

THE
PRACTICE OF MUSIC
AT
NORWICH CATHEDRAL

c.1558 - 1649

BY

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Preface

One year of essentially part time research is certainly not long enough to cover a subject in depth and with certainty. This statement is not an apology for the subsequent material but merely an indication of certain limitations. A full and considered investigation should involve all possible extant material from Norwich and elsewhere. Time has excluded a detailed look at for instance the cathedral Ledger Books and the returns of the scholars at Cambridge University sponsored by the cathedral. Also certain avenues of research have only been touched upon or not considered at all - for example areas such as the second benefices of the petty-cansons, or the secular jobs of the singing-men, or the whole question of the music and its part in the church. Although the Norwich and Norfolk Public Record Office (N.N.P.R.O.) contains a great wealth of untapped information (and in the case of the Dean & Chapter deposit the amount of this will not be clear until they have got round to issuing a catalogue of it all), time and also economics have prohibited the search to be extended elsewhere eg. the British Museum, Durham Cathedral Library (where much of the music apparently lies).

Within these limitations I have tried to produce as wide a picture as possible. Undoubtedly some opinions would be modified and qualified with subsequent research. Indeed carefully matured thought suffers in the 'rush' of information which inevitably accrues in an intensive period of study. I hope, though, any inconsistencies caused by hasty judgements at the time of writing are of slight consequence.

Part I, Historical Perspectives, tracks chronologically the story of the cathedral and diocese as a whole during the period in question but with special reference to the effects of religious turmoil and administrative abuse on music. Part II deals with the individual aspects of the musical institution. By separating this topic into small constituents it is hoped that the whole has greater clarification. It is also hoped that the two parts together go some way to illustrating the workings of the musical institution in the context of the picture of the cathedral as a living establishment. The Table of Musicians should be a reference point for all information dealing with dates and positions. Extracts from the Elizabethan Statutes and the Jacobean Statutes have been printed before,¹ but the latter not at such length

1 - Elizabeth I the PhD Thesis of Dr. Alan Smith; James I in the book by Rev. N. Boston (though there are several errors in the extracts): see Bibliography for full references.

as in Appendix IV. I believe the 1605 Orders and, more importantly, the extracts from the Statutes of Henry VIII are printed for the first time. Because of the vagaries of ecclesiastical Latin as written in Norwich and the occasional difficulty in deciphering untidy script, the translations of the Henrician and Jacobean Statutes have been at times problematical, and I acknowledge the valuable help of Mr. David Chadd in these areas. Full responsibility for any inadequacy of translation, though, lies with the writer.

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PART I
Historical Perspectives

Even when Henry VIII broke the people's double allegiance to earthly rulers (monarch and Pope) making himself the self-styled supremo of both spiritual and temporal matters and causing the church in England to become the Church of England worship was not radically altered.¹ The 'Reformation' of Henry was largely a political expedient to gain a male heir and Henry's attitude to the reforming zeal of Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury was cool. But for the final years of Henry's reign it seems unlikely that there was much Protestant worship in England. Even after Cranmer's English Litany in 1544, the one major liturgical change in Henry's reformation, performances of English versions of the liturgy were probably unusual occurrences. The fact that the diarist Wriothsesley bothers to report the rumours of an English *Te Deum* being sung on several occasions in London and even on English Mass twice in villages north of the city shows the exceptional nature of the event.²

Henry disliked Protestantism, as shown by his polemic against Lutheranism written 1521, but the break from Rome gave political independence and the Anglicising of the church was a small price to pay for the benefits, both economic (dissolution of the monasteries) and political, of his action.

Edward's reign brought the official acceptance of Protestantism as the Regents Somerset and Northumberland drove the country on an increasingly radical path with the two Prayer Books (1549, 1552) and their attendant Injunctions. The slow moving Henrician reform turned to a torrent as "popish" practices and ceremonies were ended and Calvinist philosophies became more prevalent. The second Prayer Book emphasised the memorial rather than the sacrificial aspects of worship, less mystical more humanistic; vestments and furnishings were almost banished and music was severely pruned to the more

1 - The general historical information has been gleaned from a variety of work, most notably the following:
 H.G. Alexander, '*Religion in England 1558-1662*', (University of London Press; London, 1968).
 M. Ashley, '*England in the 17th Century*', (Pelican; London, 1961).
 S.T. Bindoff, '*Tudor England*' (Pelican; London, 1950).
 J. Hurstfield, '*Elizabeth and the Unity of England*', (Pelican; London, 1971).

'educative' and 'democratic' qualities of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches than the sensual indulgence of the Catholic church.

Mary's reign was a vehement reaction to the previous radicalism. Yet her excesses served not to re-align England to Catholicism but to cause deep resentment and hatred among her people. Her two basic mistakes of excessive purges, thus causing a reaction against Catholicism, and her marriage to Philip of Spain placing England as a political and religious satellite of the dominant Catholic power, thus offending the feelings of Anglican nationalism which had been renewed with Henry's act of defiance, served only to increase the growth of Protestant underground militancy in the country throughout her reign. It is probable that only London and its environs were counter-reformed to the Catholic faith.

Mary's excesses ensured the long term success of Protestantism, and, by driving many into exile, meant that many of England's foremost intellectuals had turned to the various European protestant sects. But despite the exhortations of the returning exiles, Elizabeth I's moves were cautious in 1558-9. Her attitude caused much disappointment to returning and emerging radicals. But she saw the need for a unified country which was only attainable by drawing in as many shades of religious opinion to her settlement. But at first domestic policies were dictated by foreign events which necessitated staying friendly with Spain whilst the two countries fought France. Only after the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (April 1559) was it possible to turn full attention on domestic problems.

For the many returning exiles deeply entrenched in European Puritanism the Queen's policies were disappointing. Though the "*Act for the Uniformity*

1 - (continued) E. Cardwell, '*A History of Conferences*', (3rd Edition, Oxford, 1849).

A. Smith, '*The Practice of Music*'.

(Ph.D. Thesis; University of Birmingham, 1967).

P. Le Huray, '*Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660*' (Herbert Jenkins; London, 1967).

2 - ed. W.P. Hamilton, '*Wriothesley's Chronicle*' (2 vols, Camden Society, n.s. 11 and 20 1875/1877).

of *common prayer and divine service in the Church*" provided for an almost exact reprint of the Calvinist influenced 1552 Prayer Book,³ it had a sting in the tail for Protestant extremists;

"that much ornaments of the Church and of the ministers shall be retained and be in use, as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty."

This brought back all ornaments and vestments so criticised by the Puritans. Their only consolation was that the order seemed to be an interim measure - only later did they realise the Queen was resolved to make few concessions on this point.

The 1559 Visitation also used Edwardian Injunctions but again with significant revisions and additions. One of the extra clauses concerning music was once more against Puritan thought and left a wide margin of interpretation;

"Item, because there hath been livings for the maintenance of men and children to use singing in the church, by means whereof the laudable science of music hath been had in estimation and preserved in knowledge: the Queen's Majesty neither in any wise the decay of everything that might conveniently tend to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same in any part so abused in the Church that whereby the Common Prayer should be the worse understood of the hearers, willeth and commandeth that first no alteration to be made of such assignments

3 - alterations included; the deletion of various offensive references to the Pope, the removal of the Black Rubric, the administration of the Communion included both 1549 and 1552 sentences (thus permitting a wide range of beliefs concerning the nature of the Sacrament).

living as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or music in the Church, but that the same so remain. And that there be a modest and distant song, so used in all parts of the Common Prayer in the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing. And yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the end of Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or suchlike song, to the praise of Almighty God in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived."⁴

Elizabeth outwardly accepted Protestantism but supported the reformed faith only in a negative sense, that is she did not wish papal authority to oversee England. She was far more inclined to the trappings of the Catholic ceremonial than to the austerity of Protestant faiths. This upset the Puritans, and their confusion at the Queen's ideals were further increased by the elaborations in her private chapels. Puritans rightly felt that what took place in the monarch's chapel should be the pattern for the country. But the dichotomy between the public and private policy depended on the traditional Tudor grand strategy of expediency - ceremony for foreign visitors, simplicity for domestic view. Elizabeth preferred the 'insular catholicism' of her father and also the mollified Protestantism of the 1549 Prayer Book, though the views of her advisers and her own judgement were too strong for her to insist on the latter.

There was much of the spirit of Geneva, however, in the church's administration. As more returning exiles were appointed to the church hierarchy

4 - W. Frere, *'Visitation Articles and Injunctions Vol. 3 1559-1575'*, (Alcuin Club Collections; xvi; London, 1910), Injunction 49, p.22.

so more radical influences became apparent. Whilst Parliament made the legal revolution, the people and clerics were already carrying it out so that the 1559 Visitation found that the transformation had already been made - sometimes too vigorously. The Puritan protest had first attacked the externals of worship. Parliament laid down certain requirements for ornaments etc. but since these had largely been destroyed, churches devastated, services discontinued in a wave of revulsion against the Marian Church, all that was laid down in the new rubrics was often unattainable (which did not bother some bishops). Only royal pressure caused the rubrics to be strictly adhered to in some places. The Geneva influence had worked so rapidly in some places that some of the populace seemed to have believed that Calvinist doctrines were imminent. One parson, for preaching that it was no more justifiable to follow the "Geneva Church than the Romish Church" and that royal authority should decide, was reported by his churchwardens to the visiting commissioners.

Whilst the clause in the Act of Uniformity "until other order be therein taken" encouraged many Puritans that toleration would be shown to deviation from the strict adherence of the order on services and that in time further changes would be made, others sought to hurry these changes along. The Puritan voice was first heard on block in the 1563 Convocation sessions where there were many enunciations against elaborate choral music, vestments, and other Puritan grievances of "popish" practices. The Lower House of Convocation held a particularly radical group who put forward a seven point plan which would have demolished the Anglican media via, and which had as its first stage the abolition of "all curious singing and playing of the organs." A substantial majority defeated this but many major clerics were in favour. Less radical proposals were then moved incorporating the familiar Puritan demands of simplification of vestments, the abolition of the sign of the cross at Baptism and that "the use of the organs be removed". The resolutions were defeated but by only one vote, and that a proxy vote, by 59 to 58.

This defeat, the unusually determined enforcement by Parker of the 'Book of Advertisements' on London clergy,⁵ and the clever and spirited defence of the bishops in handling a vestiarian pamphlet controversy in London, made the Puritans realise that they would not be allowed to overturn the established order of the Church at will.

Unable to gain full control of the Church, Puritan Clerics made inroads into these "popish" excesses on a more localised basis. For instance Bishop Horne of Winchester banned the playing of the organs at Winchester College and more or less banned anything but the most simple music at Winchester Cathedral. Elsewhere Puritan criticism took to the streets in the form of pamphlets. The removal to a more grass roots level was accompanied by a greater radicalism notably in the 1570's and the bitter Presbyterian controversy. Attacks at that time were not just confined to the form of worship but more seriously on the whole fabric of the Church and the episcopal system itself. In the Parliament of 1571 the Puritan lobby made determined attempts to force six religious bills through, but far more significant was the manifests '*An Admonition to Parliament: a view of Popish Abuse*' (1572) which brought the whole Presbyterian controversy into the open. Written by John Field and Thomas Wilcox, it was one of the most important documents of Puritan invective. Besides explicitly advocating the Presbyterian system of church government, it lampooned the cathedral close;

"We should be too long to tell your honours of Cathedral Churches the dens aforesaid of all loitering lubbers, where Master Dean, Master Vicedean, Master Canons or Prebendaries the greater, master petty canons or canons the lesser, master Chancellor of the church, master treasurer otherwise called

5 - so much so that few of the future leaders of the Puritan movement in London came from the regular London clergy but from the lecturers who held no benefices.

Judas the purse-bearer, the chief chanter, singing-men special favourers of religion, squeaking choristers, organ players, gospeller, epistolers, pensioners, readers, vergers etc. live in great idleness and have their abiding. If you would know whence all these came, we can easily answer you, that they come from the Pope, as out of the Trojan horse's belly, to the destruction of God's kingdom. The church of God never knew them, neither doth any reformed church in the world know them"⁶

The ministers, the musicians and the music were particularly easy targets for the Puritan pamphleteers. Though obviously exaggerated, their claims and criticisms carried more than a grain of truth at a time when the standard of clergy was generally low, at a time when there was a shortage of qualified men to fill benefices, and at a time when the low level of stipends attracted few of any quality of be ministers or musicians;

"In all their order of service there is no edification, according to the rule of the Apostle, but confusion, they toss the Psalms in most places like tennis balls. The people some standing, some walking, some talking, some reading, some praying by themselves, attend not to the minister. He again passes it over as fast as he can gallop. For either he has two places to serve or else there are some games to be played in the afternoon, as lying on the whetstone heathenish dancing for the ring, a bear or a bull to bait or else 'Jacke an Apes' to ride on horseback, or an interlude to be played, and if no place else can be got, it must be done in the church"⁷

6 - W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas, *'Puritan Manifestoes - a study of the origin of the Puritan Revolt'* (The Church Historical Society; lxxii; London, 1907), article 17, p.32.

7 - *ibid.* article 13, p.29.

All these abuses were undeniably to be found around the country. The cry was familiar from extreme Puritans now;

"that all cathedral church be put down where the service of God is grievously abused by piping with organs, singing, and trolling of psalms from one side of the choir to another with the squeaking of chanting choristers."⁸

Non-congregational music was particularly abhorrent;

"their tossing to and fro of psalms and sentences is like tennis play whereto God is called to judge who can best and be most gallant in his worship; as by organs, pricksong, chanting, buzzing and mumbling very roundly on diverse hands. Thus they have a show of religion, but indeed they turn it to gaming, and play mock holiday with the worship of God."⁹

There has been no period when the Church has not been criticised because of the failings of its servants. The reasons for the increased criticisms at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign were twofold. Clerical prestige had declined during the Reformation and the apparent high mortality of elder clerics at the end of Mary left a severe shortage of suitable persons to take their place, with a consequence that the standard of man admitted was lower. Also the fact that many more of the laity were now educated, and the greater interest in preaching caused by Protestantism showed up the limitations of many clergy. Three features of the Church particularly aroused criticism; the low standard of the clergy, non-residence and pluralism. The criticisms were often justified. In the arch-

8 - from *"A Request of all true Christians to the honourable house of parliament"*, written in 1568.

9 - from Robert Browne's *"True and Short Declaration"* written in 1583; in P.A. Scholes, *'The Puritans and Music'*, (London; O.U.P.; 1934) p.217.

deaconaries of Lincoln and Stow in 1576 out of 396 clergy recorded, 108 had insufficient knowledge, 5 were utterly ignorant, 57 were non-graduates of unspecified learning. In 1590 in the whole diocese of Coventry and Lichfield only 51 preachers were licensed out of the 595 incumbents.¹⁰ Amongst the lower clergy the shortage of men to fill parishes often meant that some men held more than one benefice (pluralism) but this was the usual reason for non-residence as the incumbent would stay in just one of his parishes. Although pluralism was an evil it did mean that some clergy were able to maintain a respectable standard of living from the combined income of his parishes at a time when stipends were generally very low. It was often the non-residence amongst the higher clergy that was the greater scandal. Indeed it was standard practice to hold one or more living with a deanery or bishopric - technically known as *in commendam*. For instance at Norwich, George Montgomery was Dean (1603-1613) but also had 3 bishoprics in Ireland so only returned to Norwich to "receive his dividends." The first Prebendary stall was held by Dr. Lawrence Staunton, but as Dean of Lincoln (1601 to 1613) he was non-resident at Norwich. The only member of the Norwich Chapter at that time to be resident was Edmund Suckling.¹¹

The general position in the Norwich diocese at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was, like the rest of the country, poor. In Bishop John Parkhurst's visitation in November 1561 out of 1,200 benefices in the diocese of Norwich there were only 57 licensed preachers. In the Archdeaconry of Norwich only $\frac{1}{5}$ of the clergy had degrees, $\frac{1}{2}$ had "little learning". Because of the shortage of clergy there were lots of 'personal unions' of benefices, and over $\frac{1}{2}$ the clergy in the archdeaconry of Norwich had more than one cure. Nevertheless $\frac{1}{6}$ of the cures were vacant and as a stop gap

10 - figures from Alexander op.cit. p.25.

11 - information from A. Jessopp, 'Norwich', (Diocesan Histories; London, 1884) p.179-80.

lay readers of services were licensed.¹² Parkhurst (bishop from 1560 to 1575) could only raise standards as the supply of clergy increased and by 1564 he admitted only those who knew Latin or who had not had a secular occupation at his last giving orders. By 1571 they had to be trained in good letters, well versed in scriptures, not brought up in husbandry or crafts and recommended by godly men known to the bishop. Pluralism and non-residence threatened the service of the cure and it was a big problem. Parker in his Metropolitan Visitation to Norwich in October 1567 cited 61 clergy of the diocese absent for a "fairly considerable time", and 52 were later deprived for failing to return or appear in London to explain.

Though Parkhurst tried to improve the standard of the Church in his diocese, he was constantly thwarted by apathetic commissioners, the abuses of the patronage system,¹³ the difficulties of refusing presentees as patrons had common law on their side, and, crucially, his own personality. Parkhurst was a mild man who disliked personal unpleasantness (to himself and other people), who was weak in his dealings with other people, and who was a bad judge of men. A report to the Queen in 1570 noted that he had "not been careful in preferring to offices under [him], of men meet for gravity, learning and dexterity in government."¹⁴ Like many of his episcopal colleagues who had been in exile during Mary, he had little administrative experience and he repeatedly failed to grasp judicial and administrative technicalities. He failed to supervise his subordinates yet accepted responsibility for their failures. His ignorance of ecclesiastical law caused him and the diocese, serious embarrassment.

12 - this and much of the information concerning Parkhurst from -
ed. R.A. Houlbrooke, *The Letter Book of John Parkhurst*, (Norfolk
Record Society, 43, 1974-5), introduction.

13 - the presentee often had to agree to lease his tithes and glebes to
the patron in return for an inadequate pittance.

14 - Houlbrooke op.cit. p.24.

But the bishopric had already been weakened before Parkhurst. Impoverished bishops had mortgaged resources for immediate financial gain. Patents for life, grants in reversion, grants of the next presentation to ecclesiastical livings struck especially hard in Parkhurst's time hampering his efforts to reform his diocese. Bishop William Rugge's high life style (bishop 1536-49) had led to a large scale leasing often on unfavourable terms for the cathedral, and long after his resignation the Rugge family did well out of the favours granted by him. Parkhurst was further impoverished by the activities of George Thimelthorpe (member by marriage of the Rugge family), collector and later Receiver of the bishopric who made fraudulent conveyances and probably embezzled much of the tithes and tenths due to the cathedral and Crown. By 1571 Parkhurst was notified that the bishopric owed the Crown £1,125. This financial disaster and the protracted legal wranglings, still not settled at Parkhurst's death (1575), was a forceful illustration of his gullibility, and of the almost criminal state of the diocesan administration which Parkhurst supposedly overseered. Thimelthorpe even managed to conceal the existence of episcopal property.

Indeed the concealment of land and its consequences was an even greater threat to the cathedral finances than Thimelthorpe's dealings. At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries (then later the colleges and chantries etc.) all lands went to the crown which were later re-allocated to the new Foundations.¹⁵ Yet some lands still managed to be retained by private hands, corporations, clergy and others. Elizabeth granted commissions to hunt out these concealments and retrieve them. But corrupt men harassed people with quite legal claims to land and property. Elizabeth withdrew the commissions in 1572 but this did not stop the abuse. By 1582 much of Norwich cathedral land had been sold away and lands taken without payments of rent. Only a

15 - Strype has much on the concealment affair: see *J. Strype, 'Annals of the Reformation Vol. II Part I'* (Oxford, 1824), p.310 and p.443-50.

rearguard action by George Gardiner, the Dean, and the Attorney-General in London where most of the interests of the patentees surrendered. Parliament still found it necessary to refound the cathedral in 1597-8, however, in order to clarify the cathedral's position. The concealment issue was not finally settled till 1623 when a bill made the abuses illegal. In times of great financial stress generally, the position of Norwich cathedral was dire and naturally affected the performance of its duties. In musical areas, the empty coffers of the cathedral was probably another contributory factor to the slight expenditure on that part of its commitments in Elizabeth's reign.¹⁶

The general malaise in the cathedral during Parkhurst's time was due partly to his own personality and partly due to the neglect and intellectual stagnation of the ministers under him. Not until 1570 was Parkhurst able to introduce new blood of his own choosing into the higher clerics and then as usual he chose badly. But in general he did not have the personal dynamism to stamp out neglect and abuse. He was very sympathetic to the Protestant reforming zeal but had little motivation to take part. The state of the cathedral can be illuminated by the need for the *Commission of the Queen directed at the Cathedral* (1568)¹⁷. The "tenor" of the Commission speaks of being "informed of some disorders" and of "certain coloured leases". George Gardiner, prebendary later Dean, was the chief witness, and it is clear that his complaints were the main reason for the setting up of the Commission. In fact, it was his revenge on some of the other cathedral staff who had criticised him in the 1567 visitation for being a strife stirrer and double dealer. Indeed Gardiner tended to follow the direction of the wind, and was an avid self-seeker willing to go to all lengths including calling on his friends at Court to achieve his goal.¹⁸ Generally he would appear to

16 - see Part II, Chapter 5.

17 - to be found in the *Liber Miscellaneorum Vol. I* (Dean and Chapter deposit N.N.P.R.O.).

18 - see Houlbrooke *op.cit.* p.40-2 for Gardiner's activities; also Strype *op.cit.* (Annals Vol. II Pt. 1) p.443-50.

be of a nasty disposition, though he did fight to the utmost, in between attacks of gout, to keep the cathedral lands out of the hands of the unscrupulous in the concealment controversy. His enemies were in the lethargic and conservative Chapter (besides Parkhurst he was one of the few reforming men in the cathedral) and he painted a long and dark picture of their mal-administration in his evidence;

"there be many disorders but most of them some from lack of Statutes wherebit men should know their duties and be bound to do the same. The first disorder that where there should be six prebendaries - preachers and priests - three of them are neither priests nor preachers the fourth be very aged nay blind and impotent, the fifth not resident and cometh at the Church not above once a year, the sixth only a preacher and [though he] doeth his good will it be but little. The second disorder that there are but thirteen sermons in a year The third that there is no Divinity Lecturer as in the manner of other cathedral churches The fourth except a very five of [the] church, the full company are negligent in coming to sermons or lecture made either in that church or elsewhere as God be praised there are places enough in this city for them to resort into for that purpose. The fifth they have never a good Bible in the church whereas they are bound to have five The sixth that with the mincing of music they mar the ditty and yet will not they sing none of the Geneva Psalm allowed by the Queen's Majesties Foundations to be sung in the Church. The seventh is a great disorder that some have not received the communion since the Queen's Majesty came to the crown and most but once a year The eighth that one man being a Sexton by

patent committeth the execution of his said office to a substitute and he taketh upon him[se]lf] the vergers, the caters and the Bailiffs [jobs]. The ninth that the houses heretofore allotted to the ministers are let out to mere laymen and that for little rent The tenth that those ministers that are married and keep hospitality are denying to be contributors to them that are unmarried and keep no hospitality but a common hall for the maintenance whereof they have yearly ten pounds so that it were reason that those which are married had their portion of that sum which they have not, besides this [allowances] all to the yearly value of £22 6s 8d [are made to the Hall] and [there are] but five [few] canons in commons and unmarried. The eleventh that a brewhouse which might be let for £12 or £13 6s 8d is made nothing of at this day but permitted to be a tippling house without all order of law where unto all evil and naughty persons and such as in the city are not suffered by the Magistrate do resort. The twelfth that a mere layman [John Hoo] is made Receiver of the house and hath a fee of £10 by the year whereas there is no such allowance in the Proportion [and] our stock is in great danger [by his dealings]"¹⁹

The cathedral was a place of notorious conservatism and full of "neuters". Gardiner's evidence illustrates a decadent system born out of negligence, lethargy and a protected environment. Parkhurst was handicapped by reversions and longevity of the staff, but in 1569-70 with the presentation of Edmund Chapman, John Walker and Robert Johnson as prebends, the protagonists

19 - see Part II, Chapter 16 for the Commission's letter of disorders found after examination.

of reform were in the majority for the first time. Almost as if to demonstrate the end of religious neutralism in the close. Walker, Chapman, George Gardiner, and Thomas Fowle broke down the organs and committed other outrages. They made their point by striking at the very heart of the musical establishment always, a conservative body who to many Puritans epitomised ceremony and 'popish' indulgement. But the coup was a tactical error, with a stinging letter from the Queen ensuing, ordering Parkhurst to make a thorough enquiry and to put the offenders before the Archbishop of Canterbury. His own sympathies with the Puritan cause were known. It was an isolated incident which seems to have had no aftermath besides the initial backlash. But it was a warning signal for Parkhurst, and marked the beginning of a gathering storm. The musical establishment was again attacked in January 1575 when Chapman, Stephen Lymbert (petty-canon) and Thomas Roberts (one of the leaders of the Norwich Puritans) criticised the singing and service. In a riot situation, it was Gardiner, now Dean, who put down his Puritan colleagues. In a letter, probably to Gardiner, Parkhurst describes the reports of the scene he had heard;

"Understanding that these holy days certain persons at the reading of Evening Prayer in Christ's Church inveighed greatly against [the] singing, disordered (as they termed it), and wished it utterly to be banished, which I wish they had not attempted And where one other at that time took upon him a new order of service contrary to her Majesty's order and book, whom, as I learn for avoiding further danger you did justly commit to prison"²⁰

It was a time of great tension, but it was not always the Puritans who were the protesters - Parkhurst to his Chancellor; (February 1573)

"I hear of a great abuse and disorder committed at St. Simon's in Norwich on Monday last whereof I have no great marvel because I could never understand of any good order or conformity in that parish [For] at Evening Prayer after the minister had begun and proceeded into the midst of the service, reading the same distinctly to the people, three or four lewd boys, set on by lewd fools came into the church; and as the minister began to read - 'my soul doth magnify the Lord' - those lewd ones burst out into singing of the same suddenly and unlooked for, and been commanded by the minister to cease, they continued singing and he reading, so as all was out of order, and the godly ones were disquieted, and much grieved. The chief of this unruly company was a son of Inglott's"²¹

This possibly may have been William Inglott who would have been 17 years old at the time, and as seen by his later career was a staunch supporter of cathedral music.

