durham is apparent from, for instance, the Churchwardens' Accounts for the parish of Pittington. They record payments to bell-ringers on Coronation day in 1595, 1596, 1597, and 1599, and on 5 November in 1606.[26] The same accounts also include a payment for bell-ringing when the King was in Durham on 1 June 1633.[27] The ringing of bells at the cathedral on the anniversary of the accession can be traced back certainly to 1588.[28]

The musicians of the period marked the royal occasions in two ways, by composing anthems with approriate texts, and in the case of John Barnard by his 'Preces and Answers for 27th March and 5th November'. Adapted for general use Barnard's setting is still sung.

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26 *Churchwardens' Accounts of Pittington and other parishes in the Diocese of Durham from A.D. 1580 to 1700*, ed. by J. Barmby (*SS* 84, 1888), 123, 125, 127, 130, and 144, respectively.

27 *Ibid.*, 187; see above, pp.195-8.

28 Misc. Ch. 3154.

A set of anthem books[29] transcribed at Durham in the 1630s groups its contents under the different Feast Days. Very much at the end of these are the headings, 'The King's Day' and 'The Fifth of November'. Assigned to the former are: 'O God of Gods' (Hooper), 'Grant Holy Trinity' (Orlando Gibbons), 'Give the king thy judgments' (Weelkes), 'Thou O God that guidest' [Byrd],[30] and 'O Lord make thy servant' (Cranford). Surprisingly, Byrd's anthem, 'O Lord, make thy servant Elizabeth our Queen', with its declamatory fugal clause, 'And grant her a long life', is not included - but it was very much in the repertoire, being included for general use in an earlier set of books.[31] Included to mark 5 November are: 'If the Lord himself' (Edward Smith, of Durham), and 'O how joyful is the king' (Weelkes). What is not known in the case of Smith's anthem is whether the avoidance of the disaster had prompted its composition or whether the compiler of the set of books had deemed it appropriate.

It remains only to investigate why at Durham it was decided to mark the two royal occasions by singing from the tower, and also why the activity seems to have begun to the 1630s. At first, it might be supposed that it may be significant that the flurry of activity was round about the time Charles I visited Durham, but then it might be wondered whether if there had only been some Treasurer's books for the later 1620s they might have included similar payments. Though it can only be a conjecture, the observation must be made that, just as with the introduction of cornetts and sackbuts, and the provision of new music books for the choir, this development took place whilst John Cosin was one of the Prebendaries of Durham. It was Cosin too who was responsible for the smooth running of the royal visit, a situation which resulted in him becoming Master of Peterhouse in 1635. Although this preferment did not, as some have supposed,[32] result in his connection with Durham being severed, it may provide the reason why the choir did not sing from the tower in 1635-6.

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29 MSS C2-C3, C7 (1st fascicle), and C14; and the York Minster, MS M29S. For a discussion of these, see pp.244-54.

30 Ascribed to Giles in the MSS.

31 MSS C4-C6, C7 (2nd fascicle), C9-C10. These MSS are discussed below, pp.224-34.

32 See pp.251-2.

VISITATION SCHEDULES AND THE UNCOVERING OF MISSING NAMES

The only Treasurer's accounts extant for the period from September 1617 through to the 1640s are those for 1632-3, 1633-4, and 1634-5. This dearth of accounts has long proved to be an obstacle and a frustration to those investigating the musical scene at Durham in the early seventeenth century because the wide variety of expenses listed at the back of the first two books in particular have yielded up so much detail. If only some of the others had survived more might have been found out about the use of cornetts and sackbuts, the custom of singing from the tower, and the cost, contents, and copyists of the music books used by the choir.

The lack of books for the periods from 1617 to 1632 and from 1636 to 1644 has also fostered the feeling that there must be some for whom there is no proof that they were ever members of the choir. In the case of the minor canons (if they were indeed members of the choir)[33] and the lay-clerks there can hardly be many, for the dates when they were appointed are recorded in the Act Book. Many were there on both sides of the first gap, and in many cases it is known when they were buried. In the case of the boys, however, it did seem that at least one generation had passed into oblivion, whilst for others there was no shred of evidence how long their association with the choir lasted.

To some extent the question of names and periods of service has been resolved by the realization in June 1990 of the relevance of the Visitation schedules. The Bishop was required by the Statutes to conduct triennial Visitations in order to ascertain whether the Dean and Chapter were fulfilling what the Statutes required of them,[34] and the schedules list by name all those members of the cathedral foundation who were present on those occasions. The thirteen lists came to light as a result of the decision to consult one of the Dean and Chapter Registers for the original version of John Cosin's account of Charles I's visit in 1633.

Some, like those for 27 August 1610, 21 June 1613, and 15 October 1633 belonged to a year already covered by a Treasurer's book. That for 14 July 1601 was for a year for which there was a Treasurer's roll. It did at least provide a precise date during the

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33 See the section which follows.

34 *Statutes*, 175.

year and a more trustworthy list of names, for the summary rolls are rather vague documents, sometimes including people who had left, and in other cases those who had joined by the time the roll was produced but were not members of the choir during the period covered by the roll.

The schedules for 1 October 1578, 10 August 1607, 28 July 1618, 13 August 1621, 10 August 1624, 3 August 1627, 6 September 1630, and 10 August 1637, however, broke completely new ground. Although they have not provided precise beginnings and endings of associations, they have extended the duration of those associations. Further, as choristers tended to be members of the choir for more than three years, they have, in all probability, supplied all the names for the period from 1617 to 1632. In all, the eight lists have yielded up one new minor canon, one lay-clerk, and nineteen choristers.[35] Particularly pleasing was the confirmation in the schedule for 10 August 1637 that John Nicholls [2] was indeed a chorister in the late 1630s.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE CHOIR

In Cosin's account of the royal visit are the words, 'then the minister (who was the principal Bass on *Decani*) standing up uttered ...'[36] Superficially innocuous enough, the two passages raised again a question which has been personally disconcerting for some eight years. That question concerns the extent to which the minor canons may have been an integral part of the embellishing choir as opposed to officiants at the services. Is it to be concluded from Cosin's statement that one of the minor canons was indeed the leading bass on *Decani*?, or does it mean that on that occasion the principal bass

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35 The minor canon is John Liveley, and the lay-clerk William Smith [5] (previously a chorister, and later a minor canon). The boys are Edward Arrowsmith, George Barker [2], John Blunt, Richard Buck, Robert Fisher (later a lay-clerk), George Hodgson, John Hodgson, John Hutchinson, Anthony Kirtley, John Moore, John Nicholls [2] (later a lay-clerk and master of the choristers), Thomas Scurfield, Nicholas Sheffield [2] (later a lay-clerk), Thomas Snowball, George Storey, Robert Todd, George Walton, George Wilson (later a lay-clerk), and John Wilson.

36 See above, p.195.

lay-clerk on *Decani* sang what is now referred to as the priest's part?

The catalyst for the doubts about the minor canons' role was a conversation with Professor Ian Spink in July 1984. Some point had been made, and I followed it with the remark that the 'singing choir' consisted of two elements, the lay-clerks and the choristers. This 'conclusion' was based on the assumption that the situation had always been as it was earlier this century, when the function of the minor canons was to take, to officiate at, the daily services on a rota.[37] Professor Spink rejoined that surely this was not so, that the singing choir had three strata, minor canons, lay-clerks, and choristers, a composition enjoined by the Statutes.

The latter point of view has been expressed more recently by Stanford Lehmberg, who says,

> One often thinks of the lay clerks alone as providing the countertenor, tenor, and bass parts in the choir, but the statutes given to these [new foundation] cathedrals in the 1540s make it quite clear that the minor canons were expected to join with them in 'chant[ing] the praise of God and the canonical hours continually in the temple of the church'.[38]

The Durham Statutes, from which his quotation is taken,[39] do indeed instruct the minor canons and lay-clerks to be present at the daily round of services and to offer up 'hymns, psalms, and perpetual prayers', with the boys playing a lesser part. They also state, when describing the role of the Precentor,

> To him shall all the Minor Canons and Clerks, and all others that come into the Choir to sing, be obedient (*Statutes*, 137)

However, the Durham Statutes were issued during the Marian reaction, when the reforms begun under Edward VI were abandoned and the prescribed services bore a strong resemblance to the monastic offices. Consequently, the feeling persists that once the Marian services had been replaced early in the reign of Elizabeth I by

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37 So H.Y. Ganderton, a minor canon and Headmaster of the Chorister School, 1928-57.

38 Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of the Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485-1603* (Princeton Univ. Press, Guildford, UK, 1988), 194.

39 For it, and for the reference to the boys later in the paragraph, see *Statutes*, 131-135.

basically Matins and Evensong, and as a result the number of anthems and settings of the canticles started to increase, so the structure of the choir altered. Thereafter the lay-clerks became more and more the adult section of the singing choir, the minor canons being involved in other ways. Some of them may have sung too, but very much as extra voices, for with fewer services to attend they may have spent more time in their livings. Moreover, with only one Prebendary required to be in residence at any one time, and several of them pluralists in any case, further officiants were needed.

An examination of the muniments followed the discussion with Profesor Spink. It revealed that the situation which has prevailed since the late 1920s had been in force from 1870-1. The Treasurer's book for that year was laid out differently from those which had preceded it. Prior to that year the lesser members of the foundation had been listed in the order, minor canons, lay-clerks, the master of the choristers, and choristers. In 1870-1 the master of the choristers was ranked before the lay-clerks, and between the end of the minor canons and the master of the choristers was the heading, 'The Choir'. This heading served to do two things. It separated the minor canons from the choir, and at the same time it established the authority of the master of the choristers over the lay-clerks. The relevant Chapter Act Book is devoid of any entry which might suggest that either situation was a recent innovation. Indeed, in the case of the role of the minor canons the decision on 20 November 1827 that there should be two minor canons present at any service points to them not being members of the singing choir. This decision, too, is possibly no more than the solution to a problem which as early as 28 September 1801 had caused Chapter to exhort the minor canons to be more regular in their attendance at services.

Before 1800 the situation is less clear. All one can do is to try and interpret decisions and happenings. Starting at the very beginning, the first complement of twelve minor canons at Durham had all been monks.[40] As such they were capable of singing the monastic offices but that is not the same as saying that they were skilled polyphonists. Admittedly, at Durham some of the monks had received instruction in the art of music from the lay Cantors, but it cannot be determined who of the twelve might have done nor whether those

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[40] See pp.126-7.

who did benefited from that instruction. But possibly this is irrelevant, for in the 1540s the style of music may not have been very different - there was no dramatic 'over-night' switch from plainsong to harmony - and the musical demands made on the former monks may not have been too taxing. In connection with this it must be queried whether there is any significance in the fact that of the earliest minor canons listed on p.127 none was beneficed in the 1540s. John Bindley was given a living in 1550, and John Ellison in 1553. Thereafter more and more minor canons also held livings which were in the donation of the Dean and Chapter. What is not clear is whether this was because (1) the liturgical changes had resulted in some of the minor canons being superfluous, (2) there was a shortage of clergy in the diocese, (3) it was a way of showing appreciation for the contribution some of the minor canons had made, or (4) this was a way of augmenting their stipends. That not all received the same treatment simultaneously makes the last option unlikely.

Another point to consider is the short inventory of the possessions of John Wells. Listed in it are 'his songe books'. These were valued at '2s-6d'. Wells had been precentor from his appointment as a minor canon in 1559-60 until his death on 25 April 1567.[41] It would seem unlikely that he was in possession of any other song books than those needed for the services in the cathedral. But having so said, it is impossible to tell whether the books contained services, or anthems, or all the music a priest might be called upon to sing during the course of the year. In this respect the payment to Wells in 1561-2 for paper on which to copy music for the choir is of no assistance.[42]

Again, there are the statements made by the minor canons regarding the part they played in the services held in the cathedral in 1569 during the Rising of the North. Several of them claimed that they had sung at various permutations of matins, evensong, the anthem, and the procession.[43] But this point too is at best inconclusive, for with the services held according to the old rite there is no evidence that what they sang was in harmony, that the anthem, for example, was anything other than a plainsong antiphon.

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41 Dates derived from the Treasurer's books and rolls.

42 See p.143.

43 See pp.151-2 and the relevant biographies in vol.2.

Possibly of more significance is the appointment of Mark Leonard (*c*.1609-1638). When Chapter was considering attracting him from Windsor to be a minor canon, it was stated that he was a useful bass or counter-tenor.[44] To the advocates of the three-part structure of the choir such a qualification would have been of no significance if it had not been intended that he should use it to some purpose - and the priest's part was hardly a sufficient outlet. Leonard was precentor on a number of occasions, and as such had responsibility for the choir and for the music of the cathedral, but the only insight into the part he played during services is derived from some scathing words by Prebendary Peter Smart. Having described Leonard and minor canon-composer William Smith [5] as two of the principal 'Actors' in their 'pybald vestments' he goes on to refer to 'the confused voyces of the singing-men and quoristers.'[45] In so doing he confirms that role of at least some of the minor canons was different from that of the singing-men.

Moreover, Smart conveys the same impression when he refers to 'the Quire-men, and boyes' singing in the choir when baptisms were being conducted outside that area, and when he ridicules Cosin for spending time in taverns with 'our quire-men of Durham'.[46] No reference has been found in any muniment to suggest that the minor canons, like the vicars choral in [John] Earle's *Micro-cosmographia*,[47] were similarly disposed.

On the other hand, there is the contemporary insertion in the letter which prebendaries John Cosin and Augustine Lindsell, supported by William James (another prebendary), William Smith, and Richard Hutchinson, sent to their colleague Eleazar Duncon.[48] Cosin and Lindsell reported, and the others corroborated, that the Dean had been annoyed because there had been an anthem at Communion on the first Sunday in January 1630/1, and that he had called the person who began it a 'saucy fellow'. In brackets they supply the

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44 See vol.2, pp.79-80.

45 See p.176.

46 See p.176.

47 Hunter MS 130, f.9. The work was published in 1628. The manuscript (date, *c*.1636) gives the date of the work as 14 December 1627.

48 See p.175.

name of 'Mr. [Thomas] Wanles', a minor canon of some six months standing. This seems proof enough that Wandless sang.

Next to be considered is the statement, mentioned at the beginning of this section, that at the first service attended by Charles I during his visit in 1633 the Versicles were sung by 'the minister (who was the principal bass on *Decani*'). Unless on that occasion, even though the word 'minister' is used, it was felt that a leading lay singer should ensure that the service began confidently, this is proof that at least one minor canon was a singer. Moreover, even earlier in Cosin's account of the Royal Visit is the statement that as soon as the King arrived in the cathedral then 'The whole choir, minor canons and clerks, ... sang a *Te Deum*'. However, whilst to some this is clear proof that the minor canons were members of the choir, to others, the phrases in apposition provoke questions. Why, if the minor canons were normally part of the choir did Cosin feel it necessary to state that they and the lay-clerks sang the *Te Deum*? Was it merely verbosity on Cosin's part, a delight in words? Or was it because that on this special occasion, even though the minor canons were normally deployed in other ways during services, all available voices were assembled?

The last question presupposes that all minor canons were musical. But was this so? Whilst a good number of Durham minor canons had previously been numbered among its choristers, a number of known Durham origin had not. Among these was Matthew Cooper, minor canon 1621-72→. Possibly because of his father's aspirations he had been a King's Scholar and not a chorister,[49] but that did not mean that he was necessarily musically deprived, for father Robert had been a lay-clerk for thirty-five years when he died in 1623. It is presumably this Matthew's musical capabilities which are referred to in the couplet,

> Here lies Cooper, all alone,
> Matthew is dead, the base is gone.[50]

Also affecting the presence of the minor canons at services, never mind whether they sang or not, is the fact, referred to earlier, that by the 1600s many of them were beneficed. The Statutes permitted them to enjoy one living provided that it lay within

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49 See vol.2, Appendix 1.

50 *The Bishoprick Garland*, ed. by Sir Cuthbert Sharp (1834), 76.

twenty-four miles of Durham, and the Dean, without consulting his colleagues, could give them leave of absence for periods up to a week.[51] Had the Statute become disregarded? or was there a daily going to and fro, for the parish registers show that baptisms, marriages, and burials were conducted as the occasion demanded rather than in clusters? In 1630 there would not have been too much of a problem, for Thomas Wandless was unbeneficed, Elias Smith and William Smith [5] had city parishes, James Green was at Croxdale (four miles away), William Murray was at Pittington (four miles), though Mark Leonard was at Hesleden (twelve miles). There always was a nucleus in the the city parishes, so possibly more was expected of them than of those with livings further away.

Again, towards the end of the sixteenth century the practice arose of dividing unequally a minor canon's stipend between two lay-clerks, thereby increasing the number of lay-clerks. The Treasurer's accounts disclose that one received the equivalent of the full lay-clerk's salary of £6-13s-4d, the other, presumably a less experienced singer, half that amount. Whether this appropriation of a minor canon's salary was because that position had lost its appeal, or whether it was because it was felt that twelve minor canons were more than were needed to help in officiating at services, is not clear. A pointer towards the latter situation can be found in the Treasurer's books of the 1630s. Those for 1632-3 and 1633-4 name a lay-clerk in the eighth position and have 'vacat' against the last four, whilst that for 1635-6 lists only six. After the Restoration the picture was much the same, there being often six, seven, or eight minor canons.

A further point first occurs in the Treasurer's book for 1568-9. One of the payments at the back is in respect of the purchase of 'paper to make bookes for the singing men.' The phrase chosen makes one wonder why the minor canons were not mentioned as well, or why the phrase, 'for the choir', was not used instead. Such questions invite the explanation that the lay-clerks needed the books because the lay-clerks were the ones who did the singing.

This leads on to the fact that in the 1620s and 1630s, when new sets of anthem books and service books were being produced, there

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51 *Statutes*, 135.

were ten part-books in a set.[52] For each side of the choir there was one treble, two counter-tenor, one tenor, and one bass book. This number must have been felt adequate, otherwise more books would have been transcribed. That being so, and assuming that the minor canons did sing, it is difficult to see how an adult section consisting of between eight and eleven singers on each side - it depends on the period - could be arranged to be able to sing from the four books on each side. If, as has been supposed, the two strata sat in different rows, it is impossible, and even if they were grouped according to voice and the stalls then, as now, were divided into sections, it is far from easy.

Again, if the minor canons formed part of the singing choir it is surprising that before the eighteenth century so very few of them were inspired to compose anthems or services. William Smith, admittedly, was prolific in this respect, but apart from him only Elias Smith is known to have composed anything. His solitary composition, 'How is the gold become dim', was inspired by the execution of Charles I and its consequences.

Looking briefly at the scene between 1660 and 1800, evidence can again be found to support each point of view. Pointing apparently towards three tiers are a number of bills and references relating to the production and extension of music books for the minor canons. The bills supply a certain amount of detail. They ask for payment for new books for John Hartis and Robert Leak (May 1693 to November 1694), and for additions made to the books of John Lisle (January 1686/7) Francis Woodmas and Lisle (August 1687), and Pexall Forster (November 1689 to November 1691).[53] Matthew Owen's bill for £11-3s-6d for copying done in 1688 to 1689 merits quoting in full (see Table 14).

As well as naming five of the eleven minor canons, the latter bill mentions eight of the ten lay-clerks. Moreover, the two groups are not mentioned separately, but according to what appears to be voices and sides of the choir. Matthew Owen himself was on the point of undergoing what for Durham was a rare transfer[54] from the ranks

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52 See pp.271, 275.

53 See PDLP Box 25 for these bills and for Owen's quoted below.

54 Others were William Cockey (in the 1540s), Christopher Smith (1590s), William Smith [5] (1620s), and Abraham Yapp (1690s).

of the lay-clerks to those of the minor canons. He clearly was musical and when he was appointed to the living of Bywell St Peter in 1695 his choir books were purchased from him for £10.[55] But even the transcription of books for them is not conclusive evidence that the minor canons were singing members of the choir, for after 1660 Deans Sudbury and Granville used MSS C11 and C13, and in 1693 Dean Comber was provided with an anthem book and a service book;[56] whilst *c.*1670 George Davenport, the Bishop's chaplain, and Prebendary Isaac Basire each had anthem books.[57]

TABLE 14: MATTHEW OWEN'S BILL FOR COPYING, 1688-9

A bill for the R^{t} Worshipfull the Dean and Chapter for Writing & Pricking

*Mr Milner Serv: Book	4-½	*Mr [Jn] Smiths Serv: Book	6-0
Nich: Wilsons	6-0	Hen: Smiths	8-½
Mr Hawkin's	13-0	Tho. Parkinsons	12-0
*Mr Neiles	3-½	Ro. Wilson	8-0
Hen: Parkinson	4-0	Mr Smart	7-0
Boys 2 books	25-½	*Mr Lisle	5-½
		Boys 2 books	17-0
*Mr Milners Anthem book	7-0	*Mr [Jn] Smiths An: book	11-0
*Mat: Owens	5-½	Tho. Parkinsons	3-0
Nich. Wilsons	12-½	Ro: Wilsons	4-0
Mr Hawkins	9-0	Mr Smarts	3-0
*Mr Neiles	8-½	*Mr Lisles	2-0
Hen. Parkinsons	10-0	Boys 2 books	8-½
Boys 2 books	19-0		

* indicates minor canons

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55 Act Book 4, p.31.

56 PDLP Box 25; the MSS were probably MSS C34 and C32 respectively.

57 British Library Add. MSS 30478-9.

Again, of much the same date, 20 November 1690, as these activities is the direction in the Act Book,

> That the Minor Canons be admonished to learn to sing and as soon as they are qualified for singing in the Quire that they doe sing as often as Occasion offers.

This injuction points to the minor canons being additional as opposed to fundamental to the singing choir. So, too, does a most unusual occurrence in 1709-10. Since 1705-6 the number of lay-clerks had steadily dwindled from eight down to four. Some of the nine minor canons may have sung, but such was the need for a competent addition to the ranks of the singers that Theophilus Pickering, Prebendary of the Eleventh Stall, deputized for over five months not as a minor canon but as a lay-clerk. Whilst he sang he appears to have used his own books, for when Abraham Taylor, one of the lay-clerks, was given permission on 24 September 1711 to go to London to improve his singing he was given five guineas for the music books which Dr Pickering had given him.[58]

The final point takes up an earlier one, the payment in 1568-9 for 'paper to make bookes for the singing men.' Similar in purpose is the Chapter Minute for 13 September 1729. It

> Agreed that there be provided what New Books are necessary for the Singing Men.

In so doing it demonstrated that in the eyes of their employers it was the lay-clerks who provided the countertenor, tenor, and bass parts in services and anthems.

THE SCOTS AS VICTORS[59]

In September 1640 the Scots over-ran Durham. Dean Balcanquall was not alone in fleeing, but his flight earned him the nickname, 'runaway Dr Bokani'. The Scots remained in control until 20 August 1641. During that time a levy was imposed upon the area. James

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58 Act Book 4, f.115^{v}.

59 With the exception of the levy details, the facts for this section are taken from the additions made by Mickleton in 1691 to the edition published by J. Davies in 1672 (quoted *Rites*, 162-3).

Green, one of the minor canons, noted these details in his common-place book:[60]

the scotts demand for the maintenance of their army

30 thousand pound weight of bred every day at i^{d} the ^{l}
40 oxon at 7^{l} apeece per diem
280 sheep at 16^{s} apeece per diem
20 tunn of beere at 3^{l} a tunn is 60^{l} per diem

the tot[al] per diem is 545^{l}

Assuming that the quantities and prices are correct, Green's arithmetic is somewhat awry![61]

According to the annotations made by Mickleton the Scots caused no damage to the cathedral or to its contents until 24 June 1641. It was then that they 'tore up all the great Keys of y^{e} great Organs', the organ which had been erected in 1621. When he had been acquainted with this fact, the Scottish general restrained his forces and also advised the Dean's steward to see to the removal of the organ pipes. This was duly done.

Mickleton's annotations then move on nine years, to 1650, to describe the destruction of the cases of both this organ and the 'White Organ'. What he does not say is whether any attempt was made to return the great organ to its former grandeur after the Scots left in 1641. If not, there would appear to have been no organ at all, for the comment about the 'White Organs' in the same section that 'James Smart heard them played on an^{o} 1635 and 1636' implies that they were not played after that date. These dates may err on the early side, for even by August 1637[62] Smart, a lay-clerk after 1660 and one of Mickleton's sources, had not featured as a chorister.

AFTER DISARRAY COMETH THE END

The Treasurer's book for 1635-6 is the last before the Restoration in 1660. With the invasion by the Scots still some four years away others may well have been produced, only to perish possibly because as the most recent records they had not been stored away. A list of

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60 Hunter MS 33, f.19.

61 £125 (bread) + £280 (oxen) + £224 (sheep) + £60 (beer) = £689.

62 Reg. 12, f.512.

the members of the foundation does survive in the Visitation Schedule for 10 August 1637,[63] but after that one has to rely on the Act Books and on what Mickleton, working towards the end of the seventeenth century, had been able to gather from personal reminiscences and from what would have been a more complete range of records than that available today.

Even between the end of Act Book 2 and the beginning of Act Book 2A there is a gap of over seven months. The last meeting in the former is dated 4 October 1638, the first in the latter, 14 May 1639. Act Book 2A progresses steadily for just under three months, to 7 August 1639, after which there is a break of considerable duration until ostensibly 20 November 1642. The break begins over a year before the Scottish invasion, and continues for more than a year after they had left. During the interim John Cosin was appointed to the Deanery of Peterborough but also arrested and imprisoned, albeit briefly.[64] Peter Smart's case finally met a sympathetic ear, and he was released.

That the Minutes resume on 20 November is not without its significance, for that was the date when the yearly appointments to the offices of sub-Dean, Treasurer, Receiver, Precentor, and Sacrist were made. It was not a meeting held somewhere 'in exile', for Dean Balcanquall, John Cosin, and Anthony Maxton were among those present in the Chapter House, and William Smith [5] and James Green were appointed Precentor and Sacrist respectively. Between that date and 31 December 1643 the attempt was made to pick up the threads. Meetings were held in or near the Chapter House, leases were granted, and appointments made. Of choristers there is no mention, but there are a number of references to lay-clerks. These include the appointment of George Wilson to 'a Lay Singingman's place', and the restoration of Richard Hutchinson's son - though it is not clear whether he was James, Richard [2], or Robert - to his [lay-clerk's] position. Both these decisions were taken on 29 March 1642,[65] and confirmed by the Dean on 5 April 1642. These details are recorded on

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63 Reg. 12, f.512.

64 Cosin was installed as Dean of Peterborough on 7 November 1640, Smart petitioned the House of Commons on 10 November, and on 21 November Cosin was ordered into custody - all *Cos. Corr.*, i, pp.xxxi.

65 Mickleton gives the date as 25 March 1642.

a sheet stuck between f.9 and f.10. One can see no grounds for disputing its earlier date, rather one concludes that the resumption could well have been earlier than 20 November 1642 but the book had been mislaid.

Mickleton, for his part, lists four new appointments in the early 1640s, appointments needed to redress the loss of Toby Brooking (bur. 28 June 1642), John Geeres (bur. 4 March 1641/2), Nicholas Hobson (bur. 1 July 1642) and Henry Palmer (d. 29 December 1640). He states that James Hutchinson was appointed in 1641, Robert Fisher on 25 March 1642, and Nicholas Sheffield and John Smith on 24 June 1642.

It may be speculated that in view of the troublous times those appointments can hardly have been anything other than symbolic, made in the hope that more auspicious days would soon return. Against this is the statement in the Act Book on 17 May 1643 that a certain Wilson - no Christian name is given - was to be paid a quarter's salary as a lay singingman from Midsummer next. It is more probable that he was the George Wilson mentioned above than the Thomas Wilson whom Cosin had taken as organist to Peterhouse in 1635. This is because the Peterhouse Bakehouse book confirms that Thomas remained in Cambridge right up to 17 November 1643. That Thomas Wilson did return at some stage to Durham is apparent from the notice of his marriage at St Giles's church on 25 May 1648 - he is there described as 'Musices professor' - and also from the presence in the anthem books of his anthem, 'By the waters of Babylon'.[66] This anthem alone of Wilson's compositions is not in the Peterhouse manuscripts, and the inference is that he composed after his return to Durham.

The decision to pay whichever Wilson it was for only a quarter discloses that the future was regarded as uncertain. This was not only politically, but in the case of Durham financially too, for the revenues of the bishopric and of the Dean and Chapter, which had been seized by the Scots in 1640, had passed into the control of Parliament in 1642. On 14 October 1642 the House of Commons had resolved

> That the fines, rents and profits of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, and of such notorious delinquents who have taken up arms against the

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66 One of the anthems 'added later still' to the part-books of Set 1 - see pp.233-4, also vol.2, p.134.

> Parliament, or have been active in the Commission of Array, shall be sequestered for the use and service of the commonwealth.[67]

Commissioners, such as Sir William Armyne, were appointed to look into the cases of those who had been dependent on such bodies for their livelihood.[68] It was to such a Commission that James Green, the incumbent of Croxdale and a minor canon and sacrist of the cathedral, made his undated appeal for financial assistance, saying that he had a wife and five small children to support. He stated that his cathedral stipends had previously amounted to £22, but that for the year ending at the previous Christmas he had received no money at all. The Commission was aware that the parishes of Croxdale and Butterby paid their tithes to him at Michaelmas.[69]

Earlier, in 1641, a Parliament dominated by the those of the Puritan persuasion had called for more moderation in the use of organs, and in 1643 for the removal from cathedrals of altars and their rails.[70]. This it followed, in January 1644/5, with the abolition of the Prayer Book. In its place was introduced a much plainer order of worship.[71] This form of worship had no need for Bishops and consequently no role for cathedrals either. Where just over a hundred years earlier Henry VIII had suppressed the monasteries, so now in 1649 Parliament, over-ruling Charles I, passed an Act suppressing the cathedrals.

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67 *Records of the Committees for Compounding, etc. with Delinquent Royalists in Durham and Northumberland During the Civil War, etc., 1643-60*, ed. by R. Welford (*SS* 111, 1905), xii-xiii.

68 He was appointed on 19 July 1643 as one of the Commissioners for Scotland, but correspondence shows that he was at Sunderland between 20 June and 30 September 1644 - *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, v18 (1641-3), 468 and v19 (1644), 255, 546. Green's petition, which is quoted in vol.2, p.58, is in Hunter MS 33, ff.53, 56^{v} (*cf.*, f.55).

69 *Records of the Committees for Compounding, etc. with Delinquent Royalists in Durham and Northumberland*, 8 (82).

70 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, v.18 (1641-3), 286.

71 *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London 1645). The Act abolishing the Book of Common Prayer was dated 3 January 1644/5, the Ordinance against it, 13 March 1644/5, and the Directory was enacted 23 Aug 1645.

At Norwich the Dean and Chapter continued to function until 8 May 1649,[72], but at Durham apart from the occasional entry in cathedral's register of christenings, marriages, and burials all is silence. It is not even known whether there was anyone to appoint a successor to Richard Hutchinson after his death on 7 June 1646 - though it is intriguing to note that a 'Mr Mudd' was in the Durham area soon afterwards.[73]

In the thirty-three years which had passed since he was appointed master of the choristers Richard Hutchinson had witnessed both the dawn and the close of what must have been the 'golden age' of choral music at Durham. In his time a new organ had been built, and with the rise of Cosin had come the elaboration of the ritual side of worship, the introduction of music more demanding for the choir to sing, and the production of fine sets of books containing that music. All of this would have gladdened the hearts of those Durham monks who in 1390 felt strongly that 'both musical harmony and ceremonial' were necessary 'for enhancing the dignity of worship' and 'for inspiring the devotion of the people'.[74]

But it was not to be. The monastic age had been long gone, the organ had been wrecked, and the ceremonial swept away by those who found them not aids to worship but distractions. Though their ideas were now in the ascendant, for many the cry was 'Ichabod', 'the glory has departed'.[75]

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72 *Extracts from the two earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral, 1566-1649*, ed. by F.J. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy. *Norfolk Record Society*, 24 (1953).

73 He occurs as a sponsor (= godparent) at baptisms on 26 June 1648 and 11 July 1653 (both *Cath*). A Thomas Mudd had been a chorister at Peterborough. After the Restoration his addiction to drink resulted in his appointments at a number of cathedrals being of extraordinarily short duration - see, H.W. Shaw, *A Succession of Organists* (1991). He was buried at Durham on 2 August 1667 (*Cath*).

74 See p.59.

75 1 Samuel 4, v.21.

PART THREE

PART-BOOKS AND ORGAN BOOKS

OF THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER 1

THE DURHAM MANUSCRIPTS[1]

PREAMBLE

Reference has already been made to the payment to John Wells in 1561-2, the purchase of paper in 1568-9 for a set of books of music for men's voices, and to the acquisition in 1596-7 of a set with gilt tooling on its covers.[2] When those sets were being discussed it was suggested that the some of the contents of the former may have been transcribed anew after the Restoration, and that covers from the latter could well be on some of the books of the first set discussed below. Of the actual pages of those two early sets of books, however, no fragment has been discovered.

Whilst the sixteenth century manuscripts may have perished, the same is not true of those transcribed in the 1620s and 1630s. Still in Durham are no fewer than twenty-four part-books[3] and five organ books, a collection representing some 6% of the surviving English liturgical music books of the period.[4] A further part-book, the Dunnington-Jefferson MS, a manuscript possibly owned or used by John Cosin himself, is now held by York Minster Library.[5]

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1 This analysis of the Durham MSS draws heavily on 'Durham Cathedral's Liturgical Music Manuscripts, *c*.1620-*c*.1640', *DUJ*, 66 (1973-4), 40-51. The article showed how what I had found out about the MSS since October 1967 differed from the findings presented by J.M. Morehen in 'The Sources of English Cathedral Music, *c*.1617-*c*.1644' (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D., 1969). Earlier, in 'Towards a Definitive Study of Pre-Restoration Anglican Service Music', *Musica Disciplina*, 14 (1960), 167-95, Peter le Huray attempted to date the MSS and divide them into sets.

2 See pp.143 (x2), 159.

3 This number is arrived at by restoring to the two fascicles of MS C7 their original distinct identities.

4 Given the criteria above Durham has 29 out of some 508 manuscripts listed in Daniel and le Huray, *Sources of English Sacred Music, 1549-1644*, i (1972)

5 York MS M29S, a Bass part-book; for a discussion of it see pp.251-4 below.

That the manuscripts do indeed belong to the 1620s and 1630s is evident from their contents, from the nature of the compositons and from the composers represented and not represented. Moreover, in several instances those contents accord well with the description of manuscripts referred to in the Act Book of the Dean and Chapter and in two of the three Treasurer's books of the 1630s. Finally, both contents and references match well the descriptions given in a post-Restoration later Inventory of church goods.

Although an awareness of all three strata is necessary it is impossible intelligibly to present a survey of the manuscripts, the references to the production of some of them, and the contents of the inventory all at the same time. Fundamental to the survey are the manuscripts themselves, and it is a consideration of them which is undertaken first.

THE DIVISION INTO SETS

On account of their early contents, size, covers[6], notation, and handwriting, the part-books and organ books may be conveniently grouped into a number of sets.[7]

Part-books		
Set 1	Anthem books	MSS C4-C6, C7 (2nd fascicle), C9-C10
Set 2	Service book	MS C18
Set 3	Service book	MS C8
Set 4	Service books	MSS E4-E11
Set 5	Anthem books	MSS C2-C3, C7 (1st fascicle), C14
Set 6	Composites	MSS C16 (anthems); C11, C13, E11a (services)
Organ books		MSS A1-A3, A5-A6

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6 With the exception of MS E11a, acquired in 1938, the covers of the manuscripts at Durham were all restored in the 1920s.

7 It has been felt desirable not to alter the arrangement given in the *DUJ* article.

The books grouped together as Set 6 of the part-books differ from those of the previous five sets in that they were not members of a set of ten books produced for the use of the choir but were produced for the use of particular individuals. The expression, part-book, is most apt, for into each book the transcriber copied only the notes and words its user would sing. For instance, in the case of the countertenors the limitation was not just to that voice part in four-part anthems and services, but in five-part compositions requiring two countertenor parts to the relevant part. The usual arrangement in such music was for the junior countertenor on one side of the choir to sing the same part as the senior voice on the other. Further, in antiphonal music sections sung by the other side are represented only by rests. As for any verse sections set for the countertenor voice, none occurs in more than one member of a set, and that member is always the senior one on its side of the choir.

In presenting inventories of the manuscripts or their sets, except where the use of inverted commas indicates the contrary, the spelling of titles has been modernized and surnames given in the forms now accepted. Although Morehen in particular was inclined to pay attention to the use of 'Mr' and 'Dr', and succeeded in identifying the contribution of Henry Palmer from the absence of both these titles, those details have not been inserted. It is felt that the use of 'Mr' in the case of those who progressed to 'Dr' has little significance in dating the transcription. Whilst Morehen himself suggested that geographical remoteness might explain outdated ascriptions, it is time to query whether the transcriber even thought about such matters, whether he simply repeated what was in the copy he was working from. This must be the explanation why in Set 1 below there are differences in ascription between the Decani and Cantoris members of the set. Finally, whilst the lack of 'Mr' or 'Dr' pointed to Palmer as the transcriber, caution must be exercised there too. Take, for instance, the second group of anthems added to Set 1 below. There in the same hand are compositions ascribed without title to 'Thomas Wilson', 'Jo. Nicholls jun', 'Jo. Foster', and 'Yarrow'. As the first three were choristers at Durham in the 1630s, their status within the choir in relation to that of the copyist must also be borne in mind. This is abundantly clear from MS A5:224, where it is declaimed, 'John Foster: chorister of y^{e} church of Durham: 1638'. However, it is also true from personal experience

that within a peer group certain established people, more out of respect than familiarity, tend to be called by their Christian name rather than by any title.

THE PART-BOOKS

SET 1

MS C4	II Contratenor Decani
C5	II Contratenor Cantoris
C6	I Contratenor Cantoris
C7 (2nd fascicle)	[I Contratenor Cantoris]
C9	Tenor Decani
C10	Tenor Cantoris

Full and verse anthems, in two sections; 286-95 x 183-8 mm;[8] leather covers, probably late 16th cent., with central device tooled in gilt.[9]

Contents[10]

Full anthems

1	(1) The Lord bless us	[Robert] White
2	(2) I call and cry	Tallis
3	(3) Behold it is Christ	Hooper
4	(4) O how glorious art thou O God	[R.] White
5	(5) O give thanks unto the Lord	Giles
6	(6) O Lord make thy servant	Byrd
7	(7) Out of the deep (6 parts)	Morley
8	(8) O God the proud	Byrd
9	(9) Sing joyfully	Byrd
10	(10) I lift my heart	Tye
11	(11) Deliver me from mine enemies	[Robert] Parsons
12	(12) Save me O God	Byrd
13	(13) O how amiable	Weelkes
14	(14) Holy Lord God Almighty	Robert Parsons
15	(15) O give thanks unto the Lord	[John] Mundy
16	(16) O Lord give ear	Byrd
17	(17) O Lord I bow the knees	[William] Mundy
18	(18) Blessed be thy name O God	Tallis
19	(19) O thou God Almighty	Mundy [Hooper]
20	(20) Almighty God the fountain	Tomkins
21	(21) Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous	Hooper

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8 The height is given first.

9 MSS C4, C7, C9, and C10 still have their original covers, covers which may have possibly belonged to the set of books presented by William Smith [3] in 1596-7. Further original covers are on MS C17, a replacement volume, which was transcribed by John White in 1670s. MSS C4 and C10 still have their original Tables of Contents.