From 1570-5 the cathedral was hard pressed by the Puritans who had ample support from the Puritan saturated city. Indeed it must have been a bad time for music in the cathedral. The morale can only have been low and especially as it would seem likely that music must have been somewhat curtailed after the attack on the organ in 1570. Not until 1578 do the cathedral accounts mention any work on an organ (though several early 1570 accounts are missing) but it is not clear whether it was being rebuilt or just mended. It is hard to imagine a cathedral of the stature of Norwich being without an organ for 8 years. Yet such was the Puritan strength in Norwich at that time that it is not inconceivable. Parkhurst's sympathy and distaste for harsh

21 - *ibid.* p.61-2; see also C.H.E. White, 'The East Anglian: or Notes and Queries etc.' (Vol. 8; Norwich, 1899-1900) p.82-3.

discipline meant that the diocese and especially Norwich in the future had a tradition of harbouring extreme sects that did not grow up elsewhere. In the city Protestantism of all kinds was deep rooted and indeed many preachers were respected more than the bishop. John More was the spiritual leader of the city and held a kind of unofficial superintendency throughout Norfolk for 20 years or more. He was merely the senior of two preachers at St. Andrew's church Norwich, preaching every day, three or four times on Sunday and finding ministers for Protestant patrons. He was not closely associated with the protest against ceremonies and episcopal administration for his only desire was to preach and live the gospel.

The new generation of graduates who came out of the Universities between 1565-75 had been moulded by Protestant teachers. Some men like More were moderate men but others had developed far more extreme views. The prophesying controversy brought the extremists into direct conflict with the church in Norwich. Prophesying was a sort of biblical conference, a bible study debate. In Norwich the initiative for them lay with Puritan ministers who started them early in Elizabeth's reign and reached their height between 1574-6. Prophesying were obviously held in high esteem;

"the continual resort that was every day through the year, and that for many years together, into the holy exercise of religion, which were continually supported by worthy and sincere preachers, and graced by the presence of so many grave and religious magistrates."²²

Parkhurst passively supported these exercises (i.e. prophesyings) believing them to deepen the doctrinal understanding of the clergy and people. Being particularly prevalent in Norwich diocese the Queen, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker (himself a native of Norfolk) sought to "stop these

22 - quoted in P. Collinson, *'The Elizabethan Puritan Movement'*, (London 1967), p.176.

vain prophesyings." Grasping naively at the word *vain*, Parkhurst stopped only the most troublesome ones, which brought a swift rebuff from Parker who clarified the Queen's wish that all should be stopped. The impatience of the Church hierarchy at Parkhurst's handling of his diocese is shown by the fact that the Norwich diocese was the only one to receive such an order.

Immediately on Parkhurst's death in February 1575, Norwich preachers immediately commenced 'prophesying', and after Parker's death in May of the same year, they acted as if there were no ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction at all. The radicals in the cathedral held an exercise every Monday. The speakers were "such as shall be judged by the brethren meet to speak" submitting to such orders made by the consent of the brethren, only and not by one man's authority."²³ This is apparently the first known occasion of an explicitly presbyterian constitution and it is not surprising that in the presbyterian controversy which rocked the Church generally at this time that it was Norwich where the first organised faction emerged. In fact they were an elitist group who respected the parity only of qualified preachers and made no reference and gave no help for the improvement of the unlearned or conforming minister.

It was a brief episode for in November 1575, Bishop Edmund Freke took office and immediately devastated the Puritan pulpits in his primary visitation. Freke came on a conforming mandate, but faced a cathedral city with a large Protestant community, saturated with Calvinist preaching and capable of producing 175 substantial citizens to petition the Queen for the establishment of presbyterianism. Freke's only course was to seek support from conservatives and 'crypto-catholics'. Religious and factorial turmoil existed for several years and it was said that the "state could not long stand this it would either to papistry or puritanism."²⁴ Freke's visitation suspended all the preachers including 'presidents' John More and Thomas Roberts, and

23 - ibid. p.213.

24 - ibid. p.203.

silenced nearly all the prophesyings in the city. Eventually a compromise was forged between Freke and More of limited conformity during Elizabeth's Royal Progress in East Anglia in August 1578. The authorities in London set great store by the Norwich compromise in the hope that it might form a basis for agreement elsewhere. The extremists shook off the Norwich compromise to go elsewhere, some of the cathedral radicals leaving the country to form the nucleus of the Dedham Conference in 1582, another attempt at presbyterian thinking.

If the cathedral was under Puritan siege at the end of Parkhurst's time, it had in Freke a conforming bishop who would allow the permitted elaborations including music. But he still was unable to rid the diocese of administrative abuses and the like. The Convocation of December 1586 heard complaints of disorders at the cathedral amongst them: no observation of the canons; unworthy persons ordained and instituted; penances commuted by ecclesiastical judges; excommunication for trifles; no care of the poor; orderly preachers discharged and the disorderly promoted and made reformers; exaction of fees; preaching without a licence.²⁵

But the tradition of Norwich being a stronghold for Puritanism continued. Ever since 1565 when the Dutch and Walloons were allowed to settle in Norwich and set up their own churches, the city had separate Protestant religions going along side by side with the Anglican Church. The effect on men who had been in exile during Mary's reign or who had come up to admire European doctrines can only have been encouraged by the closeness of these churches and the practising on English soil of these forms of worship.²⁶ Many sects grew up in Norwich throughout this period but most notable and disturbing was the

25 - J. Strype, *'Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift'*, (Oxford, 1822), p.496-7.

26 - for a history of the Walloon Church with some reference to the Dutch, see W.J.C. Moens, *'The Walloons and their Church at Norwich 1565-1832'* (Publication of the Huguenot Society, Vol.I 1887-8): see also Part II Chapter 13.

followers of Robert Browne (Brownists). He came from Cambridge and with the help of Robert Harrison began to set up a separatist church in Norwich despite opposition from moderate Protestants. Preaching to covert meetings around the diocese he collected a wide audience preaching against the episcopal system, causing much worry to the authorities. By 1581 he was at the stage of issuing a formal covenant, but by the end of the year with opposition to him growing (he had already been imprisoned twice) he and his congregation left Norwich to settle in Middleburg in the Low Countries. But some Brownists were left behind and they founded an obscure movement which by about 1603 had developed some strange ideas for that time. Indeed the movement seemed to pursue a doctrine based on vegetarianism - "unlawful to eat blood things strangled, and things offered to idols." Even the Anabaptists, a word which struck unrivalled terror in the hearts of people at that time, sent one of their English followers back into England and to Norwich to gain converts. This man, Thomas Mitchell, was soon imprisoned, however, and "shortly like to die."²⁷

Compared to the 1570's, the mood in the cathedral could only have been one of heady optimism at the turn of the century. But the cathedral was still under financial pressure in the 1590's and the abuses which had been noted in Parkhurst's time were still rife. In July 1603 the High Commissioner began to examine the venality and petty tyranny of the bishop's officials; in excessive frequency of court days, abuse of *ex officio* procedures and many other disorders. This was a major upheaval in the cathedral and Bishop Jegon, who had only just been appointed to the see, committed his Chancellor and the commissioners and registrars from all the four archdeaconaries of the diocese. The leading officials deflected the attack on to the apparitors and proctors of the courts, who were generally hated men anyway. By mid-August all the latter had been suspended and had to forswear bribery and extortion

27 - for the separatist groups see C. Burrage, 'The Early English Dissenters' (2 vols; New York, 1912).

before reappointment. The fact that they were reappointed probably means little change in these affairs.

Certainly at the beginning of the 1600's music in the cathedral seems to have flourished in comparison with the apparent barrenness of the Elizabethan Age. Although actual standards can only be guessed at, as shown in Part II Chapter 5, expenditure on the musical institution increased rapidly in these years peaking in the building of the new organ (1607-10). This new organ is a sure sign of the easier times religiously and possibly financially. Indeed generally in the country as a whole the period had less tension. Puritanism was less of a threat to the stability of the *media via*, and indeed the philosophy of the *media via* as expanded by Richard Hooker in his masterpiece of the eight books '*Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*' grew in strength through the ranks of the Anglican hierarchy to emerge at the end of James I's reign and in Charles I's reign. Indeed these high church principles may be seen as just as radical in one sense as the Puritan voice had been at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. For by Charles' reign many of the most populous areas of England had had 60 or 70 years of civil and ecclesiastical Protestant government. Indeed Protestantism may almost be said to have become the establishment. Successions and indulgences of radically protestant bishops in some dioceses, and the many anomalies and inadequacies of 16th Century administration gave the church enough latitude to contain all but the most radical Puritans through the years of radical protestant growth.

Yet whichever party was in the ascendancy the insufficiency of the church administration continued. Even after Jegen's examination of the system in 1603 affairs were little better. That there were still abuses in the dealings of the cathedral hierarchy can be seen in a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Dean and Chapter dated 3rd December 1634;

"I do very well remember the late alteration of the Statutes and the settlement of them in Bishop Haronett and Dean Suckling's

time [1620] At that time it troubled me very much (as it have done upon the consideration of other Churches) to see the weakness of that Choir and the small means it was left to make it better; considering that neither the Choir nor anything else in or about the church can flourish without some proportionable reward to service. The good old Dean, to help things on as he might, projected two things; the one was the same proportion of corn to be allowed them, which I think was settled and I hope continues; the other I do not well remember that it was settled by statute (the more the pity) but it was generally thought fit, and approved by all of us that such small benefices or cures, within the city or suburbs should as they fall void, be given to the petty-canons respectively and no other.²⁸ And that the Church should be very careful from time to time to those such petty-canons into vacant places as they might be fit and able to discharge both duties, both to sing in the Choir, and to catechise and preach in the Parish. This custom of giving the small cures to petty-canons is usual with other churches where the Choir is a mean as yours and it brings great help to them: and fit and able men will never be wanting, if this course for their preferment be held constant.

I write this unto you, because I am informed that there are diverse very sufficient men, already in expectation of those places, wheresoever it shall please God to make them void: so that you need not be too sick to furnish yourselves. But I have withall there is a purpose among some of you, without any regard of your honour, and good of your church, to bestow these livings,

28 - James' Statutes allow petty-canons to have one other benefice (Appendix IV 'Chapter 14') but it does not say the cathedral has to appoint them to one.

when they fall, upon their Private Friends, without any respect had to the Choir. Such if it will be will utterly overthrow the Choir Service and you will not be able to retain either voices or skill amongst you. I would be glad to hope this information were not true, but it is so constantly affirmed to me that I cannot distrust it altogether And this I assume you, if I shall find that you do at anytime put other men into those cures and leave the petty-canon's destitute I shall take all the ways, that justly I can to make you see your error."²⁹

This letter spells out well the social problems which affected members of the choir throughout this period. It is not a happy situation and reflects poorly on the level of performance of the musicians. Indeed the choir seems to have been in a poor condition for many years. The brief flourish of music at the beginnings of James' reign had been long in decline, though the three military officers who toured the country in 1634 could still find much of high standards in the performance of music in the bigger cathedrals.³⁰

But as the high church clerics came into power in Charles I's reign so came again the Puritan attack on the episcopal system, the cathedrals, music and ceremony. By the 1630's Puritan invective flowed and their vitrioled pens outrivalled their colleagues at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. John Bastwick's stream of expletives and profanities in his *'The Answer of John Bastwick to the exceptions made against his Litany'* (1637) was unequalled in Puritan pamphleteering. Of the clergy he wrote;

"one would think that hell were let loose, and that devils in surplices, in hoods, in copes, in rochets, and with four-

29 - in *Liber Miscellaneorum Vol.2*, (Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.)

30 - *'A Relation of a Short Survey of Twenty-Six countries [etc.]'*
(B. M. Lansdowne No. 213 f317-48): see Scholes op.cit. p.229-30.

square cow turds upon their heads were come among us and beshit us all." "What holiness, I pray, is nowadays placed in churches and chapels? What adoring of them, to the ruining almost of the parishes where they are! And now of late, what immense sums of money have been gathered [for the restoration of St. Paul's, London]! I have heard from Jesuits themselves, that are well acquainted with those businesses if not the principal sticklers in them, who I know at least are very joyful at such preparations, that it amounteth to above £2,000 and that all this mighty mass of money must be spent in making a seat for a priest's arse to sit in; for it is *cathedra episcopi* - a Bishop's Chair - and for the Dean, and sub-Dean, and for the Prebends, Canons, Petty-canons, Vergers, Choristers and all, to keep the Pope's saddle warm, as the popelins themselves bragging, prate. The truth is the whole fraternity of that crew is but a generation of vipers."³¹

Music came in for its customary berating, e.g. in Prynne's '*Histriomatrix*' (1633);

"But now-a-days Music is grown to such and so great licentiousness that even at the ministration of the Holy Sacrament, all kinds of wanton and lewd trifling songs, and with piping of Organ, have their place and course. As for the Divine Service and Common Prayer, it is so chanted and minsed and mangled of our costly hired, curious and nice Musicians (not to instruct the Audience withall, nor stir up men's minds into devotion, but with a whorish harmony to tickle their ears) that it may justly seem not to be a noise made of men but rather a bleating of bruit beasts. Whiles the Choristers neigh descant as it were a sort of Colts; others

bellow a tenor, as it were a company of oxen; others bark a counter-point as it were a kennel of Dogs; others roar out a treble like a sort of Bull; others grunt out a bass as it were a number of Hogs; so that a foul evil favoured noise is made, but as for the words and sentences and the very matter itself is nothing understood at all; but the authority and power of judgement is taken away both from the mind and from the ears utterly."³²

Eventually the Puritan threat in word became the Puritan threat in deed culminating in the breakdown of the monarchy and in 1644 the abolition by Parliament of the Episcopal system and the Book of Common Prayer.

At Norwich in the final 'tragedy' and its preliminaries, concentration of the Puritans centred on the most tangible evidence of ceremony the organ and vestments. Even before the ransacking of the cathedral in 1643, the cathedral authorities had been worried by the possible intrusion of the Puritan mob into the cathedral in 1641. The information for this extraordinary incident comes from a Puritan pamphlet which although heavily biased and probably exaggerated relates an amazing scene:³³ *"True News from Norwich:* being a certain relation how that the Cathedral Blades of Norwich (on the 22 of February 1641 being Shrove Tuesday) did put themselves into a posture of defence because that the Apprentices of Norwich (as they imagined) would have pulled down their Organs the foolishness of these Cathedral men are to be understood, and deserve to be laughed at for this silly enterprise" The writer describes how the apprentices pulled down the church railings and the organs. They pulled down the railings and threatened to pull down the organs on Shrove Tuesday "but had no such intent, only to scare the fools." Quite entertainingly the writer describes how the cathedral "put

32 - Scholes *op.cit.* p.217-8.

33 - this can be found printed in *Norfolk Antiquary Miscellany* 2, 1883, p.383-90.

themselves into a posture of defence" with a "great store of Parsons and Priests" (about 500 of them). He describes "how these men are rock'd and lull'd asleep by this music, which have indeed lull'd many one asleep in [Romish] ignorance and these are the effects that the Pipes produce."

At Norwich once again Puritan turbulence manifested itself in hate towards the cathedral and especially its musical staff. Life for the musicians can not have been pleasant at that time and it must be assumed that through a consequent lowering of morale, standards of performance would have slipped even further. The threat of ransacking the cathedral which the authorities had lived with from 1641, if not before, finally took place in 1643. Bishop Joseph Hall, ejected at that time, described the scene of destruction in his '*Hard Measure*' (1647);

"There was not that care and moderation used in reforming the cathedral church bordering upon my palace. It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of the furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses under the authority and prescence of Livsey, Toftes the sheriff and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments, what pulling down of seats, what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves; what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stone-work that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cast of the founder and skill of the mason: what tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ-pipes, and what a hideous triumph on the market day before all the country, when, in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ-pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with a leaden cross, which had been newly sawn down from over the Green-Yard pulpit, and the service books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in

the public market-place: a lewd wretch walking before the train in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the Litany used formerly in the church! Near the public cross all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire, not without much ostentation of a zealous joy in discharging ordinance to the cost of some who professed law much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news upon this guild-day to have the cathedral now open on all sides to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the Major's return drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had turned alehouse."³⁴

The work of the cathedral still continued after this, though in what way after the 1644 Act can only be speculation. The Chapter Minute Book has entries up to 1649 and the 1649 *Parliamentary Survey* still showed many of the choir to be resident, though they must have been redundant. By 1649 the Dean and all the Prebendaries had been deprived of their livings at the Church and allowances made for them by the *Committee for Plundered Ministers*. Religious observance, and church administrative abuse, in the old manner had finished - at least for the time being.

* * * * *

PART II

The Musical Institution

A Question of Statutes

The Statutes are the law of a cathedral. They lay down its clerical and administrative structure and emoluments, its religious duties and services, the obligations of its offices, and the terms of its government. In just over 100 years up to the last entries in the minute book of the Dean and Chapter (1649) before the Restoration, Norwich Cathedral had three sets of Statutes drawn up for its government, dating from the reigns of Henry VIII¹, Elizabeth I² and James I³. This seems simple enough, but unfortunately the circumstances surrounding all these sets are for the most part, entangled with uncertainty.

One of the clearest facts about the Statutes of Henry VIII is that they must date from 2nd May 1538 - the date when 400 years monasticism came to an end for the Benedictine Priory of Norwich and it became one of the cathedrals of the "new foundation". This situation remained until 3rd June 1547 when the Dean and Chapter "for certain causes them moving did surrender into the hands of the said King Edward all their said church, and all end singular their lands and rights."⁴ It seems the Dean and Chapter doubted the settlement under Henry VIII as the bishop of the diocese had not given formal consent to the translation from monastery to cathedral.⁵ On 5th November 1547 the Dean and Chapter were refounded⁶, and Edward VI's Charter⁷ promised statutes and ordinances to follow. As no statutes seem to have been forthcoming, it may be that Henry's Statutes were still enforced. But perhaps this was only tacitly, for in 1568 George Gardiner in his answer to

1 - see Appendix I.

2 - see Appendix II.

3 - see Appendix IV.

4 - *J. Strype, 'Ecclesiastical Memorials; Vol. II Part I Edward VI'* (Oxford; 1822) p.121.

5 - *ibid.* p.122.

6 - *ibid.* p.121.

7 - this can be found in the *Liber Miscellaneorum Vol. II* (Dean and Chapter Deposit, N.N.P.R.O.).

the ninth question of the Royal Commission, dealing with various disorders in the church, gave evidence that:

"To the ninth we have no statutes at all and that is the greatest and valid cause of all disorder in my judgement, for every man can tell what money he ought to have but no man can tell what he ought to do first. Wherefore I must humbly crave for my part that by your means we may have some statutes to govern this house on the frame of God and obedience."⁸

The Statutes of Elizabeth's reign must date after 1570, the time of Bishop Parkhurst's Injunctions dealing with the matters brought up by the 1568 Commission and other disorders as some of these injunctions are incorporated in the Statutes, and also must date before the beginning of 1572, as William Brand, who appears as a singing-man in '*The Proportion at this day*' at the end of the Statutes, died in February or March 1572. Whether these statutes were actually instituted is uncertain as no mention appears of any such ceremony in the Dean and Chapter Minute Book, although on 12th January 1575 the installation of John Beacon, as third prebendary, took place with an oath "*iuxta formam statuti*."⁹ These Elizabethan Statutes are

8 - *Liber Miscellaneorum Vol. I* (Dean and Chapter Deposit; N.N.P.R.O.).

9 - Rev. J.F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, '*Extracts from the Two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral, 1566-1649*', (Norfolk Record Society, Vol. 24, 1953), p.8 and p.31.

strange in that they stand curiously apart both from Henry's and James' Statutes in that their content and language differ so much, but also from their time in that many things they decree do not in practice seemed to have happened. These inconsistencies will be shown in the following chapters.

In 1601;

"the whole choir [was] called before the Dean and Chapter, there was then and there published and established certain orders *sic incipiend* an extract of the old statutes *et finiend* these orders might do."¹⁰

The cathedral obviously used some statutes, yet when, in 1620, Bishop Harsnett made representations to the Crown for some statutes for the Cathedral, he seems to have made it clear that no statutes had ever been legalised by Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth. This would make it seem that even when Elizabeth had refounded the bishopric once more in 1597-8¹¹, to stamp out the 'concealment' of the cathedral's land, she made no provision for her own statutes to be enforced. It is hard to believe that these Elizabethan Statutes were not instituted at some time (even if the cathedral seem to have disregarded them in several areas).

Of the date of the Statutes of James I there is no doubt, for the ceremony of the first reading to all the officers of the church described in the Chapter minute book¹², took place on 5th September 1620, the Statutes having been formally issued by James on 9th August.¹³ For the most part they are

10 - *ibid.* p.40 - these orders must surely have been the ones published again in 1605 (see Appendix III) with orders 18 and 19 added.

11 - J. Strype, 'Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II Part 1' (Oxford; 1824) p.310.

12 - Williams and Cozens-Hardy *op.cit.* p.54-5.

13 - the claim that the date of these Statutes is 1608, by Rev. Noel Boston

based on the Statutes of Henry VIII but with the elaboration of over eighty years of injunctions, orders and experience. They bear hardly any relation to the Elizabethan set either in content or language.

The question of the history of the Statutes remains open. Indeed if the subject is complex to modern man it can hardly have been much less so to his sixteenth and early seventeenth century counterpart who had to govern the Church. Both George Gardiner and Bishop Harsnett insisted that there were no statutes to govern by, yet in the former's case the cathedral had been founded twice and one set of statutes existed and in the latter's the cathedral had been founded three times and two sets of statutes existed. But throughout the period the Government of the cathedral continued, helped by the occasional set of injunctions or orders. In George Gardiner's case, his appeal comes at a moment of great disorder and upheaval in the cathedral, and Bishop Harsnett's plea must have come at a time when there was a great need to bring the church and its government into modern times.

13 - (continued)

in '*The Musical History of Norwich Cathedral*' (The Friends of Norwich Cathedral, Norwich 1963), is totally without foundation.

CHAPTER 2

Numbers

The requisite number of persons to sing in the choir differs between the three sets of statutes. The number statute of each set (see the first chapter in each of Appendices I, II and IV) given the following limits for its personnel:

Henry VIII	- 8 minor canons (petty-canons)
	6 lay clerks (singing-men)
	8 choristers (singing-boys)
	1 Deacon (gospeller)
	1 Subdeacon (epistoler)
	1 Master of the Choristers
Elizabeth I	- 6 petty canons
	6 singing-men
	6 choristers
	1 gospeller
	1 epistoler
	1 Master of the Choristers
James I	- 6 minor canons
	8 lay clerks
	8 choristers
	1 gospeller
	1 epistoler
	1 organist.

The number of petty-canons, singing-men or choristers in any of these sets is about average for the country as a whole. Comparison between Norwich and other cathedrals can be made in Table I.¹

1 - compiled (and simplified) from Tables in works by Dr. Alan Smith and Dr. Peter Le Huray (see footnotes 2 and 3). The 'Cathedral', 'Old and New Foundation', 'Singing-man', 'Singing-boy' columns are compiled from both sources. The other two columns are taken primarily from

Cathedral	Old[O] or New[N] foundation	Date of Statutes or other source ³	petty canons ³	Number of: singing men	singing boys
Bangor ³	O ³	c.1550	2	? ³	? ³
Bristol	N	1542	6	6	6
Canterbury	N	1541 1636	12 6	12 18	12 10
Carlisle	N	1541	8	4	6
Chester	N	1541	6	6	8
Chichester	O	1586 1634	4 4	8 ³ 8 ³	8 ³ 8 ³
Dublin:					
Christ Church	N ³	1539	8	3 ³	4 ³
St. Patrick's	O ³	1546 1554	16 16	4 ³ ? ³	2 ³ 6 ³
Durham	N	1541	12	10	10
Ely	N	1541	8	8	8
Exeter	O	1563 1634	6 4	10 ² 12 ³ 19(16) ³	10 ² 14 ³ 14(10) ³
Gloucester	N	1541	6	6 ² 6 ³	8 ² 6 ³
Hereford	O	1583 ² 1583 1634	12 ² 16 16	10 ²	8 ² 7 ³ 8 ³
Lichfield	O	1634	6	10 ² 10 ³	8 ² 8 ³
Lincoln	O	c.1600 1634	4 12 in total ³	8 ² 8 ³	8 ² 15 ³ 8 ³
Llandaff	O ³	c.1550	5 in total ³	4 ³
Oxford	N	1541	8	8	8
Peterborough	N	1541	8	8	8

1 - (continued) the work referenced in the column heading. Variations are given the appropriate reference number in the table. Fuller information is given in the sources.

2 - A. Smith, 'The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches and at the Court during the reign of Elizabeth I', (Ph.D. Thesis; University of Birmingham, 1967), Table 5 'English Cathedrals and their Choral Foundations', p.232-5.

3 - P. Le Huray, 'Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660, (London; Herbert Jenkins, 1967), Tables 3 and 4, p.14 and p.15.

Rochester	N	1541	6	6	8
St. Asaph	0 ³	c.1550	4	4 ³	4 ³
St. David's	0 ³	c.1550 c.1575	8	4+ in total ³	6 ³
St. Paul's	0	1634	12	8 ² 6 ³	10 ² 10 ³
Salisbury	0	1634	6	6 ² 7 ³	8 ² 8 ³
Wells	0	1592 1634	14+ 6	8 ² 8 ³	6 ² 6 ³ 6 ³
Westminster Abbey ³	N ³	1540	12	12 ³	10 ³
Winchester	N	1541 1638	12 12	12 ³ 6 ³	10 ³ 6 ³
Worcester	N	1542	10	8 ² 10 ³	12 ² 10 ³
York	0	c.1550	12 in total ³	12 ²	12 ² 12 ³

At Norwich, and probably at many other cathedrals, what numbers were pronounced in the statutes were not always the ones occurring in practice. A comparison with the lists in the account rolls of this period proves this. Henrician numbers seem to have been used up to the year ending 1574-5. The next five years or so, centering around the Queen's visit to Norwich in 1578, show a process of change. Indeed, whether or not the cathedral authorities would have known two years in advance of the Queen's visit, her progress to Norwich does seem to have been a watershed. Throughout this time, the number of choristers remains as 8, but in 1575-6 only 4 petty-canons served a full year, 5 others serving shorter periods, whilst the singing-men's list has 7 names with 3 others noted as having served a quarter of a year. For the financial year 1577-8, the year in which Elizabeth's visit occurred, 4 petty-canons are paid the full amount (2 others being given small amounts for 2 or 3 months service), no gospeller is paid, and 10 singing-men are paid for the whole year one other for three quarters of a year.

By the financial year 1581-2 the numbers have settled to those later apportioned in James I Statutes. At no time do the numbers correspond to the figures decreed in the Elizabethan Statutes (though the accounts for 1571 to 1574 are not extant).

Up to 1591 the post of Master of the Choristers, incorporating duties as organist, was regarded as separate from the choir itself, judging by the lists in the account rolls and the Henrician and Elizabethan number statutes. From the financial year 1591-2, however, the holder of the post of the Master of the Choristers is also mentioned in either the petty-canon or singing-man's list, whilst the new and separate post of organist comes into being. This situation is ratified in the number chapter of James I's Statutes.

CHAPTER 3

Stipends

The stipends *per annum* according to the three sets of statutes run as follows;

Henry VIII	petty-canon	£5 2s 0d
	epistoler	£4 5s 2d
	singing-boy	15s 0d

(the singing-man's stipend is not given and there is an empty line where the gospeller entry should have been)

Elizabeth I	petty-canon	£10
	epistoler	£10
	gospeller	£10
	singing-man	£6 13s 4d
	singing-boy	£3 6s 8d
	Master of the Choristers	£10

James I	petty-canon	£10
	gospeller	£9
	epistoler	£8 10s
	organist	£20
	singing-man	£8
	(Master of Choristers	£8 extra to his stipend in the choir)

The Elizabethan figures are taken from the '*Proportion of this book*' at the end of the Statutes as they seem more realistic than a computation of the figure given per quarter for the singing-men and singing-boys in the text itself as this only gives them £4 13s 4d and £2 13s 4d respectively. Also at the end of the Elizabethan statutes is a '*Proportion appointed by King Edward*';

	petty-canon	£10
	gospeller	£8
	epistoler	£8

Master of Choristers	£10
singing-boy	£3 6s 8d
singing-man	£6 13s 4d

In fact these payments apparently stipulated by Edward VI, but for one exception, are those found in the Receiver's Account Rolls¹ up to about 1600. The only variation from these is that by Elizabeth's reign singing-men were paid £8 *per annum*.

The economic plight of the cathedral musician can be judged by these figures when at a time of galloping inflation, most notably during Elizabeth's reign, the stipends were increased minimally or not at all. The only change in any post's stipend came probably in 1607-8² (though the account for 1606-7 is missing) when the gopeller's and epistoler's stipend were regraded to £9, and £8 10s respectively. This creates a differential between the two posts, justly in view of the gopeller's job, and renews the differential and status between the gopeller and epistoler and the ordinary singing-man lost probably at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

The only other change to affect the account lists concerns the post of organist. In 1591-2 the post of organist was separated from the Master of Choristers and made a post in its own right. Henry Baker the first holder of the post received £5³, but by 1597-8⁴ William Cobbold was receiving £10 for his labours, though this sum was probably paid as soon as he took office in December 1595⁵ (the accounts for 1592-97 are missing). A further revision took place between 1609-12, when William Inglott seems to have been tempted away from Hereford Cathedral⁶ back to Norwich by the building of an expensive new organ and a stipend of £20⁷. Inglott was granted his patent in June or

1 - Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.

2 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 49.

3 - *ibid.*, Roll 38.

4 - *ibid.*, Roll 40.

5 - Rev. J.F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, 'Extracts from the Two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich Cathedral, 1556-1549' (Norfolk Record Society, Vol. 24, 1953), p.37.

July 1611⁸ but it is quite likely he had been resident in the post from the end of 1609.

Probably by the end of 1609, the stipends, as laid down in James' statutes, were already in force and these remained till the breakdown of cathedral worship in the 1640's. A comparison of the stipends of singing-men and choristers at some other cathedrals can be drawn for Table II.⁹

Other posts not mentioned in the regular lists, but nevertheless having much to do with the choir, are the precentor and sacrist. Both of these are elected posts, at least after 1620 chosen yearly, and held by petty-canon.

In Henry VIII's statutes the precentor's (or chanter's) duties are clearly laid out,¹⁰ but he seems to receive no remuneration. Elizabeth's statutes, however, make provision that "his fee shall be yearly £10 and no more."¹¹ James' statutes, however, "require that a fourth part [of the sum of the fines at the end of each quarter] be given to the precentor."¹² In fact the only references except for one occasion, in the accounts and Chapter minute books to the post of precentor (chanter) came after the issue of James I Statutes in 1620, when the office is salaried at 20s *per annum*.¹³ Presumably this 20s is on top of a fourth part of all fines collected. Even so it would take a considerable amount of recalcitrance from his colleagues

6 - information of Inglott at Hereford Cathedral from - ed. J.A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire, 'The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book', (London 1899; New York, Dover, 1963) p.x.

7 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 51; accounts for 1609-12 are missing.

8 - Williams and Cozens-Hardy *op.cit.* p.45.

9 - compiled largely from information in A. Smith, 'The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches and at the Court during the reign of Elizabeth I', (Ph.D. Thesis; University of Birmingham, 1967), Table 5, 'English Cathedrals and their Choral Foundations', p.232-5.

10 - see Appendix I, Chapter 23.

11 - see Appendix II.

12 - see Appendix IV, Chapter 14.

13 - e.g. Treasurer's Accounts, Roll 58 (1624).

Table II

Cathedral	Stipends	
	Singing Man	Singing Boy
Bristol	£6 13s 4d	£3 6s 8d
Canterbury	£10	£4
Carlisle	£6 9s 2d ¹⁴	
Chester	£6 13s 4d	£3 6s 8d
Chichester	£6 13s 4d	£3 6s 8d
Durham	£6 13s 4d	£3 6s 8d
	£16 13s 4d ¹⁴	
Ely	£6 13s 4d	£3 6s 8d
Exeter	£10	£4
Gloucester	£6 9s 2d ¹⁴	
Rochester	£8	£3 6s 8d
Salisbury	£8 13s 4d ¹⁴	
Worcester	£6 13s 4d	£3 6s 8d

14 - from information in P. Le Huray, 'Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660', (London; Herbert Jenkins; 1967), p.40-1.

to make up the £10 wage envisaged in Elizabeth's statutes. The only reference to the precentor's post before 1620 comes in the 1582-3 account when Jermyn Gardiner is given £10 "for the contract lease and patent of the office of the chanter."¹⁵ This is the only reference which corresponds to the Elizabethan statute.

In the Henrician statutes provision for 40s is made for the sacrist's post.¹⁶ In the Elizabethan statutes the post is not mentioned and no payment is stipulated in James. No reference to the post appears in the sources before 1620, but there are regular entries in the accounts and Chapter Minute Books after this date with a stipend of 20s.¹⁷

Besides the obvious hierarchical structure in the cathedral from the Dean downwards, each officer with his level of remuneration according to his post, there seems to have been a system of 'status payments' amongst the singing-men. Often in the singing-man's account list there one, two or sometimes three men paid £10 to the usual £8. From 1587 to about 1600 the extra £2 is added not to the stipends in the main list but appear in the *Penciones* section of the account.¹⁸ The extra £2 does not appear again in the main list (or after 1600 at all) till 1607-8.¹⁹ Men to benefit from this status payment include Osbert Parsley, John Amery, Thomas Read, John Carlton, Edmund Inglott junior, William Colbecke, William Syer, William Chapman, Thomas Quash and William Cobbold.

The actual reason for these payments is unclear. Some may be seniority payments, and for being head of the singing-men. Both Osbert Parsley and William Cobbold appear at the top of the singing-men's lists in the accounts and both gave great service over many years. Out of the 80 years from 1560

15 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 32.

16 - see Appendix I, Chapter 31.

17 - see footnote 14.

18 - e.g. Receiver's Accounts, Roll 36 (1589-90), Roll 37 (1590-1).

19 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 49.

to 1640, Parsley was head of the singing-men for about 25 years (and probably well before 1560 also) and Cobbold head about 30 years. (Others, however, who appear at the head of the lists between 1585 (death of Parsley) and about 1610 (when Cobbold moved from the organist position to a singing-man's place), for example Simon Moss or Peter Spratt, do not receive this extra £2.

This £10 stipend may also have been used to attract good musicians from other churches to Norwich. Particularly in the case of John Amery, this reason seems feasible. Amery had previously been at Westminster Abbey (1575-6) and also at St. Dunstan-in-the-West, London (1576) before being at Norwich from June 1576 till his appointment to the Chapel Royal in December 1595.²⁰ Amery was a musician of high calibre and there seems little incentive, besides monetary, why he should come out from London to a provincial cathedral. Indeed his Norwich salary would probably make him amongst the best paid provincial cathedral musicians at that time. This reason may also be why Thomas Quash received the same amount as his skill as a musician is shown in his admission as a Norwich wait.

Another possible reason is that some recipients of this status payment may be leaders of their voice sections. Thomas Read is specifically mentioned as being a bass voice and receives a £10 stipend immediately on entrance on 18th April 1567.²¹ Parsley and Amery, who received these payments together for about 10 years, were undoubtedly skilled enough musicians to lead a section. Amery may have been a bass.²²

* * * * *

20 - see A. Smith, *The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: an annotated Register*, (Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle, No. 5, 1965).

21 - Williams and Cozens-Hardy op.cit. p.24.

22 - Smith op.cit. (Chapel Royal) - see entry 89.

The *Account Rolls*²³ go back to 1538 but lists of names only start to appear from Roll 24, 1567-8. The following Receiver's Account rolls survive after this (financial years dating from 29th September to 29th September, St. Michael the Archangel):

1567-8, 1569-70, 1574-5, 1575-6, 1577-8, 1578-9, 1580-1,
 1581-2, 1582-3, 1583-4, 1584-5, 1586-7, 1589-90, 1590-1,
 1591-2, 1597-8, 1598-9, 1599-1600, 1600-1, 1601-2, 1602-3,
 1603-4, 1604-5, 1605-6, 1607-8, 1608-9, 1612-3, 1614-5,
 1615-6, 1621-2²⁴, 1622-3, 1623-4, 1624-5, 1625-6,
 1627-8, 1628-9, 1629-30, 1630-1, 1634-5, 1636-7, 1638-9,
 1640-1 - next accounts start after the Restoration.

Other accounts relevant to the period are to be found in: Liber Miscel-
 laneorum Vol.3 (January 1622, and 1630)²⁵, 'View of the Account of Henry
 Mannell' for 2nd and 3rd year of Elizabeth I,²⁶ Audit Book I (1637-8).²⁷
 In a rough catalogue, made sometime before the manuscripts of the cathedral
 muniment room were moved to the Norfolk and Norwich Public Record Office,
 mention is made of an account book some early 17th century accounts and the
 accounts for 1580-1. In the removal of the manuscripts from the cathedral,
 this book has gone missing and has been unable to be traced, though may
 turn up when the manuscripts have been properly catalogued.

23 - Receiver's Account Rolls, (Dean and Chapter Deposit, N.N.P.R.O.).

24 - Probably from 1620, the accounts are split into the Receiver's Rolls
 (income) and the Treasurer's Rolls (expenditure) - this date and
 onwards are Treasurer Account Rolls.

25 - Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.

26 - Hamond deposit, Ms. 5116C, N.N.P.R.O.

27 - Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.

CHAPTER 4

Augmentations

Augmentations are by no means a regular occurrence in the accounts in this period. Indeed there are no augmentations of the straight gift type - "for diligence in the choir" - in James' reign. In Elizabeth's time the only period of regular awards of this augmentation comes during the service of Osbert Parsley up to 1585. Parsley receives 40s nearly every year to his death, and from 1579 John Amery also received some sort of yearly payment ranging from 10s to 40s.¹ Occasionally other choir members are given an augmentation for their service e.g. in 1578-9 Jermyn Gardiner, petty-canon, got 40s and Edmund Inglott (junior?), singing-man, 10s.² After Parsley's death (1585) these rewards disappear and only make their reappearance in 1597-8 when 3 men John Codd, John Amery and John Cheveley receive a reward, though only Cheveley was in the choir at the time.³ Cheveley received augmentations for the next two years and John Black from 1599 to 1601.

From 1601 to about 1620 no rewards of any kind are given. But from 1622 Richard Gibbs, the organist,⁴ receives each year £8 "*pro dietto suo*". This augmentation is not strictly a gift as it appears in the expenses section of the account. Indeed whether this is an altruistic payment by the authorities or a contractual agreement with Gibbs to secure his service is uncertain.

The only other payment which could be construed as an augmentation of a basic salary, though it appears in the expenses section of the accounts, starts in 1623-4⁵ when payment is made for beginning the psalms. This task seems to have been traditionally associated with the 'post' of junior singing

1 - in 1580-1 Parsley and Amery received payments to cover 2 years - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 30.

2 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 29.

3 - For discussion of this see Chapter 8.

4 - Took up the post in June 1622.

5 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 58 - this payment may have been a result of reorganisation after the new Statutes in 1620 and may have started at that time.

man⁶ (usually denoted by being the last man in the singing-man's account list), but only from this time is there any mention of payment for the responsibility. Thomas Purton (who had probably done it since 1614) and John Haund were paid 5s 6d between them on top of their salary. Though the entry does not appear every year, it must have been paid regularly. John Haund probably held this responsibility into the 1530's, the standard payment being 10s. From then on this duty becomes disassociated from the junior singing man as first Thomas Purton (who had risen to Epistoler), in about 1535, and Redmain Carlton (well up in the singing-man's list), in about 1639, took it over.⁷

6 - Rev. J. F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, '*Extracts from the Two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter ... [etc.]*' (Norfolk Record Society, Vol. 24, 1953) p.49: see 10th December 1614 - the institution of Thomas Purton.

7 - see Receiver's Accounts, Roll 75, 77, 79, and Audit Book I, accounts for 1638.

CHAPTER 5

Expenditure

It may be safely argued that periods of expenditure on the musical establishment of a cathedral would generally denote some vitality and innovation amongst the choir, just as periods of non-expenditure, in the same way, denote disinterest from the cathedral authorities and stagnation amongst the musicians. The underlying reason for musical expenditure, or the lack of it, is often dependent on the shade of religious opinion amongst the cathedral authorities.

Although from this period only 43 Account Rolls are extant (with 34 Rolls missing), some conclusions can be drawn from the frequency of payments on the musical establishment at Norwich cathedral. The following is a complete list of expenses in the Receiver's and Treasurer's Account Rolls for the composition of music, for music books and for the organ.

- Roll 28: 1577-8 (year of the Queen's visit)
*"pro factis hydrant voc le Orgaynes"*¹ plus
 payment for labour and parts £16 12s.
 to Osbert Parsley for composition 20s.
- Roll 31: 1581-2 for 8 empty psalm books and their preparation by
 a singer in the choir 18s.
- Roll 35: 1586-7 to *"Thomas Chard"*² *pro magnis libris vocat great
 song book* £4 10s.
 to *"William Lawnde"*³ *pro decem libris vocat anthem
 book* 28s.
 to "John Amery and John Cragg for writing and
 composing one Service in the new empty books
 for the choir" 20s.

1 - the words in italic type and quotation marks are direct from the accounts; words just in quotation marks are a translation of the Latin of the account.

2 - not in the choir.

- Roll 37: 1590-1 to "John Amery for certain singing books" 20s.
- Roll 41: 1598-9 to John Chevely for "*pricking*" some anthems 27s 6d.
to Thomas Clieff⁴(?) for some anthem books.
- Roll 42: 1599-1600 to John Chevely for anthems and a service 26s 4d.
to Richard Carlton for some new singing books
called "*Morley's service*" 30s.
- Roll 44: 1601-2 "*for the new making of the bellows pro Organa*"
41s 2d.
- Roll 46: 1603-4 to "*Richard Carlton for the pricking of a new service*"
20s.
- Roll 47: 1604-5 to Richard Carlton for a new set of empty books 40s.
- Roll 49: 1607-8 (year of the building of the new organ)
"*for the blowing of the organs*" 3s 4d.
- Roll 50: 1608-9 to "*Erasmus Tuddenham*⁵ *for pricking of five service*
books 10s the ruled page for them 3s".
to John Lowes for blowing the organ for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a
year 30s.
- Roll 51: 1612-13 for mending the organ 2s 6d.
- Roll 53: 1615-16 to "*Master Merrick*" for "*writing and pricking*"
books for the choir £9.
to Peter Sandley for mending the organ 23s.
- Roll 57: 1622-3 to Peter Sandley for mending the organ 4s 6d.

4 - ibid.

5 - he had left the choir in 1606.

Roll 58: 1623-4 to Peter Sandley for mending the organ 12d.

Roll 62: 1625-6 "for expenses to Mr. Robert and for his horse at Thetford and Cambridge in going to see Mr. Dallam concerning the repairing of the organ" 11s 2d.

Roll 75: 1634-5 to John Atkins for work on the organ 5s.

Roll 77: 1638-9 to John Atkins for repairing the organ 30s.

These entries show a curve in musical interest peaking in the early years of James I with the building of a new organ 1607-9. The slopes on either side of this peak are, more or less, inversely proportional to the fall and rise of Puritan influence in the country as a whole. Music has always been one of the more mystical elements of Church worship, and although a minor part in liturgical reformation, cathedral music and choirs epitomised to the Puritans the sensual indulgement they despised in the Catholic church and was mercilessly attacked as 'popish indulgement'.

At the start of Elizabeth's reign, Puritanism had great strength and will as seen in the attempts to change the forms of worship and the church's structure in the early 1560's. Their moves in Convocation finally failed, but their message continued through pamphlets and pulpit and kept Puritanism a force through the 1570's. At Norwich during the 1560's, although many of the cathedral hierarchy were reactionary survivors from the Reformation, Bishop Parkhurst⁶, who had been exiled in Geneva during Mary's reign, was sympathetic to Protestantism. His sympathy, and a city riddled with all shades of Puritanism, meant that the cathedral became increasingly influenced by the religious reformers. The appointment of Bishop Freke, a man on the side of the Anglican Settlement, in 1575 meant a reaction against the Puritan

6 - for comprehensive information on Parkhurst see R. A. Houlbrooke, 'The Letter Book of John Parkhurst', (Norfolk Record Society, Vol. 43, 1974-5).

influence, yet it was not until 1581-2 that expenditure on singing books first appears. Even the year of the Queen's visit (1578) only merited the probably overdue extensive reparation or rebuilding of the organ and a solitary payment for composition by Osbert Parsley - possibly the *Te Deum* sung before Elizabeth.⁷

From the latter part of the 1580's, as Puritanism declined in its ferocity, there is a clear indication of a greater emphasis on music climaxing in a relatively euphoric period at the end of Elizabeth's reign and the first decade of James' when the Puritan threat was at its lowest ebb.

The only indication of the type of repertory sung in the choir, besides the references to psalm and anthem books, occurs when Richard Carlton was paid 30s for, presumably, copying out "Morley's service". At least this shows that Norwich made some attempt to get and perform music of the great composers resident at the Chapel Royal to alleviate the undoubted mediocre standard of the provincial cathedral repertory.⁸

The downward slope of the curve eventually led at Norwich to the destruction of the organ and ransacking of the cathedral in 1643 by a Puritan mob. Indeed, except for needy repairs to the organ⁹ there is no mention of music after the huge payment of £9 to William Merrick in 1615-16.

The organ figures prominently in the accounts. There seems to have been extensive reparations in the year of Elizabeth's visit and indeed this is the first mention of the organ since it is said to have been destroyed by

7 - the performance of a *Te Deum* is mentioned in J. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Elizabeth I* (3 volumes; London, 1823), Vol.2 p.140; see also Rev. N. Boston, *The Musical History of Norwich Cathedral* (Friends of Norwich Cathedral, Norwich, 1963) p.34, who mentions this possible link but gives no reference.

8 - see A. Smith, *The Practice of Music [etc.]*, (Ph.D. thesis; University of Birmingham, 1967).

9 - most notably in 1626 when not only did the cathedral pay Mr. Robert for going to see Dailam but had to use a £10 legacy left by the will of Abel Colls (long serving butler in the cathedral) to mend the "decays" in the organ: see Rev. J. F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, *Extracts from the Two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter [etc.]* (Norfolk Record Society, Vol. 24, 1953), p.12.

Puritan canons in 1570,¹⁰ though it seems unlikely the cathedral would have held its services without an organ for 7 or 8 years. By 1607 the organ must have been old and had needed new bellows in 1601-2. Mention is made of receiving money for the new organ from benefactors in the Receiver's Accounts, but all the accounts concerning the building of the organ were kept in the separate Organ Account Book.¹¹ This documents all the money received in gifts and all money spent on the organ between 1607 and 1611. Between 1607 and 1610, £145 13s 1d was collected or donated from the people in the cathedral, the city and countryside. The choir gave fairly generously: William Chapman 20s; Peter Spratt 10s; Robert Brackett petty-canon, William Cobbold organist, Thomas Askew Master of the Choristers, John Sowter singing-man £9 between them. The rest of the account is a tale of such a prodigious amount of coals, nails, glue and other materials used in construction that it might reasonably be supposed that some of it became 'misplaced' or 'borrowed' during the work.

The work took place under the supervision of the famous organ builder Thomas Dallam (Dalham). Building started in earnest in May 1608 and lasted till June 1609. Dallam received over £50 for his year's work usually being paid a weekly fee of 30s. The singing-man Simon Moss seems to have been one of Dallam's chief workers judging by his frequent appearance in the account. The organ was probably quite ornately decorated with ebony keys¹² and gilt on both the "little"¹³ and "great"¹⁴ organs, which were also painted.¹⁵ Small wonder that, including the extensive repairs made in 1611, which may or may not be a reflection on the standard of workmanship,¹⁶ the organ cost a total of £399 11s 10d.

10 - M. M. Knapper, 'Tudor Puritanism', (University of Chicago/Phoenix Books, 1965), p.44.

11 - Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.: it is a poorly written manuscript.

12 - Organ Account, p.8.

13 - *ibid.* p.15.

14 - *ibid.* p.20.

15 - *ibid.* p.14.

CHAPTER 6

The Petty-Canon

All sets of statutes agree on the quality of man required for a petty-canonship:

"priests of honest and godly life and fame and such as give themselves continuously to the study of Holy Scriptures, and to the service of Almighty God."¹

"by their ministry the minds of their listeners may be drawn to embrace the true worship of God."²

"finally they should be skilled in the art of music."³

Unfortunately one can only be sceptical of the cathedral's selection procedure in the knowledge of some who held holy orders and petty-canonships in the cathedral.⁴

Only Elizabeth's statutes give any indication of the petty-canon's actual duties in the church service:

"everyone two months in the year, one month in winter, another in summer, the eldest beginning in January, say or sing the Morning or Evening Prayer in the choir, and celebrate the Communion once within the month at least, and read at every Morning and Evening Prayer the second lesson for that month, and do all such other things, as shall appertain to the minister's office."⁵

Although the Elizabethan statutes seem not to have had much effect on the running of the cathedral, this seems a likely arrangement especially after 1574-5 when the numbers of petty-canons were steady at six.⁶ They, as the rest of the choir, were compelled to be present at every sermon and Divinity Lecture.⁷

1 - Elizabeth I's Statutes; Appendix II.

2 - James I's Statutes; Appendix II.

3 - Henry VIII's Statutes; Appendix I.

4 - see Chapter 16.

5 - Appendix II '*Of their office and duty*'.

Being in orders, all petty-canons were allowed one other ecclesiastical benefice which had not to be further than a certain distance from Norwich,⁸ so that they "may more diligently perform their duties."⁹ In James' statutes "so that the same service of his own private affairs is not detrimental to the service of the church, we allow that it should be lawful for three ministers of the choir, daily and in turn to be absent from the choir of the church."¹⁰ Elizabeth's statutes "grant unto any of them 20 days in a quarter."¹¹ According to James' statutes, however, besides their alternate day off they could have one whole week off under the provision that "one bass, one tenor, one countertenor, each in his turn, to absent himself for a whole week."¹² All the choir, though, had to be present on "Sundays, feast days, double feast days and on solemm days and on their vigils."¹³

Both the Elizabethan and Jacobean statutes allow substitute if he is of the same voice and the latter also allows an absentee to make up an absence providing that in the first place he had been given permission for his absence.¹⁴

6 - see Chapter 2.

7 - the Divinity Lecture is mentioned only in Elizabeth I's statutes.

8 - 24 miles in Henry VIII's statutes; 10 miles in Elizabeth's; 12 miles in James: see also Chapter 13.

9 - James I statutes, 'Chapter 14'.

10 - ibid.

11 - Elizabeth I statutes, '*Of the petty-canons and their stipends*'.

12 - James I statutes, 'Chapter 14' -for a discussion on how these 'rest days' affected the make-up of the choir see Chapter 17.

13 - James I statutes, 'Chapter 14'.

14 - Elizabeth I statutes, '*Of their office and duty*'; and James I statutes 'Chapter 14':

The Gospeller and Epistoler

Both these offices necessitated the holder to be in the third and lowest form of holy orders - that of the deacon. In Henry VIII statutes these posts are referred to as "a Deacon and subdeacon who shall read the Gospel and the Epistle".¹ In James I statutes the two posts are referred to in the Latin as "*unus Diaconus lector Evangelii unus lector Epistole*",² but it is likely that the Epistoler was in minor holy orders too.