10 In the rows of the inventory which follows the first number is editorial, the second that given in the manuscripts.

22	(22)	O praise God in his holiness	William [R.] White
23	(23)	Almighty God which in thy wrath (Anthem in the time of the plague)	Adrian Batten
24	(24)	Sing we merrily	Daniel Taylor
25	(25)	Almighty and everlasting God mercifully look	[O.] Gibbons
26	(26)	Hosanna to the Son of David	[O.] Gibbons
27	(27)	O Lord God of my salvation	Tho. Warwick
28	--	O praise the Lord of heaven	Jo. Geeres
29	(28)	O God whose nature and property	Henry Palmer
30	(29)	Prevent us O Lord	Byrd
31	(30)	Give laud unto the Lord	John Mundy
32	(31)	God standeth	Read
33	(32)	Let not thy wrath (Ne irascaris)	Byrd
34	(33)	Blessed is the man	George Rutter
35	(34)	Arise O Lord	Byrd
36	(35)	Behold now praise the Lord	William White
37	(36)	Call to remembrance	Hilton
38	(37)	Almighty God which hast given us	Hooper
39	--	How long shall mine enemies	Byrd
40	--	The eyes of all wait	Jo. Geeres

Verse anthems

41	(1)	Alack	Byrd
42	(2)	Ah helpless wretch	[W. Mundy]
43	(3)	Out of the deep	Morley
44	(4)	O how happy a thing	Giles
45	(5)	O God my strength	John Mundy
46	(6)	Blessed art thou that fearest God	John Mundy
47	(7)	O Lord my God	Giles
48	(8)	Let God arise (2 basses)	Ward
49	(9)	I will magnify thee O Lord	Martin Peerson
50	(10)	Save me O God	Richard Portman
51	(11)	Sing unto the Lord	[O.] Gibbons
52	(12)	Grant holy Trinity	[O.] Gibbons
53	(13)	The secret sins	Orlando Gibbons
54	(14)	Behold O God	Byrd
55	(15)	O God of Gods	Hooper
56	(16)	Deliver me O God	Bull
57	(17)	Thou art my king O God	[Thomas] Tomkins
58	(18)	O Lord turn not	Hooper
59	(19)	We praise thee O father	[O.] Gibbons
60	(20)	He that hath my commandments	Giles
61	(21)	I will wash my hands	William Smith
62	(22)	Lord I am not high-minded	Rich. Hutchinson
63	(23)	Give sentence with me	Thomas Tomkins
64	(24)	O sing unto the Lord	Richard Hinde
65	(25)	Glorious and powerful God	[O.] Gibbons
66	(26)	Behold how good and joyful	Rich. Portman
67	(27)	Praise the Lord O my soul	Adrian Batten
68	(28)	How many hired servants	Robert Parsons 'de Exon.'
69	(29)	If the Lord himself	Edward Smith
70	(30)	Give the king thy judgments	Weelkes
71	(31)	O praise God in his holiness	Edward Smith
72	(32)	Hear me O Lord	John Fido

73	(33)	Blessed are all they	Orlando Gibbons
74	(34)	In thee O Lord	Bull
75	(35)	Lord let me know mine end	Thomas Tomkins
76	(36)	Behold thou hast made my days	Orlando Gibbons
77	(37)	Blessed be the Lord God of Israel	Tho. Tomkins
78	(38)	This is the record of John	[O.] Gibbons
79	(39)	How long wilt thou forget me	Morley
80	(40)	My heart is set	William Smith
81	(41)	O God my heart prepared is	Richard Hutchinson
82	(42)	When Israel came out of Egypt	Michael East
		'added later'	
83	(43)	Christ rising	Byrd
84	(44)	I will magnify thee	Giles
85	(45)	Almighty God which hast knit together (All Saints Day)	Tho. Tomkins
86	(46)	Everlasting God which hast ordained (Michaelmas)	Giles
87	(47)	Send aid	John Mundy
88	(48)	O Lord consider my distress	Edward Smith
89	(49)	O Lord in thee is all my trust	Hooper
		'added later still'	
90		O Lord turn not away thy face	Giles
91		Have mercy upon me	Gibbons [Byrd]
92		By the waters of Babylon	Tho. Wilson
93		Let thy merciful ears	Mudd
94		Teach me thy way	Mundy [Hooper]
95		O pray for the peace of Jerusalem	Jo. Nicholls, jun
96		Almighty and everlasting God which dost govern	Yarrow
97		When the Lord turned again	Jo. Foster
98		If the Lord himself	Jo. Foster
99		[Second Service]: G, Sc, S	Jo. Foster

The full anthems in these manuscripts proved particularly popular, and because of them the books saw extended service after the Restoration. Judging by the repairs they have undergone (*e.g.*, MS C4:17-26 had to be rewritten) and, as the next paragraph shows, from the replacement copies introduced in the 1670s, the books of this set would seem to be some of those being referred to in the corporate answers of the Dean and Prebendaries to the Articles of the 1665 Visitation. A marginal addition to the text states,

> The Service is not yet performed in the Quire as it was before. The Song Bookes are torne and not renewed.[11]

At a date still to be determined, but most probably after 1660, MS C1 was transcribed.[12] Between 1660 and 1670 MS C19 was copied for an

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11 Hunter MS 11, ga.83.

12 Anthems 90-8 are funadamental to it.

unknown user, and British Library Add. MSS 30478-9 were produced for George Davenport and Isaac Basire. Neither of these was a member of the choir, the former being the Bishop's chaplain, and the latter, one of the prebendaries.[13] By 1679 John White[14] was using the replacement (MS C17) for one of the bass books. Its Table of Contents is dated 1675, and for its covers it re-uses those which had been on the book it was replacing. This book is of particular interest, for pasted inside its front cover is a copy of Durham's oldest Service Sheet, that for June 1680.[15] In including most of the full anthems of Set 1 it discloses that they were still in favour, though at the same time it shows more selectivity over the verse anthems. The presence of parts of the two pages of an opening (pp.78-9), as opposed to the two sides of a single sheet, added by Elias Smith, confirms that MS C15 was in use by 1676.[16]

MS C12 is only slightly later. Transcribed *c.*1680, it could well be 'Mr Smart's new Tenor booke' into which 5½ sheets [= 22 pages] were copied in 1686 at a cost of 5s-6d.[17] In that case MS C12 may be the replacement for MS C10 which has inscribed on p.iv, 'James Smart'. In 1682 MSS C6 and C7 were provided with new Tables of Contents, whilst the alteration of the monarch's name from 'Charles' to 'James' in Byrd's anthem, 'O Lord make thy servant ... our King' in MS C6:6 shows that it was still in use in 1685. In this respect MS C2*, copied in the 1690s and still including twenty-seven of the full anthems of Set 1, extends the use of that set further by naming the 'servant' as 'William'. That additions were to the members of Set 1 by copyists John White in the 1670s and Matthew Owen[18] in the 1680s and 1690s, shows that the books were still very

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13 7th Stall, 1643-76.

14 Chorister and lay-clerk, 1664-87. White was the transcriber of the MS and wrote inside its back cover, 'Writt: by John White 1679'.

15 See B. Crosby, 'A Service Sheet from June 1680', *The Musical Times*, 121 (1980), 399-401.

16 Smith died that year.

17 PDLP Box 25; the account was submitted on 8 January 1686/7.

18 Mistakenly identified as John Milner by Morehen (thesis, p.45). Milner was Precentor, 1689-1705, and his signature confirmed that payment had been made up to the point in question. Owen's detailed bills further positively identify the work as his.

much in use. The latest attestation to such additions was made by John Milner and is dated 'Dec. 21. 1700'.[19]

In view of the length of time the books were in use it is surprising that parts of as many as six of the original copies have survived, and fortunate that these include books from each side of the choir. Where Morehen supposed that, apart from two anthems by John Geeres and the clearly later additions, one scribe was responsible for the text in all of them,[20] my own studies concluded that the picture was not quite so simple. A careful examination of the manuscripts disclosed that one scribe, identified as John Todd,[21] began both the full and verse sections of all the books. He copied full anthems 1-27[22] and verse anthems 1-20 in the Decani books. At that point there is one of the anthems by Geeres, his other being between the full and verse sections.

It was as a result of comparing Geeres's name at the end of his anthems with his signatures in the Treasurer's books that Morehen established that the anthems were holograph.[23] This comparison is shown in Illustrations 9 and 10.

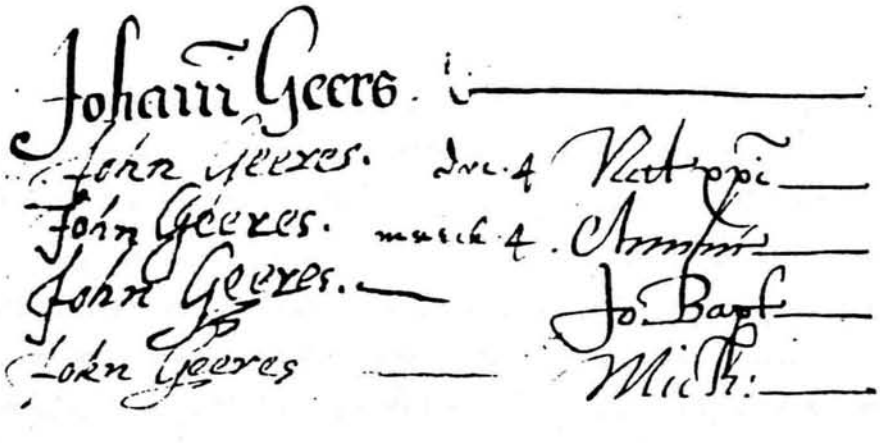


ILLUSTRATION 9: Geeres's signatures, Treas. Book 1635-6, f.8

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19 MS C7:414; what is not clear is why the same additions should have been made to both the fascicles of MS C7.

20 Morehen, thesis, p.44.

21 The evidence for the identification of Todd and the other scribes is presented later, see pp.268 *et seq*.

22 For some reason it is full anthems 1-28 in MS C7.

23 Morehen, thesis, pp.160-5. Geeres was also responsible for copying a Psalm set for 8 July 1640 instead of the *Venite* (MS C10:87-8).

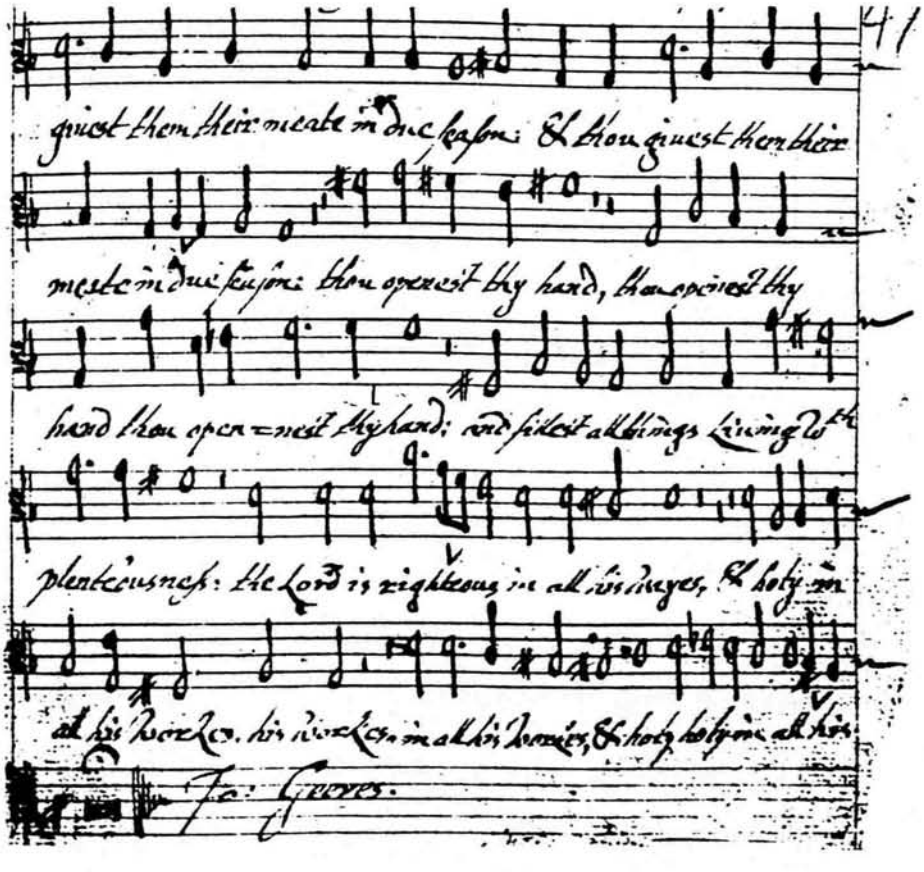


ILLUSTRATION 10: The end of 'The eyes of all' (MS C4:47), composed and transcribed by Geeres

Todd then copied full anthems 28-37 and verse anthems 21-42 in the Decani books, but another copyist, identified as Toby Brooking, was responsible for the same items in the Cantoris books.

It was a consideration of many aspects which led to the conclusion that two different copyists played their part. The points emerged from a comparison of the three members of Decani with those of Cantoris, not just for one anthem (with the possible exception of spelling) but throughout the books. They included the colour of ink, the formation of letters and numbers, the different spelling of words, the styling of the composers, the shape of clefs, accidentals, and ties, the formation of notes, the direct signs, and the end flourishes. It had been hoped effectively to show these differences on photocopies of an anthem copied by each of them. The effect of acidity of the ink making the notes on the reverse of the sheet only too apparent has resulted in poor reproductions. Even so, apart from the colour of ink, all the points listed below in Table 15 are apparent on their transcripts of 'O Lord let me know mine end', by Thomas Tomkins.

TABLE 15: STYLISTIC DIFFERENCES IN SET 3

Detail	*MS C4*	*MS C5*
clefs	two 'v's	more like a '3'
sharps	upright	inclined to right
breves	ordinary	elongated
heading	lord, know	Lord, knowe, + Tho
text	how long lyving, truly	howe longe liveinge, truelie
characters	compare 'M', 'I's, 'A's, 'e's, '5's	
direct signs	angled	slight curl + dot
end flourish	ends with lined Δ	ends Δ + direct sign

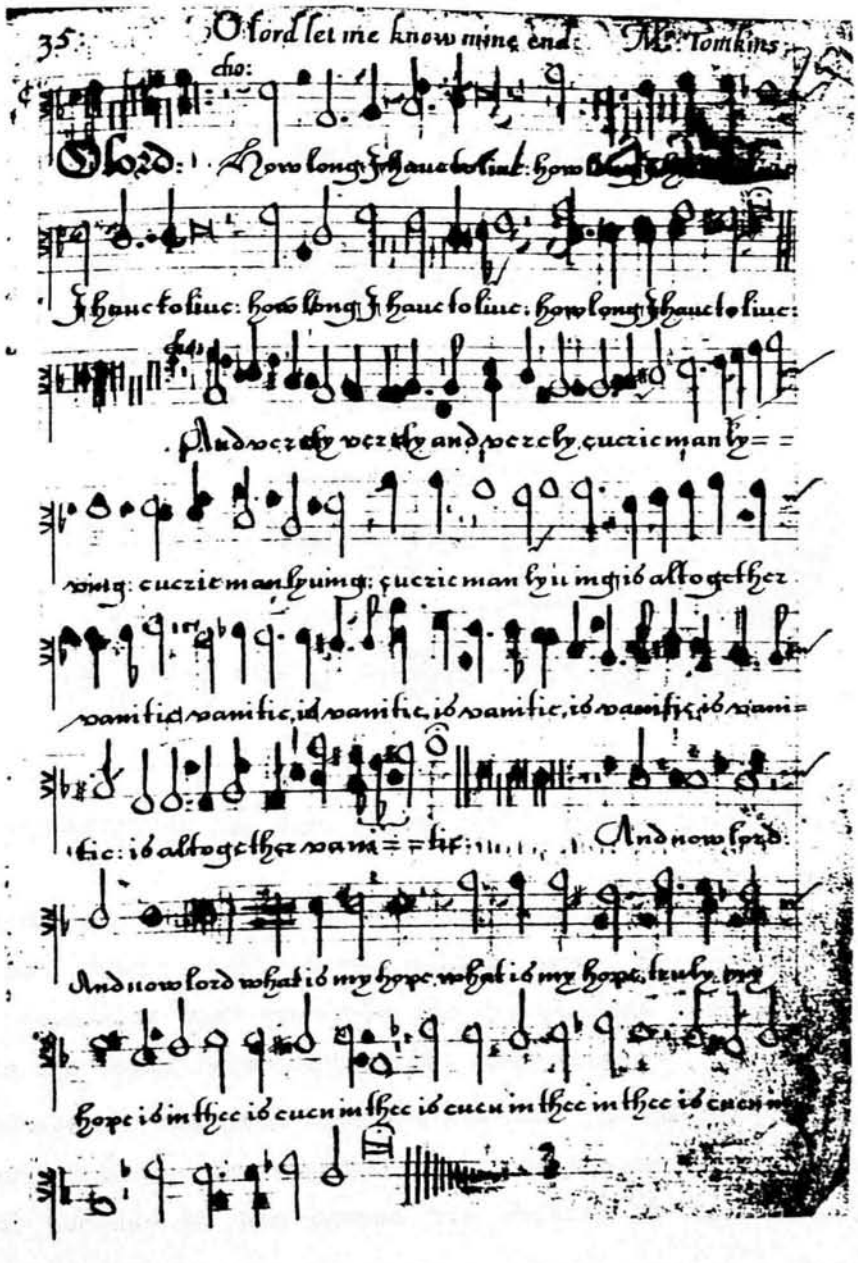


ILLUSTRATION 11: Part of MS C4:79, copied by Todd

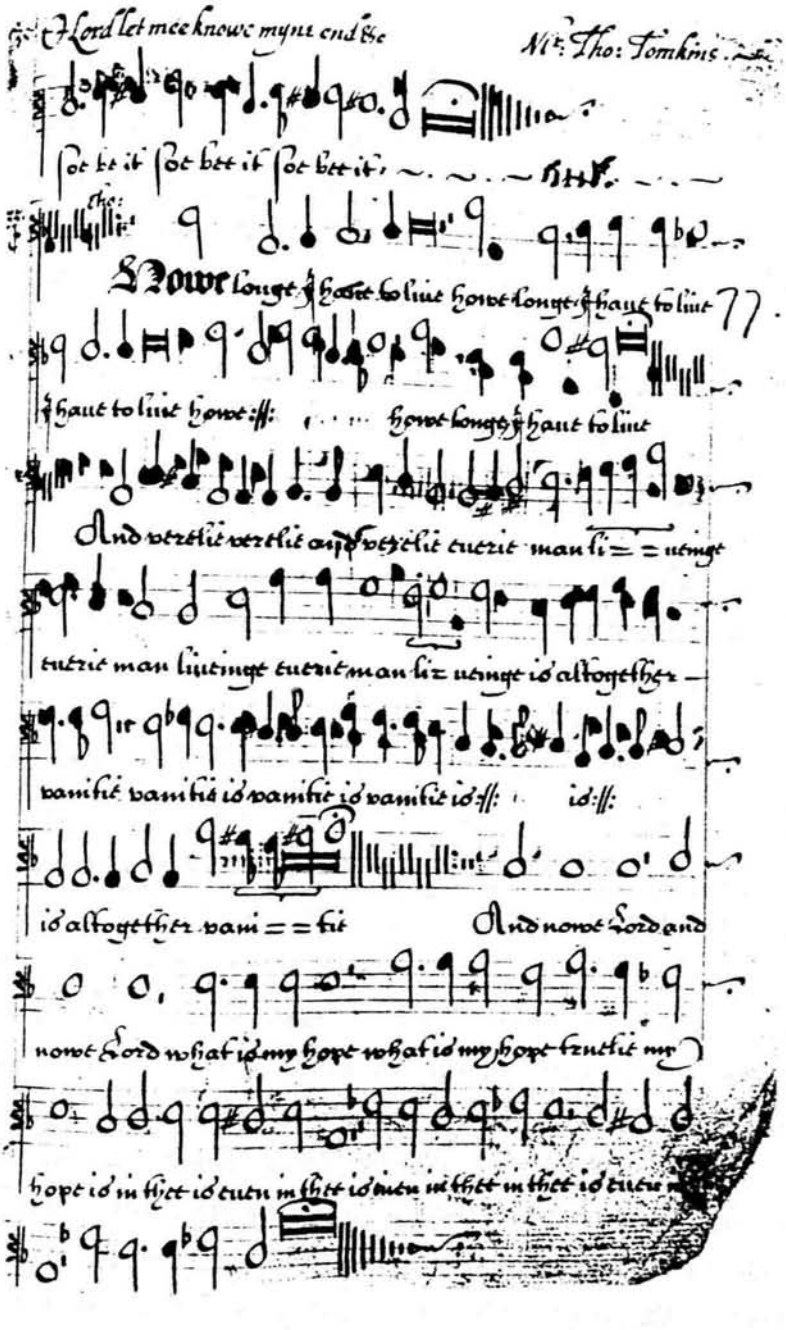


ILLUSTRATION 12: Part of MS C5:77, copied by Brooking

Whilst hardly any of the points mentioned would by itself carry much weight, yet their collective weight must be decisive. Such considerations also made possible the conclusions reached about the other sets and their relationships to each other.

Elsewhere it has been queried whether the second copyist was introduced in order to expedite the completion of the original project or because he had proven his ability by the time it was

decided to extend the contents.[24] It now transpires on two counts that the latter may be the more plausible suggestion. The first concerns the first anthem by Geeres. It is too much of a coincidence that two clean pages were left at the same point in all the books save one; it is more probable that his anthem, which is in a less flowing hand than his second offering, was added at the end of a section already in use. The other point is that, including as they do anthems by the Durham composers Edward Smith, Richard Hutchinson, and William Smith [5], verse anthems 21-42 represent not only a broadening of the repertoire but they are typical of the genre attacked by Prebendary Peter Smart in his sermon of 27 July 1628.[25]

The earliest part of the set cannot antedate 1625, for in Byrd's anthem, 'O Lord make thy servant', transcribed by the original copyist, the king is named as 'Charles'. Another date to be mindful of is 29 October 1628 (Act Book). This is the earliest reference to John Geeres at Durham, and probably very close to the date when he made the journey from King's College, Cambridge. Although it sets a *terminus a quo* for his first anthem, it does not rule out the possibility that the oldest parts of this set may have been copied between 1625 and 1628 (both dates inclusive).

Two significant corpuses were added to the verse section of all the books. The first, verse anthems 43-9, was added by Brooking. As the example on the next page shows, his style closely resembles his earlier work, and the direct sign, though different, is the same as that found in Set 5 and reproduced on p.248. With two of the anthems allotted to special days the corpus may have been added in the early 1630s. Those anthems are 'Almighty God which hast knit together' (Thomas Tomkins) and 'Everlasting God which hast ordained' (Nathaniel Giles). The texts are the Collects for All Saints Day and Michaelmas Day respectively, and to those days the anthems are explicitly assigned. That both these anthems are integral to Set 5 is a pointer to the relative order of the two sets, for there would have been no point in adding them to Set 1 if Set 5, in which anthems are allocated to their appropriate Feast Days, had already been in existence. Indeed, it might be reasoned that their presence in Set 1 points to them being added there at a time when the

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24 Crosby, *Catalogue*, 38.

25 See pp.170-5.

Set 5 had commenced but when its contents were still on loose gatherings. It might also be suggested that as the feast days - 29 September and 1 November - are relatively close together then this corpus was added during that part of the year.

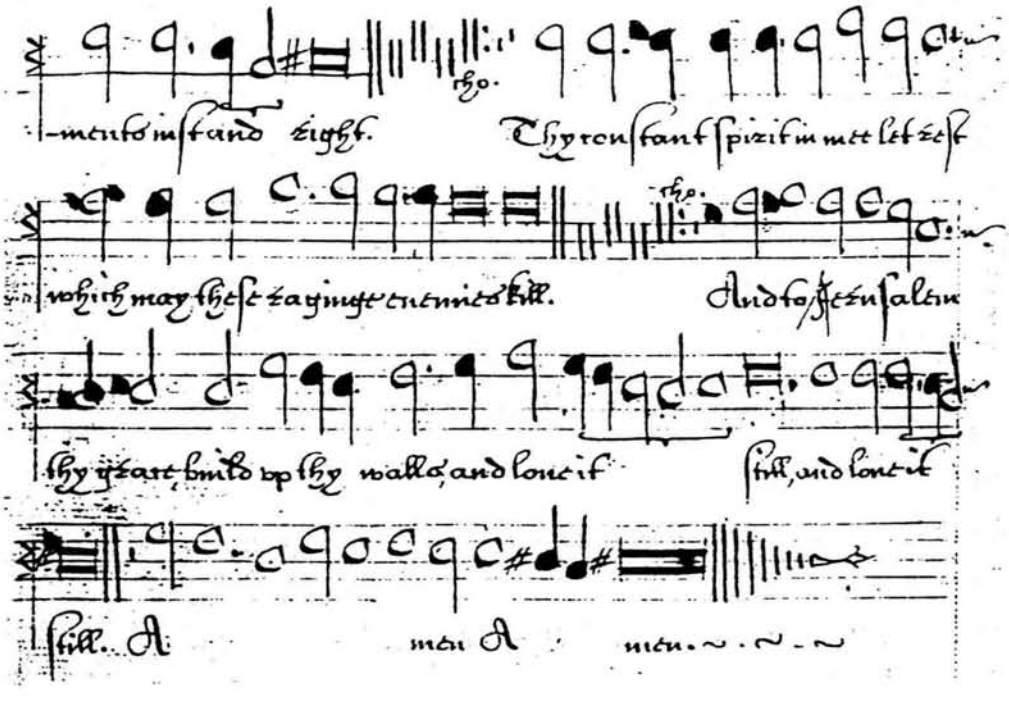


ILLUSTRATION 13: 'added later' to Set 1 by Brooking (MS C5:90)

There is a further point about this group of additions. It proved necessary for some of the contents of MS C7 to be re-written at quite an early date. This was done by Brooking who re-copied full anthems 32-37 and also the additions in question. The end flourish is an improvement on that used with the additions in the other books, and anticipates that found in Set 5. The early date is quite definite, for Geeres added his 'The eyes of all' on the same side as Brooking finished full anthem 37.

Although this set employs a round notation, whereas some of the others use the 'tilted rectangular', another indication that it is one of the older sets lies in the system of numeration employed. The pages are neither paginated nor foliated, it is the anthems themselves which are numbered. To employ such a system after either of the others would be a retrograde step.

For the second group of additions, their date and copyist are still not determined. With titles such as 'By the waters of Babylon' (Thomas Wilson), 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem' (John Nicholls,

junior), 'If the Lord himself had not been on our side' and 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion' (both by John Foster), a case could be made out for either the 1640s or the early years after the Restoration. The latter, however, is the more likely, even if Wilson composed his anthem before then. Organist at Peterhouse from 1635 until November 1643, he was active as a composer.[26] None of his compositions there found its way back to Durham, but, equally, 'By the waters of Babylon' is not at Peterhouse. This points to it being composed after he returned to Durham. Again, it may be felt that with the invasion by the Scots and the flight of the Dean and Chapter in 1640, followed by the abolition of the Prayer Book in January 1644/5,[27] there was little time for Nicholls, who did not become a chorister until shortly before 10 August 1637,[28] to have been active as a composer. The only obstacle to a post-1660 date seems to be that Nicholls, who by then was a lay-clerk aged *c*.35, is described as 'Jo. Nicholls jun' in MSS C7 and C10, and as 'Mr' only in MS C11.[29] Did his anthem indeed date from the 1640s? Or was he its copyist after 1660?[30] It might have helped had the date when John Nicholls senior was buried come to light.

SET 2

MS C18 Bassus Decani

Verse services, with some preces and festal psalms; 341 x 226 mm; leather covers, with central device having some gilt tooling.

1	Pss (Blessed are those that are undefiled; Let my complaint)	[Edward Smith]
2	Pr, Pss (The eyes of all)	Orlando Gibbons
3	[1st] Service to the Organ: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Morley
4	'Three Minhams': M, N	Morley
5	[1st] Service to the Organ: Td, J, C, M, N	Giles
6	'to the Organ': Td, J, M, N	Gibbs
7	[for Verses]: M, N	[Thomas] Tomkins

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26 For biographical details about Wilson see vol.2, pp.133-4.

27 See vol.1, pp.214-18.

28 For biographical details about Nicholls see vol.2, pp.91-3.

29 Not a choir book, but a manuscript used by the Dean after 1660.

30 The lack of 'Mr' enabled Morehen to identify the contribution of Henry Palmer in the 1630s - see p.264 below.

8	'Last' [*i.e.* Second] Service for Verses to the Organ': Td, J, K, C, M, N	Giles
9	[2nd Service] 'to the Organ': M, N	Orlando Gibbons
10	'for verses to the Organ': M, N	Farrant
11	'for verses to the Organ': M, N	Frost
12	'of 5 parts': Td, Bs, K, C	Robert Parsons
13	'to the Service before': M, N	William Mundy
14	M, N	Greenwood Randall
15	'Preces and Great Service': V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Byrd
16	'of 5 pts to the Organ' [to Parsons of Wells's Flat Service]: M, N	Hooper
17	[1st] 'Service of fower parts' (in D solre): Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	William Mundy
18	'The flatt Service': Td, Bs	Parsons [of Wells]
19	'to the Service before': M, N	Blanks
20	'for trebles': M, N	Weelkes
21	'for verses': M, N	Hooper
22	'of 7 parts': M, N	Weelkes
23	'Service for Meanes': Td, Bs, M, N	[M.] Jeffries
24	'Second Service for Verses': Td, J, K, M (inc; MS is incomplete)	Batten

In terms of date this set must be close to Set 1. Like that set it employs a round notation, was begun (pp.3-37) by Todd, and has its earliest additions (pp.75-6) in the hand of Brooking. Of these, pp.75-6 are like his work when Set 1 was shared out, and pp.77-9 more like the anthems 'added later' to that set.

The examples of their hands on the next page are clearer but do not illustrate as many points. The direct signs are the same as in Set 1, and the end flourishes are clearer. The writing may appear to be much the same, but the slope of the letters is different and there are far more quill strokes on the second example. Brought out much more clearly here are the different ways in which minims with down-coming stems are formed.

The remaining additions (pp.80-94, with clearly later pages lost), include Matthew Jeffries 'Service for Meanes', which in MS A2 (p.162) bears the date 1639. They are in a hand not evident in Set 1, or indeed in any other Durham set, and not hitherto identified. In April 1991, during an examination of the Peterhouse MSS, it was suddenly appreciated that the same hand was responsible for a considerable corpus in MS 478 there. It was felt that it was a case of work by yet another Durham scribe reaching Peterhouse, and not *vice versa*. With the work of seven Durham minor canons and lay-clerks already identified at Peterhouse, and several other members

of the Durham choir quickly eliminated, this scribe has tentatively been identified as John Gaydon, one of the lay-clerks.[31]

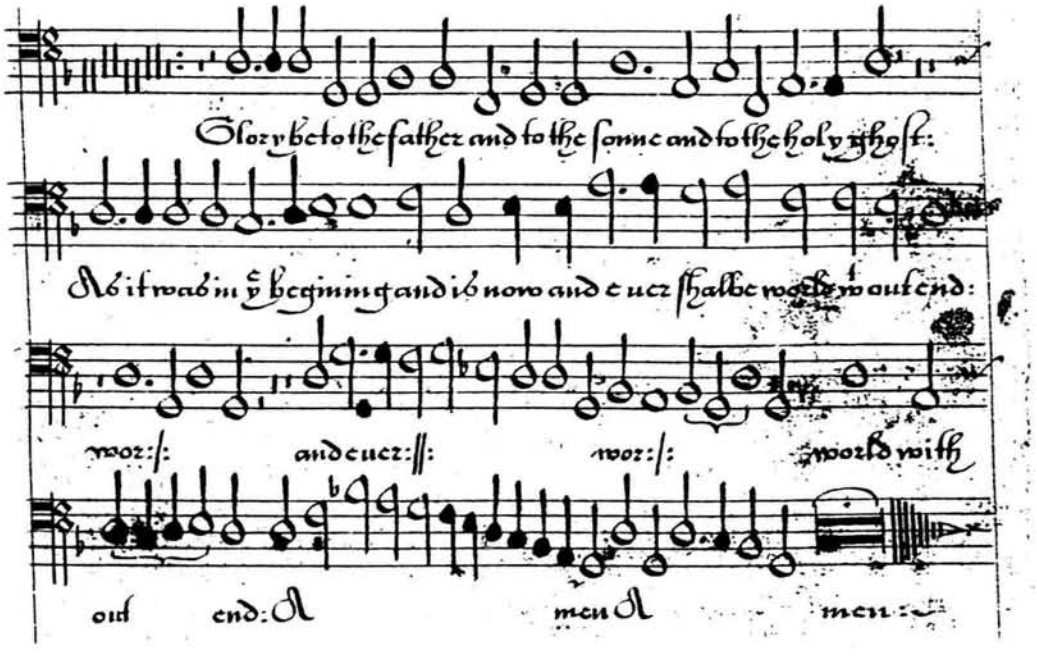


ILLUSTRATION 14: The hand of Todd (MS C18:72)

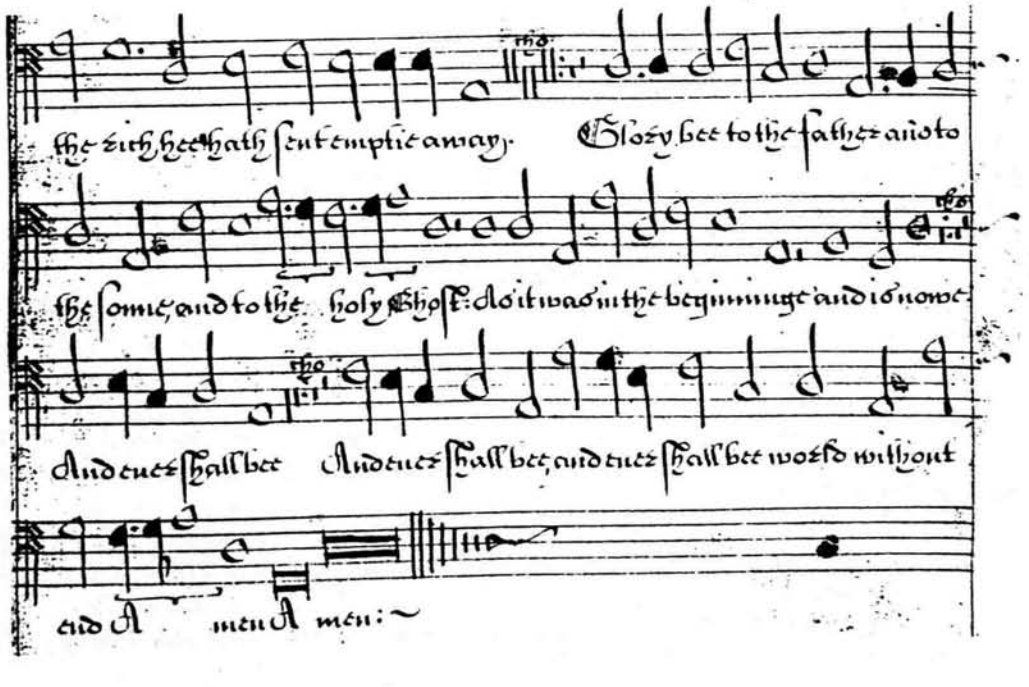


ILLUSTRATION 15: The hand of Brooking (MS C18:75)

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31 See pp.324 for an interrupted example of the handiwork of this scribe in MS C18, and pp.323-8 for the reasons why it is thought that he could well be Gaydon.

SET 3

MS E4	Medius Decani
E5	Medius Cantoris
E6	Secundus Contratenor Decani
E7	Primus Contratenor Cantoris
E8	Secundus Contratenor Cantoris
E9	Tenor Decani
E10	Tenor Cantoris
E11	Bassus Cantoris

Verse services, arranged in four liturgical groupings - preces and festal psalms for the six major festivals of the church's year,[32] and groupings for Matins, Communion, and Evensong; 495-501 x 295-8 mm; leather covers with centrally placed cathedral coat-of-arms tooled in gilt but lacking precision at the edges.

1	Pr, Ps, Christmas Matins (Lord thou art become gracious)	William Smith
2	Pr, Ps, Christmas Evensong (The Lord said unto my Lord)	William Smith
3	Pr, Pss, Epiphany (When Israel came out; Hear my prayer O Lord and hide not; Teach me O Lord)	Byrd
4	Pr, Ps, Easter Matins (I will give thanks)	William Smith
5	Pr, Ps, Easter Evensong (Awake up my glory)	Orlando Gibbons [Ps by W. Smith]
6	Pr, Ps, Ascension Matins (O Lord our Governor)	Edward Smith [Ps by J. Mundy]
7	Pr, Ps, Ascension Evensong (Lift up your heads)	Byrd
8	Pr, Ps, Whitsunday Matins (God be merciful)	William Smith
9	Pr, Ps, Whitsunday Evensong (The eyes of all)	Orlando Gibbons
10	Pr, Pss, All Saints' Day (Blessed are those that are undefiled; Let my complaint)	Edward Smith
11	[1st Service]: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Robert Parsons
12	[2nd Service] in 'ef fa uth': V, Td, Bs, C, M, N	Sheppard
13	'to Shepherd's Creed': K	Brimley
14	[1st Service] in 'De sol re': V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	[William] Mundy
15	Great Service: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Byrd
16	First Service for Verses: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Giles
17	[1st] Service for Verses: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Morley
added before 1640:		
18	Third Service: M, N	Batten
19	Fourth Service: M, N	Batten

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32 Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, and All Saints' Day.

Everything about these volumes is impressive. They stand apart on account of their size, and are written both large and spaciously. That their tilted-rectangular notation is archaic serves to emphasise their special function. Dimensionally smaller than the surviving bifolio of British Library Add. MS 30520, they prompt thoughts that the motive force behind their production must surely have been aware of the splendid music manuscripts of the monastic period. Though Durham now has none of these, possibly some survived until the early seventeenth century.

Leaving aside the two Services by Batten, the contents of these books fall into four distinct sections. First come the Preces and Festal Psalms, followed by about ten blank pages. The other sections embrace the canticles sung at Matins, Holy Communion, and Evensong respectively.

Although trimming at some stage has slightly reduced the size of the books, still visible at the top of several pages are description of their contents such as '2 Cont. De.' and 'Pri. Cont. Can.'[33] These remarks are capable of two interpretations. They could be instructions either to the transcriber or to help the book-binder to establish the order. One other comment of an editorial nature also attracted attention. It was the expression, '218 fianse'.[34] An examination of the notation points to it referring more to the number of beats to that point rather than to the number of notes and rests.

Apart from Adrian Batten's Third and Fourth Services and the Tables of Contents, which are slightly later in all the books, the Decani members of the set are again the work of Todd. In the example which follows the notes may be smaller and closer, but that was necessary to fit Brimley's *Kyrie* on the page allocated to it. The writing, flats, direct signs, and end flourish are the same.

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33 *E.g.*, MSS E6:133, and E8:25, respectively.

34 MS E5:149; *cf.*, '72' on MS E6:79, and also the Peterhouse Henrician part-books (*e.g.*, MS 471:37^{v}).

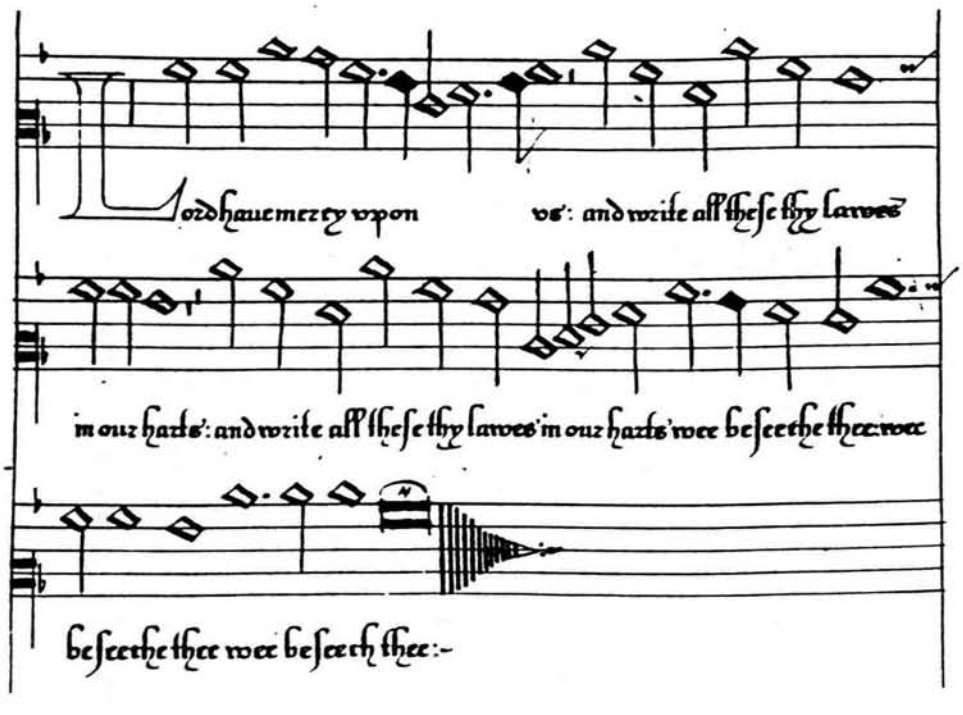


ILLUSTRATION 16: A further example of Todd's hand (MS E4:112)

As for the Cantoris volumes, they pose a major problem, and they make one doubt whether other identifications of copyists are correct after all. The problem is not one newly come to light. In 1974, in 'Durham Cathedral's Liturgical Music Manuscripts *c.*1620 to *c.*1640', the problem was quietly ignored, but in 1986, in *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, it was stated that 'the Cantoris books were worked upon by two other scribes [compared with Decani]'.[35] In fact, the more one looks the more styles one thinks one can see. More realistically, some of the seeming differences are no more than a closing up of the text and a reduction in the size of notes in order to fit the canticles into the space allotted to them. Even so, three styles can be detected. Of these the first and third can be reconciled. The first and the most common is the work of Brooking. It is a bold formal style using a dark ink and producing work in a grand style appropriate for such a set of books. From the illustration it is apparent that the style has many similarities with Brooking's work shown on p.231. The 'h' may have its 'tail' the other way round, but the direct signs,

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35 *Op. cit.* 64.

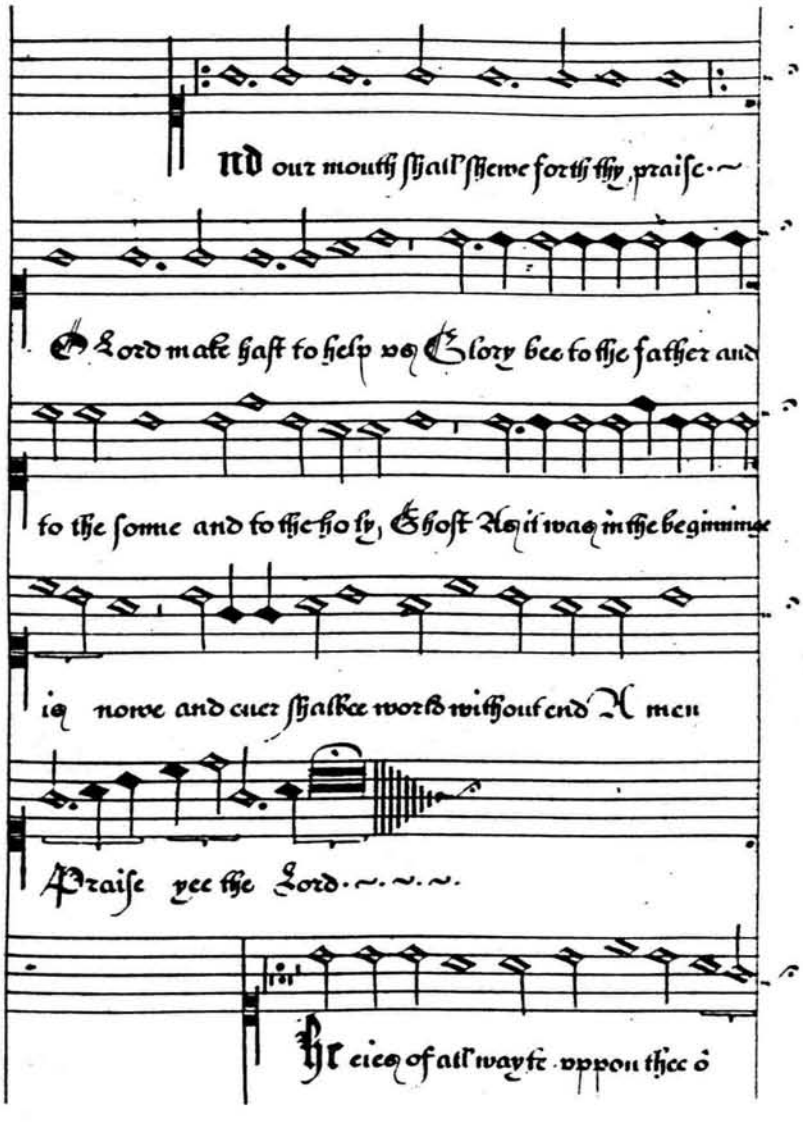


ILLUSTRATION 17: Brooking's basic style for Set 3 (MS E5:33)

elongated breves, and end flourishes are the same. The 'e' of the more ornate incomplete '[T]he' at the bottom of the page is identical, and if there had been time and space to include more examples many similarities would have emerged between its letters and those of the first words of the anthems of Set 1 added by Brooking when the work was shared out on a Decani / Cantoris basis. At the same time the position and angle of the ordinary 'd's points to Brooking's style later in the 1630s.

The third style completes the manuscripts. In all the books, both Decani and Cantoris, it is responsible for the Table of Contents and pagination, and for Batten's Third and Fourth services.

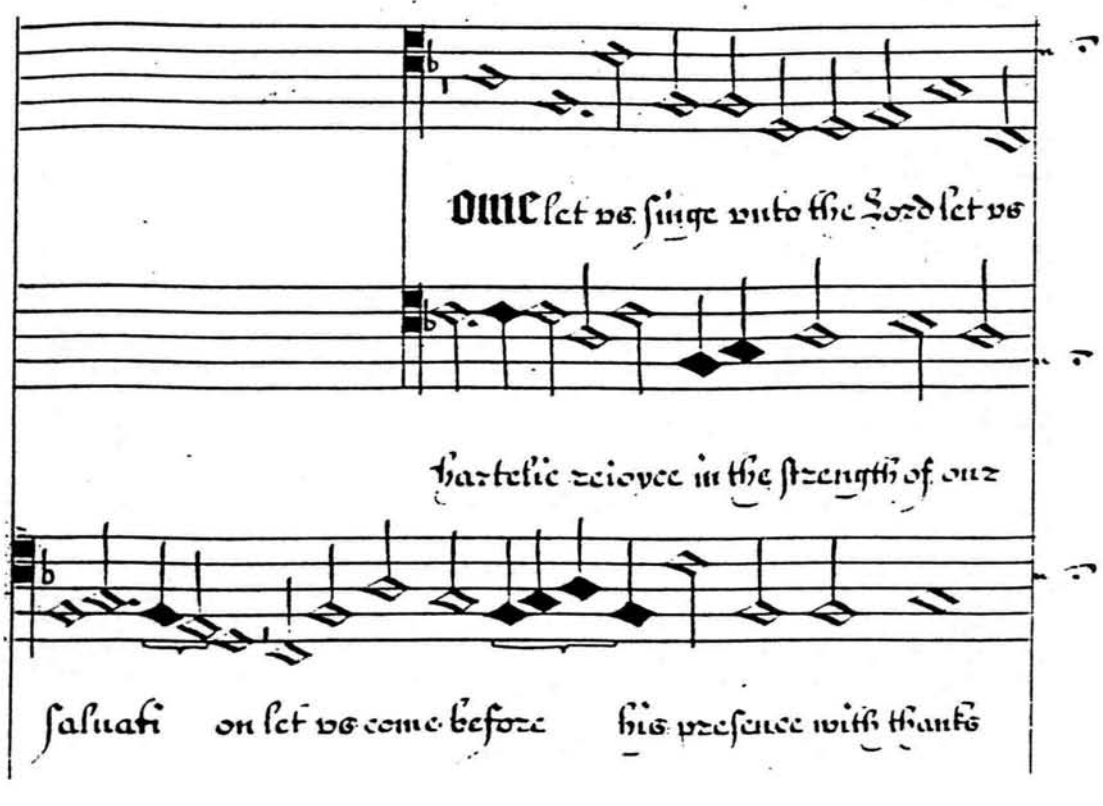


ILLUSTRATION 18: Brooking's style developing (MS E10:49)

It was responsible for Parsons's *Venite* in all the Cantoris books, and in some of them for some of Byrd's 'Great Service', some of William Smith's Preces for Christmas Day, and for some of the headings on some pages in the first style. Whilst this style is related to all the other early work done by Brooking, it anticipates that of the slightly later anthems of Set 5, and the special books of Set 6.

It is the second style which has many irreconcilable features. The shape of the notes, the direct signs, the end flourishes, and the formation of letters, and of the 'h' and 'y' in particular, all are so very different. Whoever the copyist was he was responsible for less than a third of the contents. All five Cantoris books survive, and in all five his work is confined to parts of the Services by Parsons (except the *Venite*) and Sheppard.

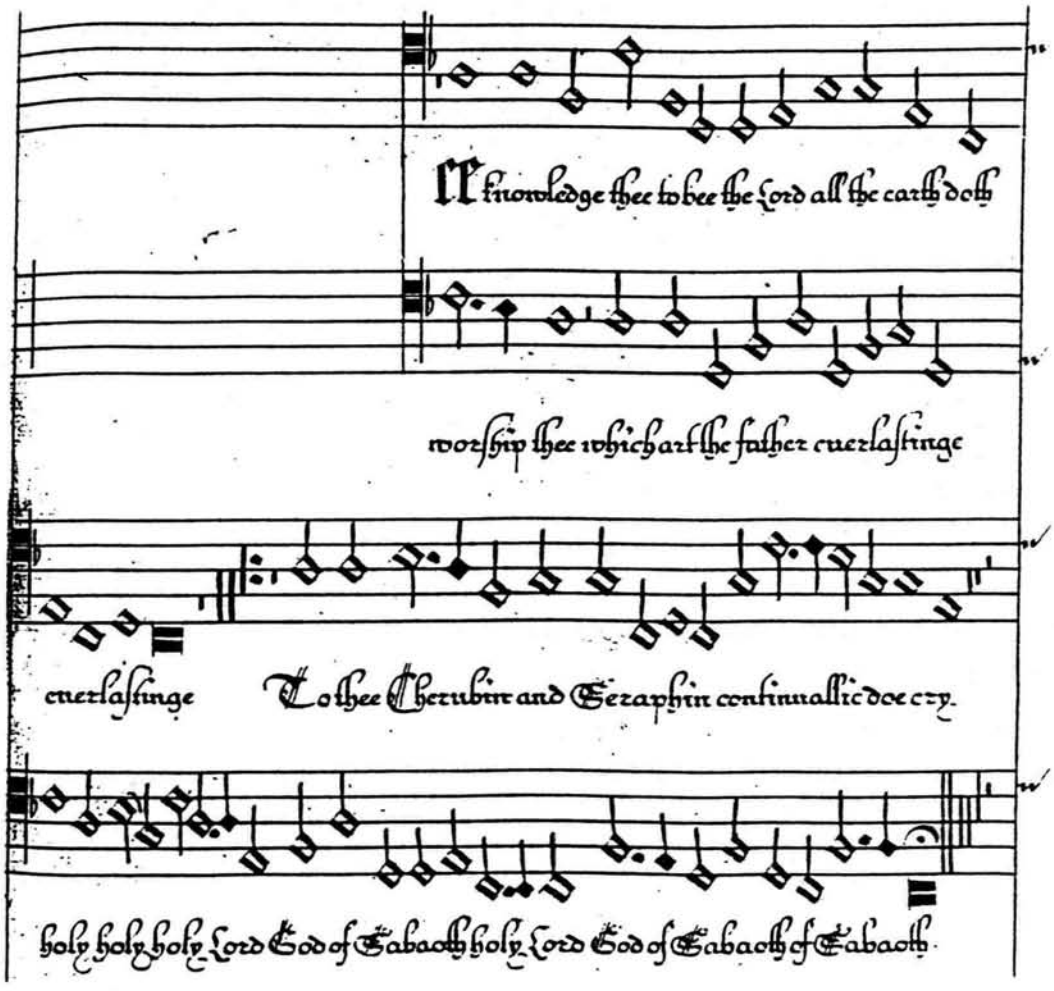


ILLUSTRATION 19: The unknown copyist of Set 3 (MS E10:53)

SET 4

MS C8 [Contratenor]

Full services, arranged in liturgical groupings for Matins, Communion, and Evensong; 292 x 182 mm; leather covers.

Contents:

1	(1)	Short Service: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Tallis
2	(2)	Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Byrd
3	(3)	Short Service: Td, Bs, [K missing], C, M, N	[R.] Farrant
4	(4)	Short Service: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Strogers
5	(5)	Short Service: Td, J, K, C	[W.] Mundy
6		'to Mr Mundies Short Service: M, N	Read
7	(6)	'Flatt Service': Td, Bs, [K, C missing]	Parsons [of Wells]
8		'to Parsons of Wells flat service': M, N	Hooper
9	(7)	Short Service: Td, Bs, [K, C missing], M, N	Patrick
10	(8)	'Flatt Service': Td, Bs, [K, C missing]	Parsley

11		'To Mr Parsleys Service': M, N	Tye
12	(9)	Short Service: Td, Bs, [K missing], C, M, N	[T.] Tomkins
13	(10)	Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C,	Derrick
14		'To Dericks Short Service': M, N	Hughes
15	(11)	Short Service: Td, [Bs missing], M, N	[O.] Gibbons
16	(12)	V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Stevenson
17	(13)	'in ef fa ut' [2nd Service] [Td, Bs, K, C missing], M, N	[W.] Mundy
18	(14)	V, Td, Bs, [K, C missing], M, N	[Coste]
added before 1640:			
19		'At the Second Service: I': K, C	W. Smith
20		'At the Second Service: II': K, C	W. Smith
21		'at the Second Service': K, C	H. Palmer
22		Short [1st] Service: Td, Bs, K, C	John Foster

MS C8 is the sole survivor of its set. Like the Decani members of Set 3 it was transcribed by Todd. Like the members of that set its notation is 'tilted-rectangular', and like Set 1 it is the individual items which are numbered. The pagination was added by Brooking, as were items 19-22 on noticeably thinner paper. The four items - by members of the Durham choir - were transcribed not earlier than 1638, for they include John Foster's First Service

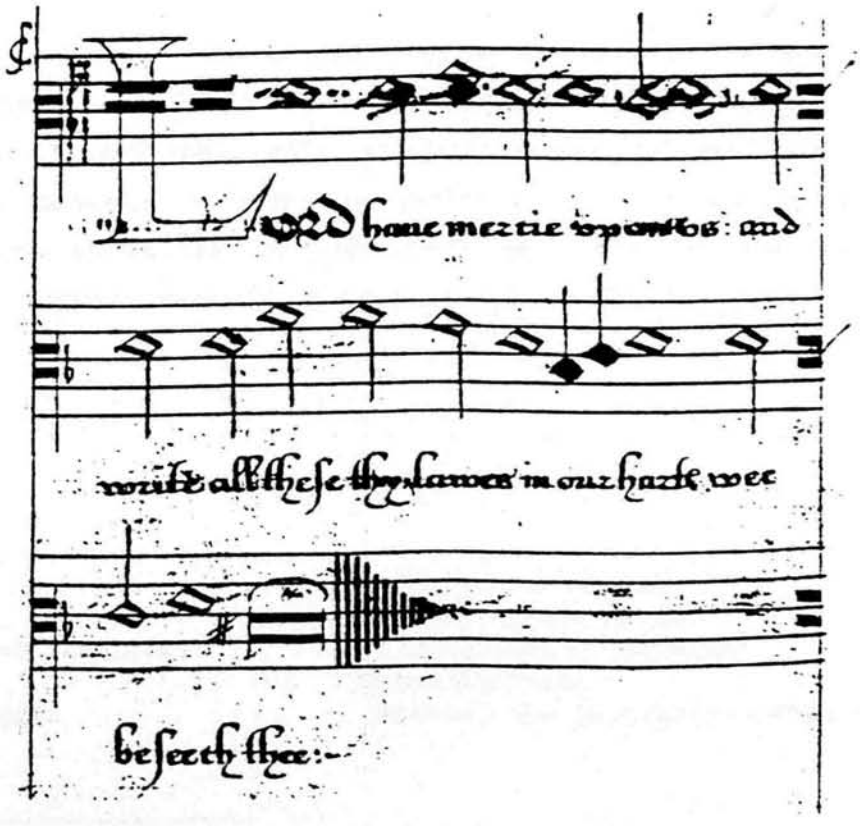


ILLUSTRATION 20: Part of MS C8:182, copied by Todd

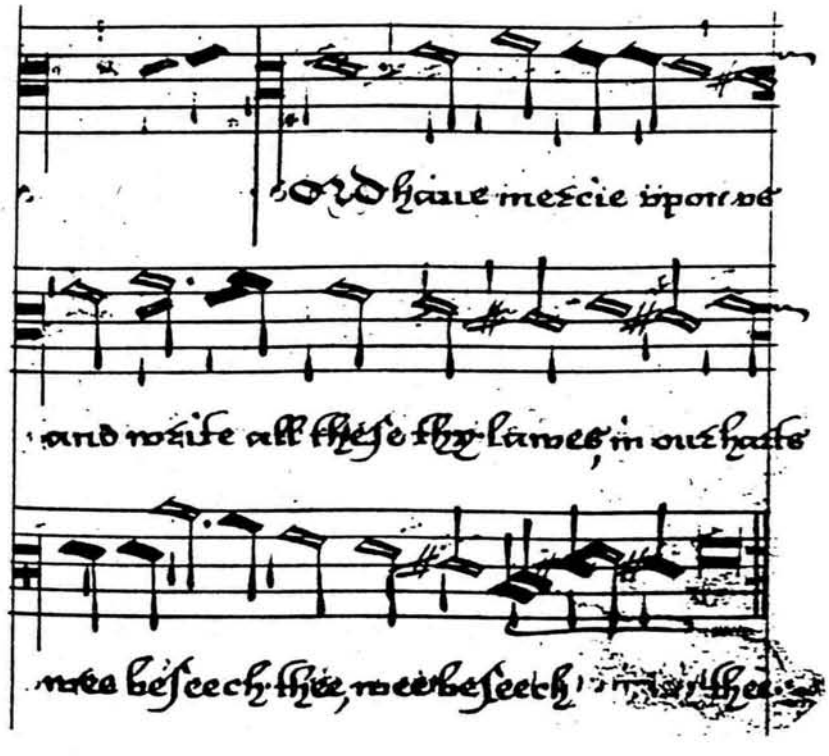


ILLUSTRATION 21: Part of MS C8:229, copied by Brooking

composed in that year when he was still a chorister.[36] Unlike the earlier contents the additions by Palmer and Smith have verse sections.

The manuscript itself saw long service. It was added to until 1739 (p.547), and among names written in it are those of Cuthbert Wilson (p.69) and John Banks (p.ii).[37] Several of its services have proved acceptable to every generation of musicians since. Still being sung at Durham in the 1980s were the settings by Byrd, Farrant, Gibbons, Patrick, Tallis, Tomkins and Tye.

SET 5

MS C2	I Contratenor Decani
C3	II Contratenor Decani
C7 (1st fascicle)	[I Contratenor Cantoris]
C14	Tenor Cantoris
York MS M29S	[Bassus](the Dunnington-Jefferson MS)

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36 So MS A5:224.

37 Wilson was a chorister, 1740-50, and a lay-clerk, 1751-80; and Banks was a chorister, 1771-80.

Verse anthems for festal days, with spaces left between the days, and general use; Durham MSS: 293-307 x 191-205 mm; leather covers with centrally placed cathedral coat-of-arms tooled precisely in gilt; York MS: 309 x 199 mm.

1	This is the record of John (Fourth Sunday in Advent)	[O.] Gibbons
2	Behold I bring you glad tidings (Christmas)	Orlando Gibbons
3	I will preach the law (Christmas)	W. Smith
4	Stephen being full of the Holy Ghost (St Stephen)	Thomas Tomkins
5	* Merciful Lord we beseech thee (St John the Evangelist)	Geeres
6	Almighty God which hast made (Circumcision of Christ)	Hooper
7	* Almighty God whose praise this day (Innocents Day)	H. Palmer
8	Almighty God who by the leading of a star (Epiphany)	Bull
9	Turn thou us O good Lord (Ash Wednesday)	Adrian Batten
10	Almighty and everlasting God which hastest nothing (Ash Wednesday)	H. Palmer
11	O Lord which for our sakes (1st Sunday in Lent)	W. Smith
12	Almighty and everlasting God who of thy tender love (Sunday next before Easter)	H. Palmer
13	Turn thou us O good Lord (Good Friday)	John Tomkins
14	See sinful soul (Good Friday)	Richard Gibbs
15	The blessed Lamb (Good Friday)	Edmund Hooper
16	* Christ rising (Easter)	Juxon
17	Christ rising (Easter)	William Byrd
18	We praise thee O Father (Easter)	[O.] Gibbons
19	If ye be risen again (Easter)	Orlando Gibbons
20	* Almighty God which through thy only begotten Son (Monday in Easter Week)	Richard Dering
21	Grant we beseech thee (Ascension)	W. Smith
22	O clap your hands (Ascension)	Michael East
23	O Lord our Governor (Ascension)	John Mundy
24	O God the King of glory (Ascension)	Orlando Gibbons
25	Glorious and powerful God (Whit Sunday)	Orlando Gibbons
26	God which as at this time (Whit Sunday)	Giles
27	Behold the hour cometh (Whit Sunday)	Gibbons [T. Tomkins]
28	Jesus came when the doors were shut (St Thomas)	Thomas Tomkins
29	Almighty and everlasting God we humbly beseech thy majesty (Purification of Mary the Virgin	Thomas Tomkins
30	Almighty and everlasting God we humbly beseech thy majesty (Purification, &c)	W. Smith
31	Almighty and everlasting God we humbly beseech thy majesty (Purification, &c)	H. Palmer
32	As they departed	Michael East
33	* O God which hast taught in all the world (Conversion of St Paul)	William Smith
34	Almighty God who by thy Son (St Peter)	Orlando Gibbons

35	Everlasting God which hast ordained (St Michael and All Angels)	Giles
36	* I heard a voice (St Michael and All Angels)	Batten
37	Almighty God which hast knit together (All Saints' Day)	Thomas Tomkins
38	* Hallelujah (All Saints' Day)	Weelkes
39	O God of Gods (King's Day)	Hooper
40	Grant Holy Trinity (King's Day)	Orlando Gibbons
41	Give the king thy judgments (King's Day)	Weelkes
42	Thou O God that guidest (King's Day)	Giles [Byrd]
43	* O Lord make thy servant (King's Day)	Cranford
44	If the Lord himself (Fifth of November)	Edward Smith
45	O how joyful is the king (Fifth of November)	Thomas Weelkes
46	Give the king thy judgments	Loosemore
47	Blessed are those that are undefiled	Adrian Batten
48	Holy Lord God Almighty (Trinity Sunday)	Adrian Batten
49	Praise the Lord O ye his servants	William Wilkinson
50	I will always give thanks	Portman
51	I will love thee O Lord	Cranford
52	O sing unto the Lord	Richard Hind
53	I will magnify thee O Lord	Giles
54	Hear O my people	William Child
55	My help cometh of the Lord	Thomas Tomkins
56	O how amiable	Thomas Gale
57	Above the stars	Thomas Tomkins
58	O Lord thou hast searched me out[38]	Adrian Batten
59	Ponder my word O Lord	Adrian Batten
60	Hear my prayer O God and hide not	Adrian Batten
61	Hear my prayer O Lord and with thine ears	Adrian Batten
62	O hear my prayer Lord and let my cry	Giles
63	Hear my prayer O Lord for in thy sight	[Bath]
64	Hear my prayer O Lord and consider	Byrd
65	Save me O god	John Hilton
66	O let me hear thy lovingkindness	Ravenscroft
67	Preserve me O Lord	Wilkinson
68	Behold O Lord	Wilkinson
69	Help Lord	Wilkinson
70	O pray for the peace of Jerusalem	Thomas Tomkins
71	In thee O Lord	Weelkes
72	Above the stars	Robert Parsons
73	* Hear my cry O God	John Hilton
74	Out of the deep	Giles
75	Out of the deep	Thomas Tomkins
76	Out of the deep	Adrian Batten
77	Have mercy upon me O Lord	Giles
78	O Lord let me know mine end	Solomon Tozar
79	Put me not to rebuke O Lord	Wilkinson
80	O Lord consider my distress	Wilkinson
81	O Lord my God	Wilkinson
82	Hear my prayer O Lord and with thine ears	Wilkinson
83	Unto thee O Lord	Wilkinson
84	Lord how are they increased	Wilkinson
85	Deliver me O Lord	Wilkinson
86	Have pity upon me	[C.] Gibbons
87	* When the Lord turned again	Stevenson

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[38] In MSS C2, C3, C7 and C14 the text of this anthem has been altered by Elias Smith.

88	I will magnify thee	Hooper
89	Lift up your heads	Orlando Gibbons
90	Rejoice in the Lord	[M.] Jeffries
91	Sing we merrily	[M.] Jeffries
92	Praise the Lord ye servants	[M.] Jeffries
93	Blow up the trumpet	Pearson
94	Behold now praise the Lord	Alison
95	O sing unto the Lord	Thomas Tomkins
96	I will sing unto the Lord	Amner
97	God which hast prepared	Mudd
98	Arise O Lord	Tallis
99	O Lord the maker of all things	Sheppard [W. Mundy]
100	O Lord the world's Saviour	Wood [W. Mundy]
101	O God be merciful unto us	Strogers
102	O Lord grant the king	Child
103	* Ye that fear the Lord	[R.] Hutchinson

Although accusations of inconsistency of approach and interpretation may be levelled, the impression is that the Decani and Cantoris books are in the same hand.[39] There are some differences, one of them being that two distinct styles are used for the first words, words which incidentally still lack their initial letters.[40] Another difference is that the direct signs and end flourishes vary. In the case of the latter the minority one tends to occur when the transcription takes until the very end of a stave, leaving only the narrow margin for the flourish. As for the text, it is essentially the same. It is in fact possible to detect three stages in its development. The first is represented by a dark heavy text, and corresponds closely with Brooking's work in the first stage of Set 3.

The second uses lighter thinner letters and is responsible for the bulk of the work. There are also a number of anthems copied into the spaces deliberately left between Feast Days to allow for the scheme to be added to. Such additions are prefaced by * in the inventory above. They are detectable from a slightly browner washier ink, from the impression that the text is not executed as carefully, and from the absence of any end flourish. Interestingly, four of the eleven such additions are by the Durham composers William Smith [5], Richard Hutchinson, John Geeres and Henry Palmer. That some other

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39 That is, apart from nos 96-102, some of which in some MSS are in a post-Restoration hand.

40 The lack of initial letters also applies to Set 3.

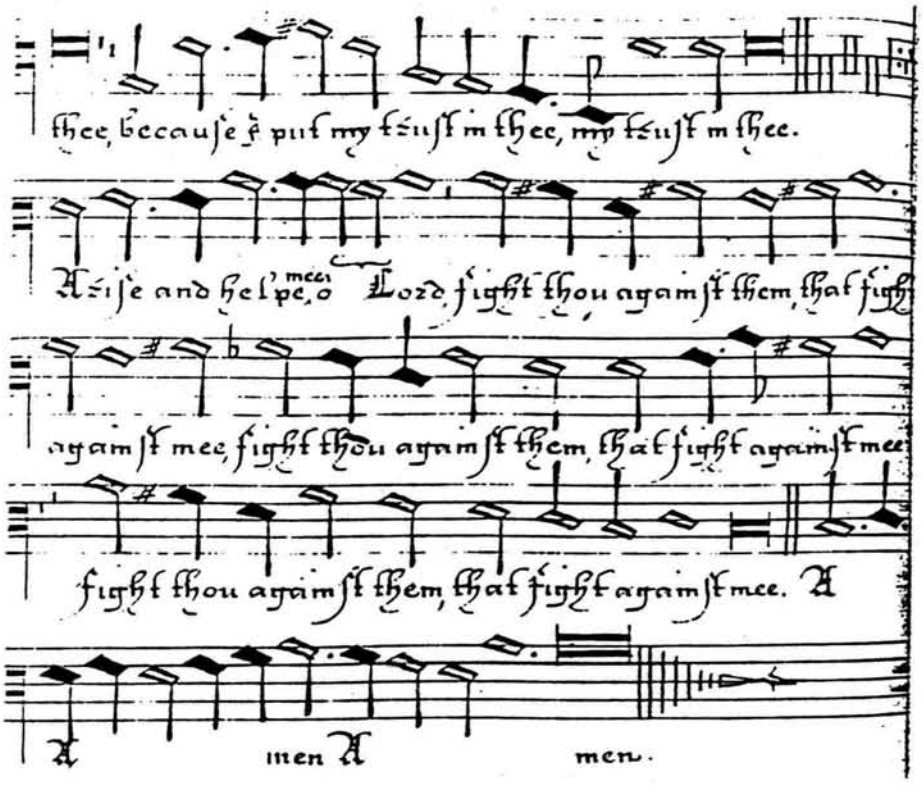


ILLUSTRATION 22: The main style of Set 5 (MS C7:102)

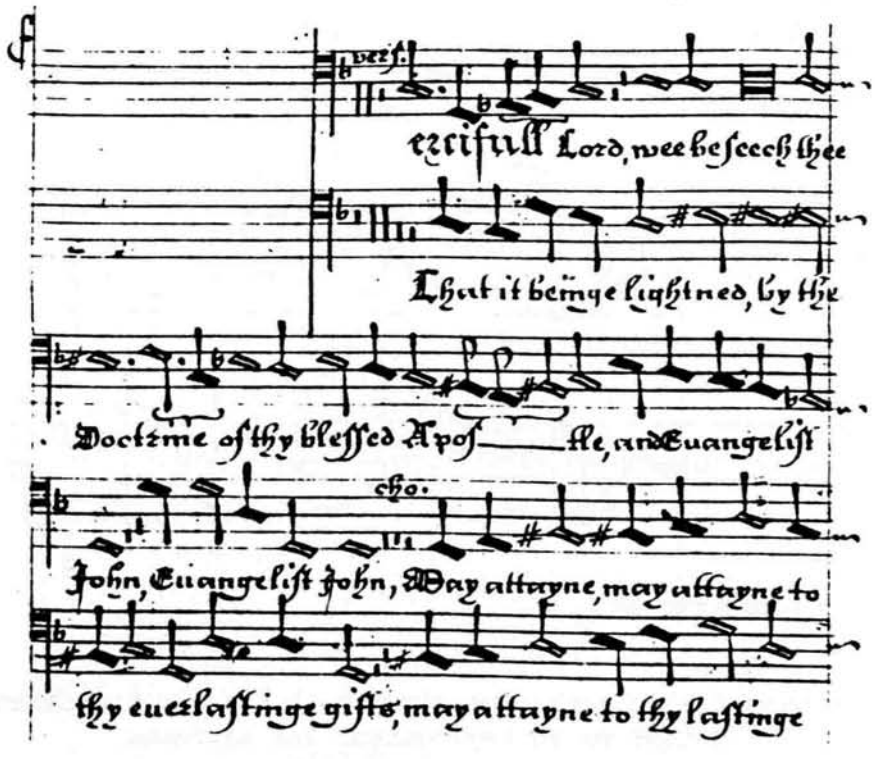


ILLUSTRATION 23: A slightly later addition to Set 5 (MS C14:10)

items by Smith and Palmer - and Palmer was not sworn until 1629 - were copied at the outset of the project is a pointer to the set dating from the 1630s.

When hypotheses are formulated they are supported by suitable evidence, any nagging doubts or conflicting evidence usually being suppressed. This was true of the article in the *Durham University Journal*. Some of those doubts have been aired in the paragraphs above. Another cause for doubt was the way that Henry Palmer's name was presented. John Morehen, observing[41] that in the organ books MSS A1, A6, and A5, Palmer's name was appended without any title to his compositions, concluded that this was because Palmer was the copyist. He checked the way the name was written against Palmer's signature in the Treasurer's books and found that it agreed.

Palmer's name also occurs without any title against those of his compositions included in this set.[42] This time the more formal calligraphy precludes the possibility of it being a signature, though the thought that he may have been the copyist demands expression. Suppressed it has been over the years, not least because

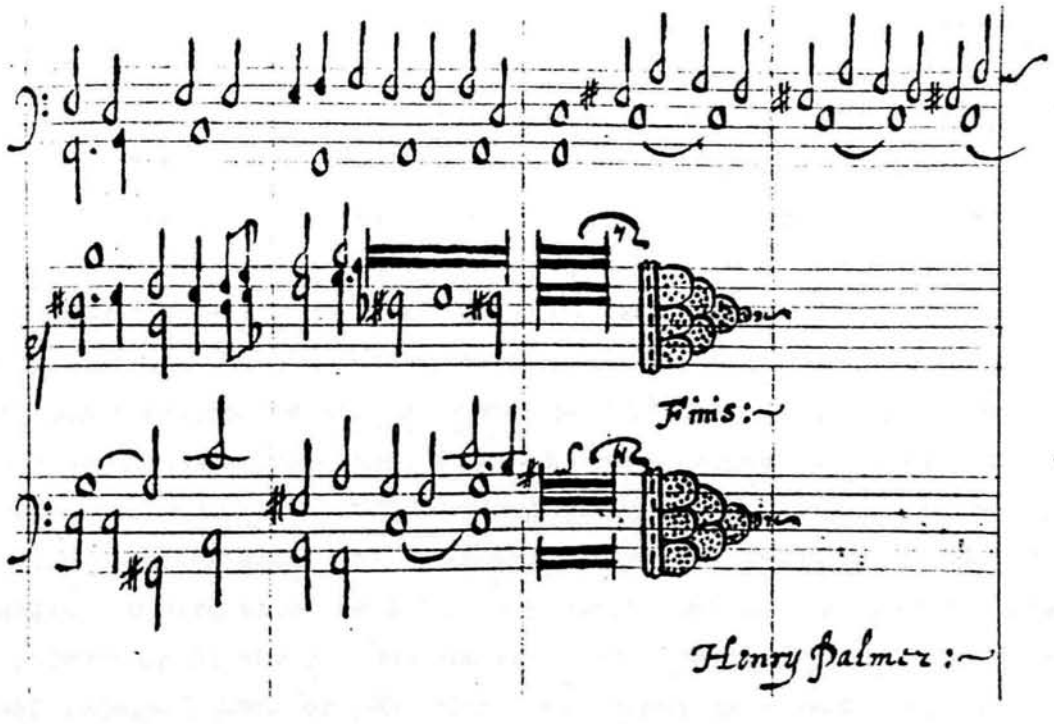


ILLUSTRATION 24: The end of 'Hear my prayer O Lord' (MS A5:35), composed and transcribed by by Palmer

41 Morehen, thesis, 156-60.

42 'Mr: Palmer' in MS C7:42 is very much the exception.

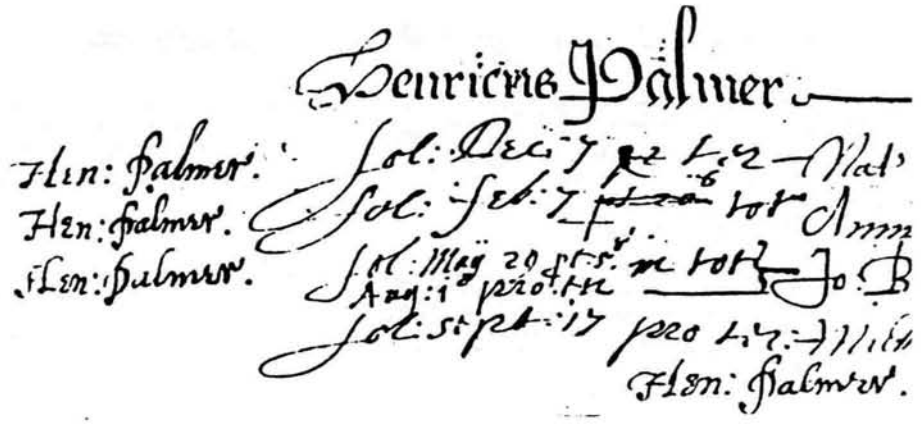


ILLUSTRATION 25: Palmer's signatures (Treas. Book, 1632-3, f.8)

it was known that Toby Brooking was paid for transcribing a set of anthem books during the early 1630s,[43] and similarities were seen between the formation of letters in the text of this set and those of his contributions to Sets 1-3. Those reasons still prevail.

Before leaving this set there must be some discussion of the Dunnington-Jefferson MS [henceforth, DJ], now deposited in York Minster Library. In his article, 'An English Liturgical Partbook of the 17th Century', Wyn K. Ford admitted that he had not been able to visit Durham.[44] Had he been able to do so he would not have compared DJ with Addit. MSS 30478-9, two post-1660 ex-Durham manuscripts held by the British Library. He would have seen that the basic hand of DJ was the same as that of Set 5, and that their contents had even more in common. Even so, he made a number of telling observations. In particular, he mentioned that there were anthems in DJ not found in the Durham exiles. As his Table of the contents of DJ had columns in which comparisons were made with the manuscripts in London and at Peterhouse as well as with certain printed collections these were readily identifiable. An examination of DJ confirms that, for example, 'O sing unto the Lord a new song' and 'God be merciful unto us', both by Sheppard, 'Praise the Lord O my soul' and 'The king shall rejoice' both by 'Mallery', and 'Save me O God', by Bucknam were not in the manuscripts at Durham either. They were, however, transcribed by the scribe responsible for the Durham Set 5.

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43 See p.274.

44 *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xii, nos 2-3 (1959), 144-60. The admission is on p.146.

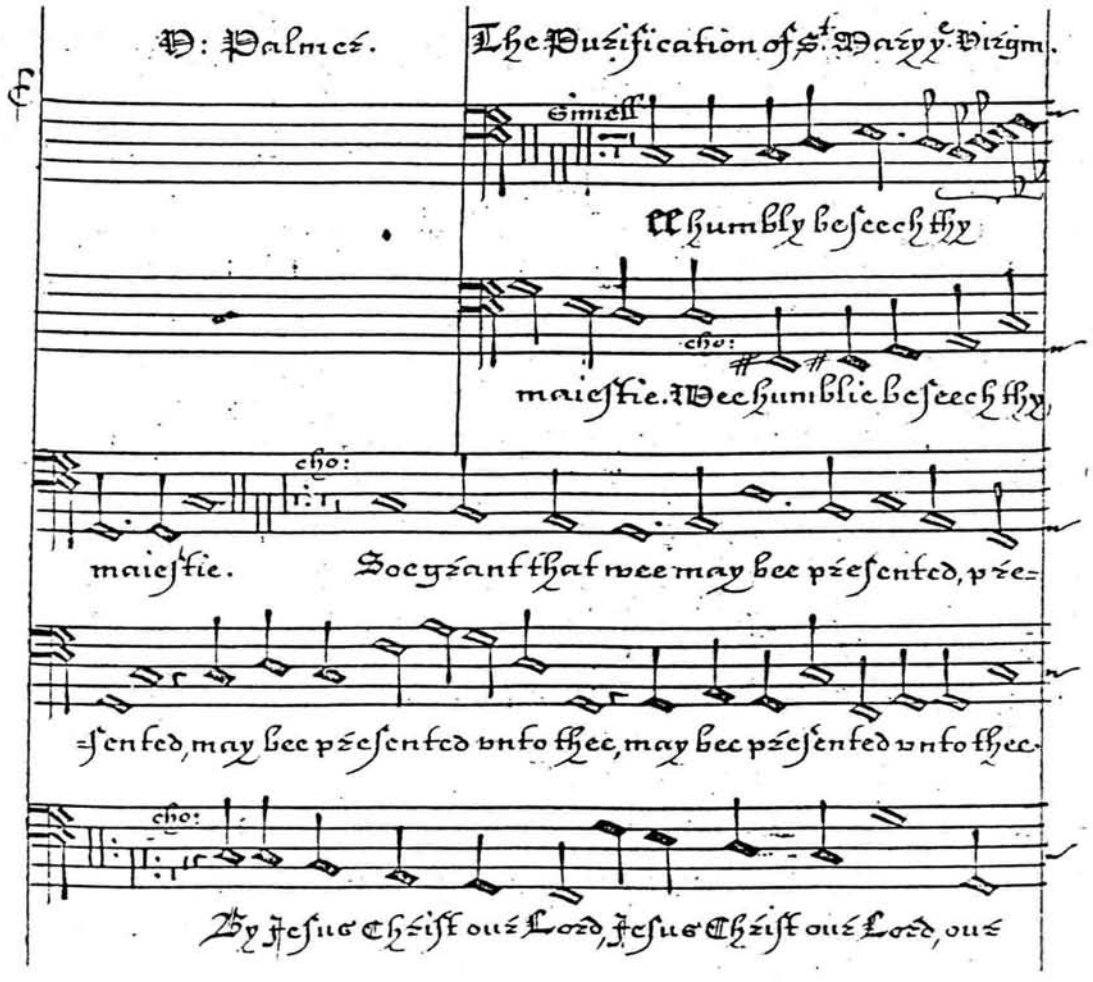


ILLUSTRATION 26: The Dunnington-Jefferson MS (York MS M29S:301)

Ford was also aware that some of the anthems of Set 5 were lacking from DJ. He selected for special reference those by Geeres, and commented that whilst they were missing those by his Durham contemporary, Henry Palmer, had been included. Finally, he established that DJ's Table of Contents was arranged under the headings 'Of Praise', 'Of Prier', and 'Pentitentiall Anthems'. These headings he correctly associated with the Caroline part-books belonging to Peterhouse, Cambridge. Although he pointed out that in the late 1630s and early 1640s John Cosin was a Prebendary of Durham and Master of Peterhouse he thought, as many others have done, that these positions were held in succession.[45] This is not correct. Neither the Mastership of Peterhouse nor the Deanery of Ely, to which Cosin was appointed in 1640, greatly affected Cosin's

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45 *Op. cit.*, 145; *cf.*, Buttrey, 'William Smith of Durham', 249, Morehen, thesis, 172.

attendance at meetings of the Durham Chapter. Conclusive proof of this exists in Durham Act Books 2 and 2A which record his frequent presence from 1635 to 1639, and, after a break in the records, in 1642 and as late as 16 August 1643. Because of his failure to visit Durham, Ford was not able to make the conclusion he might have wished to, but had to satisfy himself with the suggestion that the manuscript may have been 'intended for use in one of the prebendal stalls'.[46]

For my own part, in my earlier assessment,[47] I did ally DJ with Set 5 and went so far as to suggest that it 'was specially copied out for none other than John Cosin himself'. I also observed that in DJ the contents of Set 5 were preceded by those of Set 1 and followed by the Preces and Psalms of Set 3.