Again the Elizabethan statutes give a different view of these posts, though whether the 'expanded' duties of these offices were ever performed is questionable. The Gospeller in these is also the public minister:

"a priest whose office shall be to minister (in such church or chapel as shall be assigned unto him by the Dean and Chapter) sacraments and sacramentals according to the Order of the Church of England, to all the inhabitants within the precinct of the said cathedral church, and the parishioners of the late dissolved church of Marsh to visit their sick, bury their dead, and to do all things that shall appertain to a public minister. He shall also read the Gospel at every Communion within the cathedral church, and as oft as it is to be sung or said".³

It has been noted that the gospeller/public minister never received the £10 stipend that these statutes stipulate⁴ and certainly these two duties are not linked by 1591-2 and after when there is a payment of 50s to Richard Carlton, who was a petty-canon and Master of Choristers, for being curate of the chapel of St. John and Mary which was the 'church' of the cathedral

1 - Appendix I, 'Chapter 20'.

2 - Appendix IV, 'Chapter 1' (in translation).

3 - see Appendix II, 'Of the Public minister his office and stipend'.

4 - see Chapter 3.

precinct inhabitants by that time.⁵ The church of Marsh mentioned in the above quote had stood very near the cathedral before being demolished about 1565⁶ the parsonage was still given to Adam Barker a petty-canon in 1569.⁷ Barker remained a petty-canon till 1576 but whether he remained in this cure or what happened to this parsonage or if it was amalgamated with the precinct 'church' before the definite information concerning the problem in 1591 is unknown. Indeed the Elizabethan statutes elevates the gospeller to a priest's level and there is certainly no evidence for this.

The Epistoler was to be;

"a minister or deacon whose office shall be to read distinctly and plainly every morning, winter and summer at rise of the clock in the morning, the Morning Prayer according to the order of the Church of England, within the said cathedral church, he shall also read the epistle at every Communion within the cathedral church, and as oft as it is to be read, he shall sing the Litany, so oft as it is to be sung or said".⁸

His task of reading the early Morning Prayer every day (the main one starts at 7 o'clock according to the statutes⁹) is clearly onerous. Again there is no evidence from the other statutes that the epistoler had this duty. Whether the Epistoler executed the Litany is doubtful, for the 1605 Orders mention that the (petty-) canons performed this.¹⁰

5 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 38.

6 - see H. W. Saunders, 'A History of Norwich Grammar School', (Norwich, 1932), p.126.

7 - Rev. J. F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, 'Extracts from the Two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter' (Norfolk Record Society, 1953), p.28.

8 - see Appendix II, 'Of the Epistoler and his office and stipend'.

9 - see ibid. 'Of the Divine Service'.

10 - Appendix III Orders 14 and 15 - note "that for the better singing of the Litany" it was to be executed by a canon and singing-man.

In Norwich cathedral the posts of Gospeller and Epistoler were important in two ways, besides their duties. Firstly as a stepping stone to the full holy orders of a petty canon and priest,¹¹ and secondly as the highest step in the choir structure without commitment to the orders of a priest.¹² This was unlike the Chapel Royal where these posts were often used as probationary positions leading to full admittance as a Gentleman in Ordinary.

11 - see the Table of Choir members - Thomas Chapman, William Merrick, Thomas Sadlington, George Sanders, Humphrey Turner, Thomas Wilkenson.

12 - see ibid. - William Farewell, Arthur Jackson, William Jnglott, Thomas Purton.

CHAPTER 8

The Singing-Man

Again only Elizabeth's Statutes elaborate on the duties of the singing-man besides singing;

"they shall be expert men in plainsong, pricksong and descant they shall also read the first lesson at Morning and Evening Prayer every one in order his month as the petty canons are bound to the second lesson before, and they shall gladly do everything else within the choir of the said Church, whatsoever the chanter of the said church, or his substitute shall command them"¹

Neither of the other two sets of statutes can confirm or deny this, though the provision for expertise in plainsong, pricksong and descant is a natural requirement for a cathedral singing-man. The 1605 Orders add another duty. These ask the chanter to select a singing-man to sing with the executing petty-canon "for the better singing of the Litany hereafter."²

The singing-men were allowed substitutes for "inevitable necessity",³ and as noted in Chapter 6 each week one bass, one tenor and one countertenor from the choir could absent themselves for the whole week except for feast days etc..⁴

The singing-men who appear in the main list, however, were not the only lay men to sing in the choir. In 1597-8 John Codd was paid 50s for "occupying a singer's place in the choir."⁵ Only five singing-men served a full year so Codd seems to have made up the numbers. Similarly when payments were made to "Thomas Wilkenson 3s 4d, William Cbolde 6s 8d and two other strangers 3s 4d, singers" in 1581-2,⁶ although all singing-men served a full year,

1 - Appendix II, '*Of the singing-men and their stipend*'.

2 - Appendix III, *Order 15*.

3 - Appendix IV, '*Chapter 14*'.

4 - *ibid.*

5 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 40.

6 - Receiver's Accounts Roll 31 - Wilkenson was probably the petty-canon who left at Christmas 1580 and Cbolde quite possibly the future organist

these men may have filled in because of sickness amongst regular members or even for augmenting the choir in special services. Twice during the period under discussion the cathedral authorities sought help of men from Peterborough. In 1584-5 10s was given to "John Burton 8th singing-man in the choir for his expenses in coming from the town of Peterborough and staying in Norwich."⁷ He must have filled in the $\frac{1}{4}$ year when the 8th place was vacant though there is no payment in the accounts for him actually singing. In 1637-8 £1 1s 0d was paid "to ye singing-man of Peterborough".⁸ It may be that this lay-man made up the voice numbers in one of the sections of the choir when one of the petty-canon's rooms was vacant for a $\frac{1}{4}$ year. William Inglott, even when he was not in the official lists of the choir, still seems to have been involved in the music of the cathedral and was paid accordingly - for example 1581-2 paid 50s for taking the place of his sick father as Master of Choristers,⁹ 1582-3 paid 40s for his diligence in attending the choir,¹⁰ 1584-5 £4 for his attendance in the choir.¹¹

One extra duty laid on the junior singing man in the choir (denoted in the accounts as the last man in the list) was the beginning of the psalms. After about 1620 they were paid for this duty,¹² though there is no evidence that this happened before. An entry in the Chapter Minute Book details the duty; (10th December 1614)

"The said day and place Thomas Purton (who stood upon his approbation for to have to place of a singing man in the

7 - ibid., Roll 34.

8 - Audit Book I.

9 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 31.

10 - ibid., Roll 32.

11 - ibid., Roll 34.

12 - see Chapter 4.

said church) humbly desired to be fully admitted up to the place, the choir being then present and justifying his sufficiency the oath of supremacy being done the said Mr. Dean did admit the said Thomas Purton a singing-man of the said church, with the fee of the same for a tenor place. And then also [he] shall upon New Year's day next begin the psalms which shall be sung before and after the sermon to be preached in the said church or at the cross in the green yard during such time as he shall be the junior singing-man and no longer"¹³

13 - J. F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, 'Extracts from the two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter [etc.]', (Norfolk Record Society, 24, 1953), p.49.

CHAPTER 9

The Master of the Choristers and the Choristers

All three sets of statutes have a special chapter for the Master of the Choristers. Each mention his required "honourable reputation, [and] honest life",¹ but in several other ways differ. Henry's statutes decree that he should be chosen out of the six lay clerks,² but Elizabeth's, however, make the position a completely separate office, the holder of which was nevertheless "bound to serve in the choir as other singing-men do."³ Indeed up to 1591 it is plain from the accounts that the Master's post was held in its own right and the Master's name was not duplicated elsewhere. Also as stated explicitly in Henry's statutes and implicitly in Elizabeth's he was a layman. In 1591 this tradition changes 'overnight' when Richard Carlton, a petty-canon, is appointed Master and Henry Baker organist⁴ (a duty previously associated with the Master's post - see below). The position of Master then reverted to someone being chosen from the choir as in Henry VIII's statutes.

James I's statutes ratify that the Master should be chosen "out of those serving in the choir" petty-canon or lay clerk, and that the organist was a separate office.⁵ The holder of the Master's post needed considerably personal musical ability. In Henry's statutes he needed to be "expert in singing and playing the organs", and in Elizabeth's, "skillful in pricksong, descant and playing of the organs." By James' statutes, however, with the separation of the Master and organist positions he needed to be "skilled in singing and the playing of musical instruments". This change in the latter has some significance for the musical education of the singing-boys in James' statutes was to have "instruction and training in playing various musical instruments and in descant to such a reasonable degree of expertise in singing

1 - from James I Statutes (Appendix IV), 'Chapter 15'.

2 - Appendix I, 'Chapter 25'.

3 - Appendix II, 'Of the Schoolmaster his office and stipend'.

4 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 38.

5 - Appendix IV, 'Chapter 15'.

and playing the instruments (if these be supplied at the church's expense) in skilfully wrought music." The cathedral must indeed have provided the instruments as in 1629-30, 6s was paid to "Mr. Gibbs [Master of the Choristers] for mending two viols."⁶ Instrumental tuition prior to the 1620's probably went no further than the Master "studiously teaching these boys to play the organs in his own time."⁷

The Master's task was further complicated by having to give the boys a sound general education "in letters and in Scripture".⁸ The job was no sine-cure, another illustration of which is the "wish" in James' statutes, though it was an old tradition, that he should "look after the health of the Choristers and that they live on whatever place he dwells." For this hospitality the Master was given the Choristers' stipends, besides his own. With this money he had to bed, board and feed them as well as no doubt paying for servant help. James, in his statutes, envisaged the refounding of the minister's Common Hall where all of the choir would eat.⁹ This never took place, and at least from 1574 when the Hall was disbanded,¹⁰ all Masters were burdened with feeding the boys. The Jacobean statutes do, however, offer the Master an escape clause where his hospitality could be given only to "the four who are most fitted to serve in the choir" (i.e. the four senior boys). This happened after the Restoration,¹¹ and judging by an entry in the Chapter minute books before it as well:

"It was agreed that George Langley, one of the Choristers of this church, shall have allowed unto him yearly £6 13s 4d to

6 - Treasurer's Accounts, Roll 69.

7 - from Henry VIII's Statutes.

8 - from James I's Statutes.

9 - see 'Chapter 18'; also Chapter

10 - see 'An humble manifestation of the Bishop and Dean of Norwich into the particular suggestions of the Prebendaries of the said Church unto the Lord the Referee' in *Liber Miscellaneorum Vol.4* (Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.).

11 - see A. H. Mann, 'Norwich Cathedral Musicians Vol.3' (Mann Ms 6, Ms 432, T1310 L8343: N.N.P.R.O.), p.35 John Marrant, p.36 Robert Marrant,

be paid unto the Master of the Children for the diet of the said George, until it fall unto him in course to be one of the four senior Choristers that are in diet."¹²

The choristers' stipends were not increased through the whole period so after the alarming economic inflation of Elizabeth's time, 17th century Masters must have found great difficulty in keeping the boys on the basic £26 13s 4d he received. In the 1620's an extra £4 is added to this fee and this is explained in 1634-5 as "for educating the choir."¹³ In fact the cathedral authorities seem to have recognised the financial burden on the Master and in the 1620's regular payments of 100s start for 8 new "togas" (i.e. cassocks) for the choristers each year.¹⁴ Also at the same time an allocation of grain to the Master appears in the accounts.¹⁵

On top of all these duties the Master had to find the boys to sing in the choir as decreed by the 1605 Orders:

"if any child be past service of the church or unserviceable, upon 3 months warning given to the Master by the Dean the Master shall remove him and get another to be placed by the Dean or else by discretion to be punished."¹⁶

Where he got them from or how they were brought to his attention (perhaps he travelled around as did the Master at the Chapel Royal) is a mystery at least for the time being. Table III lists the Masters of this period:

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- 11 - (continued) p.119 Thomas Pleasance, p.293 John Wilson - the cathedral gave their mothers money for their sustenance, i.e. Master only boarded 4 boys.
- 12 - Rev. J. F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, *'Extracts from the two earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter*' (Norfolk Record Society, 1953), p.62 6th December 1625: an entry also in Treasurer's Accounts Roll 62.
- 13 - Treasurer's Accounts, Roll 75.
- 14 - e.g. Treasurer's Accounts, Roll 56: the Elizabethan statute '*Of the Choristers*' mentions a payment "for his livery yearly at Christmas 13s 4d" but no payments occur in the accounts, though the cathedral must have given them livery fairly regularly.
- 15 - e.g. Receiver's Accounts, Roll 54, £4 7s worth and Receiver's Accounts, Roll 55 £5 18s 8d.
- 16 - Appendix III, *Order 11*.

Table III

Edmund Inglott	1560-1583
Thomas Morley	1583-1587
William Inglott	1587-1591
Richard Carlton	1591-1605
Thomas Askew	1605-1617
George Saunders	1617-1629
Richard Gibbs	1629-1649

During the reign of Elizabeth I the cathedral authorities had a curious (and illegal) policy of granting 'patents in reversion' for the Master of the Choristers post. The Elizabethan statutes forbade this:

"it shall not be lawful for the said Dean and Chapter to grant any advowson of the said Rooms or patent in reversion of any of the said Offices, to any person or in any respect, before the same be presently void."¹⁷

Whilst Edmund Inglott was Master, patents in reversion were granted to Thomas Tusser (1564), Thomas Dalyce (1565), Thomas Morley (1574), William Inglott (1579). Only Morley and Inglott of course took up the post, but Morley when granted the patent was only 17 years old,¹⁸ so the cathedral was ensuring its musical future by back at an early age a person of great promise (and perhaps already of some attainment.) Inglott was 25 when he received his patent. Lionel and Hamont Claxton were also granted a patent (but not one in reversion) for the Master's post in 1580¹⁹ but it is certain they never took it up as Edmund Inglott continued till 1583, and their names never appear in the accounts.

17 - Statute 'Of the election of petty-canon, singing-men, choristers and other officers' (B.M. Stowe Ms 128).

18 - some motets of Thomas Morley survive in the Bodleian Library with the inscription "Thomas Morley aetatis suae 19 anno domini 1576": see also Watkins Shaw, 'Thomas Morley of Norwich' (Musical Times Vol.106) p.669-73.

19 - Williams and Cozens-Hardy op.cit. p.33; 23rd July 1580.

Both Henry's and James' statutes decree that the choristers must be "boys of tender age and tuneful voices, skilled in singing."²⁰ Elizabeth's statutes, though, place the conditions that the boys should be "poor men's children of the city of Norwich, or the country thereabout, or other poor men's children being more meet, which can sing their plainsong before their admission."²¹ "Poor men's children" is a relative phrase, as no child of the common working man would be literate in plainsong. The statute is made clear by one of Bishop Parkhurst's Injunctions of 1570;

"Item that the choristers and other scholars, be poor men's Children and such as have most need and not inheritors or rich men's sons."²²

This injunction, which was actually instituted unlike the uncertainty of the statutes, was probably not against the sons of wealthy craftsmen of the rising merchant middle-class. The reference to "inheritors" possibly was an attempt to stop cathedral staff getting their sons into the choir, which was an easy way of gaining them an education at no cost to themselves. In 1568 at the time of the Royal Commission which led to Injunctions Edmund Inglott Master of the Choristers had both his sons (Edmund and William) in the choir.²³

Their education in the cathedral has been covered above but it is only the Elizabethan statutes that cover their further education;

"after any of the choristers have served in the room of a chorister till his voice be changed or by the space of five years then be or they whose voice is changed or time expired

20 - Appendix I, 'Chapter 25'; Appendix IV, 'Chapter 15'.

21 - Appendix II, 'Of the Choristers'.

22 - Eastern Counties Collectanea, 1872-3. p.18-7.

23 - *Liber Miscellaneorum I* (Dean and Chapter deposit: N.N.P.R.O.)
'Commission of the Queen directed at the Cathedral 1568': see list of officers and members.

shall be placed in the common grammar school within the city of Norwich for the space of other five years, yet so that every one of them shall serve in the choir of the said cathedral church, every Morning and Evening Prayer on Sundays and holy days as before when they were choristers and every one of them shall receive like stipend and livery, as when they were choristers."²⁴

There is no proof either way whether the chorister only served 5 year but continued to serve whilst at Grammar School with the same stipend. Certainly there are no entries in the accounts to support it.

The Common Grammar School, mentioned in the above quote, was supported for a time at least by the cathedral and payments to Henry Bird, Master of the Grammar School, are paid up to his death in 1583.²⁵ The Royal Commission of 1568 sheds further light on this. In his reply to the 4th query of the Commission dealing with the education of the boys, George Gardiner prebendary, and future dean replied:

"there is no Grammar School at all within their house [i.e. the cathedral] saving that they allow 20 marks by year to one Mr. Byrd who teacheth a Grammar School in the city, and receiveth such scholars as they send him but none of them hath been received for money It is reported that they have foundations for 20 scholars but they lack revenues to sustain them [and also] there is a Master of their Choristers but that the Choristers are very evil reared"²⁶

The statute concerning the scholars quoted above is obviously meant to remedy this situation but, as the validity of the Elizabethan statutes is open to

24 - Appendix II '*Of the scholars at the Grammar School*'.

25 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 32.

26 - *Liber Miscellaneorum I*, (Dean and Chapter deposit; N.N.P.R.O.)

some question, this less than satisfactory situation may have continued. What happened after Byrd's death in 1583 is open to further questions. It may be that in the conflict between the city and the cathedral over the rights to use of the Carnary buildings (just by the Cathedral's west door) in the same year of 1583, when the city run Free Grammar School temporarily moved to the Black Friar's buildings in the city, the two schools joined together under the auspices of its City.²⁷

Elizabeth I's statutes also make the provision for "six scholars [to be] found at the University of Cambridge which shall be chosen from the common grammar school in Norwich, of such scholars as were choristers before in the said church."²⁸ There are several entries in the Chapter Minute Books and the accounts and also some manuscripts giving lists of scholars sponsored by the cathedral at Cambridge,²⁹ though whether these are ex-choristers or scholarships donated by the cathedral to the grammar school is debatable.

27 - for a further discussion of the history of education in Norwich in this period see H. W. Saunders, 'A History of Norwich Grammar School', (Norwich, 1932), p.101 onwards.

28 - Appendix II, 'Of the six scholars at Cambridge'.

29 - 'Returns of the scholars at Cambridge' (Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O) - returns variously scattered between 1582-1680 from Gorville and Caius, and Trinity Colleges.

CHAPTER 10

The Organist

As noted in the previous chapter the duty of playing the organ was linked to the Master of the Choristers post till 1591. The Master needed only "to play on the organs when and as often as it shall be thought convenient by the chanter."¹ The separation of the two posts after 1591 is ratified in James I's statutes by a separate section for the post;

"the Organist should certainly be a man of honourable reputation and good character, skilled in playing the organs and in descant, who shall give the correct note to the Choir as they are about to sing the hymns and shall accompany with the same when the hymns shall permit and shall praise God daily only with solemn melodies."²

Table IV gives a list of the organists:

Table IV

Edmund Inglott	1560-1583
Thomas Morley	1583-1587
William Inglott	1587-1591
Henry Baker	1591-1594
William Cobbold	1594-1611(?)
William Inglott	1611(?) - 1621
Richard Gibbs	1621-1649

It would seem from the passages quoted above that the early 17th Century organist would have played more than his Elizabethan counterpart. Indeed the increase in the organist's role may have led to the separation of the organist's post from the duties of the Master in 1591. Equally it may have been that Richard Carlton, Master appointed in 1591, was not skilled

1 - Elizabeth I's Statutes, Appendix II, '*Of the schoolmaster, his office and stipend*'.

2 - Appendix IV, '*Chapter 15*'.

on the organ. It is unlikely, however, that the cathedral would have spent such a huge amount on an organ between 1607-10³ and increased the organist's stipend to £20⁴ unless it was to play a particularly important part in the services. It can be seen, however, from the following quote that the organist did not sit at his instrument through the service and it seems did not play for some little time into it;

"We wish that the organist do wear a surplice and be present in the choir at the celebration of prayers until it is time for him to go to the Organ."⁵

As with the rest of the choir the organist was allowed a substitute "except only the organist is able to acquire another [from outside] who shall fill his place when he is absent as well as his substitute."⁶ Unfortunately there seems to be no reference in any sources to an outsider substituting but, in any case, it must have been exceptionally rare for this to happen. When necessary an adequate substitute from the choir was probably readily available. Throughout William Inglott's tenancy of the post, William Cobbold, the organist before Inglott, was a singing-man in the choir. Although only Inglott's name appears in the accounts, the roll of members at the cathedral at the reading of the new statutes in 1620 curiously lists both Cobbold and Inglott as organists, with Cobbold's name first.⁷ Other substitutes may not have been of such high calibre as Cobbold. In 1639 Richard Gibbs, the organist, was admonished for leaving "an unfit man" as substitute, causing "great confusion in the choir." This man Peter Sandley, a singing-man, was

3 - see Chapter 5.

4 - see Chapter 3.

5 - James I's Statutes, Appendix IV, 'Chapter 14'.

6 - ibid.

7 - Rev. J. F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, 'Extracts from the Two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter', (Norfolk Record Society, Vol.24, 1953) p.55.

admonished "upon his fault of distemper in drink."⁸ Richard Gibbs was the last organist before the Restoration. He became redundant, though, in 1643 when the Puritan mob sacked the cathedral and destroyed the organ. Bishop Hall could only lament the "tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ pipes!"⁹ Indeed only two years previous the whole cathedral staff had turned out to foil a threatened attack by "Apprentices" of the city to pull the organ down.¹⁰

8 - ibid. p.76.

9 - longer quote by Bishop Hall on the sacking of the cathedral in
Rev. A. Jessopp, 'Norwich' (Diocesan Histories; London, 1884) p.198.
see also Part I.

10 - see the pamphlet 'True Newes from Norwich' written by a Puritan in
1641, reprinted in Norfolk Antiquary Miscellany 2 1883 p.383-90.
see also Part I.

CHAPTER 11

The Precentor and Sacrist

The Precentor (or Chanter), who was always a petty-canon, was the head of the choir. His duties never varied through this period and are neatly described in James' statutes;

"His office shall be to guide with decency the singing of the psalms in the church to rouse those that are negligent in singing to rebuke quietly those who make a disturbance and [those who] run about disorderly in the choir, and finally to give a vocal lead to the others, just as if he were their guide, so that no discord should arise during the singing. Furthermore he shall truly note, without any deceit or malice, the absentees from Divine Service both of the Dean and the Prebendaries and of all those who are ministry in the choir. He shall faithfully report these absences weekly every Saturday Moreover he shall make sure the books assigned to the choir are well looked after and preserved by the vergers or otherwise."¹

It is obvious he, not the Master of the Choristers, directed the music in the services, and according to Henry VIII chose it also:

"Whatever he shall have prescribed to read or sing, they must obey readily."²

Therefore, the Precentor had a great influence over the music in the cathedral. It must be presumed that his attitudes and beliefs likewise played a great part in how the music was performed and how elaborate it was. Unfortunately little is known of the precentors in this period, indeed only one name, that of Jermyn Gardiner (1582-3), survives before the 1620's who

1 - Appendix IV, 'Chapter 34'.

2 - Appendix I, 'Chapter 23'.

was known to be a precentor. The arduousness of the Precentor's job was great and his consequent remuneration has been dealt with previously.³

The Sacrist, although a petty-canon and a member of the choir, had little to do with music but dealt with matters relating to the ceremony of the service;

"he shall have care of the sacred table of the temple, of the vessels, books, vestments, and other ornaments."⁴

3 - See Chapter 3.

4 - James I's Statutes, Appendix IV, '*Chapter 35*': these statutes also make the provision for the Gospeller to be chosen Sacrist but judging from the accounts this never happened.

CHAPTER. 12

Careers I:

"Fame and Fortune"

For the majority of the men who sang in the choir at Norwich it is impossible to speculate about where they came from before admission or where they went on their departure. Only exhaustive future researches of Norwich cathedral, parish and city records and further studies of other cathedral choirs will lead to a fuller picture of labour movement. Yet even from the information that is known (largely due to the research of Dr. Alan Smith), Norwich seems to have had in the ranks of the choir during this period musicians of some reputation and some well travelled men.

In a period when musicians of outstanding talent were drawn to London where the attraction of the Chapel Royal and the Court lay and where, in any case, there were rich pickings, there would be few well known musicians in the provinces. During this period, however, Norwich could show several musicians of varying local and national reputation.

In Osbert Parsley, Norwich had a man of considerable local fame and some national reputation. He was home grown talent who had some connection with the monastery before it was refounded into the cathedral in 1538,¹ but became a singing-man after the Reformation and remained in that position till his death at the age of 74 in 1585. Parsley's national reputation was probably only slight and may have been largely posthumous, for the only work of his printed was a 3 part canon (25 bars long) in Thomas Morley's, '*Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*'.² It has been conjectured, not without some justification knowing his local popularity, that it was his *Te Deum* sung before the Queen on her visit to Norwich in 1578.³ The extent

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- 1 - see Chapter on Osbert Parsley in Rev. N. Boston, '*The Musical History of Norwich Cathedral*' (Friends of Norwich Cathedral; Norwich, 1963) p.30-4.
 - 2 - modern edition, edited by A. Harman (London, 1952) p.178.
 - 3 - Boston *op.cit.* p.34: see also J. Nichols, '*Progresses and Public Processions [etc.] of Queen Elizabeth I*' (3 vols. London 1823) Vol. II p.142, which mentions that a *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral before the Queen.

of Parsley's local reputation is seen in the memorial in the cathedral, made originally just after his death, which is inscribed;

OSBERTO PARSLEY
Musicae Scientissimo
Ei quondam Consociat
Musici posuerunt Anno 1585

Here lies the man whose name in spite of Death
 Renowned lives by Blast of Golden Flames:
 Whose Harmony survives his vital Breath,
 Whose Skill no Pride did spot, whose life no Blame,
 Whose low estate was blessed with quiet Mind:
 As our sweet Cords with Discords mixed be:
 Whose life in *Seventy* and *Four* Years entwin'd,
 As falleth mellowed Apples from the Tree,
 Whose Deeds were Rules, whose Words were Verity:
 Who here a Singing-man did spend his Days,
 Full *Fifty* Years in our Church Melody
 His Memory shines bright whom thus we praise.

William Inglott was another member of the cathedral music staff who commanded great local respect and possibly some national regard. Son of Edmund Inglott (Master of the Choristers 1560-83), he grew up as a singing-boy in the cathedral and then held various posts culminating in his tenancy as Master of the Choristers.⁴ After 1591 he was not heard of again in Norwich till he took up the post of organist some time between 1609-11. It seems that from 1597 until his return to Norwich he was organist at Hereford Cathedral.⁵ Inglott, perhaps, went to find fame and fortune elsewhere after

4 - see Table of Musicians.

5 - ed. J.A.F. Maitland and W.B. Squire, 'The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book' (Dover, New York, 1963) p.x.

1591 but the prospect of a good salary and a new organ were probably deciding factors in tempting him back. Inglott must have gained something of a reputation outside Norwich and some of his compositions must have circulated in the social society of the time as two pieces appear in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book,⁶ and in others in "Forster's Collection."⁷ A memorial to him also survives (just!) in the cathedral:

Here William Inglott, Organist doth rest
 Whose *Art* in music this Cathedral blest:
 For Descant most for Voluntary all
 He past: an Organ, Song and Virginall.
 He left this life at *Age* of sixty-seven
 And now 'mongst Angells all sings Saint in Heaven.
 His *fame* flies far, his name shall never Die
 See *Art* and *Age* here crown his memorie

William Cobbold, organist and later singing-man in the cathedral, had, perhaps, the greatest reputation outside Norwich of these indigenous musicians who served their cathedral faithfully for most of their life. A madrigal of his appears in Morley's 'The Triumph's of Oriana' (1601) and several harmonisations of his appear in Thomas East's Psalter (1592) which had harmonisations of the traditional psalm tunes by a collection of composers and was so popular that it had to be reprinted in 1594 and 1604. Cobbold who was the son of a goldsmith of Norwich was also a man of property as he sold much of it to Richard Gibbs (Master of the Choristers and organist) for £320 in 1635.⁸ A gravestone in the parish church at Beccles where

6 - ibid. Nos.CCL and CCLI (Vol.2).

7 - Boston op.cit. p.69.

8 - A.H. Mann, 'Norwich Cathedral Musicians Vol.2' (N.N.P.R.O. Mann Ms5, Ms 430 T1310 L8342) p.131.

Cobbold and his wife retired in 1638 is inscribed;

The body rest here
 But the soul above
 Sing heavenly anthems
 Made of peace and love.⁹

Richard Carlton (Master of the Choristers 1591-1605) also appears in Morley's 'Triumphs of Oriana' and it is possible that the Service in five parts by one "Carlton" advertised by Thomas East the printer (also published the Triumph's of Oriana) in a list of his publications is a service by him.¹⁰

To a greater extent, except for Inglott, all these composers owe their reputation outside of Norwich, however slight, to Thomas Morley. Morley was undoubtedly a native of Norwich (it was a common local surname), he was granted a patent in reversion of the Master of the Choristers post when he was only 17 in 1574,¹¹ and took it up from 1583-7. Of his early life, before he became Master at Norwich, nothing can be said with any certainty. He may have been a singing-boy at the cathedral but he does not appear in the list of choir personnel in the 1568 Royal Commission to the cathedral, when he would have been 11 years old. In the realms of pure speculation, he may have been a singing-boy at Norwich and then commissioned as a singing-boy to St. Paul's in London or one of the Royal Peculiars (his links with William Byrd might suggest the Chapel Royal). Norwich cathedral may have jumped in quickly to secure the services of a talented and developing musician who would benefit the cathedral knowing the attraction of being near his family would be added incentive for him to return to Norwich. What is known about him is Catholic sympathies, most likely acquired from Byrd in the 1570's. This may have caused him to leave a Puritan Norwich, and return to London

9 - ibid. p.32.

10 -

(Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle No.5, 1965).

11 - W. Shaw, 'Thomas Morley of Norwich' (Musical Times Vol.106) p.669-73.

where he joined the choir of St. Paul's cathedral in 1587, and where he became organist. Subsequently he entered the Chapel Royal in 1592.¹²

As a personality Morley may not have been the most pleasant of characters. His early youthful idealism associated with his Catholicism turned later into an avid materialism and a betrayal of his Catholic faith to the extent of being a political agent for the government;

"There is one Morley that playeth the organs at Paul's that was with me in my house. He seemed here to be a good Catholic and reconciled, but notwithstanding suspecting his behaviour I intercepted letters that Mr. Nowell wrote to him, whereby I discovered enough to have hanged him. Nevertheless he showing with tears great repentance and asking on his knees forgiveness I was content to let him go. I hear since his coming thither, he has played the promoter and apprehendeth Catholics."¹³

Also on his admittance to the Chapel Royal his ambitious self-seeking probably led to the Chapel members meeting, only a few months after Morley's entry, to promise not to canvas the Lord Chamberlain for personal advancement.¹⁴ Yet he did bring the music of the Norwich musicians, he knew when he was younger, in his own publications and with Thomas East the printer.

Of those whom it is known served elsewhere, little more information can be given than that shown in the Table of Musicians at the Cathedral. Only John Amery deserves further mention. As noted previously¹⁵ he received a status stipend as well as being awarded augmentations on several occasions for his diligence in the choir, although he was not of completely blameless

12 - A. Smith, *The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: an annotated Register* (R.M.A. Research Chronicle, No.5, 1965).

13 - D. Scott, *The Music of St. Paul's Cathedral*, (London; Stainer and Bell; 1972) p.14.

14 - D. Brown, *The Styles and Chronology of Thomas Morley's Motets*, (Music and Letters, Vol.41, 1960) p.28.

15 - see Chapters 3 and 4.

character as is seen in the minutes of this court case:

"This day Robert Thacker, Peter Spratt, John Manning, James Wilson, and Richard Graves the Waits of this City and Thomas Morley Master of the Children of Christchurch came before Mr. Thomas Gleave Mayor of this City, Mr. Robert Suchling and Mr. Thomas Sayer Justices of the Peace within the same city and made complaint against Robert Ambry,¹⁶ a singing-man in Christchurch, for an abuse in that Ambry meeting with them against Gyrdler's house yesternight as they came [from] Mr. Chancellor's house, fell at debate with them calling them fiddling and piping knaves, and being reprov'd for playing at unlawful games, said he would play though the Dean and whoever else said nay; and further he did strike Morley on the face and drew his dagger also at him. And because of this abuse and many other abuses offer'd to them at other times, at their request it is ordered that he, said Ambry, shall be committed to prison until he find sureties for his good behaviour."¹⁷

A hint, perhaps, of some tension within the choir. Morley was granted 10s towards the cost of this suit by the cathedral,¹⁸ but it is unknown how long Amery lingered in jail. Whether the rancour generated by this incident continued when Amery joined the Chapel Royal in 1595 would be interesting to know. Unlike other gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, however, Amery did return and sing in his old cathedral. Gentlemen of the Chapel were supposed to

16 - that this is John Amery is confirmed by the accounts - see footnote 17 for reference: the scribe also got one of the waits' names wrong i.e. Anthony Wilson (not James) - Wilson was also a singing-man in the cathedral.

17 - G.A. Stephen, *The Waits of the City of Norwich through four Centuries to 1790* (Norfolk Archaeology, Vol.25, 1933) p.29 - the entry appears in the *Sessions Minute book No.5* dated 25th September 1583.

18 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 33, 1583-4.

remain members of the cathedral from which they were instituted and still receive their income from that place. Elizabeth actively encouraged this idea and demonstrated this by calling on Lincoln cathedral to restart payments to William Byrd in 1572 after they had stopped them as Byrd had not fulfilled any functions there since 1570, and also sternly writing to the Chapter at Exeter cathedral after they had dispossessed one William Randall of his petty-canonship when he went to the Chapel Royal.¹⁹ There is no record in the accounts of Amery regularly receiving a stipend even though he was not there and the regular number of singing-men appear each year. Amery, however, did return according to the accounts from June 1601 to July or August 1602 and June 1605 to September 1606.²⁰

19 - A. Smith, *The Practice of Music in English Cathedrals and Churches and at the Court, during the reign of Elizabeth I* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1967) p.76.

20 - see Receiver's Accounts, Rolls 43, 44, 47 and 48 respectively.

CHAPTER 13

Careers II:

"Daily Bread"

The economic situation in the latter half of the 16th Century can at best be only described as dire. A disorganised food market, widespread unemployment, poverty and its attendant criminal challenge; aggravated by agrarian and industrial change, together with galloping inflation (price rises as much as five fold) were constant social and economic matters of the time. The main objective of Elizabeth's reign - to preserve order in the country, to defend the realm against foreign enemies, to raise enough money to ensure England adequately protected and administered - were largely dictated by attitudes and events in Europe. The welfare of the people, although genuinely important to the government, was secondary to national security. In the unstable economic climate of Elizabeth I's reign, the cathedral churches of the realm were always in a precarious financial position, willing often to renew leases on their lands for very long periods in order to gain the immediate relief of a slightly higher rent. Fortunately a Privy Council Injunction of 1575 stopped this potentially disastrous policy.

This poor economic climate was due to the depression following the collapse in the early 1550's of the boom associated with the growth of the cloth trade with the Low Countries. This hit Norwich in particular and not till the 1570's did the city start to pick itself up. Even then it was only due to the industry of 'strangers' exiled from the Lowland countries. In 1565 about 300 Dutch and Walloon refugees, having escaped from the tyranny of the Catholic Duke of Alva, were granted permission to settle in Norwich and set up their own churches.¹ Their weavers and dyers re-enlivened the cloth trade, their brewers brought entertainment, but their hard work and talent for trade caused resentment and jealousy not only amongst some local people

1 - W.J.C. Moens, '*The Walloons and their Church at Norwich 1565-1832*'
(Publication of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol.I, 1887-8)
p.21.

but also from other cities.² In 1570 and 1571 when opposition to the 'strangers' was particularly prevalent from local people, the Privy Council had to remind the city authorities of the economic good they were doing the city by occupying houses once vacant, employing an increasing number of people, and the supply of provision "all which benefitted the city and nation."³ In 1570 there were more than 2,000 beggars in Norwich, many were idle vagabonds but there were many who were genuinely unemployed. As now, resentment centred on the foreigner who had the work and it needed an extremely comprehensive system of poor relief to alleviate the situation and get rid of the disorderly vagrants.⁴ By 1583, however, the citizens of Norwich were convinced that the 'strangers' conferred a great advantage on the city and viewed with disfavour anyone who troubled them.⁵

By the turn of the century it has been estimated that the population of Norwich had grown to 30,000 and probably the second city in the land.⁶ It was probably at its most prosperous then. Indeed the economic prosperity of the city seems to follow the kind of curve described in Chapter 5 concerning the expenditure of the cathedral and the activity of the Puritans.

It was in this climate of harsh economic uncertainty coupled with the more personal dangers of drought (1593), near famine (1594-8, 1630) and plague (1578, 1588-90, 1602, 1608, 1615, 1625, 1630-1, 1636 amongst others) that the cathedral petty-canon and singing-man at Norwich had to survive. Throughout the whole of this period the average petty-canon's and singing-man's stipend stood at £10 and £8 respectively.⁷ If it was not an inadequate stipend in 1560 it was certainly by only 1600. Indeed their wage put them firmly in the labouring class of common people, below the average wage for a skilled worker.⁸ For both a petty-canon and singing-man in the country as a whole it was necessary for them to have a second job or position to live

2 - *ibid.* p.62: other trades they brought were baking, gardening, farming.

3 - *ibid.* p.28.

4 - A.G.R. Smith, *'The Government of Elizabethan England'* (Foundations of Modern History; E. Arnold; London, 1967) p.76.

5 - Moens *op.cit.* p.45.

6 - M. Ashpole, *'England in the 17th Century'* (Penguin, London, 1961) p.13.

comfortably.

For the petty-canon all the three sets of statutes made provision for them "to enjoy one [other] ecclesiastical benefice only."⁹ Presumably all petty-canons took up a parish though it would need an exhaustive search of city and country parish records to dig up all the names. This other benefice must have considerably augmented their cathedral stipend. Thomas Twaytes, petty-canon, earned £8 from his other benefice, Thorpe Episcopi Rectory, to which another £3 was added when the Union of St. Simon and St. Jude in Norwich was made to Thorpe.¹⁰ No doubt many would have served parishes in or just outside of Norwich - for example, Thomas Townely at St. Simon's Norwich; Joseph Reding at St. Augustine's Norwich; Thomas Robinson at St. Swithune Norwich; William Fugill at Cattan church (2 miles from the cathedral), Adam Barker at Plumstead church (4 miles from the cathedral).¹¹ All sets of statutes set a limit on how far these parishes could be away from Norwich - Henry VIII, 24 miles; Elizabeth I, 10 miles; James I, 12 miles.¹² Of the few parishes known that had a cathedral man incumbent only Richard Sadlington at Felmingham and Thomas Yeowle at Pakefield and Kirkley had parishes any distance away from Norwich.¹³ 'As the crow flies', Felmingham lay about 12 miles from the city and Pakefield over 20 miles. Although this does not exceed Henry's limits it exceeds Elizabeth's. Sadlington's journey was probably not too arduous, but Yeowle certainly had to bypass many areas of marshland near the coast before coming north to Norwich. There seems no

7 - see Chapter 3.

8 - Ashley *op.cit.* p.23.

9 - James I Statutes, Appendix IV 'Chapter 14': but see the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the Chapter in 1634 ordering not to give vacant*

10 - ed. T.F. Barton, 'The Registrum Vagum of Anthony Harison Pt.I' (Norfolk Record Society Vol.32, 1963) p.108.

11 - see Table of Musicians.

12 - see respectively: Appendix I, 'Chapter 22'; Appendix II, 'Of their Office and duty'; Appendix IV, 'Chapter 14'.

13 - see Table of Musicians.

* benefices to their friends.

way Yeowle could have served both places adequately.

The history of the church for the inhabitants of the precinct has been discussed in Chapter 7. Undoubtedly petty-canon served as curate for the inhabitants though payments do not regularly appear in the accounts till 1591 when the chapel of St. Mary and John in the cathedral was used until some time between 1609-12 when St. Luke's chapel became the precinct 'church'. The curates were only paid 40s for the duty. Indeed for a time the duty became another of the Master of the Choristers duties: Richard Carlton, Thomas Askew, and George Saunders all held the office whilst they were Master though George Saunders was to keep the task into the 1640's long after he had given the Master's post up.

Nothing concerning second jobs for the singing-men appear in the Norwich statutes, but it is quite possible that all singing-men were expected to have other employment. An entry in the Chapter Act Book at Exeter Cathedral indicates this as there the day began at 6.00 a.m. so that the "singing-men may be at sundry hours well occupied before noon".¹⁴ The cathedral was not the total source of their daily bread. Little is known about the trades of the majority of the singing-men at Norwich.¹⁵ John Amery may have been an inn-owner¹⁶ and Thomas Hook a barber,¹⁷ and as the Sowter family of Norwich seem all to have been apprenticed and skilled in worsted weaving, it is quite likely John Sowter was also in the profession as well as his singing-man's place.¹⁸ Some singing-men sought jobs in the cathedral to augment their

14 - A. Smith, 'The Practice of Music etc.' (Ph.D. Thesis; University of Birmingham, 1967).

15 - see Table of Musicians for what is known and speculation as to what they might have been.

16 - A.H. Mann, 'Norwich Cathedral Musicians Vol.I' (N.N.P.R.O. Mann Ms4; Ms 430 T1310 L8341) p.7.

17 - *ibid.* Vol.II (..... Mann Ms 5 L8342)
p.190 - he says "Hooke of Norwich barber had a patent granted him as a singing-man dated 11th April 1567". As is often he gives no reference but his information likely comes from the Chapter Minute Book. Unfortunately the full text from the manuscript does not mention Hook being a barber. An entry, however, for 11th December 1638 mentions the surrendering of a lease of a house originally

income. Under Elizabeth's statutes this was unlawful:

"it shall not be lawful for any of the said persons or any other to exercise or enjoy two of the said rooms or offices."¹⁹

Nevertheless three men (Thomas Askew, William Brand, Thomas Hook) were alms-men. These were supposed to be paupers who served the cathedral in any way it was needed who marked their rank by wearing special livery with a rose embroidered on their sleeve, and who were paid £6 a year. It can only have been a misuse of the position to put singing men there especially for Thomas Askew who was also Master of the Choristers. Even William Cobbold, property owner and respected musician of stature,²⁰ found it necessary to be the cathedral janitor for a good part of his career adding £6 13s 4d to his stipend.²¹ William Farewell who rose to Gospeller, seems to have been the butler in the cathedral for his whole career which earned his £6 a year.²²

The only singing-men who were truly professional musicians were those who coupled their singing job with playing for the city waits.²³ Eight men served in both choir and waits in this period, and indeed the waits are paid regularly in the cathedral accounts for playing in the cathedral at the feast of the Nativity when there must have been a special service.²⁴ In 1590-1, as well as being paid for two years of normal service, they were also paid

17 - (continued) made to "Thomas Hook, barber", on 21st January 1567 just two weeks before the patent of singing-man to Hook. Patents were often given some time after their appointment so it seems likely it is the same man.

18 - see 'Sowter' in ed. W.M. Rising and P. Millican, 'Index of Indentures of Norwich Apprentices', (Norfolk Record Society, Vol.19, 1959).

19 - B.M.Stowe Ms 128 (f10^v/23^v) 'Of the election of the Petty-canon, Singing-men, Choristers or other officers'.

20 - see Chapter 12.

21 - e.g. Receiver's Accounts, Roll 52, 1614-15.

22 - e.g. Receiver's Accounts, Roll 27, 1575-6.

23 - for the waits of Norwich see G.A. Stephen, 'The Waits of the City of Norwich', (Norfolk Archaeology Vol.25, 1933) - a position as wait was not a full-time job for they were paid only about £2 a year. They could, however, earn extra from special occasions and private hire.

24 - e.g. 5s in Receiver's Accounts, Roll 31, 1581-2.

"for their labours on Coronation day and the day of the Overthrow of the Spanish."²⁵ The waits had cause to remember the Spanish for in 1586, such was the fame of the Norwich waits, that Sir Francis Drake took them on his famous expedition to singe the King of Spain's beard at Cadiz. Of the five waits that went only two returned - Peter Spratt (singing-man in the cathedral) and Arthur Jackson (singing-man from 1590). Of the three that died Anthony Wilson was a singing-man and Robert Thacker, probably the leader of the waits, was the city Water Bailiff. The two singing-men were still paid by the cathedral in the time of their preparations and absence. The Norwich waits had such fame throughout the Country that the account of William Kemp's dance from London to Norwich, where Kemp was met by the waits, praised;

"such waits few cities in our Realm have the like, none better. Who, besides their excellancy in wind instruments, their rare cunning on the Viol and Violin: their voices be admirable, every one of them able to serve in any Cathedral Church in Christendom for Choristers."²⁶

In 1600, when Kemp's jig took place, Peter Spratt and Arthur Jackson were singing-men in the cathedral choir.

25 - Receiver's Accounts, Roll 37: paid 28s 6d.

26 - see '*Kemp's 9 Days Wonder: performed in a dance from London to Norwich*', (Camden Society Vol.9

CHAPTER 14

The Common Table of the Ministers

The Common Table existed so that:

"those who meet together and praise God together in the choir may also eat together and praise God together at the table."¹

All the "Minor Canons and ministers of the choir and the teacher of the boys at the Grammar School and all other lower ministers of the church and also the boys who are in the choir at Grammar Schools" would be able to "eat and feast" there.² This statute of Henry's obviously envisaged the old monastical community spirit remaining after the Reformation. Far from this happening the Commons fell gradually into decay, ministers preferring to eat in their own homes at what time they liked and with their families.

Eventually in 1574 the Common was disbanded.³ Hardly anything is known of it at this time besides the occasional entry in the Chapter Minute books. At the opening entry of the first Minute Book (8th April 1566) an entry rules that all fines levied for absence or 'tardy' was to be "equally divided, the one half to the Commons of the petty-canons and the other half to the use of the poor".⁴ It specifically mentions only petty-canons so some time between Henry's statutes and 1566 the Commons became the preserve of the petty-canons only, which was against the spirit and decree of Henry's statute. On 20th December 1571 the Dean and Chapter agreed to pay £10 a year in quarterly instalments for 17 years "towards the maintenance of hospitality in the petty canons hall."⁵ On the same day Richard Crick was admitted as a petty-canon undertaking to pay 20s to the "house of hospitality"

1 - Henry VIII's Statutes, Appendix I, 'Chapter 29'.

2 - *ibid.*

3 - 'An humble manifestation of the Bishop and Dean of Norwich into the particular suggestions of the Prebendaries of the said Church unto the Lord the Referee.' in *Liber Miscellaneorum* 4, (Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.).

4 - Rev. J.F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, 'Extracts from the Two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter', (Norfolk Record Society, Vol.24, 1953), p.23.

of the petty-canon⁶.

In his Statutes, James sought to reintroduce "this most laudable custom". He considered its abolishment "to the most evil example and grave detriment of Divine Worship" and that it had reached that state "by carelessness if not impiety."⁷ He envisaged that all the members of the choir would dine there. It seems a little strange that James was not aware of the reasons why a Commons Hall, though fine in principle, had little chance of working in practice. The cathedral did try and refound the Commons Hall but finally in 1640 it was abolished once and for all by Statute;

"And since the establishment of a Common Hall or Table for the Minor Canons and other ministers of the Church, in accordance with Chapter 18 of the said Statutes, is not very well suited, either to the present age (in which the monastic habits of dining together has fallen into disuse) or to the said Cathedral Church, whose revenues are exceedingly slender and straitened, or, finally to the Minor Canons and other ministers of the said Church themselves, who are for the most part married men."⁸

6 - *ibid.*

7 - Appendix IV, 'Chapter 18'.

8 Rev. N. Boston, 'The Musical History of Norwich Cathedral', (Friends of Norwich Cathedral; Norwich, 1963) see p.51-4.

Topography and Accommodation

In the time available, it has not been possible to examine the subjects of the topography of the precinct and residences of the ministers of the choir in any detail. The precinct, however, did change radically in the period. There was much building and demolition yet there was also much decay, so much so that the precinct has been described as a "vast heap of ruins."¹ Certainly the Bishop's Chapel by the Palace was in decay until the Walloon congregation took it over in 1565,² and the 13th century 'clocher' was by 1578 "now very ruinous, decayed, uncovered, and defaced."³ Markets and fairs frequently invaded consecrated ground, and the roadway up to the west door of the cathedral was flanked by masons', carpenters' and metal workers' shops. Besides the official cathedral brewery which had to supply the cathedral with "as good or rather better whole, sweet and sound beer as was commonly had for 8d a barrel", which lay on the east side of the Lower Green, another inn called the 'Three Cranes' sprung up on the north side of the Lower Green which was reputed to be "a tipping house without any order of law, whereto all evil and naughty persons and such as in the City are not suffered by the magistrates do resort." In fact the precincts could not be further from the tranquility it is associated with now in that period.

The cathedral was obliged to provide lodgings for its ministers and the statutes provided a separate Chapter for it.⁴ James' statutes specifically mention that all the ministers "should have their personal and private houses within the Precinct of our church." This was probably the case in the vast

- 1 - A. Jessopp, 'Norwich', (Diocesan Histories: London, 1884) p.180.
- 2 - W.J.C. Moens, 'The Walloons and their Church at Norwich, 1565-1832', (Publication of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol.1 1887-8) p.21.
- 3 - H.W. Saunders, 'A History of the Norwich Grammar School', (Norwich, 1932) p.124: a general discussion of the topography of the Precincts can be found p.120-9 from which much of this information derives.
- 4 - Elizabeth I 'Of the assignation of lodgings and chambers'; James I 'Chapter 21'.

majority of ministers and indeed when the 1649 Parliamentary Survey undertook to describe the "lands and tenements late belonging to the Dean and Chapter" all singing-men were within the precinct. Five of them lived in accommodation converted from the old cloisters.⁵ The Master of the Choristers obviously needed larger houses. Richard Gibbs' house, as described in the Parliamentary Survey, was "part of the long leaved house lying on the east side of the Almery Green [the upper square] containing 5 rooms in the first storey and 5 Chambers over them together with a yard lying before the said house enclosed within a stone wall." Elizabeth I statutes mention that the Master should have the house called Wardrapers. This was once occupied by Thomas Grewe, Master before 1560, but Edmund Inglott occupied a house next to the Granary which was on the south side of the Almery Green.⁶

The only men not to have their house in the precincts seem to have been those who were waits. From 1587 it was common for the waits to live in the 'Suffragen tenements' in the parish of St. George's Tombland which was just by the cathedral.⁷ They held leases for 21 years from the city on the condition they kept up the house and paved the street. By 1630, all waits had houses on lease from the city. Thomas Moody, Thomas Quash, and Peter Sandley were both waits and singing-men at that time.

5 - Parliamentary Survey (Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.): see also A.H. Mann, 'Norwich Cathedral Musical Events', (N.N.P.R.O., Mann Ms 3; Ms 429, T1310, L8340) p.63.

6 - Saunders op.cit. p.125.

7 - G.A. Stephen, 'The Waits of the City of Norwich [etc.]', (Norfolk Archaeology, Vol.25, 1933).

Disorder, Negligence and Morality

Through the general researches of several scholars it has long been proved that the standard of both performance and character of those performing on the whole was not high in the period under study. Indeed in most ways they were extraordinarily troubled times - a crisis of religion, a crisis of economics, a crisis of national security, variously took prominence at different times. Yet all were never totally solved, and all simmered menacingly throughout. The times encouraged indiscipline. Certainly the provincial cathedral could not attract the outstanding musician with the level of stipends they had to offer. Musicians were tempted to London by the riches which were to be had there: John Bull earned £20 for one night's work on the organs, as much as William Inglott the Norwich organist of the time got in one year.¹

Elizabeth I's policy of collecting all the best musicians (secular and sacred) under one roof in some sort of central academy, further weakened the position of cathedral music. Norwich, at least, made some attempt to attract and reward good musicians by its 'status payments',² but in general the cathedrals were caught in a vicious circle of economics and the debilitating effects of the Chapel Royal Commissions (and ambitions). The day-to-day retributions for indiscipline can be found in the fines imposed for absence, tardiness and other disorders to do with the regular performance of service. The following is a list of these fines imposed through this period;

Henry VIII Statutes³

absence - for petty-canon: from Greater Mass/Matins	1d
from Vespers/Compline	1/2d
at the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 9th	1/4d

1 - Bull played at a Merchant Taylor's banquet - *J. Stow (enlarged by E. Howes), 'Chronicles of England'*, (London 1631-2) p.890, (Stow's original published in 1592).