More, however, remains to be said. The first point is that it is an over-simplification of the situation to associate DJ with Set 5. In the same hand it may be, and include nearly all the contents of that set, but its purpose is wider. DJ really should be considered with the group placed together under Set 6, for from the outset it was intended to be a comprehensive volume. The suggestion repeated in the previous paragraph that the contents of Set 5 were preceded by those of Set 1 is not wholly correct either, for the scheme envisaged when DJ was embarked upon involved some integrating. The anthems of Sets 1 and 5 were to be arranged in three major sections. Anthems for general use were to be followed first by verse anthems intended for the same purpose, and then by anthems appropriate to the selected feast days of the church's year. The first two of these sections were to be subdivided, as at Peterhouse, under the headings, 'Of praise', 'Of prier', and 'Penitentiall Anthems'. With the Table of Contents for the first two sections at the front of the volume and for the last section at the back, what is not clear is whether a further group consisting of the Preces and Festal Psalms listed under Set 3 was contemplated at the outset. Possibly not, for there is no Table of Contents for it.

Such a scheme presupposes that Sets 1 and 5 were already in existence. What then is the explanation for a number of differences

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46 *Op. cit.*, 149.

47 Crosby, *Liturgical Music MSS*, 40-1, for observations about DJ, and p.45 for my conclusion about Cosin.

between the contents of DJ and the Durham sets on which it was based? In the case of the anthems intended for general use, DJ does not include either of the anthems by John Geeres found in Set 1. Was this an oversight? Did Cosin dislike them? Or had they not been added to Set 1 by then? On the other hand, there are a number of anthems in DJ which are not in any Durham book. Those by Sheppard, Mallery and Bucknam have already been referred to, and among others are 'Let it be thy pleasure Lord' by Alphonso, 'Wherewithal shall a young man' by Parsons of Wells, and 'Forgive me Lord my sin' by Tallis. Why were they included? Not simply to make DJ suitable for use at either Durham or Peterhouse, for many of the anthems are not found at Peterhouse either.

With anthems selected for the feast days the differences are more striking. The first is that the order of the feast days has been altered. Where in Set 5 the sections entitled the King's Day and the Fifth of November may be considered to be after-thoughts, in DJ they are set prominently at the beginning. Missing from DJ are the anthems for St John the Evangelist (Geeres), Innocents Day (Palmer), and Monday in Easter Week (Dering), whilst those for the Fourth Sunday in Advent (Gibbons), the First Sunday in Lent (Smith), and Good Friday (Gibbs, and Hooper) are found after those for All Saints' Day. Although accidental omissions could have taken place, it is not without significance that the three anthems by Geeres, Palmer, and Smith were reckoned among those added to Set 5 once they became available.

Whilst their absence from DJ points to it not being available at the time they were added to the members of Set 5, there is evidence of it being added to in Durham not earlier than 1638. Copied at the back of DJ by the scribe who copied Set 5 are the Preces and Festal Psalms found in Set 3. Between them and the verse anthems for special occasions and them are four items deserving of comment. Very much on its own on p.340 is 'Almighty God which in thy wrath' by Batten. Before it on pp.337-8 are 'I will wash my hands' by William Smith [5], and a *Sanctus* and *Gloria* by [John Foster]. The attribution of the Smith anthem to 'The Communion Day' hints at the reason why it composed. In the Durham books it was not included in Set 5 but was added to the verse anthems of Set 1. It is the inclusion of the *Sanctus* and *Gloria* in the basic hand which is surprising. It had always been supposed that these parts of the

Communion Service, which are at the back of some of the books of Set 1, were composed after 1660. Their presence in DJ, however, means that their date of composition must be advanced to the late 1630s.

SET 6

MS	C11	Tenor Decani, Anthems
	C13	Tenor Decani, Services
	C16	Bass, Anthems
	Ella	Alto, Services (the Clumber MS)

Composite volumes produced for private individuals; MSS C11, C13, C16, 297-9 x 192-7 mm; the pages are gilded and gauffered, and decorated in green and red; old boards have been re-used; MS Ella, 355 x 216 mm, has gilt tooling reminiscent of the late 16th cent.[48]

MSS C11 and C16 are anthem books. They incorporate in their basic hand, that of Toby Brooking, most of the items of Set 1 (though not the anthems 'added later still') together with the contents of Set 5. MSS C13 and Ella are service books, and they embrace most of the contents of Sets 2, 3, and 4. As to their dates, they both belong to the late 1630s, for they both include in the basic hand Foster's 1638 Service and the *Kyries* and Creeds by Palmer and William Smith.

Of the four volumes, MSS C11, C13, and C16 may be considered together. With their pages gilded and gauffered and decorated in green and red, and in the same hand, they may be regarded as part of the same project. For whom they were intended is not known, but after the Restoration the comments 'John Sudbery his book' and 'Denis Grenvell' testify that one, and therefore in all probability both, of the two tenor volumes were used by successive Deans of Durham.[49]

The remaining book, MS Ella, has a history all of its own. Also known as the 'Clumber manuscript', because it came to light when the

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48 So A.I. Doyle, formerly Keeper of the Rare Books, Durham University Libary.

49 Both comments are written on a back flyleaf of MS C13. Sudbury was Dean, 1661-84, and Grenville, 1684-91.

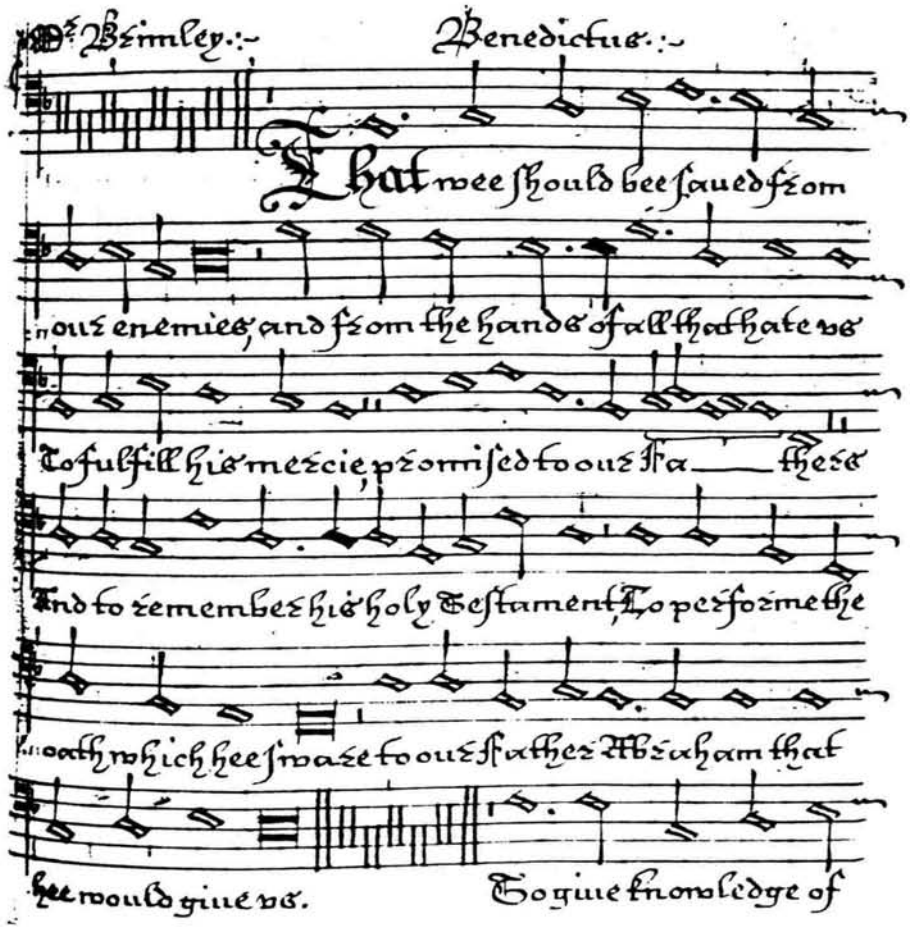


ILLUSTRATION 27: A typical page from Set 6 (MS C13:201)

Duke of Newcastle's library at Clumber in Nottinghamshire, it was put up for sale at Sotheby's in 1938. Stuck to the first flyleaf is a letter from Edmund H. Fellowes in which he explains how he persuaded the purchaser of the manuscript, a Mr Edison Dick of Chicago, to restore it to its place of origin. At what point the manuscript came into the possession of the Dukes of Newcastle is not clear, but at one stage it was owned by the Forsters of Bamburgh. On p.i of MS Ella is inscribed, 'Edward Forster e libris J.F. Forster'. Possibly the family acquired it at an early date, for a Francis Forster was the incumbent of St Nicholas's church, Durham from 1637 to 1648 when he was replaced by an intruder.[50]

In terms of date MS Ella could well be slightly earlier than the other manuscripts of this group, for the layout of its pages resembles more those containing the Batten Verse Services at the back of the members of Set 3. For some reason, a major misplacement

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50 It was at the baptism of Forster's son Gabriel on 11 July 1653 that Mr Mudd was one of the sponsors - see p.219, n.96.

of the pages took place during a re-binding with the result that pp.1-234 now follow pp.253-540.

Somewhere it has been suggested that the Table of Contents, which is on smaller pages stuck inside the front of the book, is in the hand of John Geeres.[51] This does not seem likely. However, even if it should be, it does not follow from this or the comment, 'see my little book', which occurs several times in the lists, that Geeres himself used the book.

THE ORGAN BOOKS

MS A1
A2
A3
A5
A6

283-96 x 182-95 mm; leather covers; tooled in gilt on the covers of MS A1 is the same cathedral coat-of-arms as found on Set 5.

MS A1

pp.

ii	Contents	
1-5	1st Service: K, O, C (aut)	Will. Smith
5-8	2nd Service: K, O, C (aut)	William Smith
9-12	Pr, Ps, Christmas Matins (Lord thou art become gracious) (aut)	Will. Smith
13-16	Pr, Ps, Christmas Evensong (The Lord said unto my Lord) (aut)	Will. Smith
17-20	Pr, Ps, Easter Matins (I will give thanks) (aut)	Will. Smith
21-4	Pr, Ps, Easter Evensong (Awake up my glory) (aut)	Will. Smith
25-7	Pr, Ps, Whitsunday Matins (God be merciful) (aut)	Will. Smith
27-9	O Lord which for our sake (1st Sunday in Lent) (aut)	Will. Smith
30-1	Almighty God we humbly beseech thy majesty (Candlemas) (aut)	W. Smith
32-5	My heart is set (aut)	W. Smith
36-7	I will preach the law (aut)	W. Smith
38-9	Grant we beseech thee Almighty God (Ascension) (aut)	W. Smith
40-1	I will wash my hands (aut)	W. Smith
42-6	I will magnify thee O Lord	Giles
48-9	O praise the Lord of heaven (6 pts)(aut)	J. Geeres (t)

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51 I am not sure where. Possibly, it is a development of Morehen's remark (thesis, 53, n.1).

50-3	Jesus came when the doors were shut (St Thomas)	T. Tomkins (t)
54-8	Behold thou hast made my days	[O.] Gibbons
58-60	O how glorious art thou	[R.] White (t)
61-2	Almighty and everlasting God mercifully look	Orlando Gibbons
63-7	Almighty God the fountain	Thomas Tomkins
69-72	Lord what is man (aut)	Henry Palmer
73-7	Almighty God which hast knit together (All Saints' Day)	Tho. Tomkins
78-80	Have mercy upon me (at Communion)	Gibbons (t) [Byrd]
81-2	Behold it is Christ	Hooper
83-5	Holy Lord God Almighty	[R.] Parsons
86-8	Hosanna to the Son of David	Orlando Gibbons
89-92	O Lord I bow the knees	[W.] Mundy
92-5	If ye be risen again	[O.] Gibbons
96-8	Alleluja, I heard a voice	Weelkes
99-104	Pr, Pss, All Saints Day (Blessed are those that are undefiled; Let my complaint)	Edward Smith
105-28	First Service: Td, J, K, C, M, N	Giles
129-30	Responses (not Preces)	Byrd
130-1	Responses (imp)(not Preces)	Wm. Smith
132-4	Pr, Pss, Epiphany (When Israel came out; Hear my prayer O Lord and hide not)(all imp)	Byrd
134-66	[Great Service]: Td (imp), Bs, K, C, M, N	Byrd
148	'£1'	
167-9	Sing joyfully	Byrd
170-84	Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Orlando Gibbons
185-7	O praise God in his holiness	[W.] White
188-90	Out of the deep [I]	Morley
188	'30s.'	
191-201	Short Service: Td, J, K, C	[W.] Mundy
201-4	[to Mundy's Short Service]: M, N	Read
205	God standeth	Read
206-11	O God my heart prepared is	Richard Hutchinson
212-13	Lord I am not high-minded	Rich. Hutchinson
214-15	Deliver me from mine enemies	Byrd [R. Parsons]
216-18	How long shall mine enemies	Byrd
219-21	Call to remembrance (7 pts)	Hilton
222-4, 227-9	Short Service: Td (inc), Bs (inc)	Nath. Patrick
228	'10s.'	
229	K	Patrick [Derrick]
230-33	C	Derrick
234-7	[Short Service]: M, N	Pattrick
238-49	Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	[T.] Boyce
250-69	[Cesar's Service]: V, Td, J, K, C, M, N	John Amner
270-4	Let God arise	Ward
275-77	Rejoice in the Lord o ye righteous	Matthew Jeffries
278-80	Behold now praise the Lord	Will. White of Durham
281-2	O God the proud	Byrd
283-4	The Lord bless us	Robt. White of Westminster

285-7	O give thanks	John Mundy of Windsor
288-90	I call and cry	Tallis
290-1	O Lord give ear [Memento homo]	Byrd
292-3	He that hath my commandments (for men)	Giles
294-5	This is my commandment (for men)	Tallis
296-8	Hear my prayer O Lord and with thine ears	Wilkinson
299-301	I lift my heart to thee	Tye
302-12, 315-16	Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M (inc), N	Byrd
308	'[£]1'	
317-9	Arise O Lord	Byrd
320-1	O Lord make thy servant	'Wm. Bird of y^{e} Kings Chappell'
322-3	Give laud unto the Lord	[J.] Mundy
324-5	Merciful Lord we beseech thee (St John the Evangelist)	John Geeres 'Bacch. of Musick'
326-7	Almighty God whose praise this day (Innocents Day)(aut)	Henry Palmer
328-30	Fantasia [I] (? aut)	[? W. Smith]
331-3	Fantasia [II] (? aut)(imp)	[? W. Smith]

MS A2

iii,v	Table of Full and Verse Anthems	
1-5	Pr, Pss (Blessed are those that are undefiled; Let my complaint)	Edw. Smith
10-12	Pr, Ps (The eyes of all)	Orl. Gibbons
13-19	[2nd Service]: M, N	Orl. Gibbons
25-32	[to Parsons of Wells Flat Service]: M, N	Edward [*sic*] Hooper
37-47	[for Verses]: M, N	Hooper
55	Answers [*i.e.* Responses] (no Preces)	[Byrd]
56-68, 70-5	First Service: Td, J, C, M, N	Nath. Giles
78-101	Last [2nd] Service for Verses to the Organ: Td, J, K, C, M, N	Giles
102-22	Verse Service (t): Td, Bs, C, M, N	Morley
123-8	'3 Minoms' (t), Second Service: M, N	Morley
130-58	Great Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Byrd
159-61	Sing joyfully	Byrd
162	...	...
162-88	Service for Meanes, 1639: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	[M.] Jeffries
192-6	O God of Gods	Edward [*sic*] Hooper
197-200	Glorious and powerful God	Orlando Gibbons
201-03	[Give the king thy judgments]	[Weelkes]
206-12	M, N	Wilkinson
214-19	[for Verses]: M, N	[T.] Tomkins
220-22	How long wilt thou forget me	Morley
226-33	M, N	Greenwood Randall

238-43	O God my heart prepared is	Rich. Hutchinson 'Organist of the Cath: church of Duresme'
244-7	We praise thee O Father	Orl. Gibbons
248-50	Above the stars	[T.] Tomkins
252-5	Sing unto the Lord	[O.] Gibbons
257-9	O pray for the peace of Jerusalem	Th. Tomkins
265-9	The Star Anthem: Almighty God who by the leading	Bull
272-4	O Lord my God to thee I do complain	Edward Smith
276-9	O Lord let me know mine end	Thom. Tomkins
279-80	Let God arise	Carlton
281-3	In Bethlem town	Cobbold
292, 292a-b	Behold now praise the Lord	[R.] Alison
294-300	O clap your hands	East
300-02	Behold now praise the Lord	[R.] Alison
304-08	O Lord our Governor (inc)	John Mundy
309	Be not wroth (frag)	[Byrd]
312-15	Arise O Lord God	Leon. Woodson
316-19	Behold I bring you glad tidings (Christmas)	[O.] Gibbons
324-8	Praise the Lord O my soul and all	Ad. Batten
329-33	The blessed Lamb	Hooper (t)
333-7, 337a	Give the King thy judgments	Loosemore
338-41	Glory be to God on high (Anthem Collect for Communion)	Loosemore
341-3	Fear not shepherd (Christmas)	Loosemore
344-52	[for Trebles: M, N] (transp)	[Weelkes]
352-5	[Grant holy Trinity] (transp)	[O. Gibbons]
359-62	O praise God in his holiness	Edw. Smith
364-8	I will magnify thee O Lord (for 2 Basses)	Martin Peerson
373-4	Blessed be the Lord God of Israel (7 voc)	T. T[omkins]
377-8, 378a	Sing we merrily (6 voc)	Dan. Taylor
380-1	O how amiable	Tho: Weelkes
382-5	My heart is set	Wm. Smith
386-8	Preserve me O Lord (for a mean alone)	Thomas Wilkinson
390-3	Give the King thy judgments	Tho. Weelkes
394-9	Let God arise	Ward of Canterbury
403-4	Hear me O Lord	John Fido
(406)(i)	Table of Services 1681	

MS A3

inside cover	Some Contents	
1-7	In thee O Lord	Bull
7-10	O hear my prayer Lord	Giles

10, 10b, 11-14	[in d]: Sc, S, G (aut)	John Foster
14-15	Come Holy Ghost [Veni Creator]	[Ravenscroft]
16	Let thy merciful ears	Mudd
17-18	[O pray for the peace](inc)	Tho. Tomkins
19-22	Hear my prayer O Lord and consider (for a bass alone)	[Bath]
23-46	[in d]: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N M	Stevenson
46-8	When the Lord turned [again]	Stevenson
49-70	in d sol re: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	[W.] Mundy
71-3	Jesus came the doors being shut (St Thomas' Day)	[T. Tomkins]
74-6	Have ye no regard	Alfonso Ferrabosco
77-80	Give sentence with me O God	Thom. Tomkins 1631
81-2	Blessed be the Lord God [of Israel]	[T. Tomkins]
82-5	O sing unto the Lord a new song	[T.] Tomkins
86-8	I will magnify thee O Lord	Hooper
89-90	Blessed be thy name O God	Tallis
91-2	O thou God Almighty	[Hooper]
92-4	Hear the voice and prayer (Ne	[Tallis]
95-100	irascaris [Domine]: Let not thy wrath	Byrd
101-3	Blessed is the man	Georg. Rutter
104-9	By the waters of Babylon	Thomas Wilson
109-11	O pray for the peace of Jerusalem	Jo: Nicholls
112-14	Almighty God [which hast given us] (Christmas)	Hooper
115-26	for 2 basses: K, C, M, N	Mundy
126-8	Rejoice in the Lord [alway] (for men)	[Mundy]
128-39	3 pts for men: K, C, M, N	Mundy
140-52	4 pts for men: K, C, M, N	Mundy
152-3	He that hath my commandments	Mundy
154	...	...
155-6	If ye love me	[Tallis]
156-8	Let us now laud	[Mundy]
159-61	This is my commandment	Tallis
161-2	He that hath my commandents	Giles
163-5	Submit yourselves	Sheppard
165-78	3 pts for men: Td, Bs	Mundy
179-91	4 pts for men: Td, Bs	Mundy
192-206, 209-10	2 Basses: V, Td, Bs	Mundy
211-21	Short Service: Td, Bs	Derrick
221-7	K, C	Palmer
228-33	Have mercy [upon me]	Giles
232-42	C fa ut: M, N	Mundy
243-7	Second Service [in F]: K, C	John Foster
248-72	in ef fa ut: V, Td, Bs, M, N	[W.] Mundy
272-3	Grant we beseech thee [merciful Lord]	Jo. Hutchinson
273a-4	O Lord let it be thy pleasure	John Hutchinson
275-84	[to Parsons of Wells's Flat Service]: M, N	Blanks
284-93	of 5 parts: M, N	William Mundy
294-5	God which hast prepared	Mudd
296-8	Ever Blessed Lord	[R. Parsons II]
299-300	Arise O Lord	Tallis
301-3	O Lord the maker of all things	[W. Mundy]
303-6	O Lord the world's saviour	[W. Mundy]

306-25	[in Dorian Mode]: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Elway Bevin
326-30	Short service: K, C	Byrd
331-51	[1st Service]: Td, J, Lit, K, O, C, M, N	Loosemore
351-3	Praise the Lord O my soul [while I live]	Loosemore
353-5	What reward (aut)	Jo: Foster
356-8	[O] God be merciful unto us	Stroger[s]
358-81	Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Parsons of Exeter
382-6	I heard a voice	Bryne
387-97	Short Service in De sol re: Td, J, M, N	[Jn] Farrant
397-403	In the[e] O Lord	Weelkes
403-7	How is the go[l]d become dim	Elias Smith
407-8	Keep we beseech thee	Tho. Heardson
409-20	Short Service, Second: Td, J, M, N (aut)	John Foster
421-2	Almighty God [who] seest (aut)	John Foster
423	[I heard a voice] (aut)	[Foster]
428	[2nd Service, in d]: C (frag)(aut)	[Foster]
428-32	3d [Service, in d]: K, C (aut)	John Foster
436	Table of Services	

MS A5

i, iii	Table of Contents [*c*.1682]	
1-4	O Lord let me know mine end	Solomon Tozar
4	'12d'	
5-7	Behold O God	Byrd
8-9	Out of ye Deep [II]	Morley
10-15	O Lord turn not away thy face	Giles (t)
16-20	O Lord in thee is all my trust	Edmund Hooper
21-6	O Lord how joyful is the king	Thomas Wilkes
27-32	O Lord of whom I do depend	Horsley
33-5	Hear my prayer O Lord [and with thine ears](aut)	Henry Palmer
36-8	Christ rising [again]	Juxon
39-41	Turn thou us O good Lord	Tho: [J.] Tomkins
42-5	O Lord make thy servant	Cranford
46-7	The eyes of all [wait][52]	John Geeres
48-50	How long [wilt thou forget me]	Tho: Morley
51-4	Thou art my king O God	Tho: Tomkins
55-9	Christ rising [again]	Byrd
60-3	Give the King thy judgments	Tho: Weelkes
64-9	If the Lord himself	Edward Smith
67	'15^{s}· 9^{d}· Antho: Maxton'	
70-3	Collect for y^{e} first day of Lent called Ashwednesday: [Almighty and everlasting God which hatest nothing](aut)	Henry Palmer
74-9	When Israel came out of Egypt	Michael East
80-5	Hear me O Lord	John Fido
85-9	O Lord consider my distress	Edward Smith
90-4	O praise God in his holiness	Edward Smith

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52 'things' in the MS is an error. The words, presence of the words,'of all', caused Palmer to write the end of the title of his own anthem, 'The end of all things'.

95-7	Collect: Conversion of St Paul: [O God which hast taught]	William Smith
98-101	Ye that fear the Lord	Richard Hutchinson
102-6	Blessed art thou [that fearest God]	Jo: Mundy
107-11	Send aid	Jo: Mundy
112-15	O how happy a thing it is [II]	Doctor Giles
115	'10 martij 12^{s} pd'	
116-20	O Lord my God [to thee I do complain]	Edward Smith
121-37	[Short Service]: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Richard Farrant
138-9	O God whose nature and property (aut)	Henry Palmer
140-4	Sing unto the Lord	Orlando Gibbons
145-8	This is the Record of John	Orlando Gibbons
149-57	[for Verses]: M, N	Edmund Hooper
158-63	Almighty God [which through thy only begotten Son] (Monday in Easter Week)	Richard Dering
163-70	O Lord let [me know mine end]	Thomas Tomkins
171-7	for Verses: M, N	Tho: Tomkins
178-96	Short Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Thomas Tomkins
197-203	As they departed	Michael East
204-9	O sing unto the Lord	Richard Hinde
210-24	Short [First] Service: Td, Bs, K, C	John Foster
224	'John Foster: chorister of y^{e} church of Durham: 1638'	
224	'... 27^{s} ...' (inc)	
225-39, 246-52	in F fa uth: Td, Bs, M, N[53]	Sheppard
253-7	O Lord our governor	[Jn] Mundy
259-64	See sinful soul	Richard Gibbs
265-8	Out of the deep	Thomas Tomkins
269-72	I will sing unto the Lord	John Amner of Ely
273-6	Anthem St Stephen's Day: [Stephen being full of the Holy Ghost]	Thomas Tomkins
277-9	The New Lettanye	Tallis (t)
280-1	...[pa]rte for men: The end of all things is at hand (imp)(aut)	Henry Palmer
added after 1660:		
282-4	When the Lord turned [again](aut)	John Foster
285-7	If the Lord himself (aut)	John Foster
288-9	[He that hath my commandments]	[Giles]
289-92	My song shall be of mercy (aut)	John Foster
292-3	Almighty and everlasting God [who art always more ready] (aut)	John Foster
294-6	Set up thyself O God (aut)	Jo. Foster
298-9	[The Lord bless us]	[R. White]

MS A6

1a-d, 2-12b, 13-14	[Short Service]: V, Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Thomas Tallis
15-28	[Short Service]: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Strogers
28	'7s' [?]	

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53 Pp.240-5 have the headings, clefs and key signatures for the Kyrie and Creed, but neither the notes nor the text.

29-47	Verse Service: Td, Bs, K, C, M, N	Morley
48-53	3 minhams: M, N	Tho. Morley
54-60	[for Trebles]: M, N	Tho. Weelkes
61-7	[in F]: M, N	Farrant
68-83	[in Gamut]: Be, J, K, C, M, N	Child
83	'14s: 3d. Antho: Maxton'	
84-6	Save me O God	Byrd
87-9	O give thanks	Giles
90-5	Praise the Lord O my soul and all	Batten
96-9	Holy Lord God Almighty	Adrian Batten
100-3	Help Lord	Wilkinson
104-12	Third Verse Service: M, N	Batten
113-15	Behold now praise the Lord	[R.] Alison
116-18	Blow up the trumpet	Martin Peerson
119-24	O clap your hands together	Michael East
125-7	Put me not to rebuke	Wilkinson
128-31	O Lord consider my distress	Wilkinson
132-5	Preserve me	Wilkinson
136-9	Deliver me O Lord	Wilkinson
140-3	Behold O Lord	Wilkinson
144-6	Praise the Lord O ye his servants	Wilkinson
147-53	M, N	Wilkinson
154-8	O let me hear thy loving kindnes	Ravenscroft
159-64	O God of gods	[John Bennet]
165-70	O Lord in thee is all my trust	Ravenscroft
171-5	Unto thee O Lord	Wilkinson
175-7	O Lord my God in thee	Wilkinson
178-80	Lord how are they increased	Wilkinson
180	'... Sep 1638 48 ? putyre - 24sh 3d'	
181-2	Prevent us O Lord	Byrd
183-204	First [Verse] Service: V, Td, J, K, C, M, N	Batten
205-32	Second [Verse] Service: V, Td, J, K, C, M, N	Batten
208	'1638 sol: 12 Dec p$_{\sim}$ 14 fol: vii^{s}'	
233-8	Fourth [Verse] Service: M, N	Batten
239-42	Ponder my words O Lord	Batten
243-6	Kyrie - '10 several ways'	Wm Smith
247-51	[I heard a voice](Michaelmas Day)	Batten
252-4	Blessed are those that are undefiled	Batten
255-9	Out of the deep	Batten
260-4	Almighty God which in thy wrath	Batten
265-9	Hear my prayer O God and hide not	Ad. Batten
270-4	O Lord thou hast searched me out	Batten
275-8	Hear my prayer O Lord and with thine ears (for a Bass)	Batten
279-84	The blessed Lamb	Edmund Hooper
285-9	Almighty and everlasting God who of thy tender love (Sunday next before Easter)(aut)	H. Palmer
290-302	Td, J, M, N	Marson
303-17	Td, J, K, M, N	Hilton
318-24	[Short Service]: Td, J	Weelkes
325-33	Td, Bs	Wilkinson
334-45	Td, Bs	Parsley
346-51	[to Parsley's Morning Service]: M, N	Parsley [Tye]
352-3	Teach me [thy way] O Lord	William Mundy [Hooper]
354-5	O God of my salvation	Tho. Warwick

356-7	Almighty and everlasting God which dost govern	Yarrow
357-9	Lift up your heads	Orlando Gibbons
360-5	My God my God look upon me	Stonard
366-9	Hear O my people	Stonard
370-2	When the sorrows of hell (inc)	Stonard
374	O praise the Lord all ye [heathen][54]	Batten

Three of the organ books may be regarded as the definitive updating of the repertoire, for MS A1:69-327, all of MS A6, and MS A5:1-281,[55] are in the hand of Henry Palmer and were copied in 1638 and 1639. From partly cut away payments written at the bottom of a number of pages[56] it is clear that he was paid at the rate of 3d. per page. Palmer, whose identification as the copyist was established by John Morehen,[57] both began and ended his *magnum opus* with his own compositions. Neither of these features in the Durham part-books though the former, 'Lord, what is man', is found in those at Peterhouse. What might have inspired him to compose the latter, 'The end of all things is at hand', is intriguing. Was it because his copying project was approaching its end? or was it because with the recent death of his wife and one of his children he felt that life had lost its purpose? What is unlikely is that he was reflecting on the invasion of Durham in 1640 by the Scots, and by the time they destroyed one of the organs in 1641 he was dead.[58]

MS A1 is one of Durham's better known manuscripts. This is because on its opening forty-one pages is a holograph transcription of most of the compositions of William Smith [5]. Missing from the collection is his setting of the Collect commemorating the Conversion of St Paul. As this anthem is one of those which have been identified as being added later to Set 5, the corpus by Smith, like Set 5, can be given a date in the mid-1630s. The closeness of their dates is also confirmed by the presence on their covers, tooled in gilt, of the same version of the cathedral's coat-of-arms. At the back of MS A1 are two Fantasias, the only examples of such compositions at Durham. The first is complete, the latter damaged

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54 'nations' in text.

55 These details ignore pages rectifying wear and tear.

56 *E.g.*, MS A6:28, 83, 180 (September 1638), and 208 (12 December 1638). MS A5:115 has 10 March, but does not state the year.

57 Thesis, pp.156-60.

58 See p.215.

towards its close. They too were copied by William Smith, but unlike the opening corpus where his signature abounds there is no hint as to the identity of the composer.

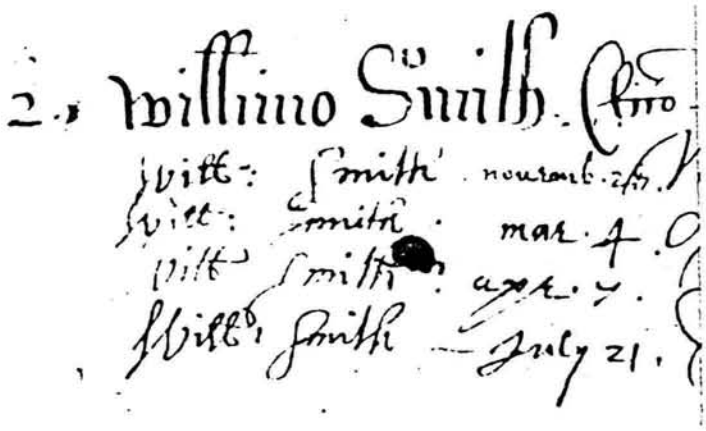


ILLUSTRATION 28: William Smith's signatures
(Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.6)

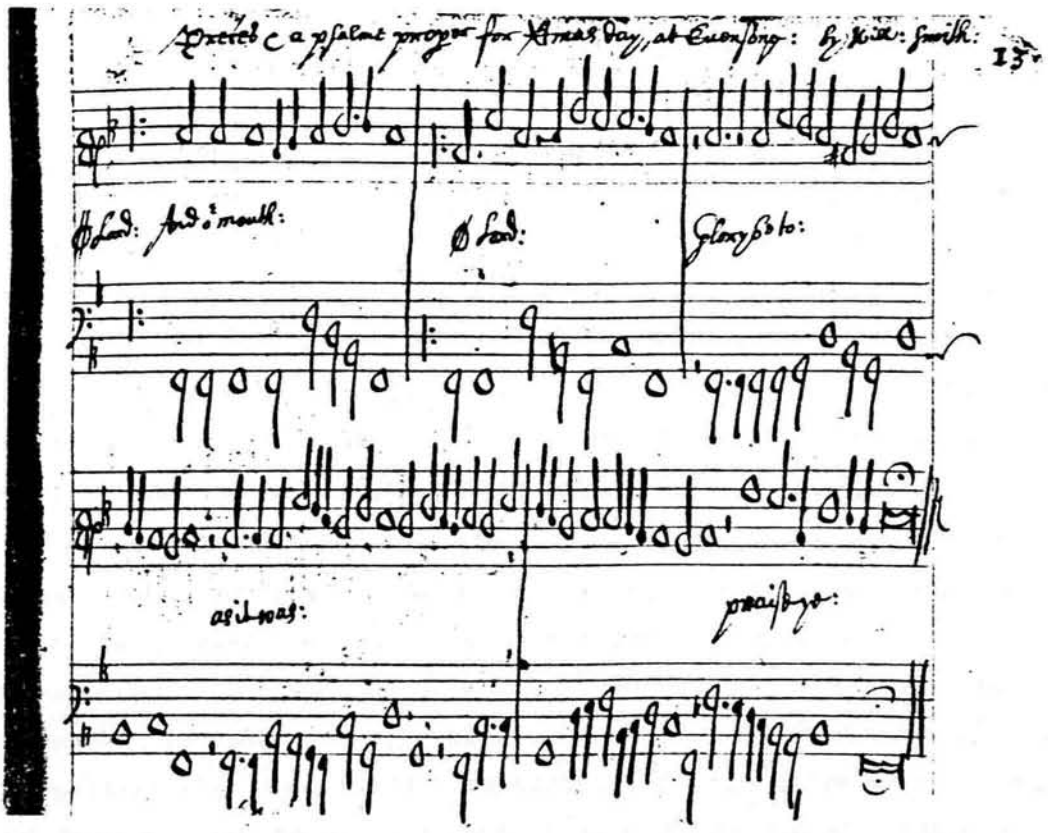


ILLUSTRATION 29: MS A1:13, a holograph by William Smith [5]

Also in MS A1 is Geeres's transcription of his anthem, 'O praise the Lord of heaven' (pp.48-9), and a number of items copied by Brooking (pp.42-6 and 50-67). As for MSS A5 and A6, the two other

books in the Palmer trilogy, the only other copyist who worked at them was John Foster. The Master of the Choristers after the Restoration, he transcribed MS A5:282-99 and MS A6:1a-2 and 374.

Of the remaining two books, MS A3 is the more straightforward. Most of its early part (pp.17-28, 33-82) was copied by William Smith [5], the rest was added by John Foster after the Restoration. Grouped together (pp.115-210) among the latter are the organ parts of three services and seven anthems composed for men's voices. It has already been queried, and will be again,[59] whether these items represent some of the contents of the now completely missing set of part-books with music for men's voices. With music mainly by Mundy, Sheppard, and Tallis, this set, which was still extant in 1665, may date from the 1560s rather than the 1630s or 1660s.

That leaves MS A2, a most intriguing book. It is a variety of hands, many of them unidentified, though that of John Todd predominates. In all he was responsible for pp.vi-30, 33-128, 206-43, 255-71, 290-308, 316-23, 363-72, and 386-405. Included among these and bound into the book are nearly twenty items still inside their paper covers. With Todd a copyist as early as 1600[60] the feeling persists that some of his transcripts, *e.g.*, Morley's 'First and Second Services' (pp.102-28), may date from before the 1620s. Next after Todd for quantity is William Smith [5]. He copied pp.30-2, 130-61, 192-200, 244-54, 312-14, 324-33, and 373-85; and John Foster was responsible for pp.201-3, 309, and 333-55. Finally, Geeres transcribed a Service by Matthew Jeffries (pp.162-88). Dated 1639, it has its own system of pagination (pp.1-26).

Observing that many of the items in MS A2 were also in the books copied by Palmer, Morehen queried whether the duplication might have been because the items were intended for use at Peterhouse or in the Bishop's chapel in Auckland Castle.[61] Had he succeeded in identifying their copyist as Todd he would have appreciated that the transcripts were older than those made by Smith and Palmer, that Palmer had made Todd's loose copies redundant by including them in his mammoth transcript. With the pagination in the

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59 See pp.144 and 295-6. The anthems were transcribed in the 1660s into MSS C11, C17, and C19.

60 See pp.161 and 268.

61 Thesis, p.37.

hand of Foster and dating from after the Restoration, and the Table of Contents dated 1681, what is now MS A2 may still have been a detached miscellany in the 1630s.

EARLY CONCLUSIONS ABOUT ORDER

The first approach is based on the type of notation found in the manuscripts. What is immediately apparent is that the six members of Set 1 and the sole survivor of Set 2 employ a round notation whereas in the other three sets the notation is best described as 'tilted rectangular'. Although it might be supposed that the latter is historically the older it will be shown that at Durham it was re-introduced because it was deemed more appropriate to the grand intentions which lay behind the production of certain of the sets. This impression is confirmed by the fact that the 'tilted rectangular' notation continued to be employed at Durham for all part-books until Matthew Owen took over as transcriber in the second half of the 1680s.[62]

In another obvious way too Set 1 differs from Sets 3 and 5. Unlike them its members were not originally paginated. Rather, it is the anthems themselves which are numbered, with each section starting at '1'. That this was not a confusing system is apparent from the seventeeth century Tables of Contents which have alphabetical sections headed 'Full Anthems' and 'Verse Anthems'.[63] Nevertheless, such a system betokens a small repertoire, and to have reverted to it having employed a system of pagination elsewhere would have been a retrograde step.

The third observation is of a more deductive nature. An examination of the penwork of the copyists establishes that Sets 1, 3, and 5 were produced in that order. With Scribe A (identified as John Todd) beginning Set 1, and its first extension shared between Scribes A and B (identified as Toby Brooking), with Set 3 shared out from its inception between Scribes A and B, and with Set 5 copied by

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62 Lay-clerk, 1687-9, minor canon, 1689-95. He adds to *e.g.*, MSS C7 (both fascicles), C8, C12, C14, and C15, and was the principal copyist of MSS C26-C28, C31-C34.

63 The original Tables are in MSS C4, C10; *cf.*, Illustration 33 (p.273). The later Tables, in MSS C6, C7, dated 1682, afford proof of the continued use of the manuscripts.

Scribe B and no sign of Scribe A, that in itself is sound evidence that the order of the three sets is the same as the order of the remarks. This order is supported by a study of the contributions of the Durham composer, William Smith [5]. He is not represented in the original part of Set 1, is fundamental to Set 3, whilst in Set 5 not only is he fundamental but a slightly lighter coloured ink and a less carefully executed handwriting point to one of his anthems being added as soon as it became available.[64] Regarding the priority of Set 1 over Set 5, the need to add anthems for Michaelmas Day and All Saints' Day to Set 1[65] points to Set 5, which has anthems allotted to festal days, not having been produced. Harder to determine is precisely where Sets 2 and 4 fit into the scheme of things. Whilst it is safe to conclude that Set 2 precedes Set 3, its order in relation to Set 1 cannot be established. Similarly, Set 4 must be after Sets 1 and 2 but before Set 5. Again, it is not possible to ascertain whether it or Set 3 was the earlier.

REFERENCES TO THE COPYING OF MUSIC

Not only in respect of cornetts and sackbuts and of singing from the tower do the Treasurer's Books for 1632-3, 1633-4, and 1635-6 prove to be an invaluable mine of information. This time, complemented by the Act Book 2, which covers the period from 1619 to 1639, they supply crucial facts about the transcription of certainly three of these sets of books described above. Their richness heightens the regret that the Act Books covering from 1583 to 1619 are not extant, and that, with the exception of the first, the only other Treasurer's books from 1600 to 1640 - those for 1599-1600, 1603-4, 1609-10, 1612-13, 1614-15, and 1616-17 - have not yielded up any information about the transcription of music. In roughly chronological order all except possibly the seventh of the entries which follow relate to music books.

15 August [1600]

> to S^{r} Todde for wrytinge certein Antheemes ... 10^{s} (Treas. Book, 1599-1600)

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64 A setting of the Collect for The Conversion of St Paul; it is no.33 on p.245.

65 See p.232.

It is unlikely that any of these anthems have survived. The significance of this entry will be unfolded during the comments on the next, which also concerns Todd.

2 July 1627

> Mr. Todd is appointed to bring in the Song books w^{ch} he hath p_vided for the Quire, And he to have paid by the threasurer for his paines ten pounds As monyes come in (Act Bk 2, f.50^{r})

John Todd is the only copyist named. The sum of £10 reflects, at 3d. per page, the transcription of some eight hundred pages. Given that there were ten books in a set,[66] this represents eighty pages per book. It may be thought a disadvantage that Todd's name contains so few letters, but with his signature occurring over fifty times in the Treasurer's books as well as at the end of one of the quotations below, they are sufficiently distinctive as to be meaningful.

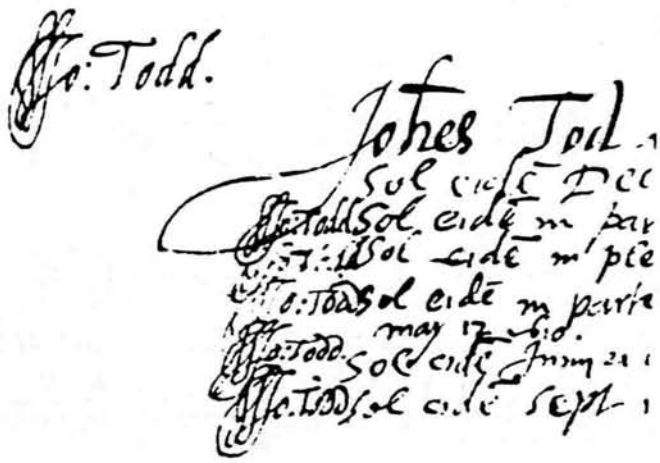


ILLUSTRATION 30: John Todd's signatures (Treas. Book, 1609-10, f.5)

His small 'o' is long and thin, and its pointed top inclines slightly to the right, and his 'h' too has an interesting alignment. As the example below shows, such 'o's and 'h's abound in the work of Scribe A, and particularly when he is assigning a passage to 'cho'. Distinctive too is his 'd'. Most significant of all is his capital 'J' with its overlapping prefatory loops. Similar loops are found with the name 'John Fido', and also on a number of capital 'F's.[67]

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66 See pp.272 (payment, June 1630) and 285 (Misc. Chs 7116-17).

67 *E.g.*, MS A2:75, 85, 243, and 399, and MS C18:54.

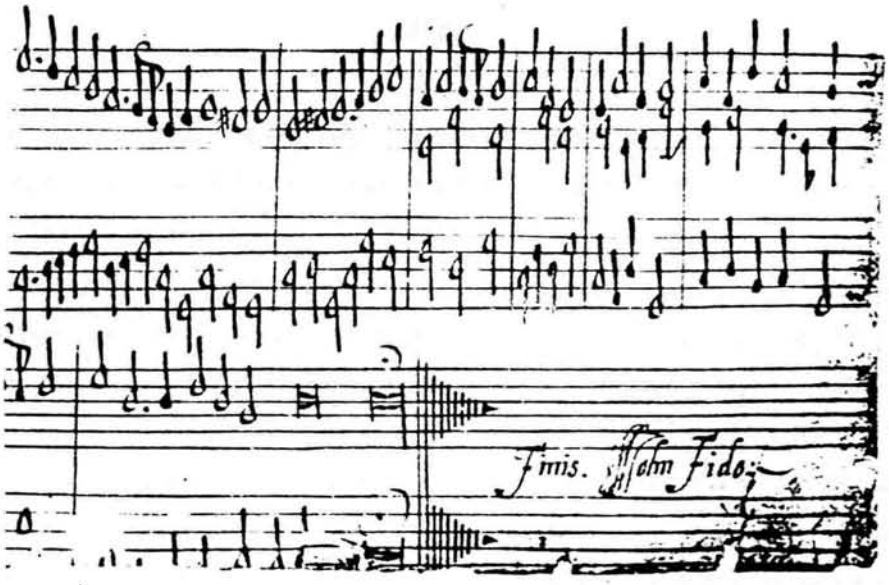


ILLUSTRATION 31: The ascription to Fido (MS A2:404)

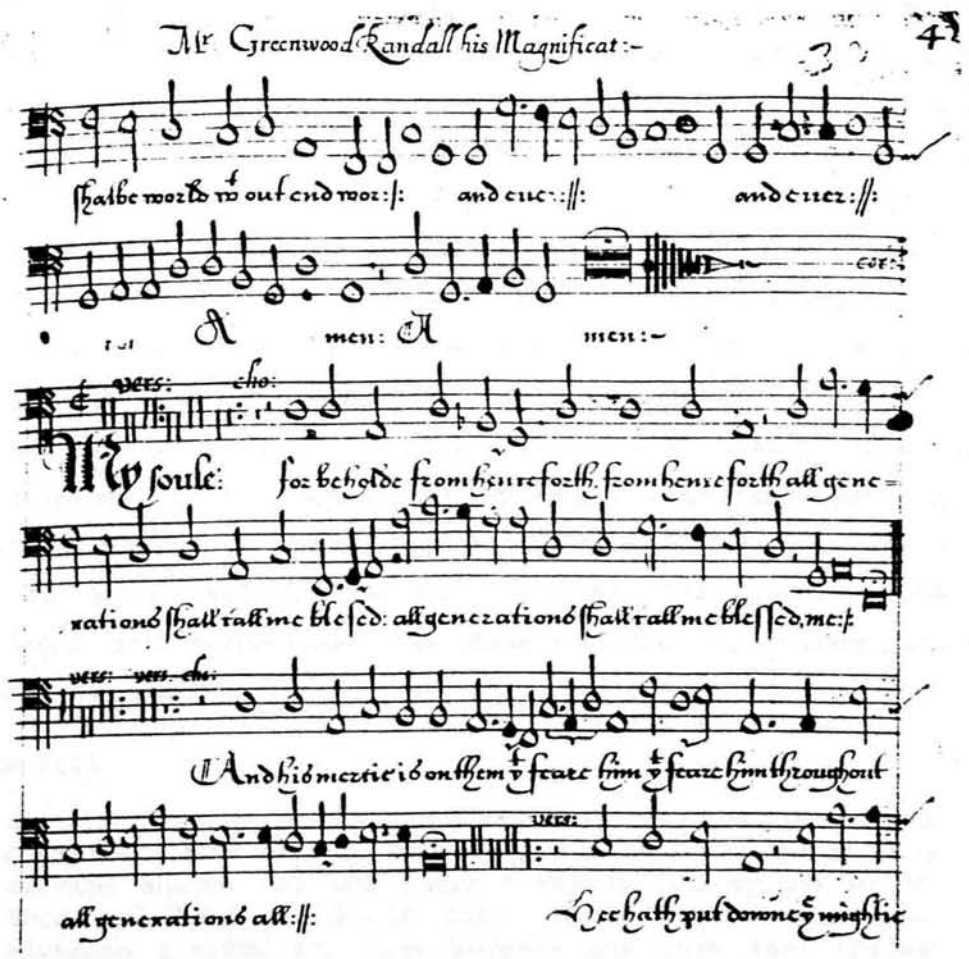


ILLUSTRATION 32: The hand of Todd (MS C18:41)

Further support for the identification of Scribe A as John Todd comes with the realization that the Parish Register for the church of St Mary-le-Bow, Durham, where Todd was Rector from 1605 until his

death in 1631, was also kept by him. There whole words, *e.g.*, 'sonne' and 'the' and 'was', are formed exactly the same as in those parts of Sets 1 and 2 assigned to Todd.

As has been already said, the sum paid to Todd worked out at eighty pages per book - and at the first copying Set 1 had forty-six pages and Set 2 seventy-three pages. Admittedly, only a singleton survives of Set 2, but its size accords better, especially if the ten pounds is a round sum. Much rests on what the term 'Song books' might mean. Is it so vague that it could apply equally to anthem books or service books? or as some of the references below have 'song books' when the others have 'anthem books' is some distinction intended? - after all, the word 'canticle' simply means 'song'.

With Todd used as a copyist in 1600, soon after he had arrived in Durham, and again in 1627, and 1629, and 1630 (see below), towards the end of his life, it is inconceivable that he should not have served in the same capacity in the intervening years. To this period it may be possible to assign some of the pages of Organ Book MS A2, that heteregeneous assemblage. His formerly loose copies of the organ parts to works in Sets 1 and 2 may be contemporary with those sets, though there are items, Morley's Second Service (pp.102-30), for example, which may belong to an earlier decade.

MS A2 includes what could well have been Todd's last transcription. In the organ part of Hooper's Evening canticles to Parsons of Wells's Morning canticles (MS A2:25-32) he showed himself prone to error, and William Smith finished the Gloria to to the Magnificat and transcribed the Nunc Dimittis on staves already prepared by Todd.

2 June 1629

> Itt is also agreed y^{t} Songe Bookes of the comon and ordinarie services of the quire beinge now torne and decaied shalbe new and fairely prickt out againe by M^{r} Todd and Toby Brookinge into fortie Quires of paper alreadie p_vided for that purpose and that they shalbe rewarded and paid for there paines by the treasurers for the tyme being accordinge to that agreement w^{ch} Mr. Cosin shall make wth them for the same (Act Book, f.80^{r})

2 June 1630

> In consideracon of Tenn poundes given me by the deane & Chapter for the prickinge & writinge of fyve bookes of songes for the Quire conteyninge XX quires of paper which

> some pts is yett unwritten I doe p_mise & Und^{r}take to finishe the same as occasion shalbe offered and the deane or p^{r}bendes shall call upon me for that purpose
>
> Joh: Todd (*ibid.*, f.87^{r})

The payments for 1629 and 1630 refer to the same project. From them it transpires that the copyists were paid at the rate of £1 for every two quires copied. With a quire at twenty sheets or forty pages, that again gives a rate of 3d. per page. This time the work was shared out from the outset between Todd and Toby Brooking, one of the lay-clerks. Todd did not delay in executing his part, and his reference to five books immediately eliminates Set 1, for its six survivors all have their earliest part in the hand of Scribe A.

Passing over Set 2, for which only a singleton is extant, one is immediately attracted to Set 3. There the work is shared out on a Decani/Cantoris basis with Scribe A responsible for the Decani books. Moreover, its three surviving Decani books of Set 3 are incomplete in two senses. At the more trivial level, although the headings are there for Sheppard's *Venite* the work itself has not been transcribed. More seriously, the set leaves between its sections ample space for other suitable settings to be added. At roughly 170 pages per volume Set 3 is just over the size being sought. More importantly, as the books of Set 3 have already been described as special books devised to be used only on High Days, even allowing for John Cosin's high churchmanship, the phrase 'of the comon and ordinarie services of the quire' is hardly apposite!

The set which best matches this description is Set 4. With its short full settings arranged in sections for Matins, Communion, and Evensong, and, morevoer, spaces left between those sections to allow for additions, it was certainly intended to be used regulary. Whilst at about 320 pages it might appear to be far too long, it must be pointed out that there is very little on any page, that 320 is exactly twice 160, and it is not impossible that larger pages have been folded. Furthermore, the singleton which survives is undoubtedly in the hand of Scribe A. However, even though the feeling for identification may be strong, there is only a solitary survivor, and firm conclusions are not possible.

How long Brooking took over his part of the project and how much he received are not known. As for Set 3, with Todd buried in January 1630/1, Brooking is presumably Scribe B and the copyist of

its Cantoris members. His signature too occurs in the Treasurer's books, though for some reason he uses two entirely different ones in 1635-6 (Illustration 33). A further slightly longer example of Brooking's handwriting occurs in his agreement with Abraham Coates on 21 November 1635 to copy out such 'fresh songs' as Coates might require (Illustration 35).[68] Who Coates was, and why he was interested in music is not known. These specimens of Brooking's writing also have resemblances to that of the Tables of Contents found in some of the members of Sets 1 and 5 (Illustration 34).

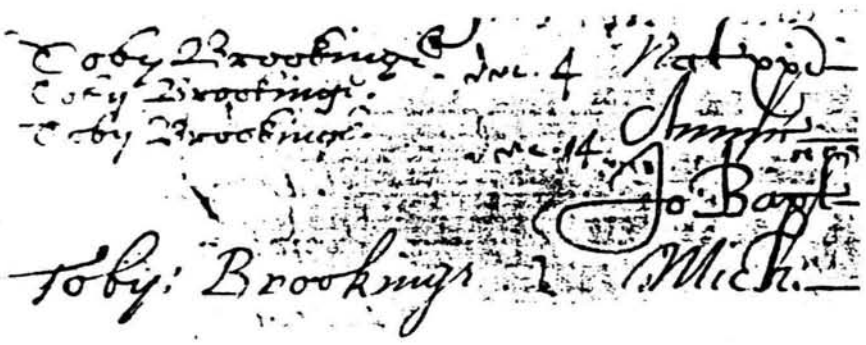


ILLUSTRATION 33: Brooking's signatures (Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.8)

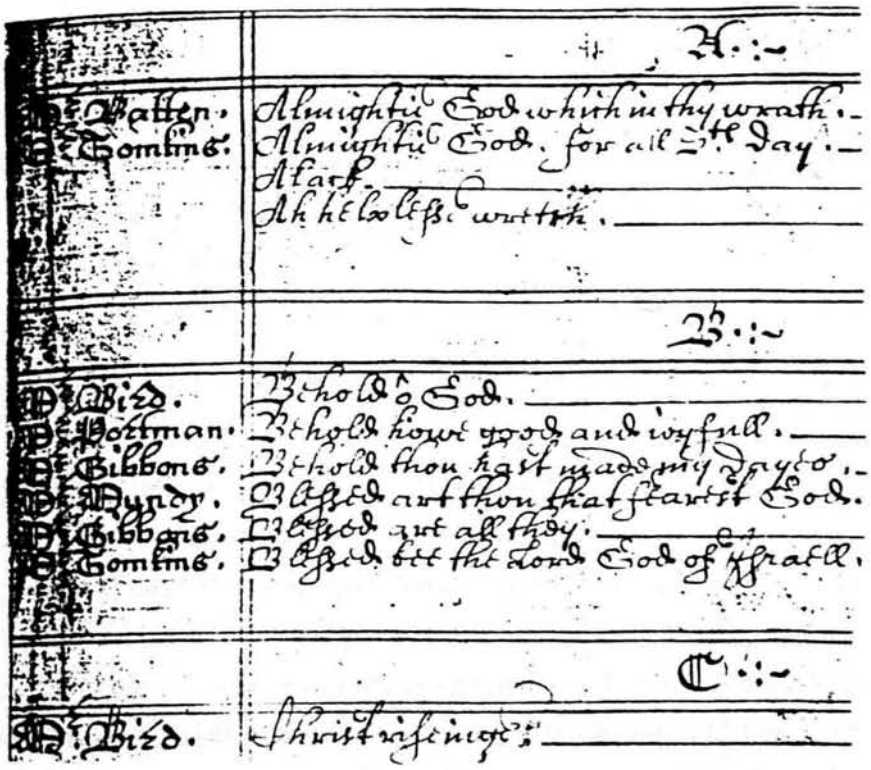


ILLUSTRATION 34: Table of Contents, MS C10 (copied by Brooking)

68 Hunter MS 27, 173; *cf.* P.G. Stanwood, 'Poetry Manuscripts of the Seventeenth Century in Durham Cathedral Library' (*DUJ*, 1970), 81-90.

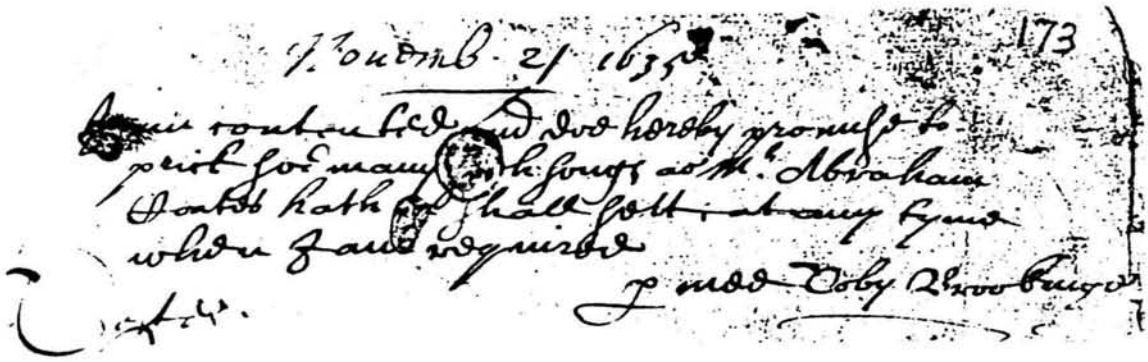


ILLUSTRATION 35: Brooking's agreement with Coates (Hunter MS 27, f.173)

9 May 1631

> To M[r] Palm~ for his paines in prickinge of bookes & makinge of Anthems fortie shillinges. (Act Book, f.96[r])

As has been already said, it was John Morehen who succeeded in identifying Palmer's hand.[69] The handwriting is distinctive, and at Durham, apart from an insertion on MS C8:181, is confined to three of the organ books. Consequently, whatever the anthems mentioned in the payment were - and 'makinge' points to composing in addition to copying - no trace of them survives at Durham. Possibly, as Palmer was acting as master of the choristers, his transcriptions were for the use of the boys and have perished through wear and tear, possibly they were in the now missing set of books 'for men'.[70] As there is little in his hand at Peterhouse,[71] it seems unlikely that some of what he copied at this time has found its way there.

17 December 1632

> p[d] Tob: for prickinge Antheames into Cant: Bookes, £1-0s-0d (Treas. Book, 1632-3, f.27[r])

This payment, possibly for eighty pages, is for adding anthems, not services, to existing books. Representatives of two sets of anthem books are extant. Of the two sets, Set 1 is the more likely, as it is felt that some of the payments still to be considered refer to the production of Set 5. Where hitherto it had been supposed that the expression 'Cant: Bookes', peculiar though it was with its use of the macaronic, was a way of saying 'song-books', it is now appreciated that 'the books on the Cantoris side of the choir' may

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69 Morehen, thesis, 156-60; see above, pp.264.

70 See pp.144, 266, and 295-6.

71 See pp.299-300.

have been intended. In Brooking's case either could apply. In the case of Set 1 as well as adding about seventy-five pages to its Cantoris members[72] his could be the hand responsible for adding to all the books of Set 1 the eighty pages[73] which constitute the first group described as 'added later'. Of the two projects, the latter is preferred, because Todd, who had added to the Decani books, had been dead for nearly two years.

19 February 1632/3

> P^{d} Tob: B. for drawing y^{e} Titles &c in y^{e} Lib:, £0-10s-0d (Treas. Book, 1632-3, f.27^{r})

It is only because Brooking is mentioned that this entry has been included. It seems a strange way of referring to either the compilation of Tables of Contents of, say, Set 3, or the writing of enlarged titles for anthems or services. There is an ornate title page in the Book of Benefactions[74] to the new Library, but although the Library had been agreed to in Chapter in 1628, the said book and another to serve as a Catalogue were not purchased until 1633-4. Two special books were in evidence in the financial year 1632-3. John Chever was paid no less than £14 'for Imbroydering' them.

12 April 1633

> Pd Tob: Brookinges wife in pt for prickinge Antheames &c, 2^{li} (Treas. Book, 1632-3, f.35^{v})

2 June 1633

> P^{d} Tob: Brookinge for Prickinge Antheames, £6-13s-4d (*ibid.*, f.28^{r})

8 July 1633

> P^{d} Tob: Brookinges wife more for prickinge Anth: 2^{li}

11 July 1633

> P^{d} her more for Anth:, 2^{li}-vj^{s}-8^{d} [*sic*] (both *ibid.*, f.35^{v})

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72 Obtained by increasing the 45 pages added in MSS C5, C7, and C10 in the ratio 5:3.

73 Obtained by doubling the 41 pages added in MSS C4, C5, C7, C9, and C10.

74 The vellum Book of Benefactions is MSS A.IV.32, the paper Library Catalogue (compiled by Elias Smith), B.IV.47. Their purchase is referred to in Treas. Book, 1633-4, f.51.

13 December 1633

> Paid to Tobie Brooking for pricking 10 Quire of Anthem Books (£6-13s-4d) (Treas. Book, 1633-4, f.34^{r})

16 November 1634

> A Bill for binding and stringing 10 Quire Books (£2-12s-6d) (*ibid.*)

It is probable that these payments all refer to one project, to the creation of a new set of anthem books, presumably Set 5. What needs examining is the role played by Mrs Brooking. Was she really a copyist in those days before 'Women's Lib'? Surely not! Most probably she was merely collecting the money on behalf of her husband - possibly to prevent him from dissipating it in the local hostelries - and the words 'for copying anthems' serve only to distinguish the payments from advances on his salary. The payments to her occur in a working part of the book and, significantly, all are crossed out. In contrast, the payments to Toby Brooking appear in a more formal part, and those on ff.28^{r} and 34^{r} could well include the amounts his wife had already received.

At 13s-4d per quire the cost of copying had risen from 3d. to 4d. per page. This increase may reflect either the effect of inflation, or, if the project should be Set 5, the more exacting demands made upon the copyist. Finally, whilst the binding and stringing denote the completion of the project, it is appreciated that its earliest stages may have been recorded in the Treasurer's Book for 1631-2. That book, unfortunately, is not extant.

17 March 1633/4

> Pd to Mr. Green by ord^{r} of y^{e} Chapt^{r} for 2 Song Books &c (£1-10s-0d) (Treas. Book, 1633-4, f.34^{r})

20 March 1633/4

> Mr Greene Thirtie shillinges for three songe bookes (Act Book 2, f.135^{r})

The dates of these two entries are so close that, even though the number of books is different and the payment in the Treasurer's Book antedates the instruction in the Act Book, they presumably refer to the same books. The sum is too small to be a payment for transcription and presumably indicates acquisition. Whilst the books were not intended to be members of sets, the possibility of them being composites cannot be discounted. In that case MSS C11, C13,

and C16, with the edges of their pages both gauffered and coloured are likely candidates.

6 April 1634

> Paid to Mr Allison for 2 Rheme of ruled pap_ for y^e^ Quire, £2-2s-0d (Treas. Book, 1633-4, f.34^r^)

For this formal entry there is a crossed out version bearing the same date in the working part of the books. It reads,

6 April 1634

> d~d to my Br Allison for song paper ...[75] London, £2-0s-0d *[sic]* (Treas. Book, 1633-4, f.54^r^)

It is noteworthy that the paper was already ruled when purchased, and that it was acquired in London. Two reams may seem to be an enormous quantity of paper, but its forty-eight quires would have earned Brooking only £32 at the 1633 rate of 4d. per page. It would scarcely have sufficed to re-copy Sets 1 and 2, or to provide MSS C11, C13, C16, and the Durham exile, York MS M29S.

There were still eight months to go before the project Brooking was working on was bound, though no further payments to him are recorded. The paper was there in readiness, York MS M29S (the Dunnington-Jefferson MS) may have still been to transcribe, and William Smith had probably not yet started copying his own compositions into Organ Book MS A1.

Morehen read the latter reference as 'Mr Dr Allison'.[76] [Ralph] Allison, however, was not a cleric. He was Mayor of Durham in 1635, 1642, and 1643. Cosin did share a number of leases with him, but why he should refer to him as 'Brother' is not known. Perhaps, as Cosin married a Blakiston, Allison was her brother-in-law.

21 October 1634

> Paid to John Guydon [Gaydon] for a Base Book of all songs for y^e^ Quire, £2-0s-0d (Treas. Book, 1633-4, f.34^r^)

The uncertainity previously expressed about the meaning of 'songs' persists. Two comprehensive bass books of anthems do survive. One is

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75 The word is illegible - it look like a false start to 'London'.

76 Thesis, p.5. For evidence that Allison was Mayor, see, F. Whellan, *History, Topography, and Directory of the County Palatine of Durham* (1894), 200.

MS C16, but from its contents it belongs to the later part of the 1630s. The other is the Dunnington-Jefferson MS. Its comprehensive format has already been discussed. Stylistically to be identified with Set 5, which was produced very much at this time, it was not used by an ordinary member of the choir, and its range of contents is greater than that of the Durham manuscripts. However, in view of the other manuscripts they resemble, there is no evidence to associate either of them with Gaydon.

The entry raises a further point. Hitherto, Gaydon has not been suggested as copyist, but as the contents of the book are relevant for use at Durham it is difficult to see what else he could be being paid for here. His is a tidy signature in the Treasurer's Books, but no other known example of his handwriting has been found. The book may have gone astray, but there is a possibility that part of it may have found its way to Peterhouse.[77]

31 October 1634

> To Dr Duncon - 10 quire of paper & carriage, 11s-6d
>
> To Mr Moorecroft for 10 quire of paper q. de T. Brooking, 10s-6d
>
> for carriage of y^{e} paper from~ London, 1s-0d (all Treas. Book, 1633-4, f.54)

Like those to Mrs Brooking, the payments to Prebendaries Eleazar Duncon (the Treasurer that year) and either George or Ferdinand Moorcroft are all in the working part of the book, and all are crossed out. Unlike those to Ralph Allison earlier in the year their authorized versions have not been found.

7 November 1634

> Item pd to my B^{r} Allison for carriage of paper for Quire Books from London, £0-4s-6d (*ibid.*, f.51^{r})

7 November 1634

> A bill for y^{e} organ & a Song Book, £0-8s-0d (*ibid.*, f.34)

26 September 1637

> To M^{r} Greene fyve m'kes for writinge of the quire bookes for the church (Act Book, f.176)

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77 See pp.323-8.

Five marks is £3-6s-8d, which at the increased rate of 4d. per page represents the transcription of some two hundred pages, a not inconsiderable activity. If Green made his contribution in one of the sets of ten choir books this would average out at twenty pages per book. His handwriting from the 1630s onwards is known from his signature and from his replies to the Articles of the Episcopal Visitation of 1665,[78] but even more so from Hunter MS 33, a Common-Place Book to which he was the last contributor.

FURTHER CONCLUSIONS

With so many entries in the Treasurer's Books for 1632-3 and 1633-4 - but possibly significantly none in that for 1635-6 - the lack of books particularly for the period from 1624 to 1632, for 1634-5, and from 1636 onwards is much to be regretted. Even so, as has been shown as the chapter has progressed, it has been possible to link some of the sets to some of the payments.

The payments and other entries quoted above refer to the production of certainly three of the first five sets described in this chapter. It is noticeable how that the first identifiable project was the work of a single copyist, John Todd; that he was joined by a second scribe, Toby Brooking, for the next, which was shared out on a Decani / Cantoris basis; and that the last project was the work of Brooking on his own. Part of the problem of trying to decide just which these sets might be lies in the fact that of Sets 2 and 4 only singletons remain. Fortunately, because of copyists and notation Set 2 seemed of a similar date to Set 1, and Set 4 to Set 3. The objective, therefore, is to establish the relative order of Sets 1 and 2, 3 and 4, and 5. Even if Todd's hand had not been recognizable from his distinctive signature, logical thought would have demanded that Sets 3 and 4 should be the middle of the three groups and that Sets 1 and 2 should precede them and that Set 5 should be the last set to be produced. This is because the earliest hand in every member of Set 1 and Set 2 was the hand that transcribed the Decani members of Set 3 and the single book of Set 4, and the copyist who added to the Cantoris members of Set 1 and to the single member of Set 2 was the copyist responsible for

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78 Hunter MS 11, ga.98.

the Cantoris members of Set 3. In Set 5 the hand of the scribe who began Sets 1 and 2 is not evident, but that of the scribe who assisted him had developed.

Thanks to the evidence in the Act Book and Treasurer's books about the copyists, the nature of books, and from the payments the possible size of those books, a more precise picture can be painted. By the middle of 1627 John Todd, the precentor, had produced either or both Sets 1 and 2. After that date Todd and Toby Brooking added to those sets. They were followed in 1629 and 1630 by a set transcribed by Todd and Brooking. They shared out the work in a very clear fashion, each being responsible for the production of five books. The choice here rests between Sets 3 and 4, with Set 4 the more likely if only because its services are 'comon and ordinarie'. Leaving aside the payment in 1631 to Henry Palmer, by then the Master of the Choristers, the next project is that undertaken by Toby Brooking in 1632 and 1633. That project was undoubtedly Set 5.

MISCELLANEOUS CHARTERS 7116 AND 7117

Even though the grounds for linking the sets with several members with some of the payments might appear well founded, it might be countered that the attempt is seriously flawed, that it does not allow for the possibility of the payments referring to manuscripts no longer extant. After all, Chichester has an inventory dated 18 January 1621. It lists over one hundred and forty manuscripts, but of them not even one has come down to today.[79]

In contrast, it is felt that at Durham only one set at most of the books actually *in use* in the 1630s and 1640s is now without a representative. This assertion is based on the evidence of Miscellaneous Charter 7116. In its heading[80] it describes itself as 'An Inventorie of all the Vestments Ornaments Song Bookes and other moveable goods belonging to the Cathedrall Church of Durham delivered and committed to y^{e} charge and Custody of James Greene Clerke and Sacrist of the said Church ...'

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79 le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660*, 93-4.

80 Only in Misc. Ch. 7116 - some of the heading of Misc. Ch. 7117 has been torn away.

Where in the printed article it was stated that Miscellaneous Charters 7116 and 7117 were two copies of the Inventory,[81] it is now appreciated that they are closely related versions of a certain type of document. Neither of them bears an explicit date. The naming of James Green as the Sacrist is not as helpful in this respect as might have been hoped, for he held the position on various occasions over a period of over thirty years. Sworn a minor canon in December 1631, he was appointed Sacrist first in November 1634 and again at the same time in 1637, 1642, and 1643.[82] After the Restoration he served in the same capacity continuously until his death in May 1667. Thus, in terms of dating the inventories one can do no more to start with than say that they were compiled between 1634 and 1667.

A comparison of the two documents discloses that Misc. Ch. 7116 is the older. One hand was responsible for it in its original form, whilst a different hand discloses that several of the sections were extended in the light of further donations, and there are also a number of comments as to the whereabouts of various articles. Misc. Ch. 7117, however, is in one hand throughout, and what were additions in Misc. Ch. 7116 are fundamental to it, with even the observations taken account of and re-phrased. Moreover, Misc. Ch. 7117 has an additional section entitled: 'Things lost since the making of Dr Dalton's Inventory'. It is open to question whether this implies whether Dalton had been succeeded, but in view of the way that the amendments to Misc. Ch. 7116 have been dealt with in Misc. Ch. 7117 it would seem reasonable to conclude that the latter was Dr Dalton's inventory.

The mention of Dr Dalton serves greatly to reduce the date-range for Misc. Ch. 7116. Thomas Dalton was a Prebendary from 2 November 1660 until he resigned the position in November 1672. More significantly, he filled the office of Treasurer from November 1664 through to November 1669. This period, when considered together with the death of James Green in May 1667 sets the date limits for Misc. Ch. 7116 at November 1664 and May 1667.[83]

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81 B. Crosby, 'A 17th-century Durham Inventory', *The Musical Times*, 199 (1978), 167.

82 20 November was the date for these annual appointments; see Act Book 2, ff.145^{v}, 180^{v} and Act Book 2A, ff.9^{r}, 11^{v} respectively.

83 Act Book 3, pp.91, 103, 112, 122, and 147; and the Treasurer's books for the period mentioned.

As Treasurer Dalton was required by the Statutes of 1554/5 to produce inventories of the church goods, and to keep a watchful eye on them. He was required to

> examine the registers and indentures of all these things every quarter of the year, that nothing may be lost or spoiled by the carelessness or deceit of any man.[84]

That this was not regarded as the unrealistic formulation of a bygone age is evident from the Treasurer's Book for 1633-4. It refers to the transcription of such an Inventory in these terms,

February 7 [1633/4]

> For writing two long Indentures of y^{e} goods & ornam^{ts} of y^{e} church delivered to y^{e} Sacrist, 3s-4d (*op. cit.*, f.31^{r})

Thomas Wanless, not James Green, was Sacrist that year. Presumably he received one copy and the Treasurer the other.

The existence of such inventories is also referred to in papers dating from later in the 1630s, the 1660s, and the 1670s. Bound into Hunter MS 11 are several of the Articles of Enquiry drawn up by the Bishops of Durham in connection with their triennial Visitations.[85] Also incorporated into that volume are some of the replies of members of the foundation.[86] Particularly relevant to the present discussion is Article 5 of the Enquiry conducted by the Bishop in 1665. It asks,

> Hath he [the Sacrist] received y^{e} furniture, Ornam^{ts} and Utensills of y^{e} Church by Inventory or Indenture from y^{e} Dean and Treasurer?[87]

The specific reply to this is to be found in one of the marginal additions to the corporate reply of the Dean and Prebendaries to the selfsame Articles of Visitation.[88] Against their thoughts about the 2nd Title is written,

> [T]he Inventory of Goods is not yet [pe]rfected &c.

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84 *Statutes*, 131; *cf.*, Hunter MS 11, ga.94 (for 1665), and *Cos. Corr.*, ii, 112.

85 *E.g.*, Hunter MS 11, gas 40 (for 1637), 78 (1662), and 94 (1665).

86 *Ibid.*, gas 83-91, 95-101 (all for 1665).

87 *Ibid.*, ga.94.

88 Hunter MS 11, ga.83. The edge of the document is brittle, a state not improved by an unwise early attempt at repair.

This exchange no doubt resulted in the inventory being completed not long afterwards. That Misc. Ch. 7116 is both that inventory and 'Dr Dalton's Inventory' is pointed to by a number of factors. Although Thomas Dalton is not mentioned in it, another Prebendary, Dr Thomas Wood, is - and he was installed on 10 December 1660. This at least establishes that Misc. Ch. 7116 is post-Restoration, and two of the additional comments move the date to when Dalton was Treasurer. The first of these concerns the organs. Added to the entry 'Two paire of Organs' is 'one pair of them is lately sold to Houghton.' The organ so disposed of was presumably that which Bishop Cosin had provided for £80 in 1661. Now some of the Houghton-le-Spring Parish Records have survived, and in 1665 there were three different occasions - unfortunately, no dates are supplied - on which ale was bought for those erecting a new organ.[89]

The other addition in the margin refers to 'y^{e} new Littany Desk in the quire given by the Bpp' and to a 'new Lectoron' also given by Bishop Cosin. These additions to the text must be later than 17 July 1665, for in their reply to the Articles of Visitation bearing that date the Dean and Prebendaries inform the Bishop that 'The Lectorne and Litany deske are mean and uncomely' - hardly the most tactful remark to make if the Bishop himself had but recently given those furnishings!

The articles listed in the inventories are grouped together under a number of location headings. Two of those sections are of particular interest to the musicologist, for they describe in sufficient detail the music books, both printed and manuscript, to which the members of the choir had access. The first lists the furniture and books which were

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89 *Churchwardens' Accounts of Pittington and other parishes in the Diocese of Durham from A.D. 1580 to 1700*, ed. by J. Barmby (*SS* 84, 1888), 332.

In the Song Schoole

Item Psalterium Carolinum composed by D^{r} Wilson in three parts[90]
Item S^{r} William Leightons Divine Lamentations in ffower parts[91]
Item Dowlands Songes in ffower parts[92]
Item Jones Vltimum Vale to Musick in ffower parts[93]
Item y^{e} Psalmes of David composed in fower parts for voices & Instrum^{ts}[94]
Item Morleys Introduction to Musick[95]
Item Consort Lessons for Six Instrum^{ts} set by exquisite Authors[96]
Item Two Deskes and two Backseates
Item One pair of Iron Barres
Item One ffoulding Table
Item Morleys ffower parts[97]
Item Orianaes ffower parts[98]
Item Two Sackbutts and Two Cornetts & 2 Cricketts in y^{e} qu^{r} for Sackbutts
Item two Books in Fol: bound in Black Leather and ruled wth the Churches Armes on them.

By the 1660s the song school was not that familiar to the masters of the choristers from Brimley through to Hutchinson. That building's unbecoming appearance had attracted adverse comment from Charles I during his visit in 1633,[99] and led to its demolition shortly afterwards. The song school referred to in the Inventories was off the western aisle of the cloisters, in rooms to the south of the Spendement. The furniture listed is basic, but even bearing in mind that the room was where the choristers received their entire

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90 By John Wilson, publ. 1657.

91 *The Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule*, publ. 1612/13.

92 Presumably *The Firste Booke of Songes or Ayres of Foure Partes ...*, by John Dowland, publ. 1597.

93 By Robert Jones (ii), publ. 1605.

94 Probably *The Psalms of David in Meter*, by Richard Alison, publ. 1599.

95 By Thomas Morley, publ. 1597. The copy is not that found in the Dean and Chapter Library under B11(ii).

96 Presumably *The First Book of Consort Lessons collected by Thomas Morley*, by Richard Alison, publ. 1599/1611.

97 Probably *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces: the First Booke* (1594/1600).

98 Publ. 1601.

99 See pp.197-8.

schooling to the modern mind the lack of a keyboard instrument may come as a surprise. Such there was by Foster's death in 1677, but as the inventory of his private possessions makes clear, it was his own. Its compilers noted, 'in the Schoole roome one paire of Orgains', and they valued the instrument at £15.[100] The purpose of the 'Iron Barres' in the song school is not known, neither is the identity of the music books with black covers. As for the cornetts and sackbuts, it has already been shown that they had not become museum pieces.[101]

With the exception of Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum*, which was not published until 1657, all the printed books were first published either late in the sixteenth century or early in the seventeenth. It is noticeable, too, that the reliance on Morley is strong, and that few of the items were suitable for use in the cathedral. Their presence prompts the thought that successive Masters of the Choristers used them as either reference books or textbooks in order to give their charges a broad-based musical education.