2 - see Chapter 3.

3 - Appendix I, 'Chapter 22'.

tardy - for petty-canons: ruled as after the first psalm or the Kyrie 1/4d

lay-clerks fines were to be discretionary

1566 Order⁴

absence - for petty-canons 12d
for singing-men 8d

Elizabeth I Statutes⁵

absence - for petty-canons: on Sundays/Holy days 8d
on Weekdays 4d

1588 Order⁶

absence - for petty-canons: on Sundays	12d (morning)	6d (evening)
on workdays	4d (" " ")	2d (" " ")
for singing-men: on Sundays	8d (" " ")	4d (" " ")
on workdays	3d (" " ")	2d (" " ")

1591 Order⁷

absence - for petty-canons and singing-men:
every service on Sundays and Holy days 4d
every service of weekdays 2d
tardy - for all the choir ruled as after the first *Gloria Patri* 1d
departure before the end of a service 1d

1605 Orders⁸

absence - all the choir: from every service -
on Sundays and Holy days 2d
on weekdays 1d
on Double Feast days 3d

4 - J.F. Williams and B. Cozens-Hardy, 'Extracts from the Two Earliest Minute Books of the Dean and Chapter [etc.]' (Norfolk Record Society 1953) p.23.

5 - Appendix II, 'Of the petty-canons and their stipends'.

6 - Williams and Cozens-Hardy op.cit. p.35.

7 - ibid. p.36.

tardy - all the choir: ruled as after the Venite in the morning
and after first *Gloria Patri* in the evening. [The amount
of fine is illegible]

all the choir - for coming to service without a surplice: fined as absent
for arriving after the *Te Deum*: fined as absent
for departing before the end of the *Benedictus*: fined as absent
for walking around "offensively" at service time: fined
as absent
for leaving the service early 1d
for talking in service time: discretionary fine
for "ferrying" [speaking] the service "when they may
sing" 6d
any petty-canon who leaves out the Litany 6d

James I Statutes⁹

absence - all the choir: on weekdays 2d
on Sundays and Holy days 4d
on Double Feast days 6d

tardy - all the choir: ruled as after the psalm at Matins and
after the first psalm at evening 1d

absence from sermons etc. 6d

entry after end of 1st Lesson and departure before the end of
2nd Lesson: fined as absent.

The most punitive of these are the 1566 and 1588 Orders where missing one
service on Sunday and Holy Days cost the offender a day's wages. The sudden
drop in the fines in 1591 was brought about by the complaint of the Choir
that "their perditions by former Deans was too great".¹⁰ In comparison to

9 - Appendix IV, 'Chapter 14'.

10 - Williams and Cozens-Hardy op.cit. p.36 (29th March).

1566 and 1588, the 1605 Orders go apparently to the other extreme. These 1605 Orders are the fullest catalogue of fines, yet they are anomalous in that they place greater importance on the issues of speaking, not singing, the service and missing out the Litany (which was only used on Wednesdays and Fridays) than on missing the service completely. It is also interesting to note that the Elizabethan and Jacobean statutes and the 1566 order changed by the day and not by the service as the others. Perhaps missing even one service counted as a day's absence or that figure may have been broken down into proportions for individual services. Unfortunately it is not possible to find out how great the general absenteeism and tardiness was.

These fines represent a day-to-day negligence. Major disorders in the cathedral sometimes resulted from these general day-to-day negligence gradually escalating in consequence. The necessity for the 1568 Royal Commission was for reasons of neglect and the resultant indiscipline. The disorders which the Commissioners' list show that the decay in the cathedral largely stemmed from neglect and lack of concern grown over a long period of time;

"first, that whereby their foundation this Colledge is erected of a Dean and Six Prebendaries which be the said foundation ought to be priests and preachers yet contrary to the said foundation three of the said Prebends are neither priests nor preachers; secondly in the said church [there] is no Divinity Lecture; thirdly no library for the help of Students; fourthly no Statutes to govern the house with all; fifthly there is a tippling house very inconvenient and unfit for such a place; sixthly great negligence in preaching and resorting to sermons; seventhly much ill husbandry in wasting of money, plate, lead and timber and the goods of the Church; eighthly that a mere lay man is made both

Receiver and Treasurer by which means the church is charged not only with a pension of ten pounds a year wherewith it was never charged before this last year neither allowed in any proportion, but also the house thereby is much disordered, the stock decayed and the state thereof in great danger; 9, The Registry Books are ill kept the counterpanes of leaves either not received or lost; 10, no order observed in putting out their hands and admitting their ministers."¹¹

But not all disorders within the church were due to the general malaise, for in many cases it was the fraudulent character of members of the cathedral that was the cause. For instance, Dr. Edward Gascoigne, prebendary, sold the lead off the roof of St. Mary in the Marsh on behalf of the Dean and Chapter (in about 1564) yet never brought to account the £160 he got for it or the money he received for the lead off the Dormitory roof. Gascoigne further embezzled the proceeds from the stripping and demolition of St. Mary which he shared with four other members of the cathedral.¹²

Other general disorders were religiously rather than criminally conceived. In the summer of 1570 radical prebendaries Walker, Gardiner, Chapman and Fowle, almost as if to demonstrate an end to the religious conservatism of the close broke down the organs and committed other outrages.¹³ In 1574 other radical clergy in the cathedral "enveighed against singing disordered (as they termed it) and wished it utterly there to be banished".¹⁴

It is difficult to assess the level of discipline in the choir. Only the worst cases of disorder and negligence would have been dealt with by the

11 - *'Disorders in the Cathedral Church of Norwich, 1568'* (Eastern Counties Collectanea, 1872-3) p.67-8.

12 - H.W. Saunders, *'A History of Norwich Grammar School'*, (Norwich, 1932) p.12.

13 - R.A. Houlbrooke, *'The Letter Book of John Parkhurst'*, (Norfolk Record Society, Vol.43, 1974-5) p.41.

14 - *ibid.* p.255-6 (letter).

Chapter of the cathedral, other infringements would have been rectified by the peremptory voice of the Dean or precentor. All disturbances and abuses that do appear in the Chapter Minute Books must indeed have given cause for grave concern.

The 1605 Orders decree that the singing-boys should come into the choir "two and two decent and orderly",¹⁵ but as far as can be ascertained the rest of the choir entered of their own accord at time of service. The Chapter, however, took action on 19th November 1599,¹⁶ for "the reformation of a great disorder committed in the church by the said choir for places in time of divine service" and an order was decreed;

Exparte decani

Mr. Carlton	}	[petty canons
Mr. Fugill		
Mr. Robinson		

John Black

Arthur Jackson

[Richard] Bacon

Richard Walker

Simon Mosse

Exparte Cantoris

Mr. Thwaites	}	[petty] canons
Mr. Whightgift		
Mr. Graye		

Mr. Cheavely

William Chapman

Peter Spratt

Thomas Langham

Edward Bussey

The altercation between John Amery and Thomas Morley has been noted in Chapter 12, but a far more serious affair than this took place in the cathedral itself, resulting in a complaint by Arthur Jackson against Thomas Sadlington because the latter "did strike him in the church, and that he did call him and the rest of the choir rogues and rascals and said that he who put him [Jackson] in his place was a rogue and rascal".¹⁷ Sadlington was reprimanded and given an admonition, the usual punishment for offenders.

15 - Appendix III, 'Order 11'.

16 - Williams and Cozens-Hardy *op.cit.* p.39.

17 - *ibid.* p.42 (27th April, 1606).

Theoretically a choir member should have been removed from his place after three such admonitions. It would have been strange if tensions between various members of the choir did not boil over occasionally. One such occurrence happened in 1614 when John Carlton "did abuse Mr. Thomas Askew one of the petty-canons and Master of the Children, calling him a fool and dunce." Although required to "acknowledge his fault" in the choir the next day, Carlton only flung more "abuse with approbrious words and speeches" at Askew and the Dean. Still he was only charged to "acknowledge his fault" - a light punishment.¹⁸

As the cathedral also leased out houses to choir members they were occasionally called to rectify some misdemeanour concerning them - in the case of John Sowter to repair the pump, which he had vandalised, in the "gaol house" where he lived (!)¹⁹; Thomas Purton, in a more sinister case perhaps, was ordered "so long as he doth use the leads belonging to the dorture" to repair it as his own cost.²⁰

Cases where a choir member has been expelled from the cathedral for his misdemeanour's are cited later in this chapter, but there is only one occurrence of a man leaving of his own accord because a Chapter ruling had gone against him. In 1608 Richard Carlton, petty-canon, curate of St. Luke's and former Master of the Choristers was warned against publishing any banns of marriage between his daughter Jane and Nathan Castleton, who was contracted to marry some widow in Norwich. Carlton refuted this saying Castleton was contracted to his daughter before the other woman. In December, 7 months later, Carlton was again called before the Chapter but refused to appear making "unseemly answers" at the Chapter House door.²¹ Carlton also

18 - ibid. p.47.

19 - ibid. p.50 (22nd July, 1615)

20 - ibid. p.73 (21st November, 1636)

21 - ibid. p.43.

confirmed his intention to leave the cathedral the following March (1609). Carlton was grievously offended by the Chapter's ruling and from 1612 till his death (1636) left Norwich altogether to serve as rector of Bawsey.²²

A most curious entry appears for 3rd February 1627, when Thomas Purton singing-man, was dismissed, then reinstated on the intervention of some of his friends, for endeavouring to draw away Robert Gransborow "chiefest of the choiristers" from the church without the consent of the cathedral or the boy's parents. The reasons for Purton's actions are unfortunately not stated.²³

One other unique entry in the Chapter Minute Books is the incitement to strike action of Edward Bussey at Christmas 1608;

"on Christmas even openly in the Chapter, he did animate the choir men to withdraw their presence from prayers, and he himself did withdraw his own presence from prayers on Christmas day at morning for which misdemeanour he was then admonished to be of better behaviour."²⁴

It is a pity Bussey's cause for complaint is not stated.

Not so unique are the instances of negligence of duty which can be found. In 1589 the whole choir had to be warned that "they should observe and keep their daily service duly and diligently upon pain of such mulcts as have been decreed."²⁵ Even the Master of the Choristers, who had great responsibility, were not so diligent as they might have been. The choristers were "very evil reered" by Edmund Inglott,²⁶ and in 1639 Richard Gibbs was advised to "look better to the Education of his boys."²⁷

22 - A.H. Mann, 'Norwich Cathedral Musicians Vol.II' (N.N.P.R.O. Mann Ms 5 Ms 430 T1310 L8343) p.12413.

23 - Williams and Cozens-Hardy op.cit. p.64.

24 - ibid. p.43.

25 - ibid. p.35.

26 - George Gardiner's evidence to the 4th Query in the 1567 Visitation: Saunders op.cit. p.255.

27 - Williams and Cozens-Hardy op.cit. p.76.

Gibbs, at the same time, was also admonished for leaving "an unfit man to be at the Organ in his absence" causing "great confusion in the choir."²⁸

There were several notable characters whose attention to their duty left much to be desired by the cathedral authorities. Thomas Quash appears in December 1615 for his "notorious absence from divine prayers which was partly by him confessed, but more apparently proved by the choristers then present." If he did not improve his attendance he would be denied his "increase of wages of 40s *per annum*" which had been granted "upon his humble petition" and "upon hope and promise that he should and would be very diligent in his place."²⁹ Quash seems to have been dealt with leniently as it is noted he had had several admonitions (these do not appear in the Minute Book though) and appears again in 1617 for the same reason.³⁰ William Fugill's case is more curious for in November 1621 he is charged for his "notorious negligence upon Sabbath days, Holy days and Festival days, at which times his presence is most necessarily required, and in that he is so insufficient for his place."³¹ It seems Fugill attended on weekdays but not on 'celebratory' days. Perhaps his lack of proficiency made him unable to cope with the more difficult demands of those days. He was admonished for the very same offences in July 1625 too.³²

Thomas Sadlington is undoubtedly one of the worst characters and offenders during this period. He has already been noted for his argumentative nature previously, but, however, in the negligence of his place he used deliberate cunning to get round the rules of absence and tardy. In 1622 the Dean:

28 - ibid. p.76.

29 - ibid. p.50: see also p.47.

30 - ibid. p.52.

31 - ibid. p.57.

32 - ibid. p.61.

"reproved him for his continual negligence, in that he dwelling so nigh the church that the door of his house openeth into the Church, yet he wilfully refuseth to come to the confession and sometime will be walking in the church and will not come in, but so that he may save a tardy, always after the confession, and that this day he did as he useth so much that Mr. Bate was fain to begin the service, and upon Mr. Dean's reproof for his folly he flew openly in his face in the presence of Mr. Bate, the verger, the organist, and a great company that then came from the Consistory Court, and told Mr. Dean he had no reason to fault with him more than with others."³³

In 1629 he was again admonished for his "notorious negligence in frequenting the church to execute his office" and for "living and accompanying with that woman which he liveth with and pretendeth to be his wife she having at this present a former husband living."³⁴ Eventually he was expelled on 11th November 1630,³⁵ but according to the accounts was paid till June 1638.

The moral fibre of members of the choir was not the standard that would be expected of men whose main function was the service of religion. Sadlington's immorality has been quoted above but much earlier in 1566 John Coller, petty-canon, was ordered "to avoid from the company of Margaret Porter now the wife of Xpofer Cristelowe in all suspect places and especially his chamber in the said monastery."³⁶ Even worse John Beldam, petty-canon, had "gotten Johane, his maid servant, with child" for which offence he was ordered to make his purgation. He was later expelled for not "appearing for

33 - ibid. p.58.

34 - ibid. p.66.

35 - ibid. p.69.

36 - ibid. p.24

his purgation."³⁷ Another instance of this low moral fibre is the lack of manners shown to the Dean:

against Peter Sandley, singing-man, "for and in regard of his malpertness and sauciness in his carriage by words"³⁸

against Martin Carlton, singing-man, "for his peremptory and irreverent speeches and carriage [he should] behave himself more respectfully both in words and gestures."³⁹

The instances of drunkenness will probably have been more than the serious cases that reached the Chapter House. There were two alehouses in the precinct and the 'strangers' had the brewer's trade amongst their numbers (and themselves had a great predilection for alcoholic beverages) so there was much temptation. The case of Peter Sandley's abortive attempts to play the organ under the influence of drink has been quoted earlier. William Fugill, petty-canon, was reprimanded for his notorious drunkenness,⁴⁰ and even the organ blower Elias Goodwyn was "so disguised with extraordinary drinking that he was for that and other abuse of himself then and there set in the stocks."⁴¹ Norwich had no shortage of inns but Simon Moss, singing-man, "set up at alehouse without Licence in the precinct" and entertained "bad company" there.⁴²

It must be stressed that all these are probably only the most serious cases. Many, will, perhaps, have been dealt with by informal methods. It is likely that Norwich was no worse than any other cathedral and, indeed, may have been considerably better disciplined than most.

37 - *ibid.* p.24. (14th February, 1567)

38 - *ibid.* p.53. (12th March, 1620)

39 - *ibid.* p.83 - another member of the troublesome Carlton family who occupied several places in the choir and several entries in the Chapter Minute Book. (2nd May, 1644)

40 - *ibid.* p.64. (7th May, 1627)

41 - *ibid.* p.52: see also p.53. (2nd November, 1616)

CHAPTER 17

The Performance of the Service

It has not been the brief of this discussion to take in the music and its function in the service. Indeed, to study this subject in any depth would need a comprehensive knowledge of the music of the Norwich composers. The whereabouts of a good deal of this is known though it is yet to be gathered together and commented upon. It is, however, appropriate to look in brief terms at how much and what type of music might be expected.

Undoubtedly the main services of the day were sung:

"we decree and ordain that in this cathedral church of Norwich, at morning and evening sacrifices, prayers, supplications, intercessions and thanksgivings be perpetually offered to God, morning and evening and that the praise of God be daily celebrated with voices, organs and melodies."¹

The 1605 Orders, in fact, provide a stiff penalty for ferrying (i.e. speaking) any part of the service "when there is company enough to sing."² It should be noted, however, that Henry's statute did "not wish to oblige them [the choir] to sing these offices at night."³ The music on Sundays, Feast days and Double Feast days would have been elaborate to varying degrees whilst according to Elizabeth I's statutes "it shall suffice to have the service in plain note, without any parts on working days, with a psalm in metre at the beginning and ending of prayer and also before and after sermons and lectures."⁴ Although doubts have been expressed in this thesis over the validity of the Elizabethan statutes, this practice of plainsong during the week was probably common in all cathedrals. This is further strengthened by a document titled "Agreement" dated 30th June 1581 which was made up by the Lord President of the Welsh Marches and the Bishop of Hereford and refers

1 - James I's Statutes, Appendix IV, 'Chapter 16'.

2 - Appendix III, 'Order 14'.

3 - Appendix I, 'Chapter 32'.

4 - Appendix II, 'Of the divine service'.

to Ludlow parish church:

"That all the prayers excepting psalms shall be said in such places as they have been used to be said, since the being here of the Right Honourable Lord President, which is at the choir door [i.e. chancel gate] and the psalms as well as the chapters as after shall be sung in plainsong in the choir.

That the anthems shall be in pricksong as they have used to be sung

The organ [one] to be used between the psalms or with the psalms and with the anthems or hymn.

The daily service all the rest of the week shall be said and sung in plainsong"⁵

Ludlow was the seat of the Lord President and the parish church was run on cathedral lines but without the status, and this Agreement was probably very close to cathedral practice.

According to James' statutes the organ was used to "give the correct note to the choir as they are about to sing the hymn and shall accompany with the same when the hymns shall permit and shall praise God daily only with solemn melodies."⁶ It is important to note, though, that the organist did not spend the whole service at his instrument but had to "wear a surplice and be present in the choir at the celebration of prayers until it is time for him to go to the Organ."⁷ This suggests that there was little for the choir to do at the beginning of the services.

The make up and number of the choir who sang at any one time deserves special mention. By James' statutes the total number in the choir was

5 - A. Smith, *'The Practice of Music [etc.]'*, (Ph.D. thesis: University of Birmingham, 1967) p.312: see also A. Smith, *'Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow'* (Music and Letters, xlix, 1968).

6 - Appendix IV, *'Chapter 15'*.

7 - *ibid.* *'Chapter 14'*.

8 choristers, 8 singing-men, Gospeller, Epistoler, 6 petty-canon. The full company were required on Sundays, Holy days, and Double Feast days though absences were allowed for "inevitable necessity". The 16 adult voices were distributed as 5 Basses, 5 tenors and 5 countertenors, but that "there always be a sixteenth voice, either Bass or Countertenor (for we do not admit more than 5 tenors in our choir)."⁸ Every week, except for Feast days and Sundays "one bass, one tenor and one countertenor" was allowed the week off. It is decreed that "at the least, therefore, we wish that there be 13 persons present in the Choir to celebrate divine service." Divine Service refers to the main morning service on Sundays and feast days etc. Indeed on working days besides the 3 men on leave, 3 petty-canon a day were allowed the day off to deal with their "private affairs". So at every working day service there would only be 10 persons (at the most) there.

8 - ibid : as is all the following information.

A TABLE OF NAMES AND OFFICES ETC.
OF THE MUSICIANS
AT NORWICH CATHEDRAL

c.1558 - 1649

The Table attempts to provide a fairly comprehensive compilation of names and information from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign up to 1649, although names and dates of pre-1558 choir members and the later dates of those choir members who survived to the Restoration, collected from the manuscripts of Dr. A. H. Mann, have been included. The limit of 1649 was chosen as being the last date of entries in the Chapter Act Books and as being the last date of a surviving list containing choir members names, before the Restoration. This list, the *Parliamentary Survey* of 1649, set down the names and described the residences of these officers of the cathedral, though whether any services in the old manner took place at all in the cathedral in the latter part of the 1640's after the banning of the Prayer Book in 1644, is doubtful. The continued residence of the officers of the church up to 1649 and the carrying on of Chapter business till that date probably denotes some sort of religious observance, though by that time the Dean and all the Prebendaries had been deprived of their living at the church and allowances made for them by the Committee for Plundered Ministers.

The NAME column includes occasionally an alternative spelling of the surname where this alternative has occurred in several instances in the records and other sources. The EXTRA-MURAL column contains some speculation concerning the singing-men but these are accompanied by a question mark.

All abbreviations and reference numbers are given in the following key:

KEY

s-b = singing boy
 s-m = singing man
 p-c = petty canon
 epist = epistoler
 gosp = gospeller
 MofC = Master of the Choristers
 org = organist

Sep = 29th September, St. Michael and All Angels (1st quarter of the financial year)

Dec = 25th December, Nativity (2nd quarter)

Mar = 25th March, Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, Lady Day (3rd quarter)

Jun = 24th June, St. John the Baptist (4th quarter)

Jan = January, Feb = February, Apr = April, Jul = July,

Aug = August, Oct = October, Nov = November.

1570-1575 = 1570 to 1575

1570/1/2 = 1570 or 1571 or 1572 (precise date unknown)

<1568> = previous or subsequent dates to this unknown.

<1568>(1572) = as above, but left before the bracketed date.

Most dates have been compiled from lists and expenses in the Receiver's Account Rolls deposited in the Norfolk and Norwich Public Record Office. Other references have been given the following numbers:

- 1 - from the Chapter Act Books (Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.)
- 2 - from the manuscripts of Dr. A. H. Mann (Mann MS, N.N.P.R.O.)
- 3 - from the Royal Commission List in the *Liber Miscellaneorum Vol.1* (Dean and Chapter deposit, N.N.P.R.O.)
- 4 - from the following publications of Dr. A. Smith, either '*Parish Church Musicians in the Reign of Elizabeth I*' (R.M.A. Research Chronicle No. 4)
 - or '*The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal in the Reign of Elizabeth I*' (R.M.A. Research Chronicle No. 5, 1965)
 - or Table 3 '*The Singing men of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle who sang elsewhere*' from '*The Practice of Music etc.*' (Ph.D. thesis: University of Birmingham: 1967)
- 5 - '*Registrum Vagum of Anthony Harison*' - ed. T.P. Barton (Norfolk Record Society Vol. XXXII and XXXIII 1963-4)
- 6 - '*Index of Indentures of Norwich Apprentices*' - ed. W.M. Rising and P. Millican (Norfolk Record Society, Vol. XXIX 1959)

- 7 - *'The Letter Book of John Parkhurst'* - ed. R.A. Houlbrooke (Norfolk Record Society Vol. XLIII 1974-5)
- 8 - names and dates compiled from *'The Waits of the City of Norwich'* - G.A. Stephen (Norfolk Archaeology Vol. 25 1933)

NAME	Principal Position(s) in Cathedral	Secondary Posts in Cathedral	Extra-Mural Jobs and Positions	Previous/Subse- quent Places of Service	GENERAL INFORMATION
ALLEN: John	s-m 1587/8/9 - Jun 1590				
Ai.SEY: William	s-m Dec 1638 - Sep 1639 epist Jun 1639 - 1649 ² p-c 1663 - 1664 ²	precentor 1664 ²			Admonished 1641 and 1642 for absence and scandalous life. ¹ 2nd Dec 1644 gone missing sopay given for the relief of his children and to pay his debts. ¹ Mentioned as resident in the 1649 Parliamentary Survey. ²
ANDREWS: Hugo	A prebendary served as p-c for $\frac{1}{4}$ year 1580-1 4				
AMERY: John [Ambry]	s-m Jun 1576 - Sep 1595 then s-m c.Jun 1601 - c.Jul/ Aug 1602 then s-m Jun 1605 - Sep 1606		1590 inowner ²	1575-6 Westminster Abbey ⁴ 1576 St. Dunstan- in-the-West, London ⁴ Dec 1595 - Jul 1623 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal ⁴	Died 18th July 1623. Often paid £10 for his stipend to the other singing men's £8. Often paid a pension or some sort of reward extra to stipend. A composer - paid 1586/7 (with John Cragg for writing and composing a service) and 1590/1.
ASKEW: Thomas	s-m Dec 1603-5 MofC 1604-1617 ²	Almsman 1603-11 14th Feb 1611 ¹ - 1617 curate for chapel of St. Luke's for people in the close.			Appointed MofC 17th Feb 1605 ¹ (but paid whole year 1604-5). Admitted MofC 20th Sep 1605 and to sing bass in the choir. ¹

ATKINS: -----	s-m 1641→(1649)			Mentioned in the pamphlet "True News from Norwich" published in London in 1641 (printed in Norfolk Antiquary Miscellany 2, 1883) - this is the only mention of the man anywhere. He may have been, however, John Arkins, a local organ repairer.
ATKINSON: Thomas	p-c Mar 1592 - 1592/3/4/ 5/6/7			
AYLEWOOD: Richard	Floreat after Restoration as MofC and org ²			Composer - pieces by 'Aylewood' in Playford's "Music Recreation" (1652) probably by him. ²
BACON: Richard	s-m ¹ / ₄ year in 1597-8 then s-m Sep 1599 - Jun 1600			
BAKER: Henry	org 1591-2/3/4			(William Cobbold appointed org Dec 1594)
BARKER: Adam	p-c +13th Mar 1549 ² - Mar 1576		Vicar of Plumstead +1560 personal union of Witton benefice to Plumstead 13th Mar 1560 ⁵ 22nd Aug 1569 presented with parsonage of the Church of Mershe (Marsh)	One of suspects in the case of some anonymous pamphlets slandering Mayor of the city of Norwich. (Eastern Counties Collections p.171-5).

BARNARD: John	p-c 1580 - Sep 1582			23rd Jul 1580 granted a patent in reversion of a p-c's room ¹
BARNES: Thomas	s-m Jun 1576 - Sep 1585/ 6			
BAYNEBRYKE: William [Baynebrigg] [Benbricke]	p-c Sep 1576/7 - Dec 1598			granted patent of s-m's place 6th Feb 1578. ¹
BECK: Anthony	s-m 3rd Sep 1639 ¹ - 1649 ² p-c and MofC c.1663 ²	sacrist 1667 ²		17th Jun 1642, admonished for long absence and negligence. ¹ Mentioned as resident in the 1649 Parliamentary Survey. ²
BELDAM: John	p-c +11th Apr 1567 ¹			11th Apr 1567 dismissed for getting his maid servant with child and not making his purgation. ¹
BENTLY: Richard	s-m 10th Apr 1602 ¹ paid for ¹ / ₄ year			
BETTS: Edmund	s-b +1568 ³			
BLACK: John	s-m Sep 1599 - Jun 1601			

BORROUGH: Philip	p-c ←1618→ ²				"Philip Borrough, Presbyter, et huius ecclesiae minor Canonicus ob 15 Sep 1618". ²
BOSTON: Thomas	s-m ←1550→ ²				
BOTTRELL: John	p-c Mar 1608 - 1613/14		1608 St. Mary and St. John curate (in precincts)		24th Mar 1608 admitted on further approbation. ¹
BOWMAN: Thomas	s-m 1579-80 (from Audit Book)				[In the recent removal of manuscripts from the cathedral muniment room to the Norfolk Record Office, this Audit Book seems to have been misplaced. This information is taken from a 'transcription' in N. Boston - 'The Musical History of Norwich Cathedral' (Norwich 1963) p.38]
BRACKET: Richard	p-c 1606/7 - 1631/2/3/4	sacrist 1622-3	29th Dec 1617 presented to rectory of St. Augustine's, Norwich ¹		
BRAND: William	s-m ←1549→ ² then s-m admitted 12th Sep 1567 - Feb/Mar 1572 ¹ (died)	almsman ³	bellfounder ²		One of suspects in the case of some anonymous pamphlets slandering Mayor of the City of Norwich (Eastern Counties Collectanea p.171-5)

BREWSTER: Richard	s-m 18th Apr 1567 ¹ - 1572 gosp 9th May 1572 ¹ - 1576 7			
BREWSTER: William	s-m 23rd Feb 1574 ¹ - 1579 80	Wait ⁸		Not given his patent for s-m place till 6th Feb 1578. ¹
BRINCKOME: Anthony. [Brincklowe] (Arthur)	s-m Jun 1591 - 1592/3/4/ 5/6/7			
BROWNE: Peter	s-b ←1568→ ³			
BULLOCK: Simon	p-c 2nd Aug 1571 - 1572/ 3/4			
BURTON: John	s-m 1584-5			the "8th man in the choir" - not in the main list but paid 10s for travelling from Peterborough and staying in Norwich.
BUSSEY: Edward	s-m Sep 1598 - Jun 1600 then s-m Sep 1608 - Apr 1609 then s-m 22 Mar 1617 ¹ - 1618/19/20/1			Admonished 31st Dec 1608 for inciting the choir to go on strike at Christ- mas time, though only he did. ¹

CARLTON: John	s-m 22nd Feb 1567 ¹ - 1579/80	[keeper of the ferry 1567-8]		1559-66 King's College, Cam- bridge ⁴ 1587-94 St. George's Chapel, Windsor ⁴	
CARLTON: John	s-m Sep 1603 - Sep 1606/ 7 epist Sep 1606/7 - Dec/ Jan 1626 (died)				26-30 Apr 1614 admonished for abusing Thomas Askew (MofC) and then Dean causing a big rumpus. ¹ 1616/7 A John Carlton from Norwich tried for a clerk's place at Eton College. ²
	[I cannot make out whether this is one man or two. If it were one man he would have had a musical career of about 65 years - but I can find no conclusive evidence either way]				
CARLTON: Martin	s-m 1613/14 - 1649 ² p-c 1663 - Dec 1671 ²				2nd May 1644 admonished for irrever- ent speeches and carriage towards Dean. ¹ Buried 11th Dec 1671. ² Mentioned as resident in the 1649 Parliamentary Survey. ²
CARLTON: Redmain	s-m Jun 1616 - 1649 ² s-m 1664 ²	began psalms 1638-9, 1639-40 1640-1			Baptised 8th May 1593. ² Buried 19th Jan 1665. ² 1638-9 mended cathedral clock. Mentioned as resident in the 1649 Parliamentary Survey. ²
CARLTON: Richard	p-c Sep 1591 - Mar 1609 MofC Sep 1591 - Feb 1605	mentioned as curate of St.	1591-1608 curate of church of St.	rector of Bawsey 1612-1636 (died) ²	Resigned MofC post 17th Feb 1605. ¹ 1597 Visitation for cathedral critici- sed

/continued ...

			Luke's Chapel within cathedral 11th Jun 1608.	John and Mary in precincts. 1598 curate of St. Stephen's.	him for not reading the Injunctions or catechise the youth. Not an organist as organist post appears same time as he was MofC. (?) A composer - paid for composing a new service 1603-4.
CARR: Thomas	p-c 20th Oct 1587 ¹ - 1588/9				
CASTLETON: William	epist Sep 1604 - Sep 1605				
CATTON: Anthony	s-b +1568 ³				
CAUVAS: William	p-c +1568 ³				
CHAPMAN: Thomas	s-m +1567 ¹ gosp 26th Sep 1567 ¹ - 1568 p-c 9th Dec 1568 ¹ - Sep 1575				Part of riot in the cathedral (and of Dec 1574 or early Jan 1575) in which he and Stephen Lymbert (p-c) and Thomas Roberts (p-c) complained about the singing and wished it to be utterly banished from the church. ⁷
CHAPMAN: William	s-m Nov 1599 - Mar 1602 then s-m Sep 1602 - Dec 1605				

CHEVELY: John	s-m 1592/3/4/5/6/7/8 - Mar 1600			A composer - paid 1598-9 (for anthems) and 1599-1600 (for anthems and a service.
CLAXTON: Hamont	MofC patent granted 23rd Jul 1580			Granted patent together with his brother Lionel - they don't seem to have taken up the post.
CLAXTON: Lionel	(as Hamont Claxton)			(as Hamont Claxton)
COBBOLD: William	org 13th Dec 1594 ¹ -1611 s-m 1611 - 1638 ²	Janitor 1614 - 1631/2/3/4		Died 7th Nov 1639. ² Sang in the cathedral some time during the year 1581-2 paid 6s 8d. A composer both sacred ² and secular. ² Owned a considerable amount of pro- perty in Norwich - sold it for £320 in 1635.
CODD: John	s-m 1597-8			Paid 50s for "occupying the place of a singing man in the choir" - perhaps a deputy
COLBECKE: William	s-m Sep 1581 - Sep 1582			28th Sep 1582 "removed for good causes." ²
COLLER: John (?)	p-c +1567→ ¹			Admonished for adultery 16th Jan 1567. ¹ This man may be John Toller.
CRAGG: John	s-m 1585/6 - 1592/3/4/5 6/7			A Composer - paid 1586/7 (with John Amery) for writing and composing a service.

CRICK, Richard	p-c 20th Dec 1571 ¹ - Sep/Oct 1573				Had to pay 20s to the p-c's Hall on his admittance. Jul 1573 - preached at St. Paul's Cross London attacking the episcopacy defending the 'Admonition to Parliament' and probably held in custody for it. But was back in Norwich Nov/Dec 1573 offering to continue his lectures. ⁷
CROFFT: Nicholas	s-m 1609 ² - 1613/14				
DURRANT: Thomas/ Richard	epist Sep 1582 - Sep 1583 gosp Sep 1583 - 1587/8/9				Granted a patent in reversion 25th Aug 1581 ¹ entered in place of William Colbeck 28th Sep 1582. ²
DYOS: John	p-c Sep 1574 - Dec 1575				1574 - Sep 1575 shared the year's salary with Thomas Robert - possibly part-time to fill a vacancy.
DYSSE: Richard	p-c Mar 1585 - Dec 1598				
EVANS: Richard	p-c 8th Oct 1573 ¹ - 1573/4				
FAREWELL: William	epist +1568 - ³ Sep 1581 gosp Sep 1581 - Sep 1582	Butler +1568 ³ - 1582			

FUGILL: William	p-c Dec 1598 - 1641→		Instituted vicar of Catton 22nd Dec 1598 ⁵		Appointed as p-c 15th Oct 1600. ¹ Admonished several times for negligence and insufficiency for place and drunkenness. ¹
GARDINER: George	p-c 1562 - Oct 1565 ⁷ Prebend Oct 1565 ⁷ Dean 1573 ⁷		1562 minister at St. Andrew's, Norwich ⁷	Dec 1560 - 1562, minister of Chalton, Northumberland ⁷	Helped to desecrate cathedral and destroy organ in 1570. ²
GARDINER: Henry	gosp 1587/8/9 - 1591				
GARDINER: Jermyn	p-c 11th Apr 1567 ¹ - (?) Dec 1571 ¹ then p-c Mar 1575 - Sep 1585/ 6	chanter 1582-3			
GARRETT: Thomas [Garrard]	s-m Jun 1576 - Sep 1578				
GIBBS: Richard	org 27th Jun 1622 ¹ - 1649 MofC Sep 1629 - 1649				Given £8 extra "for his own diet" from 1622. 1629-30 paid for mending 2 viols. 25th May 1639 admonished to look after education of boys better and not to leave unfit substitute for the organ. ¹ In 1649 Parliamentary Survey still mentioned as MofC and org - though organ destroyed in 1643. Man of Substance - bought property to value of £320 off William Cobbold 1635. ² A composer - sacred works. ²

GODBALD: Roger	s-m Sep 1600 - Dec 1602			1581-2 s-b King's College Cambridge. ⁴ 1596 Gentleman in Extraordinary at Chapel Royal. ⁴ 1603 St. George's Chapel, Windsor. ⁴	
GOODALL: Robert	s-m/p-c 1564-5/6 ⁴			1560-1 at Westminster Abbey. ⁴ 1562 St. Botolph, Aldersgate, London. ⁴ 1562-3 King's College, Cambridge. ⁴ 1567-9 St. George's Chapel, Windsor. ⁴ 1569 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. ⁴	sang bass. ⁴
GRANSBOROWE: Robert	s-b ←Feb 1627→ ¹				chiefest of the choir boys - Thomas Purton tried to lure him away from the choir - admonished 3rd Feb 1627. ¹
GRAVES: Richard	s-m Sep 1584 - Jun 1585				
GRAYE: Robert	p-c Sep 1599 - c.Jul/ Aug 1606				appointed to a p-c's place 15th Oct 1600. ¹
GREW: Thomas	MofC 18th Mar 1542 ²				came from Berkshire. ²

HARMAN: Lawrence	s-m 1636 - 1649 ²		a skinner(?) ⁶		Mentioned as resident in the ₂ Parliamentary Survey 1649.
HARRIS: John	s-m 15th Mar 1634 ¹ - c. May 1648 (died) ¹				
HARVEY: William	p-c Mar 1575 - Jun 1576				
HAUND: John	s-m 1620/1 - 1631/2/3/4	began psalms 1621-2, 1625-6, 1628-30, 1630-1	(clock-mender)		Paid for mending the clock 1624-5, 1625-6, 1627-8, 1630-1.
HAYNES: -----	p-c ¹ / ₂ a year 1608-9				
HERNE: William	s-m ³ / ₄ of a year 1597-8				
HEWSON: Thomas	p-c Aug 1578 - Sep 1583				
HODKINGE: Bennet	s-m ¹ / ₂ a year 1604-5				
HOLT: Thomas	s-m Sep 1581 ⁺ ²				[This name does not occur in the accounts]
HOOKE: Thomas	s-m 18th Apr 1567 ¹ - Sep 1591 s-b 1562 ⁺ ²	almsman 1568-91	barber ²		

HORNE: Thomas	s-m 1626/7 - Apr 1633 p-c 27th Apr 1633 ¹ - 1649 ²	sacrist 1637-8 1642-3			Mentioned as resident in the Parliamentary Survey 1649. ²
HOSIER: Richard	s-m 29th Jan 1626 ¹ - 1626/7/8				
HUGGINS: Robert	s-m Jun 1609 - Sep 1609 then s-m ¹ / ₄ of a year 1612- 13				
HUNT: Henry	s-m Sep 1598 - Jun 1599				
HUSON: Robert	p-c Mar 1575 - Jun 1575				
INGLOTT: Edmund (senior)	MofC 31st Dec 1560 ² - Mar 1583				Something to do with cathedral in 1550. ²
INGLOTT: Edmund (junior)	s-b +1568+ ³ s-m Sep 1578 - Sep 1579 80				
INGLOTT: William	s-b +1568+ ³ s-m Sep 1580 - Sep 1581 epist Sep 1583 - Sep 1584 s-m 1586-7 MofC 1587/8/9 - Jun 1590			1597 - c.1607 org at Hereford Cathedral (from the Fitzwilliam Vir- ginal Book ed. Maitland & Squire 1899)	Seems always to have been involved with the choir even when not in min lists of accounts: e.g. 1581-2 paid 50s for taking the place of his father (MofC) when ill, 1582-3 paid 40s for diligence in his

	org 8th May 1588 ¹ - 1591 org Jun/Jul 1611 ¹ - Dec 1621				attendance in the choir, 1584-5 £4 for attendance in choir. 7th May 1579 granted a patent in reversion of MofC post. ¹ Buried 31st Dec 1621. ²
JACKSON: Arthur	s-m Sep 1590 - Sep 1603 gosp Sep 1603 - Sep 1605 epist Sep 1605 - Sep 1606/7 s-m Sep 1606/7 - 1609/ 10/11/12		Wait c.1586-1612 ⁸		Died in 1612.
JOLYE: Thomas	p-c ←1549→ ²				One of suspects in the case of some anonymous pamphlets slandering Mayor of the City of Norwich (Eastern Counties Collectanea p.171- 5).
KNAPTON: John	p-c Mar 1585 - Jun 1591				According to (2) died Aug 28th 1590.
KNOTT: Michael	epist 1585/6 - 1591				
LANGFORD: Edward	s-m c.Jun 1601 - c.Jul 1602			1592-9 at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. ⁴	In frequent trouble at Windsor for being drunk and abusive in the choir. Dismissed in 1597, he was reinstated soon after but did not mend his ways and had to be imp- risoned 16th Jul 1599 forcing him to resign his place. ⁴

LANGHERNE: Thomas [Langham]	s-m Jun 1581 - Sep 1586 then p-c Sep 1586 - Mar 1587 then s-m Sep 1587 - Sep 1603			
LANGLEY: George	s-b +1625+ ¹		Wait (? person of this name in 1638) ⁸	6th Dec 1625 provision made for his diet to MofC. ¹
LAWRENCE: William	p-c Dec 1580 - Sep 1581			
LYMBERT: Stephen	p-c Dec 1574 - Mar 1575		(Headmaster)	1569-98 Headmaster of Norwich Grammar School. Part of the riot (end of Dec 1574 or early Jan 1575) in which he and 2 others (Thomas Chapman a p-c, Thomas Roberts p-c) complained about the singing of the service and wished singing to be utterly banished in the church. Lymbert known as a staunch Puritan. ⁷
MEARS: Thomas	s-m 15th Nov 1639 ¹ - 1649 ²			Named as still resident in the Parliamentary Survey 1649. ² 6th Feb 1642 admonished for dis- respect towards Dean. ¹

MERRICK: William	gosp 1610 ² - 1613/14 p-c 1613/14 - 1631/2/3/ 4	precentor 1628-9, ¹ 1637-8 sacrist 1622-3, ¹ 1623-4, ¹ 1626-7, ¹ 1629-30 1630-1			9th Jul 1614 admonished for exceeding negligence and absence. ¹ A composer - paid 1615-16 £9 for "writing and pricking" books for the choir. 1629-30 supplied nails and candle-jackets to the cathedral.
MOLLE: John	s-m 9th May 1572 ¹ - Dec 1574				On his admittance sworn to renounce the "bishop of Rome". ¹
MONSE: Richard	p-c Jun 1575 - Sep 1576/7				
MOODY: Thomas	s-m Jan 1608 - Jul 1636 ²		Wait c.1616+ (1636) ⁸		Buried 20th Jul 1636. ²
MORE: John	s-m ←1549/50 - 1550/1→ ²				
MORES: Thomas	s-m ←1649 ²				Mentioned as resident in the Parliamentary Survey 1649. ²
MORLEY: Thomas	MofC Mar 1583 - Jun 1587			1586(?1587 surely) at St. Paul's Cathedral. ⁴ 1592 elected gentleman of the Chapel Royal. ⁴	16th Sep 1574 granted patent in reversion of MofC post (Ledger Book III) - this means he would have been only 17 years old at the time (2 motets of his in the Bodleian Library give their date of composition as 1576 and Morley's age as 19).

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					The commonly held supposition that Morley was a s-b c.1565-72 does hold good as his name is not mentioned in the 1568 Royal Commission list. ³
MOSSE: Simon	s-m 1592/3/4/5/6/7 - Sep 1609/10/11/12		dornexweaver(?) ⁶		He was dismissed 29th Dec 1604 ¹ and reinstated 2nd Jan 1608 ¹ but was still paid throughout period 1604-8.
MOWTING: Thomas	s-m 27th Apr 1633 ¹ - Feb 1685/6 ²				
NORGATE: William	p-c Sep 1590 - 1598/9				
PARSLEY: Osbert	s-m from the Reformation - Jun 1585				Often paid £10 instead of normal s-m £8 - also many 'rewards' for diligence and attendance in the choir. A composer - (see Tudor Church music Vol. X) his Te Deum said to have been performed before queen on her progress to Norwich 1578 (N. Boston 'The Musical History of Norwich Cathedral' - as usual he gives no reference for this statement).
PATRICKS: Richard	s-m Jun 1609 ² - Sep 1609 ² s-m 1/4 of a year 1612-13				
PECK: John	p-c +1567 ¹ - Dec(?) 1569 (died)	1567 Keeper of Evidence in the Treasury House.			(12th Sep 1567 made Keeper of the Evidence in the Treasury House ¹).

PECKOVER: Michael	s-b +1568 ³			
PENN: Peter	s-m Sep 1591 - 1592/3/4/ 5/6/7			
PHILPOTT: Richard	s-m 21st Aug 1589 ¹ - Dec 1589			
PICKERINGE: Thomas	p-c 1587/8/9 - Sep 1590			
PURTON: Thomas	s-m 10th Dec 1614 ¹ - 1626 ¹ epist 29th Jan 1626 ¹ - Jun 1639	began psalms 1621-2, 1636-7, 1637-8.		Admitted in the place of a tenor. ¹ Will proved 28th Sep 1639. ² Admonished 3rd Feb 1627 for attempting to draw away the chief choir boy. ¹
QUASH: Thomas	s-m 1609/10/11/12 - c.Dec 1638 ²		Wait 13th Jun 1612 ⁸	Formally admitted only on 9th Oct 1620. ¹ Buried 9th Dec 1638. ² Admonished for "notorious" absence and negligence 1614, 1615, 1617. ¹
REDE: John [Reade] [Reeve]	p-c Sep 1576/7 - Jun 1585			Possibly granted s-m patent in reversion 18th Aug 1573 (name of Reve). ¹
REDE: Thomas	s-m 14th Feb 1567 ¹ - 1571/2/3/4 p-c 1571/2/3/4 - c.Mar 1575			Admitted as a bass. ¹

REDING: Joseph	p-c 23rd Jun 1634 ¹ - Jun 1644	Chanter 13th Oct 1639 ¹	23rd Jun 1634 pre- sentation of St. Augustine's. ¹		2nd Sep 1639 admonished for frequent absence. ¹
ROBERTS: Thomas	p-c Sep 1574 - Mar 1576				Part of the riot (and of Dec 1574 or early Jan 1575) in which he and Stephen Lymbert, Thomas Chapman complained about the singing of the service and wished singing to be utterly banished in the Church. ⁷ 1574-5 shares stipend with John Dyas - perhaps part-time to fill a vacancy.
ROBINSON: Thomas	p-c Sep 1599 - 1616/7/8/ 9/20/21		curate St. Swithune Norwich ⁵		
ROWSE: Anthony	p-c Jun 1578 - Jun 1579				
RUDD: Richard	s-b ←1562→ ²				
RUDE: Richard	s-m ←1549-50→ ²				
SADLINGTON: Richard	p-c 6th May 1579 ¹ - Mar 1585		10th Sep 1584 "Felmingham Vicar- age to fourthpart Felmingham Rectory [incumbent] Richard Sadlington." ⁵		

SADLINGTON: Thomas	gosp Sep 1605 - Sep 1606/ then 7 p-c 3/4 of a year 1607-8 then gosp 1613/14 - 1616/7/8/ 9/20 then p-c 1616/7/8/9/20 - Jun 1638 (died?)				Admonished frequently for "notorious" negligence, absence and living with a woman (1622 ¹ ; 1629 ¹ twice; 1630 ¹) finally expelled 1630 ¹ but still paid till Jun 1638.
SANDLEY: Peter [Sandlyn] [Sandling]	s-m Sep 1606/7 - 1668 ²		Wait (Jul 1610 on probation: Jan 1617 full member). ⁸ Once an apprentice to Henry Baker a grocer. ²		17th Mar 1620 admonished for "malpertness and sauciness" towards Dean. ¹ 25th May 1639 substituted for K. Gibbs at the organ but drunk and incapable of performing the Service properly. ¹ An organ-mender paid 1615-16, 1621-2, 1623-4.
SAUNDERS: George	gosp 3/4 of a year 1608- 9/10 p-c 1609/10/11 - 1654 ² MofC Sep 1621 - Sep 1629	Precentor 1620- ¹ 1621-2, 1623-4, 1624-5, 1625-6, 1629-30, 1630-1, 1634-5, 1642-3 ¹	13th Feb 1611 presentation of either St. August- tine's or St. Saviour's Norwich ¹ Curate of St. Luke's Chapel 1617/8/9/20/ 21 - (?)1654. 3rd Mar 1641 to Vicarage of Bawber (but 3 months later someone else appointed). ¹		Buried 1654. ² 6th Feb 1642 admonished to be more sober. ¹

SAYWELL: John	p-c +1549→ ²			One of suspects in the case of some anonymous pamphlets slandering Mayor of the City of Norwich (Eastern Counties Collectanea p.171-5).
SHANCK: William	s-b +1568→ ³			
SHRIEF: (alias Kyrbye): John	p-c +1549→ ²			One of suspects in the case of some anonymous pamphlets slandering Mayor of the City of Norwich (Eastern Counties Collectanea p.171-5).
SMYTH: Edward	p-c 11th Oct 1624 ¹ - 1649 ²	Precentor 1626- 7 ¹ , 1637-8. Sacrist 1625-6, 1627-8, 1628-9 1634-5		Mentioned as resident in the Parliamentary Survey 1649. ²
SMYTH: Henry	gosp +1567 p-c 9th May 1567 ¹ → (1574)			
SOWTER: John	s-m 1606/7 - 1616/7/8/9/ 20 then gosp 1616/7/8/9/20 - 1641→		worstead weaver ⁶ (? all Sowter family seem to have been in this trade)	

SPRATT: Peter	s-m 24th Dec 1573 ¹ - 1598 then epist Sep 1598 - Sep 1604 then s-m Sep 1604 - Sep 1609 (died)		Wait c.1577 - 1601 retired ⁸		
STANTON: Robert	p-c +1567 ¹ - Dec 1575				
STEPHENSON: Robert	p-c 19th Sep 1572 ¹ - 1579/80				
STOKES: John	p-c +1568 ³ (1574)				Noted as a Doctor of Divinity in Royal Commission List. ³
STORTDAY: Marmaduke	s-m 1/2 of a year 1605-6				
SYAR: William	s-m Sep 1607 - Jul 1608 ¹				24th Mar 1608 allowed to stay to St. John Baptist only, unless he can prove sufficiency for place. ¹ 2nd Jul 1608 discharged for insuf- ficiency. ¹
SYER: William	gosp Jun 1582 - Sep 1582 then s-m Sep 1582 - Sep 1584				(This man could be the same person as William SYAR)

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	then s-m 1587/8/9 - Sep 1590 then s-m Mar 1591 - Jun 1591			
TAYLOR: William	s-m 9th Dec 1615 ¹ - Dec/Jan 1616-17 ¹			
THOMYESON: Thomas	p-c 1579-80 (Audit Book)			
THORPE: John	s-m +1549 ²			One of suspects in the case of some anonymous pamphlets slandering the Mayor of the City of Norwich (Easterr Counties Collectanea p.171-5).
TODDE: Anthony	s-b +1568 ³ then s-m Dec 1577 - Sep 1579/ 80		1581 elected Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. ⁴	
TOLLER: John	p-c +1560 ² - 1574 ² (died)		to 1560 rector of St. Mary-in-the-Marsh (Norwich) ² . 1560 appointed rector of Buckton or Boughton. ² 1563 presented to rectory of Spixworth in Norwich. ² 1574 noted as rector of St.Mary in-the-Marsh and St. Vedast (Norwich)	(See also John Coller)

/continued ...

when St. Peter
Permountergate
brought in union
with them.⁵

TOOKE: Andrew	p-c ←1549→ ²				One of suspects in the case of some anonymous pamphlets slandering the Mayor of the City of Norwich. (Eastern Counties Collectanea p.171-5.)
TOWNELEY: Thomas	p-c 4th Nov 1638 ¹ - May 1642 ²	sacrist 1639-40 ¹ precentor 1640-1	19th Oct 1639 order to confer St. Saviour's Church, Norwich. ¹		Buried 25th May 1642. ²
TUDDENHAM: Erasmus	s-m 28th Jan 1601 ¹ - Mar 1605 then s-m ¹ / ₄ of a year 1605-6				Admitted as a probationer ¹ but paid from Dec 1601.
TURKER: George	s-m Dec 1591 - 1592/3/4, 5/6/7				
TURNER: Humphrey	gosp 1580-1 p-c 25th Aug 1581 ¹ but paid as epist Sep 1581- Sep 1582 then gosp Sep 1582 - Sep 1583 then p-c Sep 1583 - Mar 1585				1580-1 paid as gosp with Robert TURNER - shared post.