Included in the inventories is a section listing the music books available for the choir to use during services in the mid 1660s. The heading of the section is misleading, for also itemized are seventeen forms, a moveable pulpit, an epitaph, and coats-of arms engraved on wood. The part giving details of the books reads,

In the Quire are these Bookes:

Item Tenn Bookes in Folio Maiori *whereof two wanting*[102]
Item Tenn Bookes in folio with black Covers for verse Services
Item Ten Books for short services and a base Book of Services and Anthemes
Item Tenn Bookes for ffestivall daies
Item Tenn Bookes in folio of full and Verse Anthemes
Item Ten Bookes of Services and Anthemes for men
Item ffower Organ Bookes
Item fower Parchm^{t} Bookes 2 Decani and 2 Cantoris

The books may have been extant in the 1660s, but the present examination confirms that they were not produced then. The descriptions of the first five sets match closely, though not in the

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100 See vol.2, p.50 for further details of his will.

101 See p.195.

102 The words in italics are additional; in Misc. Ch. 7117 this entry is re-phrased as 'Item Eight ...

same order, the five sets of part-books which the earlier part of this chapter has associated with the 1620s and 1630s.

Judging by the physical description alone, the books 'in Folio Maiori' can be no other than MSS E4-E11 [Set 3], and we can be thankful that still no more than two of them are lacking. MS C18 [Set 2], still in an old black cover, would appear to be the only survivor of the set 'with black Covers for verse Services'. Likewise, MS C8 [Set 4] may be taken as the sole survivor of the set 'for short services'. The 'base Booke of Services & Anthemes' has disappeared - one can only conjecture whether it was the book purchased from John Gaydon in 1634.[103] MSS C2, C3, C7 (1st fascicle), and C14 [Set 5] answer the description of books 'for ffestivall daies'; whilst the books 'of full and Verse Anthemes' fit MSS C4, C5, C6, C7 (2nd fascicle), C9, and C10 [Set 1] perfectly.

Continuing through the list, there are no books which could be described as books 'of Services and Anthemes for men', though some of their possible contents are to be found in groups in one organ book and three part-books. The relevant part of MS A3, the organ book, in the hand of John Foster, is post-Restoration, but it cannot be ascertained whether the items were copied before or after 1665. The same doubt persists about when they were copied into MSS C11 and C16, two of the part-books, but not about MS C17. It was transcribed in *c.*1675, and uses for its covers those of the member of Set 1 it was replacing. From MS C17 it is possible to tell in two ways how the repertoire had changed since the 1630s. From its contents it is apparent that the anthems for men's voices had been included at the expense of the verse anthems found in Set 1; and from the Service Sheet for June 1680, stuck inside its front cover, comes incontrovertible proof of exactly what was being sung.[104]

None of this, however, sheds any light on the date of the original set of books for men's voices. With the organ parts of several items copied by John Foster in the 1660s, the function of that set then was clearly to reduce the burden on the new

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103 But see pp.323-8.

104 The Service Sheet is reconstructed and examined in B. Crosby, 'A Service Sheet from June 1680', *The Musical Times*, 121 (1980), 399-401. It is commented on in J. Morehen, 'The English Anthem Text, 1549-1660', *The Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 117, pt.1 (1992), 62-85, and especially pp.79, 82.

choristers, all of whom were having to be trained from scratch. What it is not possible to tell is whether the set was newly compiled or transcribed anew in the 1660s, whether it dated from the 1620s or 1630s, or whether the original books of 1568, having seen some service in the 1620s and 1630s, were brought back into use yet again. Some association with 1568 would seem justified, for if the contents have been identified correctly,[105] Byrd, Mundy, Parsons, Sheppard, and Tallis were all at the height of their powers during the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

It may have escaped notice, but none of MSS C11, C13, C16, and E11a, features in the Inventory. The reason for this is that they were not normal choir books, but had been specially produced, possibly at private expense. The first three books have the edges of their pages gauffered and gilded and decorated in green and red. The first of these, a tenor anthem book, was certainly used by both Dean Sudbury and Dean Granville after the Restoration. The second, a tenor service book, probably was too, but there is no evidence who used either them or the other two books in the 1630s.

Quoted above is the statement, 'The Song Bookes are torne and not renewed'. To which sets does this refer? Hardly to Sets 3 and 5, the present-day survivors of which still have even the corners of their pages in a good state of repair. Indeed, such is the good state of the members of Set 3 that one doubts whether they were used at all after 1660. This doubt hardens further when it is remembered that two of the members of Set 3 are described as 'wanting' in the inventories. Certainly in need of repair were the members of Set 1, It has already been stated that they underwent repair in the 1660s and that replacement copies were also produced.[106] Finally, with only one survivor of each of Set 2 and 4 it is not possible to judge what the condition of those sets may have been in the 1660s. That MS C8 itself continued to be used until at least 1750 points to it being in good condition in the 1660s.

Whilst wear and tear has reduced the choir part-books from a total of either fifty or sixty to twenty, a superfluity of organ books exists, there being apparently not four but five survivors.

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105 See p.144.

106 See pp.226-7.

Three of the supposed four can be quickly identified, for it seems unlikely that any of MSS A1, A6, and A5, the trilogy copied by Henry Palmer in 1638 and 1639, had temporarily been mislaid. That accepted, the choice is between MSS A2 and A3. It might be argued that as MS A3 was the current book, with much in the hand of John Foster, the contemporary Master of the Choristers and Organist, it was not included. On the other hand, MS A3 does open with a pre-Restoration corpus in the hand of William Smith [5]. Moreover, it must be remembered that MS A2 is not a normal book - it represents a binding together after the Restoration of a miscellany of items.[107]

As for the four parchment books mentioned in the Inventory, no trace of them remains. Like the mid-eighteenth century MSS B23 and B24 their more durable fabric may have been intended for use by the boys.

CONCLUSION

The payments recorded in the Act Book and Treasurer's Books to music copyists for their labours confirm that the 1620s and 1630s saw the production of certainly three new sets of ten part-books. To this tally two other sets may be added because the composers and copyists point to them being contemporary.

Two inventories of moveable church goods have sections enumerating the music books in the choir. Although they date from the mid-1660s the books they describe are mainly those produced in the 1620s and 1630s. They do list an extra set of books, a set containing music for men's voices, but from what it has been possible to conclude about its contents it seems to have been produced not in the 1660s, nor in the 1620s and 1630s, but *c*.1568.

Gratifying though it is to gather from the inventories that no other sets have disappeared since then, there is one question they cannot answer. Still to be laid to rest is the doubt whether any sets in use in the 1630s disappeared before the inventories were produced. This, however, is most unlikely, and for several reasons. One would have expected to have found a block of their contents in comprehensive books like MSS C11, C13, C16, and E11a, or in the

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107 See pp.258-9, 266-7.

organ books. Furthermore, there is the feeling that by 1634 the copying of sets of part-books was at an end. With one set having full and verse anthems suitable for general use, and another having verse anthems for general use and feast days, all aspects were covered. Again, with books of short services, books of verse services, and books for the major feast days of the church's year the possibilities there too had exhausted. At most all one can do is regret that the set for men's voices was not copied anew at that time - but that is to assume that it was in use in the 1630s. To repeat and extend what has been said already, it could have been an old set of books, possibly in use in the 1630s, possibly not, re-introduced by Foster to meet the needs of the 1660s.

No, the feeling persists that by about 1634 the copying of part-books for the choir was complete. It cannot help but be noticed that where the Treasurer's Book for 1633-4 has several payments to music copyists, the next extant book, that for 1635-6, has none. It is also true that from early 1635 the influence of John Cosin, the motive force behind the production of at least two of the sets of books, was less strong. In that year he became Master of Peterhouse, and though he was present at meetings of Chapter right up to 16 August 1643, it was to the music at Peterhouse that he turned his attention.

A final indication that there were no further sets to be copied may be construed from the actions of Toby Brooking, who since certainly 1629 had benefited financially from that activity. He must have felt that he had a certain amount of time available, for on 21 November 1635 he entered into this private agreement:

> I am contented and doe hereby promise to prick soe many fresh songs as M^{r}. Abraham Coates hath and shall sett at any time when I am required
>
> per mee Toby Brookinge[108]

Unfortunately, of Abraham Coates and his occupation nothing is known.

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108 Hunter MS 27, f.173; see pp.274 and 312-13 for photocopies of this agreement.

CHAPTER 2

THE PETERHOUSE CONNECTION

On 8 February 1635 John Cosin was appointed Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. This appointment was said to be an acknowledgement of the efficient way in which Charles I's visit to Durham had been organized. Contrary to what others[1] have supposed the Mastership of Peterhouse did not terminate his association with Durham. Proof of this exists in his own hand, for his signatures in Durham Act Book 2A confirm his attendance at meetings of Chapter in November 1642, January 1642/3, and as late as 16 August 1643.[2]

At Peterhouse Cosin revived the position of College organist. In that role he placed Thomas Wilson, who was still a Durham chorister in September 1634. Wilson proved to be active as a composer. Parts of twelve anthems, one festal psalm, two settings of the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, as well as two Venites, a Kyrie, Creed, Litany, and Sanctus, survive in the Peterhouse music manuscripts. None of these compositions found its way into the Durham books, though Durham has one anthem, 'By the waters of Babylon', which is not at Peterhouse.

In use at Peterhouse *c.*1640 were two sets of part-books which have become known as the Former and Latter sets. Both sets are of a very similar date, and both, to quote John Morehen, are 'examples of utter chaos'.[3] This is because on various sizes of paper they include a mixture of anthems and services in the hands of many different copyists. The Latter Set is probably so called because in it are the compositions of Thomas Wilson, and by far the majority of the items with Latin texts. Some of these, by Henry Loosemore, Molle, Ramsey, and Wilson himself, were composed with Cosin in mind.

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1 *E.g.*, Buttrey, 'William Smith of Durham', 249; Morehen, thesis, 172; Ford 'An English Liturgical Partbook of the 17th Century', 145.

2 He was not present between March 1638/9 and August 1639, after which there is a break in the records until November 1642.

3 Morehen, thesis, 126.

Not only did Cosin import Wilson to Peterhouse, its music manuscripts disclose that he also drew heavily on the music being sung at Durham. This situation was investigated in some detail by Morehen in the years up to 1969. He established not only that the two repertoires had much in common but that the work of several of the Durham scribes had found its way to Peterhouse. Where those who were aware of this relationship before him had supposed that in such

THE FORMER SET

MS	475	Medius Decani
	476	I Contratenor Decani
	477	II Contratenor Decani
	478	Bassus Decani
	479	Medius Cantoris
	480	I Contratenor Cantoris
	481	Bassus Cantoris

THE LATTER SET

MS	485	Medius Decani
	486	Contratenor Decani
	487	Tenor Decani
	488	Bassus Decani
	489	Medius Cantoris
	490	Tenor Cantoris
	491	Bassus Cantoris

ORGAN BOOK

MS 493

cases the Peterhouse copies were secondary when compared to Durham's, Morehen postulated that in some cases and for a variety of reasons Peterhouse had acquired Durham's original copies. Because of John Buttrey's work in 1962 Morehen was already familiar with the handwriting of William Smith [5]. Through similar comparisons with their signatures in the Durham Treasurer's books he successfully identified the contributions of Henry Palmer and John Geeres. Because of their content he was aware of several other Durham corpuses at Peterhouse, but did not manage to discover all their transcribers. In view of several frequent payments to Toby Brooking in the Durham Treasurer's books he felt that Brooking must have been responsible for one corpus. That he opted for the wrong corpus was

partly because he failed to appreciate that what he thought was the work of one copyist at Durham was in fact the work of two. He also failed to pursue the cause of John Todd who had been mentioned in connection with two large copying projects at Durham. However, in fairness it must be pointed out that Morehen was based in Cambridge, and that his visits to Durham did not afford him the time to explore a wide range of supporting muniments.[4]

As a result of exploring such muniments at Durham it has now been possible to identify at Peterhouse the activity of certainly eight of the Durham minor canons and lay-clerks, to name seven of them with some confidence, and to suggest a name for the eighth. Whatever was said in the article in the *Durham University Journal*,[5] the present examination goes further. Only minor modifications have been made to what Morehen had assigned to William Smith [5],[6] Henry Palmer,[7] and John Geeres,[8] but the contributions of Toby Brooking,[9] that man of several styles, have been re-assessed. What had been attributed to him has been sub-divided, and to it has been added the copious work of one of Morehen's unidentified copyists. Some of Brooking's supposed contribution has been allocated to John Todd;[10] and another unidentified scribe has been shown to be Elias Smith.[11] Two hitherto unmentioned corpuses have been recognised. One of these was transcribed by James Green,[12] the other may have been penned by

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4 The present work may suffer through the situation being reversed.

5 Crosby, 'Durham Cathedral's Liturgical Music manuscripts, *c*.1620-*c*.1640', 40-51.

6 Born, 1603; chorister, 1613-18→; lay-clerk, ←1624→; minor canon, 1627 - death; sacrist or precentor for most of 1627-44; died, 1645. For full biographical details of Smith and the other copyists see Appendix 1.

7 Lay-clerk, 20 July 1627 - death in 1640.

8 Lay-clerk, King's College, Cambridge, 1623 - 1626 or 1628; lay-clerk, Durham, 1628 - death in 1641/2.

9 Lay-clerk, 1623 - death in 1642.

10 Minor canon, 1598-9 - death; precentor at various times; buried, 1630/1.

11 Minor canon, 1628; Librarian, 1633/4; precentor, 1660. All positions held until death in 1676.

12 Minor canon, 1631 - death; sacrist for most of 1634-44, and 1660 - death; precentor, 1636-7; died, 1667.

John Gaydon.[13] In the case of Todd the grounds for his identification have already been supplied.[14] With Elias Smith and Green, however, new ground is broken. The former is not named as a copyist at Durham until the 1660s, and although the latter was paid at Durham for copying in 1637 his contribution at Durham has not been determined. Both have left behind them extensive examples of their handwriting. Elias Smith is represented by his catalogue of books in the cathedral library (MS B.IV.47) and by his own private notebook (Hunter MS 125), and Green has been identified as the last contributor to one of the minor canon's Common-Place Books (Hunter MS 33). The Answers of each of them to the Articles of the 1665 Episcopal Visitation have survived and in Elias Smith's case one on behalf of the whole choir as well.[15] Suitable photographic examples will be supplied and scrutinized as the contribution of each is examined. In the case of the work of the eighth copyist, photographic evidence will confirm that the Peterhouse corpus is by a Durham scribe even if it the suggested identity of its transcriber should prove to be incorrect.

DURHAM CONTRIBUTORS AT PETERHOUSE

WILLIAM SMITH [5]

Smith's hand has already been successfully identified.[16] Unfortunately, the acidity of the ink in his transcripts at Peterhouse has rendered the organ parts there difficult to reproduce - the notation on the other side shows through clearly. However, when compared with Illustration 29 (see p.265) even this brief example of one 'bar' (Illustration 36) affords proof of the same 'G' clef and old-fashioned flat sign. As the Durham example referred to also gives evidence of Smith's handwriting, part of one of his transcripts in the Peterhouse books has been added (Illustration 37). Though one needs to look at several pages to get the full

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13 Lay-clerk, 6 August 1629 - break in cathedral worship; died, 1657/8.

14 See pp.269-70.

15 Hunter MS 11, gas 98 (Green), 97 (Elias Smith, personal), and 95 (written by Smith, but countersigned by the organist and all the minor canons and lay-clerks).

16 See p.187.

picture, even the examples given indicate similarity in the 'A's, 'L's, 'O's, 'p's and 'y's, in the way that quavers are joined together, in the lengths of the stems of notes, and in the way in which three descending crotchets follow a dotted minim.

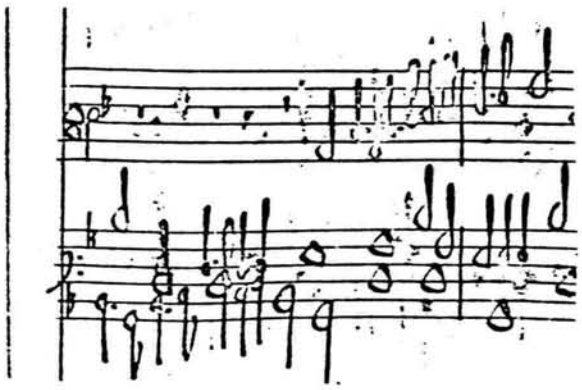


ILLUSTRATION 36: Peterhouse MS 493:24, copied by William Smith

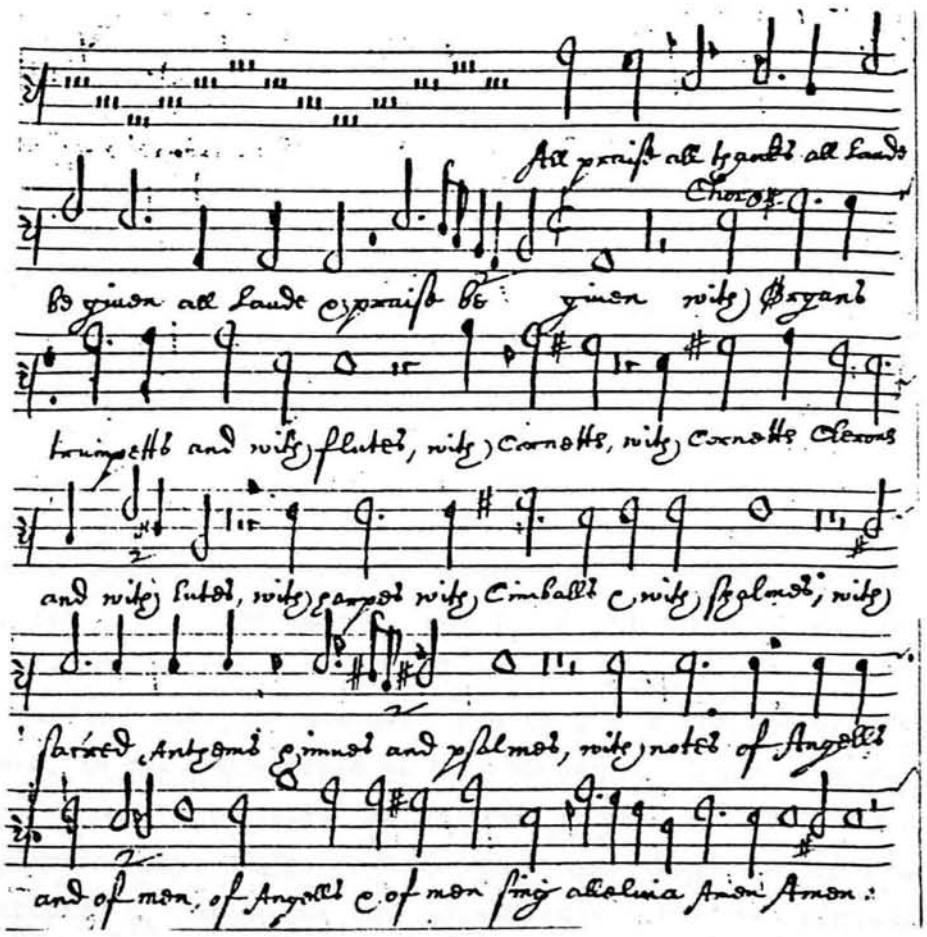


ILLUSTRATION 37: Peterhouse MS 480:114^{v}, copied by William Smith

As a result of these comparisons the following transcriptions at Peterhouse may be assigned to William Smith:

FARRANT
  Second Service (V, Td, J, K, M)
    478:62^{r}-3^{v}

GILES, Nathaniel
  He that hath my commandments
    486:G3^{v} 487:G1^{v} 488:I6^{v} 491:N2^{r}

HILTON, John
  Hear my cry O God
    493:24^{r}-25^{v}

HOOPER, Edmund
  Almighty God which hast given us (Christmas)
    493:28^{r}-9^{r}
  O God of Gods
    475:119^{rv} 476:129^{rv} 477:72^{r} 478:122 479:116^{rv}
    480:104^{rv} 481:116^{rv} 493:26^{r}-8^{r}

MUNDY
  This is my commandment
    486:G3^{r} 487:G1^{r} 488:I6^{r}

SHEPPARD
  I give you a new commandment
    486:G2^{r} 487:F6^{rv} 488:F4^{r}

TOMKINS, Thomas
  Almighty God who hast knit together (All Saints)
    475:132^{rv} 476:132^{rv} 479:132^{rv} 480:124^{r} 481:127^{r}
    488:L4^{r}
  Behold the hour cometh
    475:104^{r} 486:K3^{r} 487:L3^{r} 488:L5^{r} 491:F6^{r}

Bearing in mind that in some cases two items share the same page, the above transcriptions amount to 52 pages. Of these, 25 are in the Former Set, 16 in the Latter, and 11 in the Organ Book. At Durham Smith's contribution is confined to the Organ Books, there is no voice part by him. The anthem, 'I give you a new commandment', by Sheppard, is not represented at all, Hooper's, 'O God of gods', only by its organ part (also in Smith's hand), whilst 'This is my commandment', by Mundy, occurs only in three post-Restoration manuscripts or additions to manuscripts. It has already been suggested[17] that the anthem by Mundy may have been included in the

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17 See p.144.

now missing set of Durham books 'for men's voices' - and the same may have been true of that by Sheppard.

Morehen explained the absence at Durham of any voice parts of Hooper's anthem by suggesting that Durham dispatched its existing copies to Peterhouse, either through an oversight or because the anthem had lost its place in the repertoire. An indication of whether he is correct, and also whether any of the other parts were 'originals' too may be found in the size of the notation - the reduced photocopies do not give any indication of this - and the colour of the ink. In his transcripts of the organ parts, many of the notes appear cumbersome and point to an inexperienced copyist, where in the 1630s, as indicated by Smith's transcriptions of his own compositions in MS A1, he was much more fluent. The ink too, in the Peterhouse organ transcripts is browner and of greater acidity than his usual work in the 1630s. One wonders whether Smith might have transcribed them whilst he was deputizing for the jailed Hutchinson early in 1627.[18] On the other hand, some of the voice parts may have been copied out with Peterhouse in mind. A case in point is the transcription of the Farrant Service in MS 478. Most of it was copied by Smith, but it was completed by James Green, and Green did not arrive on the Durham scene until 1631. This situation can not be explained away by saying that Green was merely supplying a page which had gone missing, for he takes over at the top of the verso of a sheet.

In this respect it should be pointed out that Smith's contributions to the Peterhouse organ book are on consecutive pages,

ff.	$24-5^{v}$	Hilton	Hear my cry O God
	$26^{r}-8^{r}$	Hooper	O God of gods
	$28^{r}-9^{v}$	Hooper	Almighty God which hast given.

It is also noticeable that in the Peterhouse part-books in which they both occur Mundy's, 'This is my commandment', and Giles's, 'He that hath my commandments', share the same sheet.

Not listed above is the organ part of 'Jesus came the doors being shut' (Thomas Tomkins), an anthem not found in the Durham organ books or part-books. That this item once enjoyed its own individual existence may be concluded from the remark, 'To my loving

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18 See pp.183-4.

scoller Thomas Willson at Cambridge',[19] on its back 'cover'. Morehen was of the opinion that the comment and the music were penned by William Smith [5]. He suggested that, as Smith had been remunerated on 3 April 1627 'for his painestaking in the tyme Mr Hutchinson orgainest was in the Gaole',[20] he might indeed have played some part in Wilson's musical education and used the expression 'my loving scoller' subjectively.

The present investigation finds merit in the last suggestion but is unable to support the idea that Smith was responsible for the transcription of either the music or the comment. That the music was not copied by Smith is the easier to justify. As the photocopy

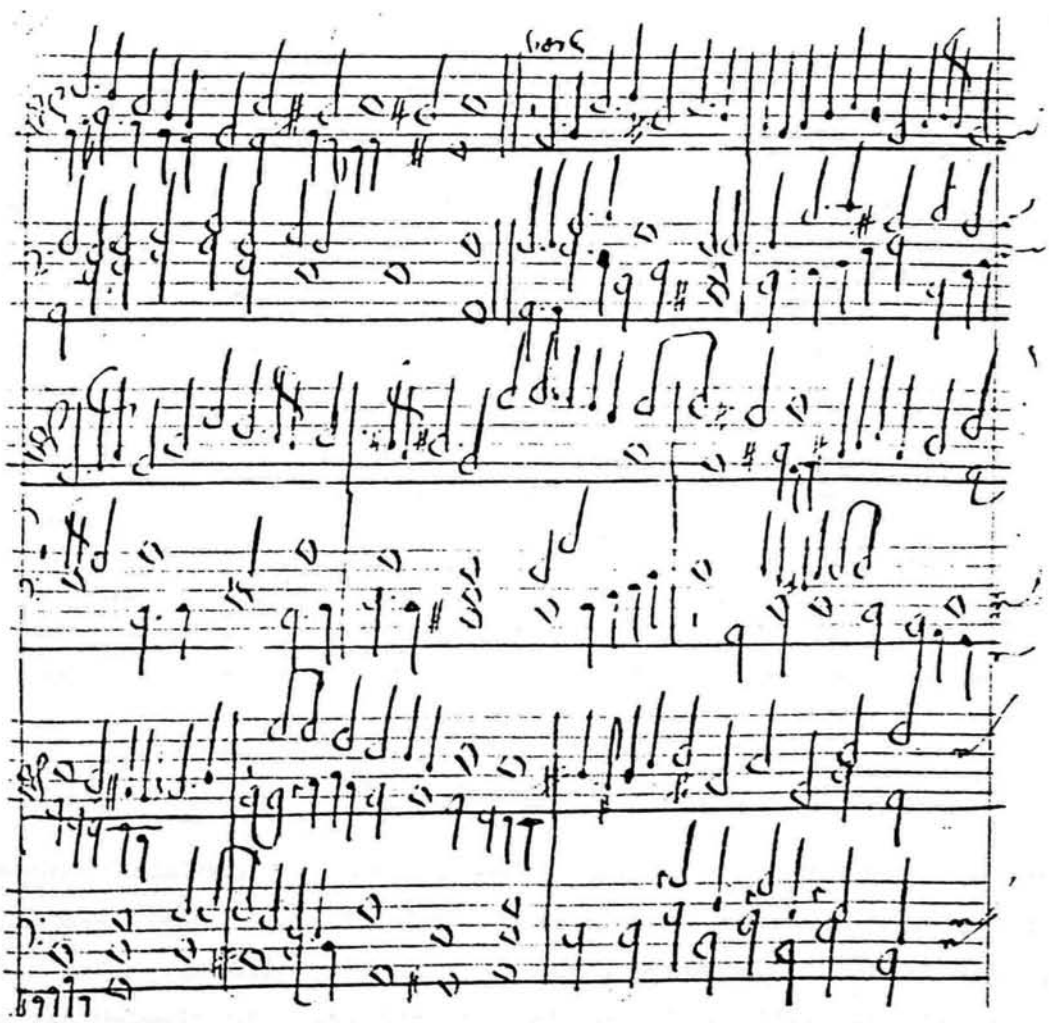


ILLUSTRATION 38: The organ part of 'Jesus came when the doors were shut' (Peterhouse MS 493:22^{v})

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19 MS 493:23^{v}.

20 Act Book 2, f.49^{v}.

shows, although the slope of the notes and the 'barring' is the same, the variety of direct signs, the right-hand side of the 'G' clefs, the accidentals, and the appearance of a page, are all very different from what has been shown to be Smith's. Equally, none of the aspects is Henry Palmer's. He had a greater claim to be Wilson's 'master', for when the responsiblity of caring for the boys was removed from Hutchinon in 1628 it was to Palmer that it was entrusted. That he was still receiving the Master of the Choristers' coal allowance in 1634 shows the Chapter's action against Hutchinson was no temporary measure.

The message on the outside of the copy is very feint, and is hard to reproduce. One letter, the 'C' at the beginning of 'Cambridge', proves to be a stumbling-block. Smith's 'C', in the Register of St Mary-le-Bow, in his writing down of George Cocknedge's will, and in the Durham organ books, varies little from its rendering in 'Choro' on the second stave of the extract from Peterhouse MS 480 given above on p.294. But if Smith did not write the comment, which clearly must have been penned by someone at Durham, then who did? The writing is too good to be Richard Hutchinson's and not good enough to be Henry Palmer's. The present

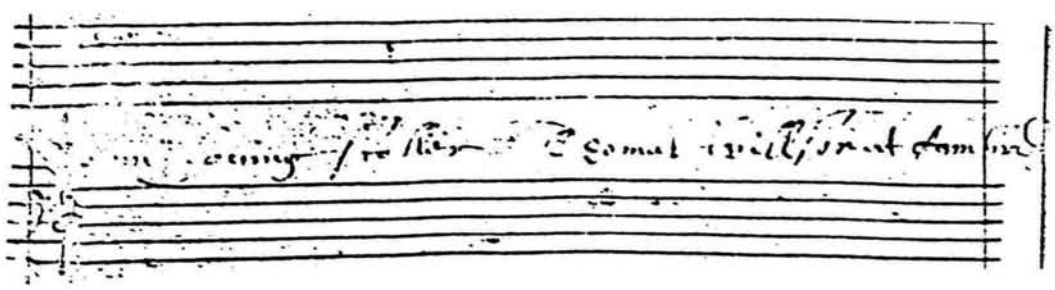


ILLUSTRATION 39: The message sent to Thomas Wilson
(Peterhouse MS 493:20^{v})

chapter examines the handwriting of no fewer than eight of about eighteen minor canons and lay-clerks, and of them only Toby Brooking does a 'C' anything like the one being discussed - one of the 'C's he was capable of producing is shown below in Illustrations 52-3 on (pp.312-13). Whilst it would have been appropriate if the comment had been penned by one of the adult members of the choir, why should not one of the prebendaries, or someone else connected with the wider cathedral foundation have written it? Such a person could be Thomas Bullock, the deputed Registrar and writer of the Minutes in

the contemporary Act Book - he has a 'C' like the one in question, and his 's' is very like that found in 'scoller'.

HENRY PALMER

The presence of a holograph anthem, signed at its close, makes Palmer's handiwork at Peterhouse apparent. The Illustration below, which should be compared with those on pp.249-50, reproduces his initialling of the transcription, and provides an extensive example of his handwriting. Even without this composition his work would have been identifiable on account of its clarity, and in the case of the organ parts by the pages being ruled vertically with uniformally spaced 'bar lines'.

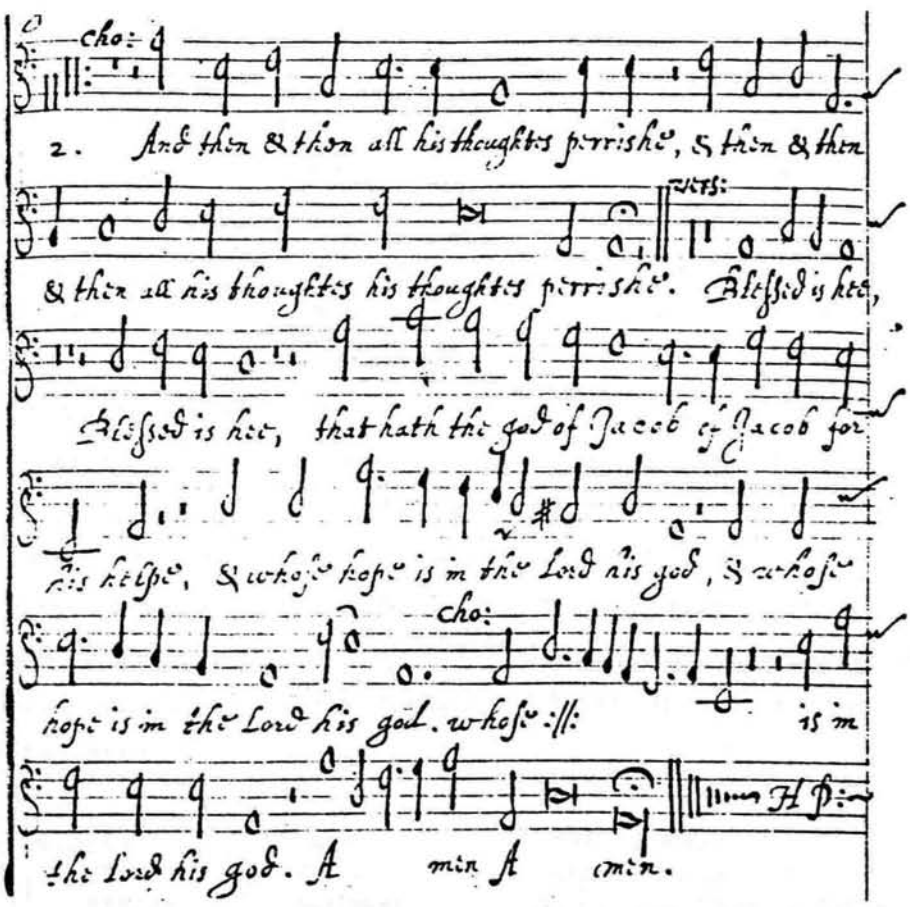


ILLUSTRATION 40: Peterhouse MS 491:M2, copied by Palmer

Found in Palmer's hand at Peterhouse are:

BYRD, William
  Great Service
    493:31^{r}-5^{v}

GIBBONS, Orlando
  We praise thee O father
    493:3^{5v}-7^{r}

PALMER, Henry
  Lord what is man (autograph)
    485:G5^{r} 486:D3^{r} 487:K1^{r} 488:H1^{r} 489:1st 42^{r}
    490:K1^{r} 491:M2^{r} 493:5^{v}-6^{v}

SMITH, William
  I will wash my hands
    493:37^{v}-8^{r}

Palmer is represented by seven pages in the Latter Set and eighteen in the Organ Book. At Durham his *magnum opus* was the transcription of most of the Organ Books, MSS A1, A6, and A5. Although he was paid for transcribing and composing in 1631,[21] apart from a solitary correction he appears to have played no part in the transcription of the part-books. At Peterhouse too his contribution to the part-books is restricted to a holograph anthem. As only the organ part of this work survives at Durham, it must remain a matter of conjecture whether the anthem was added to the set of part-books for men's voices or whether it was composed with the Peterhouse choir in mind. Whilst in the case of the voice parts of Palmer's anthem there is possibility that they could have been used at Durham, that the four organ parts conveniently occupy the first fifteen pages of a sixteen-page gathering (the sixteenth is blank) is a pointer to the latter being copied at Durham for use at Peterhouse. The organ parts in question are:

MS 493, ff.31^{r}-5^{v}		Byrd	Great Service
	35^{v}-6^{v}	Palmer	Lord what is man
	36^{v}-7^{r}	Gibbons	We praise thee O Father
	37^{v}-8^{r}	W. Smith	I will wash my hands

21 See p.274; the correction is in Durham MS C8:181.

JOHN GEERES

A comparison of the way Geeres's name is written at the end of the example below with his proven signature given in Illustration 9 above (p.228) is sufficient to confirm that the transcription at Peterhouse is holograph. Further comparison with Illustration 10 (p.229) confirms that Geeres was consistent in his direct sign, handwriting and in the general layout of his work.

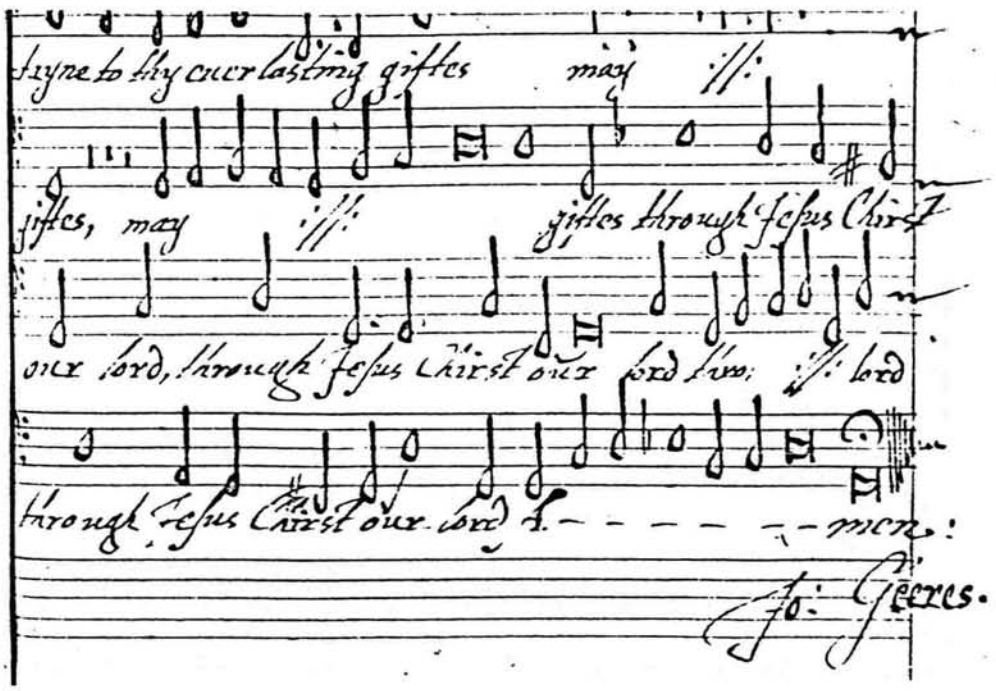


ILLUSTRATION 41: Peterhouse MS 491:N3, copied by Geeres

Accepting Morehen's suggestion that 'In manus tuas' is holograph, the eleven pages copied by Geeres into the Latter Set are of his own compositions:

GEERES, John
  In manus tuas (aut and anon)
    485:O2^{r} 487:R1^{r} 488:M2^{r} 489:71^{r}
  Merciful Lord (aut)
    485:I3^{r} 486:I1^{r} 487:K3^{r} 488:K1^{r} 489:45^{r}
    490:L2^{r} 491:N3^{r}

With works in Latin prohibited from churches and cathedrals but permitted in collegiate churches, the copies of 'In manus tuas' are probably the originals. What cannot be determined is whether the short anthem had been composed when Geeres was a lay-clerk at King's College, Cambridge, in the mid 1620s, or whether he composed it

about a decade later especially for Peterhouse. As for 'Merciful Lord', it is possibly one of the slightly later additions to the Set 5 books at Durham.[22] As it was not transcribed there by Geeres, the copies in the Peterhouse books could constitute the primary source or they could be copies made by him from the Durham books.

JOHN TODD

Once Todd's hand had been identified at Durham (see Illustrations 30-2 on pp.269-71), his contribution at Peterhouse, as this interrupted example shows, was unmistakeable. The different styles of handwriting used for the heading, the choir directions, and

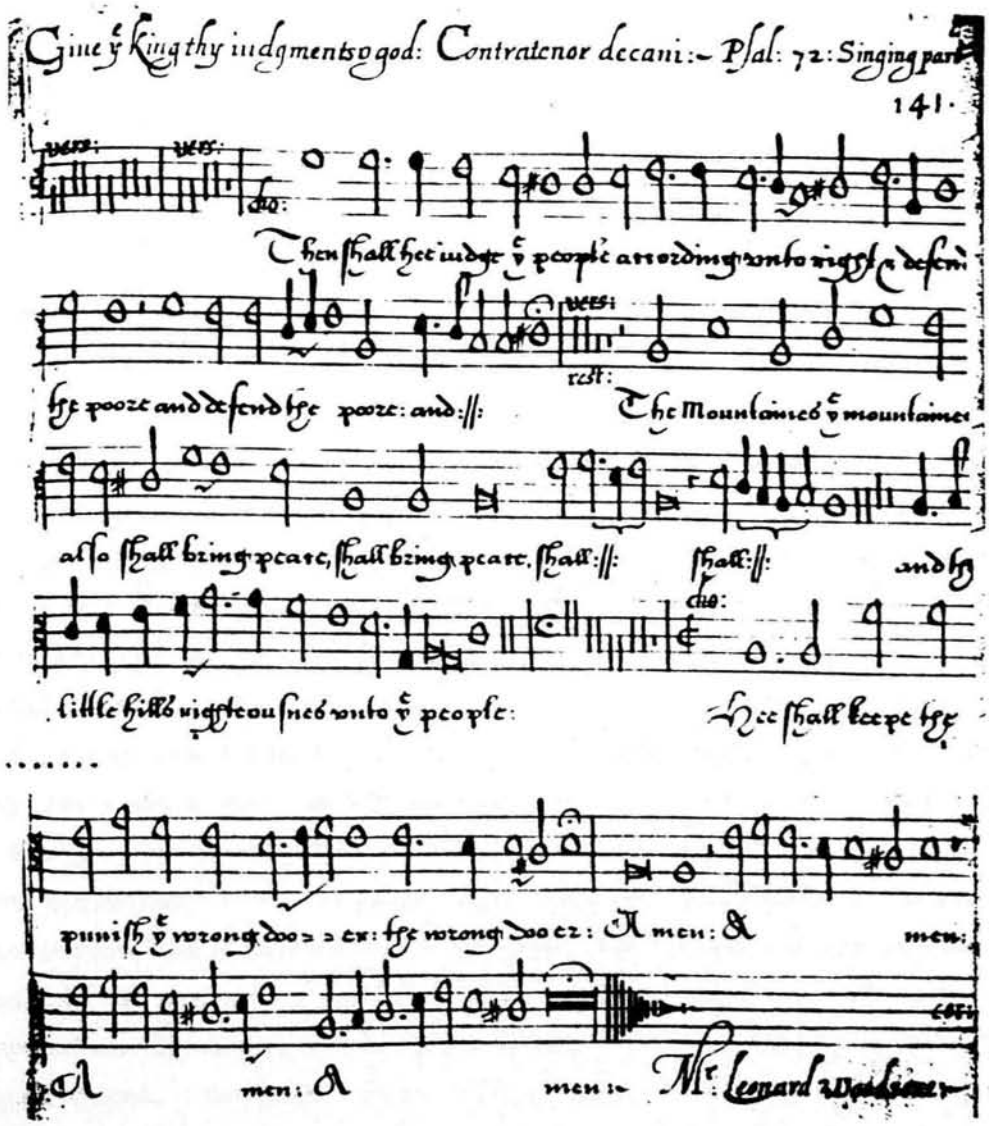


ILLUSTRATION 42: Peterhouse MS 476:141[r], copied by John Todd

22 See pp.245, 247-8.

ascription on the one hand, and for the text of the anthem on the other, match those found at Durham. The former is the less formal and its 'o' and 'd' agree closely with those found in his signature. The latter employs two different 'A's both at Durham and at Peterhouse. The end flourishes are the same, and though not apparent on the example above so too are the 'C' clefs and direct signs. Not discernible from any black and white photograph is the fact that the ink has the same brownish hue.

At Peterhouse in Todd's hand are:

GIBBONS, Orlando
  Pr, Ps, [Whitsunday Evensong] (The eyes of all)
    485:B4^{rv} 486:B4^{rv} 487:C6^{rv} 488:B2^{rv} 489:A6^{rv}
    490:A4^{rv} 491:A3^{rv}

WOODSON, Leonard
  Give the king thy judgments
    475:129^{r} 476:141^{r} 477:79^{r} 478:135^{r} 478:136^{r}
    479:129^{r} 480:125^{r} 481:131^{r}

and, possibly,
DERRICK
  Jubilate
    485:C1^{r}-2^{r} 486:C1^{r}-2^{r} 487:D3^{r}-4^{r}
    488:C2(1^{r}-2^{r})

Eight pages in the Former Set and either fourteen or twenty-six in the Latter - it depends whether Derrick's *Jubilate* is included - are in Todd's hand. They cannot have been transcribed with Peterhouse in mind, for Todd died in January 1630/1. Of each item something different can be said. In the case of the copies of the Preces and Festal Psalm, they were copies no longer needed at Durham, not because the items had fallen from the Durham repertoire, but because they had been newly copied into the books of Set 3. With the copies on single sheets, stuck onto tabs in the Peterhouse manuscripts, and each including in its heading what part it was, there is a pointer that before the production of its new sets of part-books Durham may have had a number of anthems and services on loose sheets. This supposition is supported by the nineteen organ parts which have been incorporated, together with their papers covers, into Durham MS A2.[23]

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[23] See pp.266-7.

In the case of the anthem by Woodson, with both bass parts included in MS 478, the voice parts of the anthem are complete. This anthem must have fallen from favour at Durham, for it is not to be found in either Set 1 or Set 5, though the organ part, in Todd's hand, is in MS A2. Again the copies, on single sheets this time unruled on their versos, appear to have enjoyed an individual existence at Durham.

Finally, there is the canticle by Derrick. Where Morehen supposed that all seven parts of the 'Jubilate' in the Former Set had been copied by the scribe now identified as Todd, the present research is prepared to assign at most only the Decani parts to him. The Cantoris parts have been rejected because, as a comparison of the illustration below with those on pp. 270 and 302 confirms, the direct sign and the shape of the letters are different; and in the Decani copies there are some handwriting differences. There seems to be little hope of identifying the copyist of the Cantoris parts. Wherever they came from the parts again may well have enjoyed a separate existence, for each is headed with the voice of its user.

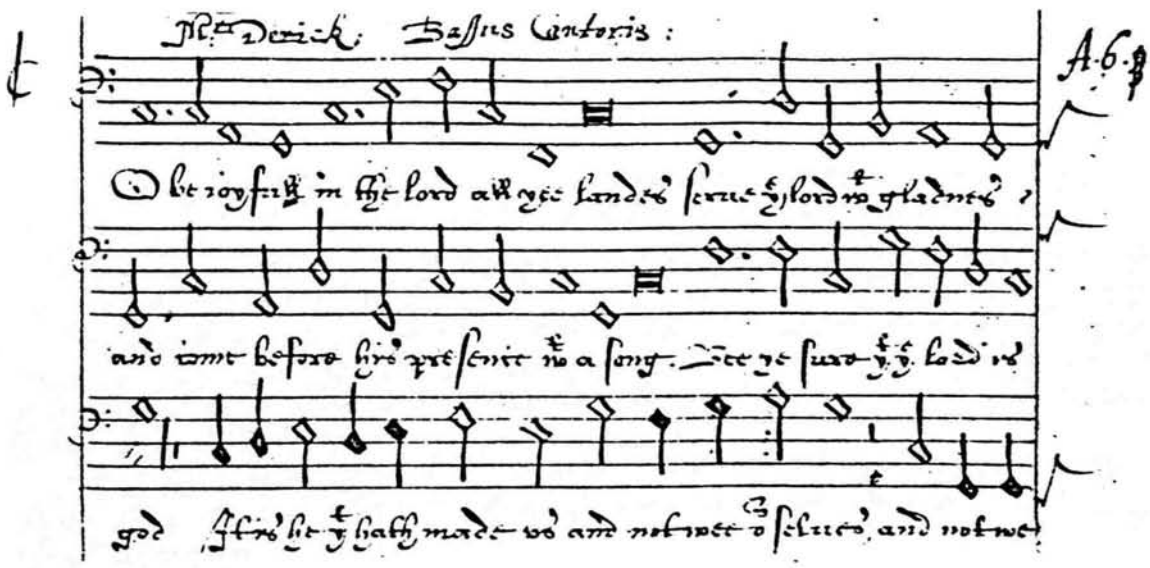


ILLUSTRATION 43: Derrick's *Jubilate* - a Cantoris copy (Peterhouse MS 491:A6)

ELIAS SMITH

With Elias Smith not named as a music copyist at Durham in the 1630s no indication has so far been given of his handwriting. His is a clear painstaking hand, and very distinctive. For the purposes of comparison, his signatures in a Treasurer's book, an extract from his reply to the Articles of the 1665 Visitation, the end of an anthem copied at Durham by him after 1660, and a sample of his writing at Peterhouse have been selected.[24] His ampersands, 'A's, 'g's, and Greek 'ε's are distinctive, and it is noticeable that the end flourishes are the same.

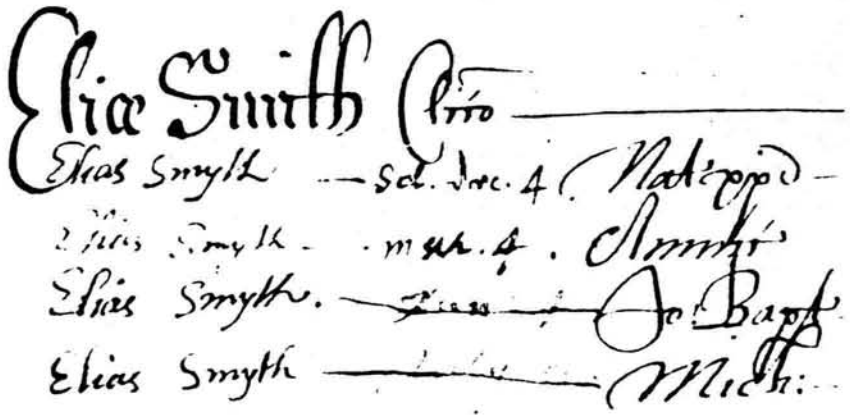


ILLUSTRATION 44: Elias Smith's signatures
(Durham Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.6)

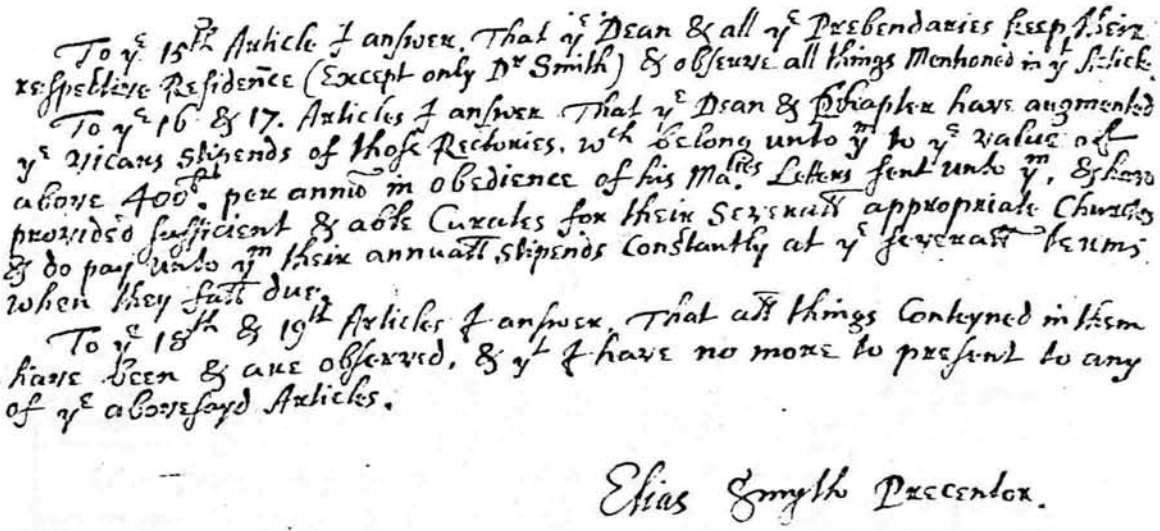


ILLUSTRATION 45: Elias Smith's reply to the 1665 Visitation Articles
(Durham, Hunter MS 11, ga.97)

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24 Also in his hand are parts of the St Giles's church register, and a catalogue of the books in the cathedral library. This he compiled in the 1630s and maintained for the rest of his life.

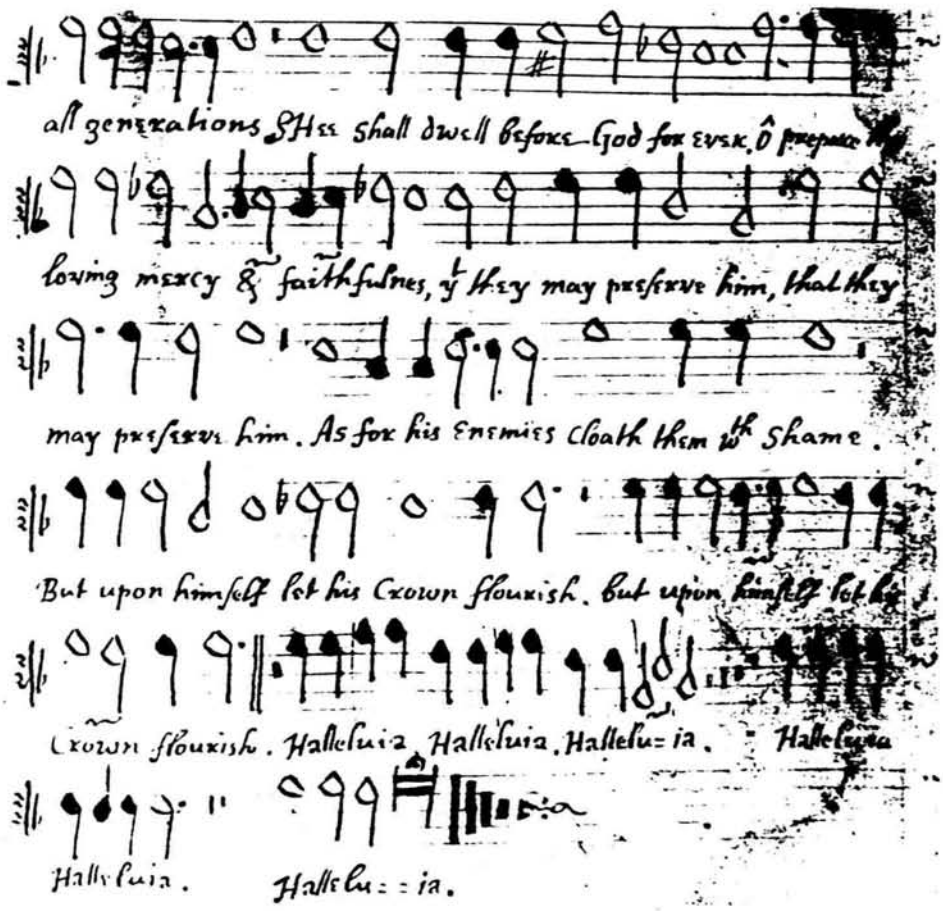


ILLUSTRATION 46: Durham MS C2:198, copied by Elias Smith

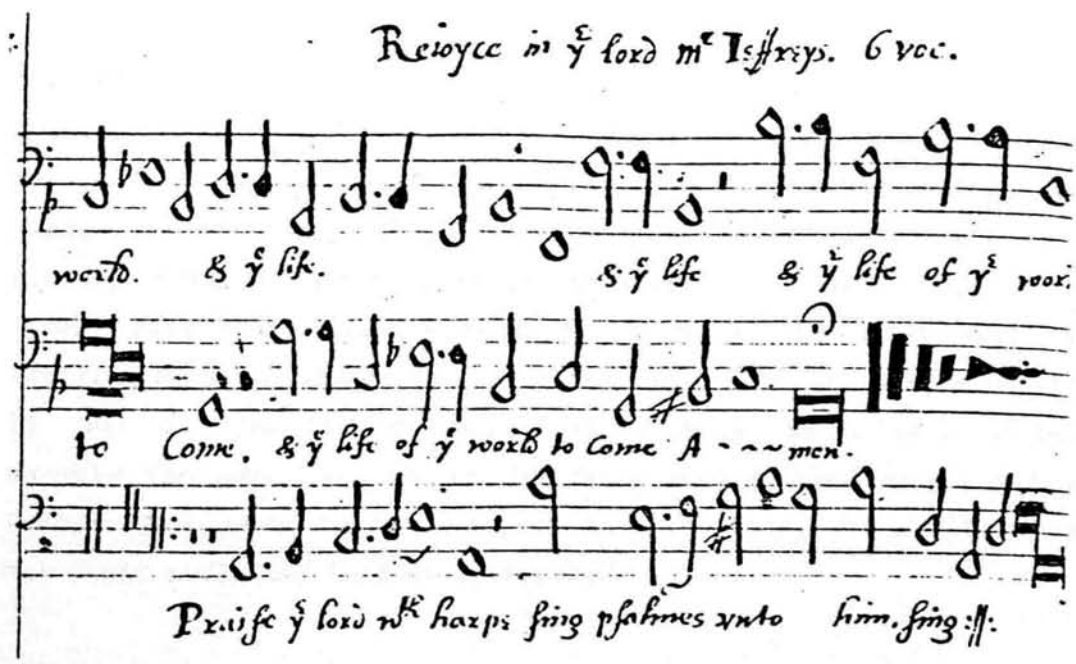


ILLUSTRATION 47: Peterhouse MS 491:K3, copied by Elias Smith

At Peterhouse Elias Smith was responsible for a few parts of

DERRICK
  Kyrie, Creed
    489:20^{rv} 490:E6^{rv} 491:K3^{rv}

[JEFFRIES, Matthew]
  Rejoice in the Lord
    489:20^{v}-1^{r} 490:E6^{v}-F1^{r} 491:K3^{v}-4^{r}

At twelve pages, all in the Latter Set, this is a minor contribution. In Smith's case, even though 'Rejoice' is not in the Durham manuscripts, these transcripts were probably not made with Durham in mind. Possibly he, amongst others, was allocated a number of parts to transcribe.

TOBY BROOKING

When the contribution of Brooking at Durham was being examined it transpired that more than one style of presentation had to be assigned to him.[25] To some extent this was related to the function of what he was transcribing, though the passage of years also had to be borne in mind. Found at Peterhouse too are examples of what will be referred to as his 'formal' and 'informal' styles.

(a) 'formal' style

The formal style is particularly reminiscent of Brooking's work in the books of Durham Sets 5 and 6. In the example which follows the heading, handwriting, shape of notes, and direct signs all match closely those in Illustration 27 above (p.255). The 'L' and 'd' of 'Lord' have more affinity with his work in the later 1630s as typified by Set 6 and by the additions *c.*1638 to the surviving book of Set 4 (for the 'd' see Illustration 21 on p.244). In this example the end flourish is far more ornate than any found at Durham. This reproduction does not do it justice, for in each case the lower reflected half is rubricated.

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25 See pp.229-56, 272-89.

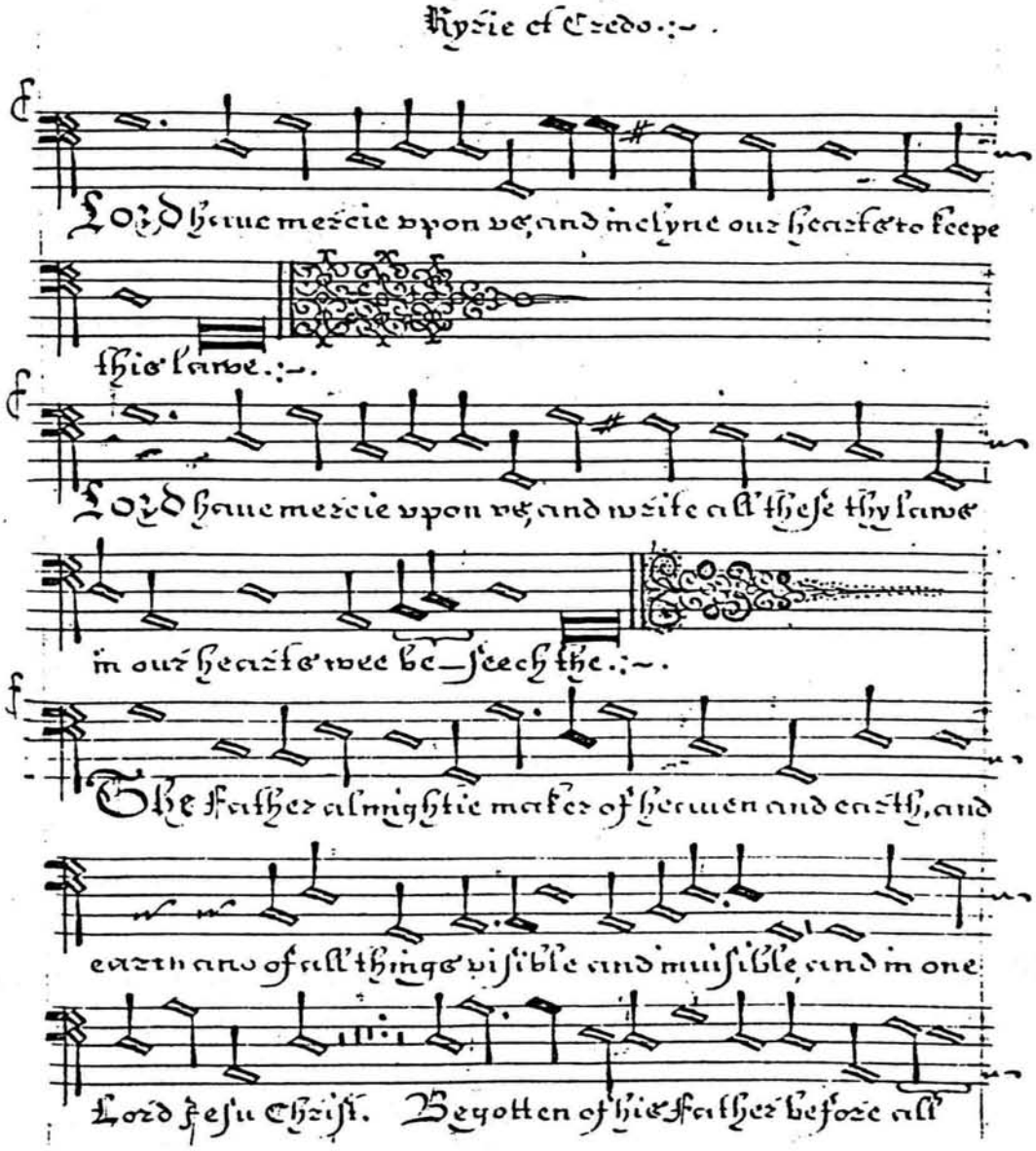


ILLUSTRATION 48: Brooking's formal hand (Peterhouse MS 487:77)

Found in the formal hand at Peterhouse are:

BYRD, William
  Kyrie
    485:B2^{r} 486:B1^{r} 487:B6^{r} 488:A3^{r}

CHILD, William
  in Gamut (Be, J, K, C, M, N)
    478:75^{r}-9^{r}

DERING, Richard
  Almighty God which through thy only begotten Son
    478:79^{v}-80^{r}

DERRICK
  Kyrie
    485:B3^{r} 486:B2^{r} 487:C1^{r}

GIBBONS, Orlando
  Kyrie
    485:B3^{v} 486:B2^{v} 487:C1^{v}

HOOPER, Edmund
  Almighty God which hast given us
    475:118^{rv} 476:137^{rv} 477:75^{rv} 478:130^{r} 479:123^{rv}
    480:116^{rv} 481:122^{r}

MORLEY, Thomas
  Out of the deep (verse anthem)
    486:F2^{rv}

MUNDY
  Kyrie
    485:B2^{v} 486:B1^{v} 487:B6^{v} 488:A3^{v}

TALLIS, Thomas
  Kyrie
    485:B2^{r} 486:B1^{r} 487:B6^{r} 488:A3^{r}
  Litany
    485:A5^{rv} 486:A2^{rv} 488:B4^{rv}

TOMKINS
  Kyrie
    485:B2^{v} 486:B1^{v} 487:B6^{v} 488:A3^{v}

Of the 45 pages in this style, 23 are in the Former Set, 22 in Latter. MSS 485-8 include a group of *Kyries* arranged as follows:

1st page	Tallis and Byrd
its verso	Mundy and Tomkins
2nd page	Derrick
its verso	Gibbons

though the last two are missing from MS 488. It is unlikely that Brooking could have been responsible for a collection of *Kyries* for which Durham had no further use. This is because he only arrived on the Durham scene in 1623, and by the end of 1630 Sets 3 and 4 both had several sets of *Kyries*. Moreover, as has already been mentioned, the 'L' and 'd' of 'Lord' are very like those employed in items added to Durham MS C8 not earlier than 1638. This date is advanced because of the inclusion of the service which Foster composed in 1638.[26]

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26 Palmer declares this at the end of his transcription of the organ part (Durham MS A5:224).

The Service in Gamut by Child (ff.75^{r}-9^{r}) is followed immediately by the anthem by Dering (ff.79^{v}-80^{r}). That two such diverse works should be so linked is not a characteristic of the Durham part-books. It points to the items being copied for Peterhouse on the minimum of paper. They differ further from music in this or indeed any other style at Durham during this period, though not from the Table of Contents of Set 3, in that there is a certain amount of rubricated text and their end flourishes are considerably more ornate and rubricated to some extent. This too points to them being transcribed especially for Peterhouse, and as they are bass parts the thought that they may have been intended for Cosin himself does occur.[27]

(b) 'informal' style

No matter who transcribed the considerable number of anthems and services, preces and festal psalms given below, the fact that so many of them are present in the Durham manuscripts points to the scribe being a member of the Durham choral establishment. That Brooking has been identified as the transcriber is not an act of despair. By the time the chapter on Peterhouse is complete the work of eight Durham copyists will have been identified. When one considers that the choral foundation at Durham numbered only about eighteen adults at that time, it might be thought that with nearly half involved there could hardly be many more either interested or capable. Then again, as the examples below (Illustrations 49-50) show, the scribe is both fluent and confident. In this hand at Peterhouse are items in the Durham books at their creation and others added over the years. This points not to old copies but to copies being transcribed for the benefit of Peterhouse, and that rules out Todd who died in 1631. Because of the colour of their ink, the care or otherwise with which their letters were formed, their direct signs, and the general impression created by a page, the others - 'Gaydon', Geeres, Green, Palmer, Elias Smith, and William Smith - rule themselves out.

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27 It has already been suggested (pp.252-3) that Cosin may have used York MS M29S, a bass part-book, the handwriting and contents of which have been linked to Set 5 at Durham. Being an anthem book this ms does not contain the Service by Child.

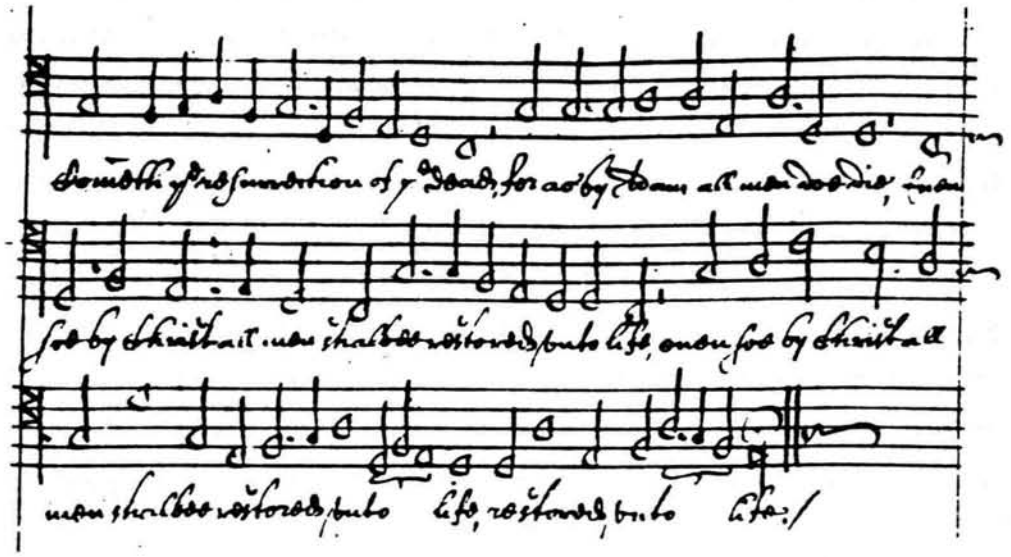


ILLUSTRATION 49: The 'informal' hand (notice three 'C's)
(Peterhouse MS 487:X6^{v})

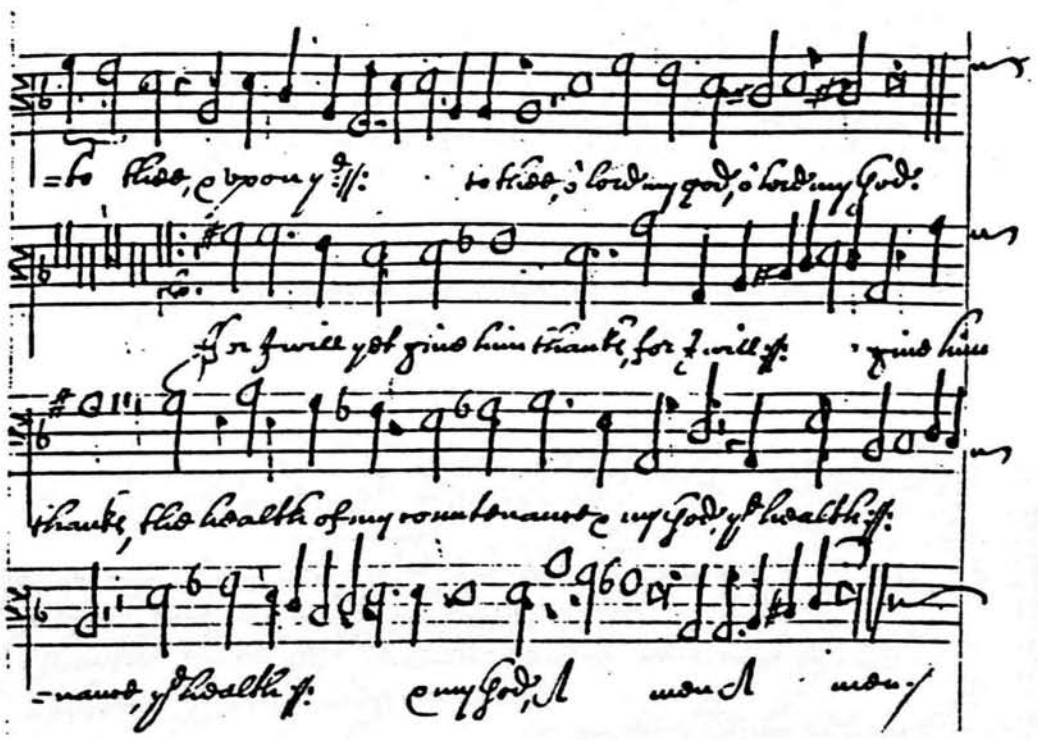


ILLUSTRATION 50: The 'informal' hand (notice 'A's, 'g's, and 'ô's)
(Peterhouse MS 480:34)

Brooking, on the other hand, through what is known of his handwriting, rules himself in. Various observations, supported by photographic evidence, made about different aspects of his style at Durham, help to establish this. For convenience the photocopies presented on pp.273-4 regarding Brooking are now repeated. Relevant are his two quite different salary signatures in 1635-6, the signature on his agreement with Abraham Coates in November 1635, and the handwriting of the original Tables of Contents still found in some of the anthem books of Sets 1 and 5. It is with the 'A's and 'C's, and the 'g's and 'ô's (to choose only the letters common to the examples) in this hand that the work at Peterhouse shown above has similarities. Similar too is the Peterhouse direct sign to that found in Set 6 and in the additions to Sets 3, 4, and 5.

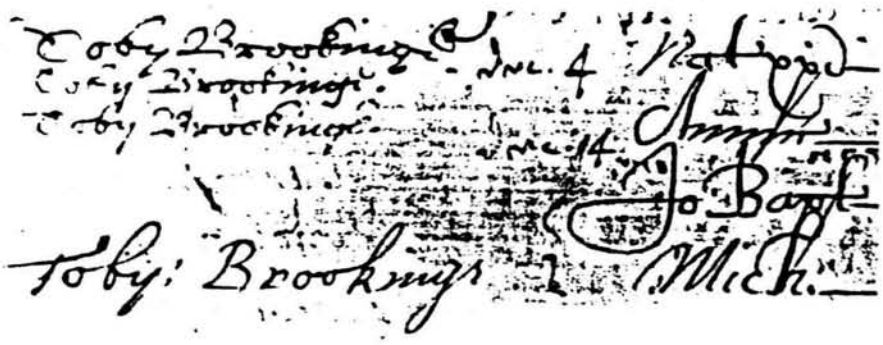


ILLUSTRATION 51: Brooking's signatures
(Durham Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.8)

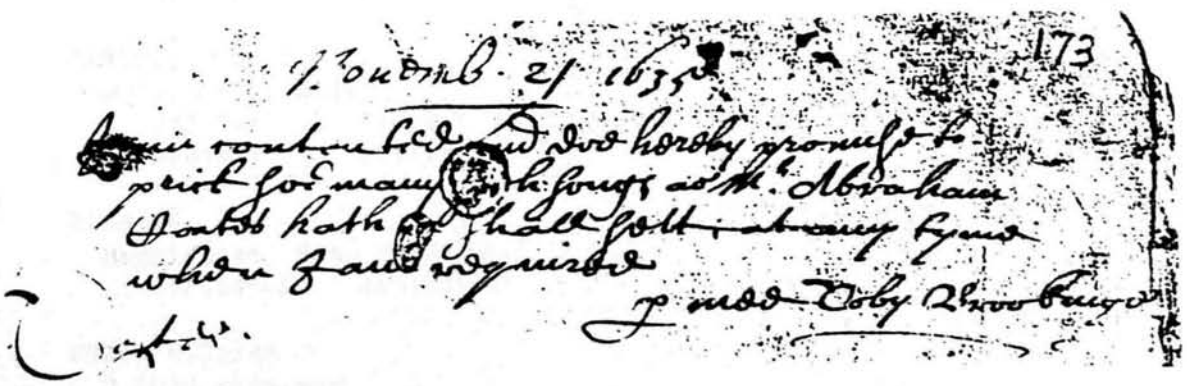


ILLUSTRATION 52: Brooking's agreement with Coates
(Durham, Hunter MS 27, f.173)

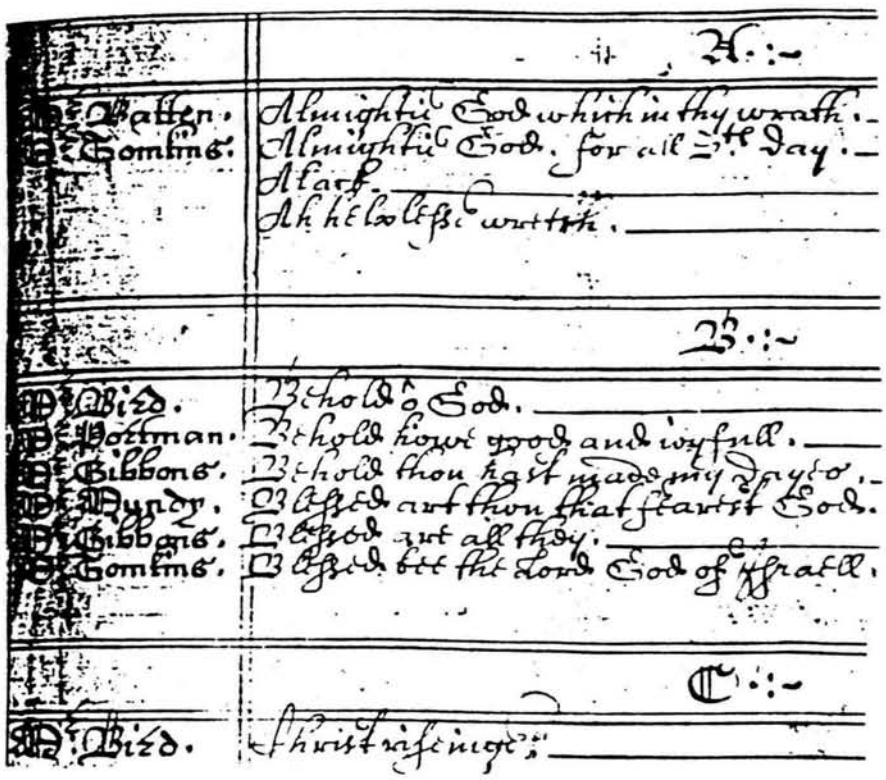


ILLUSTRATION 53: Table of Contents, Durham MS C10 (copied by Brooking)

Copied in the 'informal' hand at Peterhouse are:

AMNER
[Cesar's] Service (V, Td, J, K, C, M, N)
480:45v–8v

BATH
Hear my prayer O Lord and consider
475:73v 476:80v 479:73v 480:70v 481:73r–4r

BATTEN, Adrian
Holy, holy, holy
475:74r 476:81v 476:82r 479:74r 480:71v
480:72r 481:74v

BLANCKS
Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
476:54r–5r 480:38r–9v

BYRD, William
O Lord give ear
475:76v 476:84v 477:46v 478:83v 479:76v
480:74v 481:78v
Pr, Pss, Epiphany (When Israel came out; Hear my prayer O Lord and hide not; Teach me O Lord)
476:27rv 480:23r–4r

BYRD (cont.)
Ps, Ascension Evensong (Lift up your heads)
476:28rv 480:24r-5r (+ Pr)
Great Service (M, N)
475:77r-9r 476:85r-7r 477:47r-8v 478:84r-5v
479:77r-9r 480:75r-6v 481:79r-80v

CHILD, William
in Gamut (Be, J, K, C, M, N)
475:70r-3r 476:77r-80r 479:70r-3r 480:67r-70r 481:70r-2v

DERING, Richard
Almighty God which through thy only begotten Son
475:74v-5r 476:82v-3r 477:44rv 479:74v-5r 480:72v-3r
481:75r

DERRICK
Rejoice
487:H5v 488:G2rv
in Gamut (K, C)
475:80v-1r 476:88rv 477:49v-50r 478:86v-7r 479:80v-1r
480:78rv 481:82rv 485:H4rv 486:K4rv 487:H5rv

GIBBONS, Orlando
We praise thee O Father
475:79v-80r 476:87rv 477:49r 478:86r 479:79v-80r
480:77rv 481:81rv
Ps (Awake up my glory), Easter Evensong - see SMITH, William

GILES, Nathaniel
Have mercy upon me O God
491:O2rv

HILTON, John
Call to remembrance
475:76rv 476:84r 477:46rv 478:83r 479:76r
480:74rv 481:78r
Hear my cry
476:38r 480:34rv

HOOPER, Edmund
for Verses (M, N)
476:58v-9v 480:49v-50v

HUTCHINSON, Richard
Lord I am not high-minded
485:D5r 488:K5r 489:28r 490:H2r 491:O1r

HUGHES
Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
480:41r-2r

JUXON [George]
Christ rising again
485:U2rv 486:R2rv 487:X6rv 488:Q8rv 489:120v
490:S6rv 491:T1rv

MORLEY, Thomas
Out of the deep
485:I1^{rv} 487:N3^{rv} 488:K4^{r} 489:A1^{rv} 490:G1^{rv}
491:N6^{rv}
Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
485:U4^{r}-5^{r} 486:R4(1^{r}-2^{r}) 487:Y2(1^{r}-2^{r})
488:Q10^{r}-11^{r} 489:122^{r}-3^{r} 490:T2(1^{r}-2^{r})
491:T3(1^{r}-2^{r})

[MUDD, Thomas]
Let thy merciful ears
489:114^{v} 490:R5^{v} 491:R5^{v}

MUNDY
Give laud unto the Lord
485:T5^{r} 486:Q6^{r} 487:X3^{r} 488:Q5^{r} 489:119^{r}
490:S3^{v} 491:S2^{r}
Ps, Ascension Matins (O Lord our Governor)[28]
476:29^{rv} 480:25^{r}-6^{r}
in C fa ut (M, N)
485:T1^{r}-2^{r} 486:R4(1^{r}-2^{r}) 487:2nd W6(1^{r}-2^{r})
488:Q1^{v}-2^{r} 489:115^{r}-6^{r} 490:R6^{r}-7^{r}
in Medio Choro (M, N)
476:53^{r}-4^{r} 480:37^{r}-8^{r}
to Parsons' 5 parts (M, N)
476:55^{v}-6^{v} 480:39^{v}-40^{v}

PALMER, Henry
Pr, Ps, Easter Evensong (This is the day)
476:34^{v}-5^{r} 480:30^{v}-1^{v}

PARSONS of Exeter
Ever blessed Lord
488:P[9]^{r} - 1st line only
Td, Bs, K, C, M, N)
485:S2^{r}-6^{r} 486:Q2(1^{v}-5^{v}) 487:W2^{r}-6^{r} 488:P5^{r}-8^{v}

SMITH, Edward
Pr, Ascension Matins - for Ps (O Lord our governor), see MUNDY
476:29^{r} 480:25^{r}
Pss, All Saints (Blessed are they that are undefiled; Let my complaint)
476:29^{v}-30^{v} 480:26^{rv}

SMITH, William
I will wash my hands
475:81^{v} 476:89^{rv} 477:50^{v} 478:87^{v} 479:81^{v}
480:79^{r} 481:83^{r}
Pr, Ps, Christmas Matins (Lord thou art become gracious)
476:30^{v}-1^{v} 480:27^{rv}
Ps (The Lord said unto my Lord), Christmas Evensong
476:31^{v}-2^{r} 480:28^{rv}
Ps, Easter Matins (I will give thanks)
476:33^{rv} 480:29^{rv}

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28 Incorrectly attributed in MSS to Edward Smith.

SMITH, William (cont.)
  Ps, Easter Evensong (Awake up my glory)[29]
    476:33v-4r 480:30rv
  Ps, Whitsunday Matins (God be merciful unto us)
    476:32v 480:28v-9r

STEVENSON, Robert
  When the Lord turned
    476:38v-9r 480:34v-5r

STROGERS, Nicholas
  O God be merciful
    476:36v-7r 480:33rv
  Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
    476:56v-7v 480:42r-5r

TALLIS, Thomas
  Hear the voice and prayer
    480:115r 481:121r

TOMKINS, John
  Turn unto the Lord
    485:U2v 486:R2v 487:X6v 488:Q8v 490:S6v
    491:T1v

TOMKINS, Thomas
  Blessed be the Lord God of Israel
    476:36r 480:32rv
  Give sentence
    476:37v 480:33v-4r

WARWICK, Thomas
  O God of my salvation
    485:T5v 486:Q6v 487:X3v 488:Q5v
    489:119v-120r 490:S3r 491:S2v

WEELKES, Thomas
  in 4 parts (M, N)
    489:114rv 490:R5r 491:R5rv
  in 7 parts (M, N)
    476:60r-1v 480:51r-2v
  for trebles (M, N)
    476:57v-8r 480:49rv

WILKINSON
  Behold O Lord
    476:35v-6r 480:31v-2r
  Hear my prayer O Lord and let thine ears
    475:126rv 478:132r 489:2nd 42r 490:K5rv
  Help Lord
    476:36v 480:32v-3r

There are 255 pages in the informal hand in the Former Set and 137 in the Latter. Had Brooking copied these 392 pages formally into

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[29] Incorrectly attributed in MSS to Gibbons.

manuscripts at Durham his labours would have earned him £6-10s-0d. As the manuscripts were being examined it was apparent that far from being isolated many of the 53 items listed above fell into three distinct corpuses in the Former Set. Within these groups the items occur by and large in the same order.

Brooking was responsible for the first corpus (given below) in only MSS 476 (where it occupies 25pp.) and 480. It will be shown that the same items were transcribed into MS 481 by James Green, and into MS 478 possibly by John Gaydon.[30]

Byrd	Pr, Pss, Epiphany[31]
Byrd	Pr, Ps, Ascension Evensong
Edw. Smith	Pr, Ps, Ascension Matins[32]
Edw. Smith	Pr, Ps, All Saints
Wm Smith	Pr, Ps, Christmas Matins
Wm Smith	Pr, Ps, Christmas Evensong
Wm Smith	Pr, Ps, Whitsunday Matins
Wm Smith	Pr, Ps, Easter Matins
Gibbons	Pr, Ps, Easter Evensong
Palmer	Pr, Ps, Easter Evensong
Wilkinson	Behold
Tomkins	Blessed be the Lord God of Israel
Wilkinson	Help Lord
Strogers	O God be merciful
Tomkins	Give sentence
Hilton	Hear my cry
Stevenson	When the Lord turned

The second group is found in Brooking's hand in MSS 476 (18pp.) and 480, the same two manuscripts into which he copied the first group. It too is copied by Green in MS 481, and, together with three other services, by 'Gaydon' in MS 478.

Mundy	in medio chori (M, N)
Blancks	Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
Mundy	to Parsons' 5 parts (M, N)
Strogers	Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
Weelkes	for trebles (M, N)
Hooper	for verses (M, N)
Weelkes	7 parts (M, N)

The last group occurs in all the manuscripts of the Former Set (MSS 475-81). though MS 477 lacks some of the early items and MS 478

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30 See pp.327-8.

31 Some MSS do not include a composer's Preces on every occasion.

32 The psalm is by Mundy.

has some in the 'formal' hand. In MS 475 the transcription occupies twenty-four pages.

Child	Service in Gamut (Be, J, K, C, M, N)
[Bath]	Hear my prayer O Lord for in thy sight (for a Bass)
Batten	Holy, holy, holy
Dering	Almighty God which through thy only begotten Son
Hilton	Call to remembrance
Byrd	O Lord give ear
Byrd	Great Service (M, N)
Gibbons	We praise thee O Father
Derrick	Kyrie, Creed
Wm Smith	I will wash my hands

JAMES GREEN

With Green paid £3-6s-8d in 1637[33] for transcribing something of the order of 200 pages at Durham, the disappointment was that the only music thought to be copied by him at Durham was just over a page in his own Common-Place book. That book also provided copious examples of his handwriting, which was also evident in his holograph reply to the Articles of the 1665 Visitation. It was this knowledge more than his signature which pointed to him being the transcriber of 130 pages at Peterhouse [107 in the Former Set, 23 in the Latter]. In the examples reproduced from these sources his 'S's, 'B's, and 'E's, his 'sh's and his '5's, his bass clefs and direct signs, to name but

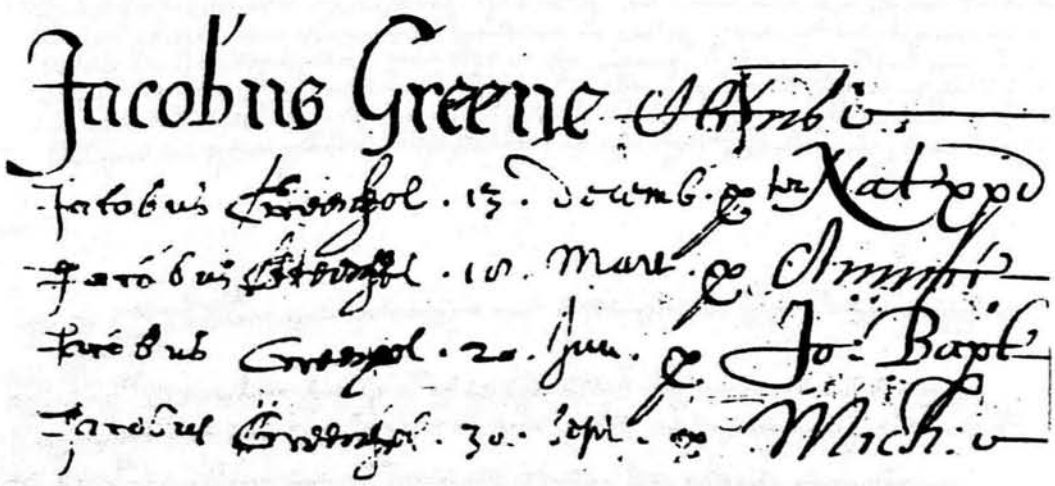


ILLUSTRATION 54: James Green's signature
(Durham Treas. Book, 1633-4, f.5^{v})

33 See pp.278-9.

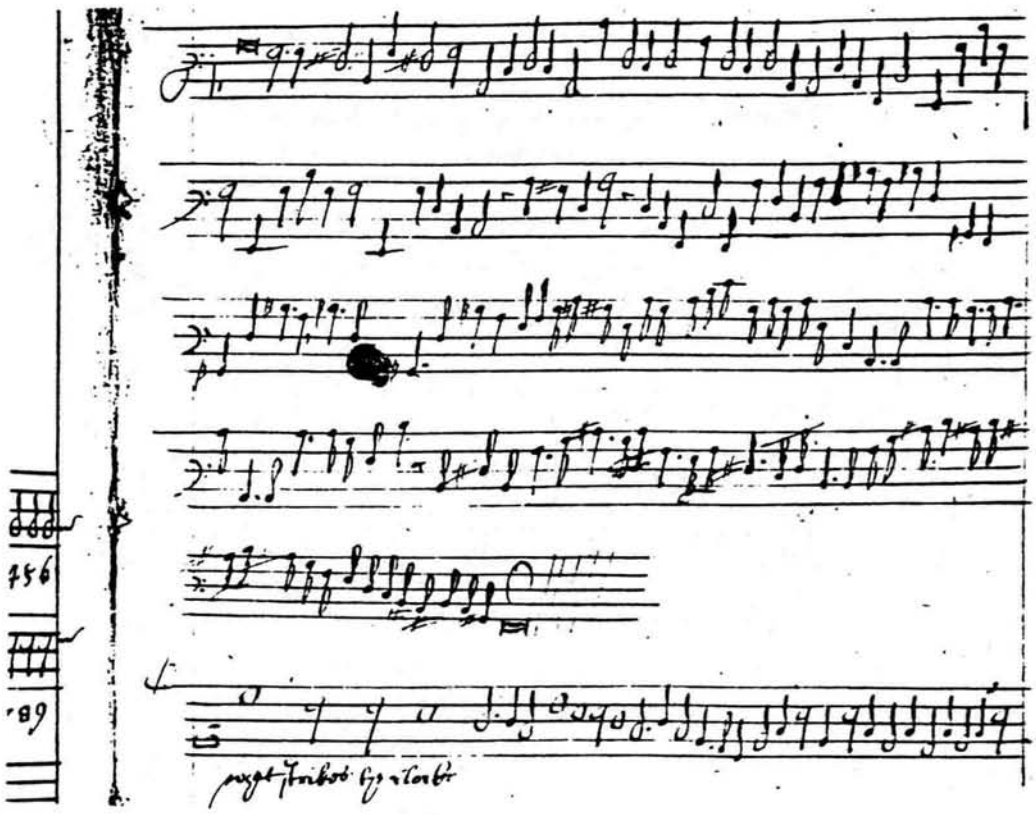


ILLUSTRATION 55: Parts of 'What strikes the clock' by [Edward] Gibbons of Exeter. Copied by Green into his common-place book (Durham, Hunter MS 33, ff.6^{v}-7)

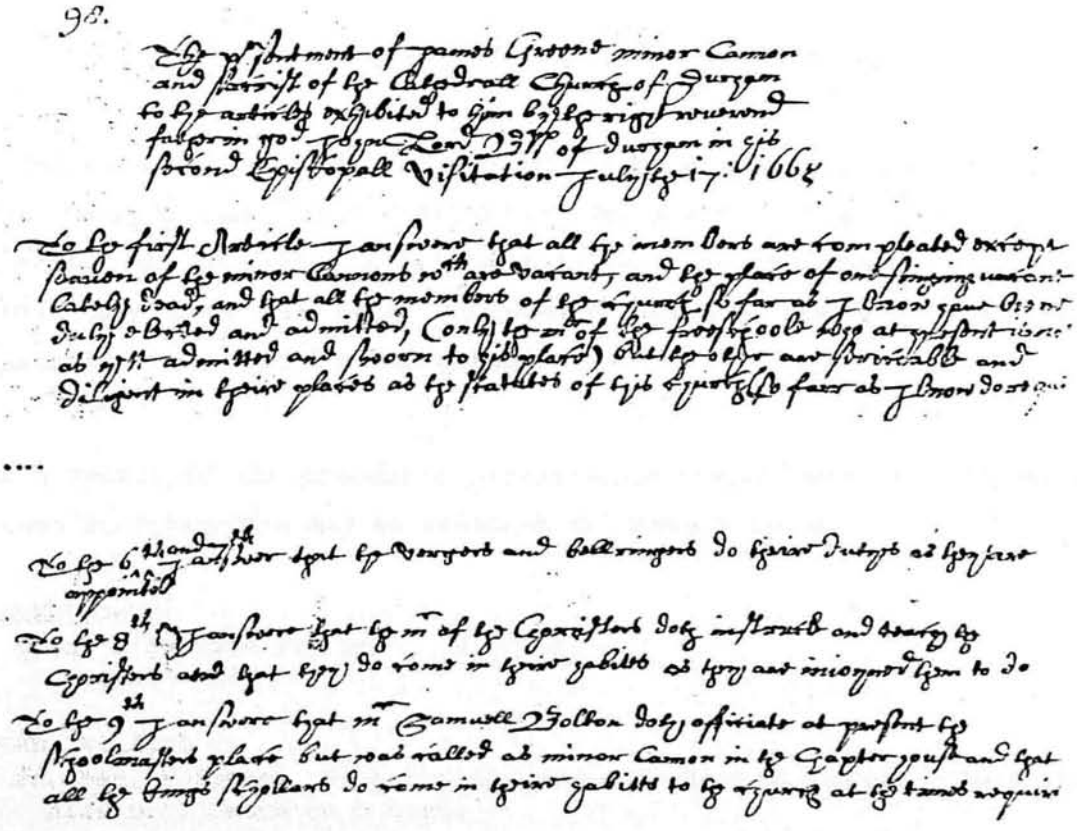


ILLUSTRATION 56: Two extracts from Green's reply to the 1665 Visitation Articles (Durham, Hunter MS 11, ga.98)

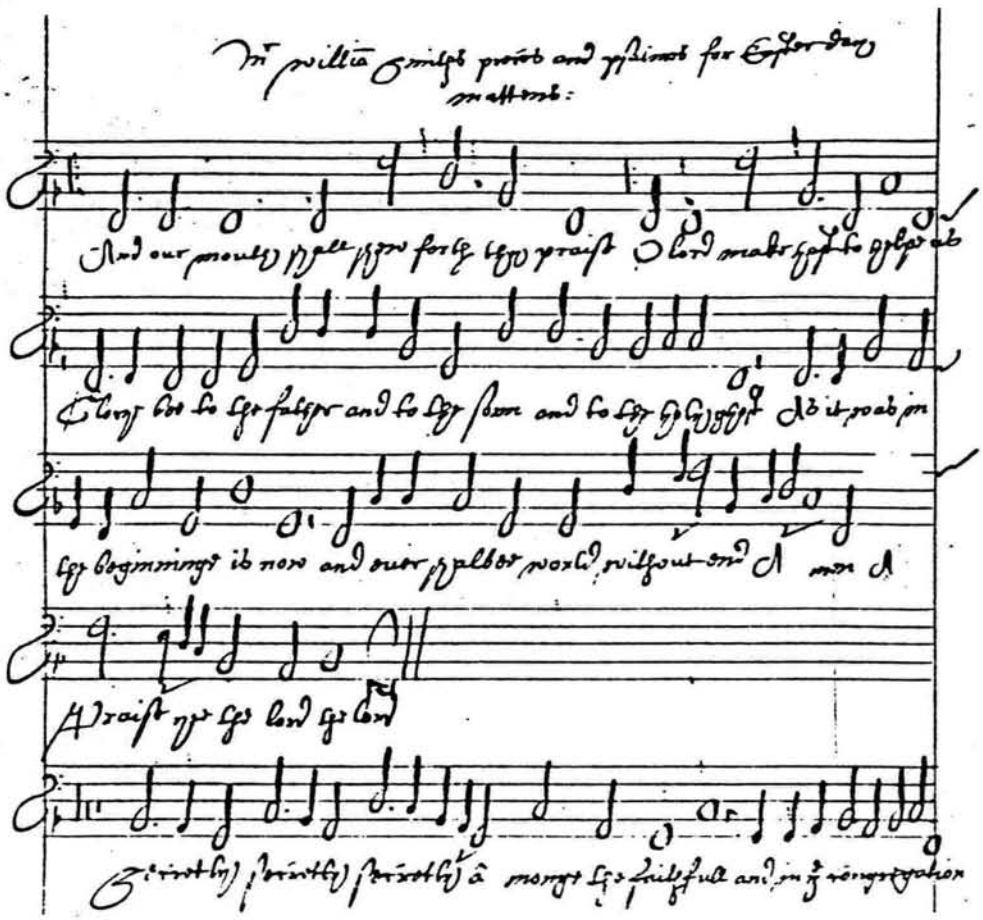


ILLUSTRATION 57: Peterhouse MS 481:28^{v}, copied by Green

a few details, point to one copyist being responsible for them all. The thought does occur, though in the absence of any Treasurer's records for the late 1630s there is no hope of pursuing it, that Cosin may have had some arrangement whereby the work done for Peterhouse was paid for at Durham.

As a result of the preceding photographic comparisons the following items at Peterhouse may be assigned to Green's hand:

AMNER, John
  Cesar's Service (V, Td, J, K, C, M, N)
    481:48^{r}-51^{r}

BYRD, William
  Pr, Pss, Epiphany (When Israel came out; Hear my prayer O Lord and hide not; Teach me O Lord)
    481:24^{r}-5^{r}
  Pr, Ps, Ascension Evensong (Lift up your heads)
    481:25^{rv}

BLANCKS
Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
481:41r-2r

BOYCE, Thomas
Short (Td, Bs, K, C, M, N)
475:57r-9v 476:65v-8r 478:63v-5v 479:57r-9v 480:57r-9r
481:62r,63r-5v

FARRANT, John
Short (V, Td, J, K, M, N)
475:55r-6v 476:63r-5r 478:63v (N only) 479:55r-7r
480:55r-6v 481:61r-3r

HILTON, John
Hear my cry
481:35v

HOOPER, Edmund
for Verses (M, N)
481:44v-5v

HUGHES
Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
481:42r-3r

MUNDY
Pr, Ps, Ascension Matins (O Lord our Governor)[34]
481:31r
in Medio choro (M, N)
481:40rv
to Parsons 5 parts (M, N)
481:43r-4r

PALMER, Henry
Pr, Ps, Easter Evensong (This is the day)
481:26rv

PORTMAN, Richard
Lord who shall dwell
481:32r

SMITH, Edward
Pr, Ascension Matins - for Ps (O Lord our Governor), see MUNDY
481:30v
Pr, Pss, All Saints (Blessed are they that are undefiled; Let my complaint)
481:30rv

SMITH, William
Pr, Ps, Christmas Matins (Lord thou art become gracious)
481:27rv
Pr, Ps, Christmas Evensong (The Lord said unto my Lord)
481:27v-8r
Pr, Ps, Easter Evensong (I will give thanks)
481:28v-9r

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[34] The psalm is incorrectly attributed in the MS to Edward Smith.

SMITH, William (cont.)
Pr, Ps, Whitsunday (God be merciful unto us)
481:29^{rv}

STEVENSON
When the Lord turned
481:33^{r}

STROGERS
O God be merciful
481:33^{v}
Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
481:36^{r}-9^{v}

TOMKINS, Thomas
Blessed be the Lord God of Israel
481:32^{r}
Give sentence
481:34^{v}-5^{r}

WEELKES
for trebles (M, N)
481:45^{v}-6^{r}
7 parts (M, N)
481:46^{r}-7^{v}

WILKINSON
Behold
481:34^{r}
Help
481:32^{r}
I am the Resurrection
485:H5^{r}-6^{r} 486:E4^{r}-5^{r} 487:I2^{r}-3^{v} 489:31^{r}-2^{v} 490:H6^{rv}-I1^{r}
491:O4^{r}-5^{r}
Kyrie
485:H6^{v} 486:E5^{v} 487:I3^{v} 491:O5^{r}

An examination of the items above discloses that Green worked mainly at MS 481. Into it he copied the first two groups copied by Brooking into two other manuscripts (MSS 476 and 480) of the Former Set. That Green ran together the two groups is an indication that at least one of them was transcribed with the Peterhouse choir in mind. These were not items Durham no longer wanted, rather the Durham copyists were hurriedly making duplicate copies of some of the contents of the manuscripts currently in use at Durham. Indeed, such is the impression of Durham being a hive of copying activity that one wonders whether similar contents in other Peterhouse manuscripts were also penned by other Durham copyists.

Green was also responsible for a fourth corpus consisting of only

Farrant	V, Td, J, K, M, N
Boyce, Thomas	Td, Bs, K, C, M, N

These items he copied into MSS 475, 476, and 479-81. If MS 477 had been more complete presumably they would have been there too. As for the Farrant Service in MS 478, Green was only responsible for adding the *Nunc dimittis* to what had been copied by William Smith.

Not included in the above lists is an item clearly sent to Peterhouse from Durham. On the ruled but unused back page of the organ part of 'O sing unto the Lord' by 'Hinde of Lichfield' is written 'Deliver this to John Watson to bee delivered to Mr D^{tr} Cosin: from Ja Greene'.[35] A comparison with Green's signature in the Durham Treasurer's books shows that Green himself was responsible for the message. The musical transcription, however, is not his, and it could be that Durham was passing on a copy which it had received from elsewhere some years earlier.

A FURTHER DURHAM COPYIST, ? JOHN GAYDON

The thought mentioned above that there was an eighth copyist with Durham connections was at first merely a musing speculation. It came into being during an examination of MS 475 when it was observed that in it the Preces and Festal Psalms which had been copied by Brooking into MSS 476 and 480 and by Green into MS 481 were in one hand in MS 475. The idea was not pursued at that stage simply because the hand was not recognized. However, when the turn came for MS 478 to be examined, and the same groups were found to be in one hand, the thought gained real substance when it was suddenly appreciated that in that manuscript the same Preces and Psalms were in the last hand to contribute to Durham MS C18.[36]

The details which prompted this identification were the unusually flat-topped '8's, and the seemingly identical end-flourishes. Upon further examination, the shapes of the breves and pauses, the rather unusual 'p's with almost a '2' leading into them,

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35 Peterhouse MS 493, f.14^{v}.

36 Pp.80-94, with further pages lost.

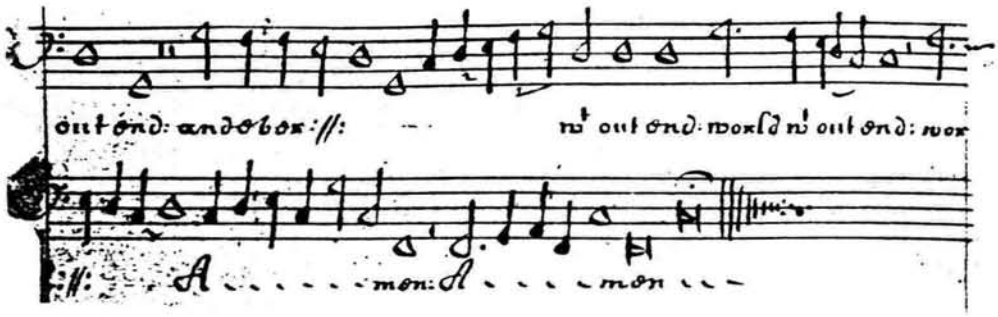


ILLUSTRATION 58: Durham MS C18:82 (showing end flourish)

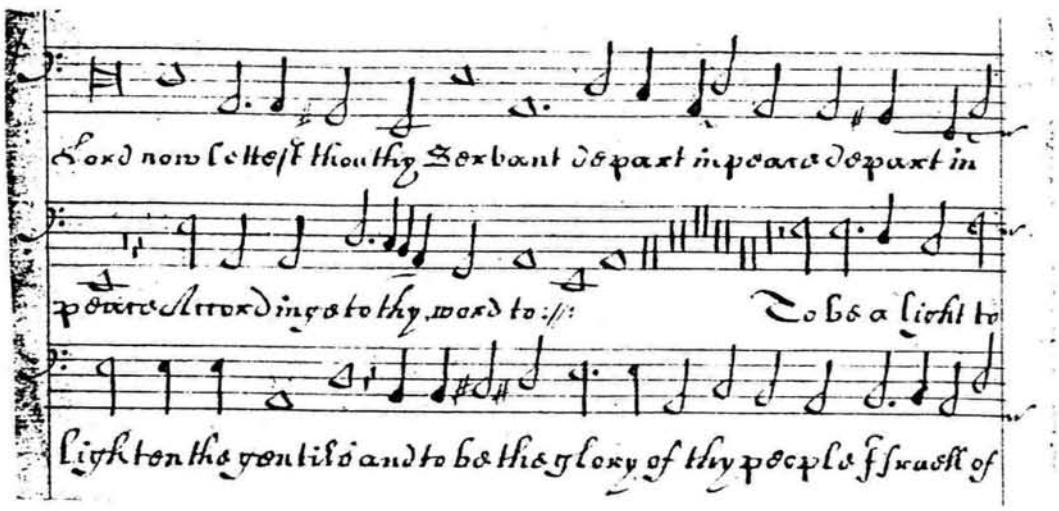


ILLUSTRATION 59: Durham MS C18:90 (notice the 'p' in 'depart')

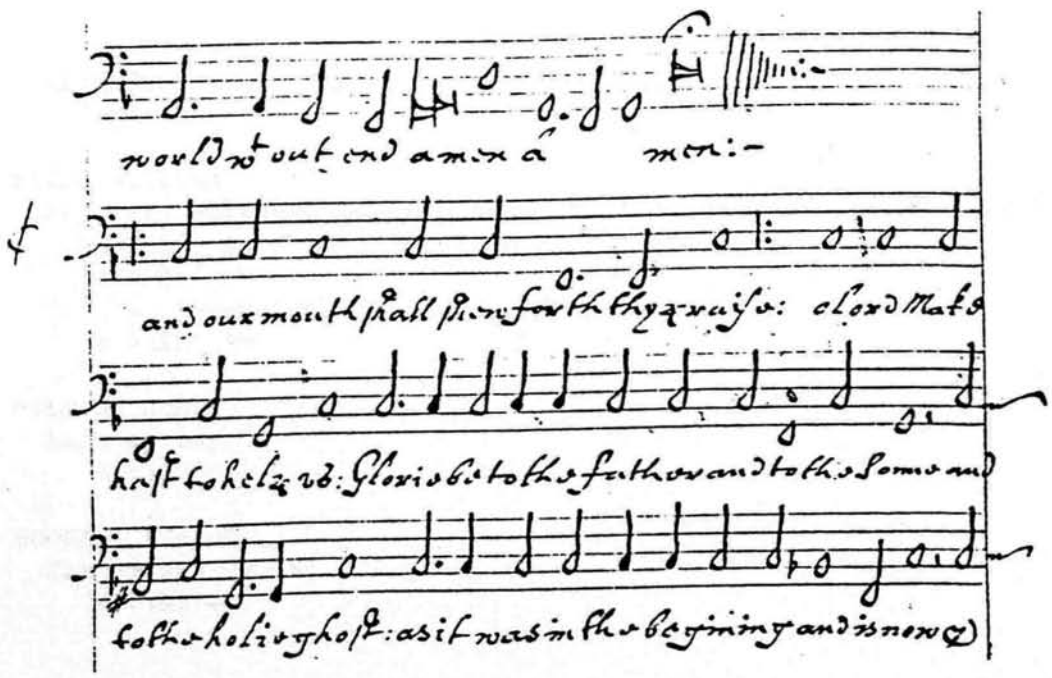


ILLUSTRATION 60: Peterhouse MS 478:29 (notice the end flourish and the 'p's)

the 'a's with the little point at the top right, and to a lesser extent the top loops joining 's's to 'h's and 't's, also attracted notice, though it has to be admitted that when 'Amen' has a capital 'A' its right hand half is different. However, it was observed that even within MS 478 this style had its more rushed version, and it was wondered whether it might be a very rushed capital 'A'.

Upon further scrutiny it was realized that, although the style was more hurried, the same hand had transcribed into MS 478 a 'more complete' version of the second group, the group of services, listed under Brooking. Where in the other manuscripts it was apparent that the services in this group were all in the Durham service books, it now became clear that what there was in MS 478 was a transcript of the evening canticles of the original settings of Durham MS C8, the only survivor of its Set 4 books. The association is strengthened by the fact that even though they are not the same services the services in Peterhouse MS 478 are numbered 1-10 as at Durham, and what are now ff.41r-61v had been pp.1-41.

Attributable at Peterhouse to the eighth Durham copyist's hand - in all probability that of John Gaydon - are:

AMNER, John
  Cesar's Service (V, Td, J, K, C, M, N)
    478:57^{r}-60^{v}

BLANCKS
  Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
    478:43^{r}-4^{v}

BYRD, William
  Pr, Pss, Epiphany (When Israel came out; Hear my prayer O Lord and hide not; Teach me O Lord)
    478:28^{r}-9^{r}
  Pr, Ps, Ascension Evensong (Lift up your heads)
    478:29^{r}-30^{r}

HILTON, John
  Hear my cry
    478:37^{rv}

HOOPER, Edmund
  for Verses (M, N)
    478:52^{v}-3^{v}

HUGHES
Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
478:44v-6r

MUNDY
Pr, Ps, Ascension Matins (O Lord our Governor)[37]
478:30v-1v
in Medio choro (M, N)
478:41r-2r
to Parsons' 5 parts (M, N)
478:46r-7v

PALMER, Henry
Pr, Ps, Easter Evensong (This is the day)
478:32v-3r

SMITH, Edward
Pr, Ascension Matins - for Ps (O Lord our Governor), see MUNDY
478:30r
Pr, Pss, All Saints (Blessed are they that are undefiled; Let my complaint)
478:31v-2v

SMITH, William
Pr, Ps (Lord thou art become gracious), Christmas Matins
478:25rv
Ps (The Lord said unto my Lord), Christmas Evensong
478:26rv
Pr, Ps (I will give thanks), Easter Matins
478:26v-7v
Pr, Ps (Awake up my glory), Easter Evensong
478:38rv
Ps (God be merciful unto us), Whitsunday Matins
478:27v-8r

STEVENSON
When the Lord turned
478:36rv

STROGERS
O God be merciful
478:35v-6r
Venite, Te Deum, Jubilate, Kyrie, Creed
478:47v-51r
Magnificat, Nunc dimittis
478:46r-7v

TOMKINS, Thomas
Blessed be the Lord God of Israel
478:35v
Give sentence
478:34v-5r

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37 The psalm is incorrectly attributed in the MS to Edward Smith.

WEELKES
  for trebles (M, N)
    478:53^{v}-4^{v}
  7 parts (M, N)
    478:55^{r}-6^{v}

WILKINSON
  Behold
    478:33^{v}-4^{r}
  Help Lord
    478:34^{r}

This discovery at Peterhouse together with Green's handwriting there brought to an end thoughts that the incomplete corpus at the end of Durham MS C18 might have been part of Green's 1637 contribution. Candidates were sought at Durham for this new hand.[38] Two names occurred, those of Henry Palmer and John Gaydon. That it might be Palmer's was deemed unlikely on the grounds that what has been positively identified as Palmer's is noted for its formal care and clarity. Gaydon came to mind, if only because in 1634 he had been paid £2 'for a Bass Book of all songs for ye Quire'. The thought occurs that with Brooking wholly occupied in producing new sets for the choir, Gaydon was commissioned to transcribe such a book for perhaps one of the prebendaries.

As Peterhouse MS 478 is a bass book it must at least be queried whether the contribution under scrutiny is part of what Gaydon had been paid for in 1634. Tempting though the order of the 'C8' services is in this respect, it is a question which is best left without an answer. The lack of an answer, however, does not in any way affect attempts to identify those parts of MS 478 as Gaydon's. Unfortunately, the only indisputable example of his handwriting is his signature.

To try to base anything on it is probably going too far. There are so few letters involved, and they do not seem to be particularly distinctive. Even though his 'G' might faintly loop round so that it almost joins, his 'y' is angular where it bends, and his 'a' has a little line to the right where it joins at the top, these

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38 That it is a Durham hand may be also concluded from the correction, in what has been described as Brooking's 'formal hand' on MS 178, f.51^{r}.

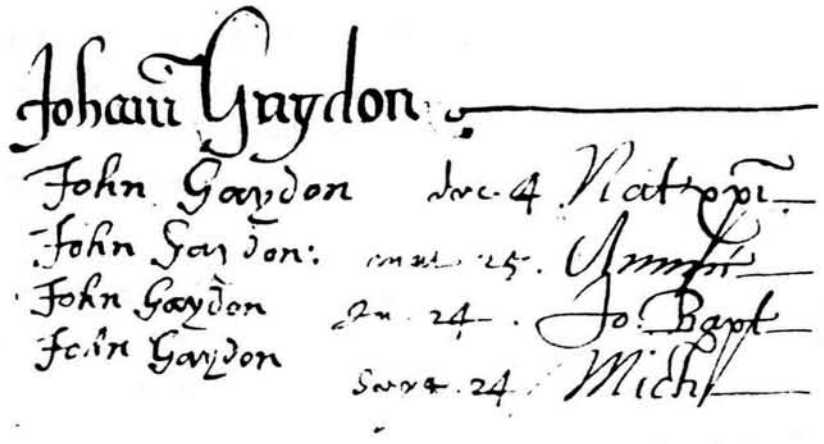


ILLUSTRATION 61: John Gaydon's signature (Durham, Treas. Book, 1635-6, f.8^{v})

apparently are not uncommon features for that period.[39] However, it might be felt that considered collectively they present more of a case, particularly as at times Gaydon was capable of producing a strange 'd'.

The discovery of this eighth hand also prompted a further thought. If it copied the same items for MS 478 as Green copied for to MS 481 and Brooking for MSS 476 and 480, were still further Durham personnel responsible for those items in MSS 475, 477, and 479, the remaining survivors of the Former Set? At present no candidates come to mind, rather the thought persists that that those parts could have been copied by members of Peterhouse. The question, 'From what?', can be avoided if it is felt that Durham had forwarded a transcription of every different voice part.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been demonstrated that a considerable amount of music at Peterhouse was transcribed by Durham copyists. That an outside group should have been responsible for so much has been justified by the explanation that John Cosin, the new Master of Peterhouse in 1635, was also a prebendary of Durham. At Durham his liturgical inclinations had played a not insignificant part in the

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39 So Pat Mussett, of Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library.

transcription of new sets of music books for the choir, and it is logical to conclude that he wished to make a speedy start at Peterhouse. In the circumstances it was only natural that he should have looked to Durham for assistance.

The last person to undertake a serious comparison of the Durham and Peterhouse music manuscripts was John Morehen.[40] He felt that the general conclusion reached by earlier scholars, that when Peterhouse and Durham had the same anthem or service then the Peterhouse version was of secondary importance, was an over-simplification of the situation. It was his contention that in certain cases Peterhouse might well have the older sources. He advocated that some of the music at Peterhouse consisted of copies no longer required at Durham, either because they had been superseded by newer copies, or because they had fallen from the repertoire, and that some may have been sent in error. One of his reasons for so concluding was the presence at Peterhouse, in the hand of Durham scribes, of works either not found in the Durham manuscripts or else poorly represented there.

Various comments have been made in relation to Morehen's hypothesis as the contributions of the Durham copyists at Peterhouse have been identified. Only in the case of the few items copied by John Todd, who died in January 1630/1, can the primacy of the copies at Peterhouse not be gainsaid.[41] With only the organ part of 'Give the king thy judgments' (Woodson) surviving at Durham it is reasonable to conclude that it had either fallen from favour or been sent in error. As for the Preces and Festal Psalm, with newer copies in both Sets 2 and 3, and with Derrick's 'Jubilate' (if it were indeed copied by Todd) included in Set 4, those were copies Durham no longer needed.

Caution, however, should be expressed in reaching a similar conclusion about two anthems copied by William Smith [5]. Although 'This is my commandment' (Mundy) and 'I give you a new commandment' (Sheppard) are not in the surviving sets of Durham part-books of the

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40 J.M. Morehen, 'The Sources of English Cathedral Music, *c.*1617-*c.*1644' (Cambridge Univ., Ph.D. thesis, 1969). See *op. cit.*, 151-5, for his contention; and above, pp.291, 296.

41 See p.303.

1620s and 1630s,[42] it is not inconceivable for them to have been in the missing set of books for men's voices.[43] But having so said, it must be conceded that in the case of some of the items copied by Smith the lack of fluency in their transcription prompts the thought that they might have been copied by him in the 1620s.

The only other copies at Peterhouse potentially older than those at Durham are the holograph transcripts of 'Merciful Lord' (Geeres) and 'Lord what is man' (Palmer). Only the organ part of the latter, an anthem for men's voices, survives at Durham. It may have been included in the missing set already referred to, but equally it could have been composed for Cosin and Peterhouse.

In all the other cases it can be asserted that the Durham-Peterhouse transcripts are later than the Durham part-books. This conclusion is supported by the dates the remaining transcribers joined the Durham choir. Brooking came first in 1623. He was followed by Henry Palmer (1627), Elias Smith (1628), John Geeres (1628), John Gaydon (1629), and James Green (December 1631). With the three sets of service books, one of the two sets of anthem books in existence by January 1630/1, and the other by *c*.1634,[44] Green's transcripts are clearly derived from those sets. As for the others, with the exception of Brooking, some books had been produced before their arrival. Moreover, their Peterhouse transcripts show an awareness of the Durham sets in that they include items added slightly later to those sets. In this category are to be included many of the anthems added later to Set 5, the services added by Gaydon to Set 2, and the fact the collection of Preces and Festal Psalms not only affords no indication of the gradual build-up evident in Set 3 but includes settings by Palmer as well. Further, Gaydon's and Green's and Brooking's informal writing have the fluency which comes from copying from existing collections rather than from assembling such collections; and with its rubrication and ornate end flourishes (see Illustration 48 on p.308) some of Brooking's formal hand seems later too.

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42 The former is in Durham organ book MS A1:294-5. There it is ascribed to Tallis.

43 See pp.144, 295-6.

44 See pp.224-54.

However, even though the preceding comments indicate that very few pages antedating Sets 1-5 found their way from Durham to Peterhouse, it does not follow that all the copies now at Peterhouse were made with Peterhouse in mind. It is not impossible that Brooking, Gaydon, and Green made transcripts for their own use or for the use of others, transcripts which were parted with when Cosin was searching for copies. That such copies existed is made clear by the payment to Gaydon on 21 October 1634 'for a Base Book of all songs for y^{e} Quire, £2-0s-0d'.[45]

Such a situation could partially answer Morehen's further observation that earlier systems of pagination on many of the pages sent to Peterhouse pointed to a number of Durham books having been split up. This, however, did not apply to the book by Gaydon referred to above - what he copied at Peterhouse lacks an earlier system of pagination.

Time and space and the purpose of this thesis preclude anything other than a series of comments about the earlier systems of pagination. Most are intermittent and irregular. The single parts copied by Todd and William Smith [5], including those for men's voices are usually paginated, and it has already been agreed that these are probably older copies. A group of services in MS 478 (copied by Gaydon) is paginated 1-40. The services are not identical to those of Durham Set 4, and the suggestion is offered that Gaydon himself paginated, for ease of reference, the corpus he was copying. This may apply to other corpuses too but be less apparent because the order has become disturbed since the pages reached Peterhouse. Two earlier systems of pagination are apparent on some of the pages of MS 480. The first ran from 275 to 299 and from 302 to 334, the second from 175 onwards. This may indeed point to a book being split up. Finally, other earlier systems may not have emanated from Durham at all, but may have been imposed at Peterhouse.

The query has already been posed at the end of the previous section whether other, at present unknown, copyists at Durham might have been responsible for the Preces and Festal Psalms and certain services in MSS 475, 477, and 479.[46] This in its turn poses the same

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45 Treas. Book, 1633-4, f.34^{r}; see pp.277-8 above.

46 See p.328.

question about all those compositions which have some but not all parts transcribed by Durham copyists. If it should be felt that all the parts must have emanated from the Durham 'scriptorium', then in terms of identification an impasse has been reached. If, on the other hand, it should be concluded that Durham was called upon for only certain parts, then why was that? Was it because there were gaps in the music which Peterhouse had acquired from elsewhere? Or was it the other way round, that they were parts not available from Durham. Or again, allowing for the imperfect state of some of the books was it that Durham produced one copy of each choral line and left it to Peterhouse to make such further copies as were needed by the choir?

Whatever the answers, and even if some of the above identifications should proof to be incorrect, several facts remain incontrovertible. There can be no denying that even individually Durham and Peterhouse have important collections of early seventeenth century music, that the work of Durham scribes is present in the Peterhouse manuscripts. Finally, it is no exaggeration to state that the Durham and Peterhouse collections and music generally owe much to the dynamism of one man, John Cosin.