TURNER: Robert	gosp 1580-1				1580-1 paid as gosp with Humphrey TURNER - shared post.
TUSSER: Thomas	s-m c.1559 - 1561 then p-c 2nd Jul 1561 ² - 1572			s-b St. Paul's Cathedral	7th Apr 1564 granted MofC patent in reversion on the death of Edmund Englott. In London 1572 - 1580 (death). Wrote apparently famous didactic poem "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry united to as many of God Housewifery"(1573). (Information from 'Thomas Morley of Norwich' - Watkins Shaw: Musical Times)
TWAYTES: Thomas	p-c Sep 1581 - Dec 1607		9th Oct 1587 instituted to rectory of Thorpe Episcopi. ⁵ 1604 St. Simon and St. Jude brought in union with Thorpe. ⁵		1597 Visitation - did not read the Injunctions, Homilies, or find a monthly preacher, or catechise the youth at St. Simon and St. Jude. (Bishop Redman's visitation 1597 - Norf. Rec. Soc. XVIII)
TWISTER: Robert	s-m 1579-80 (Audit Book)				[see comment for Thomas BOWMAN]
TYBENHAM: Geoffrey	s-m ←1562→ ²				Gave evidence to Mayoral Court re action over close. Said to be aged 66 years at the time. ²

WALKER: Leonard	s-m 1585/6 - Sep 1592 then epist Sep 1592 - Dec 1598				Jun 1587 - Sep 1587 took over MofC job for this quarter after Thomas Morley had left.
WALKER: Peter	s-m ³ / ₄ of a year 1602-3				
WALKER: Richard	s-m Jun 1590 - 1592/3/4/ 5/6/7 then gosp 1592/3/4/5/6/7 - Sep 1603 then s-m Sep 1603 - Dec 1603				18th Nov 1585 patent in reversion of a sum's place. ¹ Had 40s "to serve the choir" but being negligent in his duty, the grant was cancelled 19th Oct 1587. ¹
WARDE: Alexander	s-b 1562 ² → (1568)				instituted 26th Mar 1562. ²
WATKINS: Thomas	s-m ¹ / ₂ a year 1612-13				
WHITE: Thomas	p-c 7th Feb 1588 ¹ → (Sep 1590)				
WHITGIFT: John	p-c 1592/3/4/5/6/7 - 1606/7				
WILKINSON: Thomas	s-m Sep 1575 - Sep 1578 then gosp Sep 1578 - 1579/80 then p-c 1579/80 - Dec 1580				Sang in the choir sometime during the year 1581-2 - paid 3s 4d in 'reward' section of accounts.

WILLIAMSON: -----	p-c 1579-80 (Audit Book)				[see comment for Thomas BOWMAN] I think this is wrongly transcribed or originally written for WILKENSON.
WILSON: Anthony	s-m 2nd Mar 1573 ¹ - 1587 (died)		Wait ⁸		Went with the rest of the Norwich Waits to Cadiz on Drake's Expedition and perished there (1587).
WOODSON: John	p-c 1616/7/8/9/20 - 1624	sàcrist 1621-2		8th Oct 1624 admitted to King's College, Cambridge	
YOUNGS: Richard	s-m Dec 1603 - 1606/7 then gosp 1606/7 - Jun 1608		16th Apr 1608 presented with Vicarage of Barburgh.	(Vicarage of Barburgh?)	
YEOWLE: Thomas	p-c Jun 1587 - Sep 1590		30th Jan 1590 union "Kirkley to mediety of Pake- field: (incumbent) Thomas Yowle." ⁵	← 1587 Westminster Church (?paid 6s 6d for coming from it)	1589-90 paid only £9 so must have left early.

APPENDIX I

The Statutes of Henry VIII

(taken from *Liber Miscellaneorum 2* pages 23-55
in the Dean and Chapter deposit, Norfolk and
Norwich Public Record Office: original in Latin)

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The Statutes of Henry VIII

(taken from *Liber Miscellaneorum* 2 pages 23-55
in the Dean and Chapter deposit, Norfolk and
Norwich Public Record Office: original in Latin)

1 Of the numbers .

Firstly we decree and ordain that there will be perpetually in the said cathedral one Dean, six Canons, ... eight ... Minor Canons, one Deacon, one Subdeacon, six Lay Clerks, one Master of the Choristers, eight Choristers, two Instructors of the boys ...

20 Of the quality, election and admission of the Minor Canons and Clerks .

Because we decree that God be celebrated in this our church with hymns, psalms and perpetual prayers, we decree and wish that there should be eight Priests, a Deacon and a Subdeacon who shall read the Gospel and the Epistle, all of whom we appoint to sing the praises of God diligently in our church. They should be to the greatest possible extent learned and of good reputation and honest conversation and finally they should be skilled in the art of music. Also they should be chosen when a place becomes vacant by the Dean, or in his absence the Vice-Dean, and Chapter and moreover on their admission they will subscribe to an oath ...

22 Of the residence of the ministers .

We ordain and decree that the Minor Canons, Clerks and all the rest of the ministers in our church, shall be perpetually resident. No-one is permitted to leave our church throughout the whole day or night unless they had previously obtained permission from the Dean or in his absence the Vice-Dean. If anyone, however, goes against this, he should be given a discretionary fine by the Dean or in his absence the Vice-Dean. But if any of the ministers of the choir discourteously leave the church without giving three months notice we wish that he forfeits three months wages by the Dean or in his absence the Vice-Dean. Anyone of the Minor Canons who is absent from Greater Mass or from Matins shall be fined 1d; also anyone absent from Vespers or

Compline $\frac{1}{2}$ d; also anyone absent from the First, the Third, the Sixth, the Ninth $\frac{1}{4}$ d; anyone from the Choir who has not entered before the first psalm has ended or before the *Kyrie Eleison* in the Mass $\frac{1}{4}$ d; anyone who thinks lightly of a duty placed on him by the Precentor 2d; and any of the Clerks in the choir indeed may be punished with a discretionary fine by the Dean and the greater part of the resident Canons who shall stand in judgement on the Clerks. The sum deprived for absences at the end of each quarter, however, should be equally divided amongst those present and divided according to the number of days for which they were present, so that those who were present for more days should receive a greater share than those who truly attended less:- moreover, so that the minor Canons, priests and ministers of our church may more diligently perform their duties, we give them permission to enjoy one other ecclesiastical benefice only together with their aforementioned service in the church on condition that this benefice is not further than 24 miles distant from the city of Norwich ...

23 Of the Precentor and his office .

We will and ordain that one of the Minor Canons, who is of mature age and distinguished in character and education, should be chosen by the Dean and Chapter into the office of Precentor. His office shall be to guide the singing of the psalms with decency and provide and lead to others with his voice, just as if he were their guide, so that no discord should arise between the singers. All the Minor Canons and the rest of the Clerks should be ready to enter the choir and sing at the hours of importance. Whatever he shall have prescribed to read or sing, they must obey readily. Moreover, he shall truly note without any deceit or malice the absentees from Divine Office both of the Dean and Canons and all ministers in the choir which he shall faithfully report every 15 days in the Chapter House in the presence of the resident Canons. If, however, any of the Minor Canons or Clerks shall prove

a cause for his absences, it should be valid if approved by the Dean or in his absence the Vice-Dean. Moreover, he should make certain the books assigned to the choir are well looked after and preserved. Finally, however many times he should be away from the cathedral, he should appoint a deputy who should discharge the same duty faithfully. This man shall promise with a solemn oath to be responsible constantly for all these things.

24 Of the Sacrist .

We decree and wish that one of the Minor Canons, an industrious and trustworthy man, should be chosen by the Dean, or in his absence the Vice-Dean, and Chapter who shall be called the Sacrist in which he will look after the Altar of the temple, of the Chapels, of the vestments, of the books, of the Chalices, of the monuments and other ornaments ...

25 Of the Choristers and their Master .

We decree and ordain that there should be in our aforementioned church according to the choice of the Dean, or in his absence the Vice-Dean, and Chapter, eight choristers, boys of tender age and tuneful voices, skilled in singing who shall serve and minister and sing in the choir and have instruction and training towards this to such a reasonable degree of expertise in the art of singing. We wish that one man should be chosen by the Dean, or in his absence the Vice-Dean, and Chapter out of the six clerks previously mentioned, who should be of honourable reputation and life, expert in singing and playing the organs who should devote himself studiously to teaching these boys to play the organs in his own time, and the singing of Divine Offices. If he is found to be negligent or lazy in his teaching duties, he should be removed from Office after admonition. With respect to the faithful discharge of his duties, he should also be bound by an oath.

29 Of the Common Table of the Ministers .

In order that those who meet together and praise God together in the choir may also eat together and praise God together at the table, we decree and wish that both all the Minor Canons and ministers in the choir and the teachers of the boys at the Grammar School and all other lower ministers of our church and also the boys who are in the choir and at the Grammar School should eat and feast in the Common Hall, if it is at all possible ...

31 Of the stipends of the ministers in our church .

We decree and wish that at the end of every year stipends should be paid to the ministers of our church by the hands of the Treasurer from the revenues of our church ... in equal portions which are as follows: to each Minor Canon for his portion £5 2s 0d ... Epistoler £4 5s 2d ... choristers 15s ... sacrist 40s

[There is an empty line where the Gospeller entry should have been]

32 Of the Celebration of Divine Service .

We decree and ordain that the Minor Canons and Clerks together with the Gospeller and Epistoler and with the Master of the Choristers do daily perform Divine Offices in the choir of our temple according to the custom and habit of the other cathedral churches. We do not wish to obligate them to sing these offices at night. Moreover, we wish that on Principal Feast days the Dean, on Greater Double Feast days the Vice-Dean, and on the remaining Double Feast days the canons each one in their turn should celebrate publically the services ...

APPENDIX II

The Statutes of Elizabeth I

(BM Stowe Ms. 128 - extracts taken from
a transcript made and kindly lent by Dr. Alan Smith)

Of the body of the college and the number pertaining
to the same .

Imprimis, we will and ordain and decree that there shall be one Dean and six prebends or canons perpetually ... And for the better maintenance of the service of God and knowledge of his word we will that there shall be also one learned and grave man to be reader of the Divinity Lecture, six preachers, one public minister for all that dwell within the precinct of the said cathedral church, six petty canons, a priest, a deacon, an epistoler and gospeller, one expert man in music, schoolmaster of the Choristers, six singing men, six choristers, six scholars at the Grammar School, six scholars at the University of Cambridge, all which Lecturer [etc.] ... shall be chosen by the Dean and Chapter ...

Of the public minister, his office and stipend .

Item, we will, ordain and decree that there shall be a public minister, a priest of honest, godly life and fame, grave, wise, and learned, whose office shall be to minister (in such church or chapel as shall be assigned unto him by the dean and chapter) sacraments and sacramentals according to the order of the Church of England, to all the inhabitants within the precinct of the said cathedral church, and the parishioners of the late dissolved church of Marsh to visit their sick, bury their dead, and to do all things that shall appertain to a public minister. He shall also read the gospel at every Communion within the cathedral church, and as oft as it is to be sung or said, and he shall receive quarterly fifty shillings, and all the tithes predial and personal, appertaining to the parish of the late dissolved church of Marsh.

Of the petty canons and their stipends .

Item, we will, ordain and decree that there shall be six petty canons,

priests of honest and godly life and fame, and such as shall give themselves continually to the study of the holy scriptures, and to the service of Almighty God. And they shall reverence and obey in all lawful and honest things the Bishop of Norwich for the time being, the dean of the cathedral church and every prebend of the same. they shall be bound to continual residence, upon pain to pay for every Sunday or holiday that any of them shall be absent 8d and for every working day 4d, unless they be licensed by the dean or his substitute, who may grant unto any of them 20 days in a quarter to be absent, and not above, and every one of them shall receive fifty shillings the quarter and no more.

Of their office and duty .

Item, we will, ordain and decree that the six petty canons shall every one two months in the year, one month in winter, another in summer, the eldest beginning in January, say or sing the Morning or Evening Prayer in the choir, and celebrate the Communion once within the month at the least, and read at every Morning and Evening Prayer the second lesson for that month, and do all such other things, as shall appertain to the minister's office, either by himself, or his lawful substitute, and every of them shall be present at every sermon, and Divinity Lecture within the said church, and every of them shall depart from the said church after he shall be instituted to any benefice distant from the city of Norwich [not?] above 10 miles, and to any more than one benefice wheresoever they be, and enjoy no part of this benefit thereafter.

Of the Epistoler, his office, duty and stipend .

Item, we will, ordain and decree that there shall be one minister or deacon of good name and fame, whose office shall be to read distinctly and plainly every morning, winter and summer at six of the clock in the morning, the Morning Prayer according to the order of the Church of England, within the

said cathedral church, he shall also read the epistle at every Communion within the cathedral church, and as oft as it is to be read, he shall sing or say the Litany, so oft as it is to be sung or said, and he shall receive quarterly fifty shillings and no more.

Of the schoolmaster, his office and stipend .

Item, we will that there shall be a schoolmaster of the choristers which shall be a man of honest life and godly religion, skillful in pricksong, descant and playing of the organs, his office shall be to teach the choristers to read, write, sing and play, until they be perfect in the same, and he shall be bound to serve in the choir as other singing men do, and to play on the organs when and as often as it shall be thought convenient by the chanter, or his substitute, and he shall provide such songs as shall be fit and convenient to furnish the choir, and he shall not absent himself at any time without special licence as is before said in the statute of the petty canons, and he shall receive quarterly for his stipend fifty shillings and no more.

Of the singing men and their stipend .

Item, we will that the six singing men shall be of honest and godly life and conversation and such as shall give themselves to the service of Almighty God, they shall also be expert men in plainsong, pricksong and descant, they shall reverence and obey the Bishop of Norwich for the time being, the dean of the cathedral church and every prebend of the same in all lawful and honest things, they shall also read the first lesson at Morning and Evening Prayer, every one in order his month as the petty canons are bound to the second lesson before, and they shall gladly do everything else within the choir of the said church, whatsoever the chanter of the said church, or his substitute shall command them, they shall also be bound to residence continually as the petty canons, or upon pain aforesaid, and every of them shall receive quarterly 23s 4d.

Of the choristers .

Item, we will, ordain and decree that there shall be six choristers, poor men's children of the city of Norwich, or the country thereabout, or other poor men's children being more meet, which can sing their plainsong before their admission, which children shall serve daily in the choir, and shall do such other things, within the choir as shall be thought meet by the chanter, his substitute and their master and every one of them shall receive quarterly 13s 4d for his stipend and for his livery yearly at Christmas 13s 4d and no more.

Of the scholars at the Grammar School .

Item, we will, ordain and decree that after any of the choristers have served in the room of a chorister till his voice be changed or by the space of five years then he or they whose voice is changed or time expired shall be placed in the common grammar school within the city of Norwich for the space of other five years, yet so that every one of them shall serve in the choir of the said cathedral church, every Morning and Evening Prayer on Sundays and holy days as before when they were choristers, and every one of them shall receive like stipend and livery, as when they were choristers viz. 13s 4d every quarter and for their livery at Christmas 13s 4d and no more.

Of the six scholars at Cambridge .

Item, we will that there shall also be six scholars found at the University of Cambridge which shall be chosen from the common grammar school in Norwich, of such scholars as were choristers before in the said church, and every one of them there to tarry under the name of the church scholars for the space of five years unless some one be judged not proficient by the Master of that house where he shall remain, and then we will, that he that is so judged shall presently lose this benefit and the others to receive their

stipends and liveries as when they were choristers and scholars during the five years as is aforesaid.

Of the chanter .

The chanter's office shall be to moderate and rule the choir at his discretion, and to take notice of all such as shall be absent, contrary to these statutes, and his fee shall be yearly £10 to be paid as is before and no more. And he may appoint some one of the petty canons to be his substitute, allowing him the one half of his stipend.

Of the election of petty canons, singing men, choristers
and other officers .

Item, we will, ordain and decree that the election of petty canons, singing men, choristers and all other officers pertaining to the said cathedral church, shall be the last Friday in September ... [and] they shall choose such person or persons as they in their consciences shall think meet for their life and religion to be chosen for gospeller or epistoler, into any petty canon, singing man or scholar's room then being void ... and it shall not be lawful for the said dean and chapter to grant any advowson of the said rooms or patent in reversion of any of the said offices to any person, or in any respect before the same be presently void. Also it shall not be lawful for any of the said persons or any other to exercise or enjoy two of the said rooms or offices ...

Of the divine service .

Item, we will, ordain and decree that there shall be daily service in the choir of the said church at the which service, every petty canon, singing man, chorister and almsman shall be present from the beginning to the ending (except he be licensed as is aforesaid) or else have urgent let to be approved

by the dean and treasurer for the time being, or their substitutes upon pain aforesaid, and the Morning Prayer shall begin summer and winter, holy day and working day at 7 of the clock, except there be a sermon or lecture and then the Morning Prayer shall begin at 8 of the clock at the furthest, or before. And the Evening Prayer shall begin winter and summer at 4 of the clock at the furthest; it shall suffice to have the service in plain note, without any parts on the working days, with a psalm in metre at the beginning and ending of prayer and also before and after sermons and lectures.

Of the assignation of lodgings and chambers .

Item, we will and decree ... [that] the six preachers, the six petty canons, the six singing men and the lecturer shall have their lodgings appointed by the dean and chapter and the schoolmaster shall have the house sometime called Wardrapers.

APPENDIX III

Orders for the Choir, 1605

(taken from *Liber Miscellaneorum 2* pages 107-110
in the Dean and Chapter deposit, Norfolk and
Norwich Public Record Office: original in English)

Orders for the Choir in cathedral church in Norwich, being

An extract of the old Statutes covering the number and qualities of the petty canons, singing men, and choristers, and the government of them with certain additions for better order hereafter to be kept among them, [notably] in the execution of divine service in the church, as otherwise confirmed and ordered by George Montgomerie, Dean of this church.

September 21 A.D. 1605

1. The six canons, Organist, and ten singing men shall be men of good name and fame; and expert in music, able to sing their parts in the choir.
2. Every canon, the Organist, and singing men at his admission shall be sworn to the supremacy; and to keep and to observe the ancient customs and usages of the church; to perform due reverence and obedience to the Dean and prebendaries, and such decrees as they shall make for the good and better government of the church; and lastly that they shall to their uttermost power procure the honour, credit, profit and dignity of the said church.
3. The residence of the Canons, Organist and singing men shall be perpetual, for it shall not be lawful for any of them to be absent from divine service, or any part thereof at any time without leave of the Dean, or of his deputy being one of the prebendaries resident. Whoever at any time comes tardy, shall lose [].¹ Who so is absent, for every service that he is absent from on working day shall lose 1d [2d crossed out], and for his absence from every service on the Sunday and holy day shall lose 2d [3d crossed out]; and for absence from every service on a double feast day shall lose 3d [4d crossed out], to be deducted out of his wages by the payment at the end of every quarter.

1 - Like subsequent amounts a figure has been crossed and another added but this operation has rendered both unreadable.

4. By holy days we understand such days as by order of our Communion book are appointed to be kept holy. Double feast days are the so following; Christmas day, New Year's day, Twelfth day, Candlemas day, Easter day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, Ascension day, Michaelmas day, Hallowmas day, and the day of the coronation of the Prince.
5. He shall be taken to come tardy, whosoever comes after the Venite ended at morning prayer, and after the first Gloria Patri at Evening prayer.
6. The punishment of all absences shall be equally divided at the quarter's end; the one third part to the poor, another amongst the canons, organist and singing men, the third to the Chanter for his pains.
7. If any canon, organist or singing man, shall come into the Choir without his surplice he shall be taken for absent, and so punished, and if any of them depart before the service fully ended without leave, he shall forfeit and lose 1d.
8. If any of them shall talk one with another, or any other in time of divine service, or behave themselves unreverently they shall be punished by the discretion of the Dean, and in his absence by the discretion of his deputy, being a prebendary resident.
9. There shall be at the beginning of every quarter one of the canons or singing men chosen by the Dean, or in his absence by his deputy being a prebendary resident who shall be called the Chanter.
10. The said Chanter shall faithfully observe the absences and tardies of every Canon, the Organist and Singing-men, and shall truly present them every Saturday after Evening Prayer to the Dean, and in his absence to his deputy being a prebendary resident in the chapter house at which time if any can alledge reasonable excuse to be allowed by the Dean, or in his absence by

his deputy being a prebendary resident, he shall be pardoned; otherwise the punishment afore specified shall be set on the offenders' lead to be withdrawn out of his wages at the quarter's end.

11. The eight children shall come in surplices two and two decent and orderly into the Choir continually, and there behave themselves reverently; and if they be negligent or irreverent, or come tardy, or depart the Church before the service be ended, or not be able to sing their parts sufficiently and musically, if their Master do not correct them for it or see their fault amended, by a fine by the Dean or his deputy being a prebendary resident assigned, the Master shall be punished by the discretion of the Dean or in his absence by the discretion of his deputy being a prebendary resident. And further if any child be past service of the church or unserviceable, upon 3 months warning given to the Master by the Dean, or in his absence by his deputy being a prebendary resident, the Master shall remove him, and get another to be placed by the Dean, or his deputy being a prebendary resident, or else by discretion to be punished.
12. Where it is said before that the Choir shall be obedient to the Chanter, it is further decreed that the chanter and the rest of the Choir shall be at the appointment of the Dean or in his absence of his deputy being a prebendary resident both for what hour service shall begin at, and what service shall be sung, or what shall be read in the church, and for every other thing forever, who if they or he disobey in their appointment honest and lawful they and every of them shall be punished by discretion of the Dean.
13. And whereas ordinary punishments before are assigned, if notwithstanding these punishments any Canons, the Organist or Singing man shall other offend, which offences or scandal of life and behaviour shall avail to an admonition in the chapter house before the Dean, or in his absence before his deputy being a prebendary resident for his faults, of which admonition record shall be made;

and after three admonitions given, if there be not amendment, the party offending in such sort as shall deserve admonition shall be forever removed from his place in the church.

14. And whereas of late some of the choir very disorderly will begin to ferry [i.e. to say] service when they may sing, and when the Te Deum hath been sung have ferried the Benedictus, and some Canons for haste have left out on Wednesdays and Fridays the Litany, it is now ordered that the Canon or singing man that shall begin to ferry any part of the service, when there is company enough to sing (except when some of the choir are departed, so that for want of voices they cannot proceed in singing service) shall lose 6d for every such beginning to ferry. And that canons which executing service leaveth out on any Wednesday or Friday the Litany shall likewise forfeit and lose for every such omission 6d. These faults likewise to be observed by the Chanter, and to be presented every Saturday after evening prayer in the chapter house the other before are appointed.
15. And for the better singing of the Litany hereafter, it is ordered that the Chanter for the better sorting of the voices, shall assign always who shall sing the Litany with the Canon that executeth. Provided always, that no lay man of that side that the canon goeth from shall go down to the Litany, but always one of the contrary side, to the end that one side be not left more unfurnished than the other. And to this purpose the Chanter shall have authority to command any one of the Choristers from time to time whom he please to go and signify to whom the Chanter assigneth, that he is appointed to sing the Litany with the Canon that executeth to which appointment every singing man shall be obedient, upon pain to be punished by discretion.
16. And for better execution of these orders there shall be a table always hanging in the Chapter House, wherein shall be written the names of all the Canons. Singing-men, and all other officers of the church, according to their seniori-

ties, upon whose heads the punishment of all offences to be punished as aforesaid every Saturday at night shall be set, and from those tables at the quarter's end the paymaster shall take his directions, [and deprive] from every man in his payment what in those tables are punished.

17. And if it shall happen neither the Dean, nor any prebendary shall be resident, which we well hope shall not be; then it is ordered that in absence of them, the Chanter shall have authority to see these orders executed, and do all things as the Dean, or in his absence his deputy being a prebendary resident, by these orders might do.
- [18] And it is further ordered, that whoever shall not come unto the service before the Te Deum shall be reputed absent and who so departs the Ordinary service before the Benedictus ended, and on days when the Litany is used before the versicles after the petitions in the Litany be ended, and on days when the epistle and gospel are to be used, before the gospel ended shall reputed absent and so punished.
- [19] And whereas some of the Choir very offensively do sometime walk in the Church in the time of Divine service, it is also ordered that whosoever shall hereafter in such sort offend, shall incur the penalty of an individual admonition; besides his penalty of his absence.

APPENDIX IV

The Statutes of James I

(taken from a copy made in 1626 in the
Liber Miscellaneorum 4 in the Dean and Chapter deposit,
Norfolk and Norwich Public Record Office: original in Latin)

Chapter 1: Of the number of those who support our Cathedral
church of the sacred and undivided Trinity of Norwich .

Firstly we decree and ordain that there should be in our said church one Dean, six Prebendaries, six Minor Canons, one Deacon [the Gospeller], one Epistoler, eight lay clerks, one organist, eight choristers ... one beadle of the poor who should blow the bellows of the organs.

Chapter 12: Of the qualities and admission of the Minor Canons,
Gospeller, Epistoler, Organist and others .

Because before all things we wish that God be celebrated in this church with hymns, psalms and perpetual prayers and with other godly exercises sensibly in keeping with the Scriptures, we decree and ordain that there be, in our aforesaid church, six Minor Canons, all either priests or at least deacons; one Gospeller, one Epistoler, one Organist, and eight Clerks (always chosen by the Dean), all of whom we appoint for the singing the praises of God, and reading the appointed lessons in the temple of the church. Each should be of good reputation and honest company, of sensible and orthodox faith, and, as much as is possible, education in the Holy Scriptures, so that by their ministry the minds of their listeners may be drawn to embrace the true worship of God. Finally both the Minor Canons and the Gospeller, the Epistoler, Organist and Clerks should be skilled in singing, expert in voice and talent to serve in the choir. Moreover, when their places shall be vacant, the seventeen ministers mentioned above shall be chosen by the Dean in consultation with certain Minor Canons or Clerks, who, if the Dean himself is not acquainted with the art of singing, are most skilled in the craft of singing. All those shall take the oath at their admission in the following manner as in accordance with oath Statute:

Chapter 13: The oath of the Minor Canons and all ministers of
the church .

"I, [Name], chosen as a member of the cathedral church of the sacred and undivided Trinity in Norwich, swear that ... I shall observe, to the best of my ability, all orders and statutes of the King's Majesty for this church, published or to be published, in so far as they concern me. With regard to these things I shall show deference, obedience, and reverence to the Dean and Prebendaries. Finally, I shall conscientiously preserve the propriety and honour of this Church."

We wish every minister of our church perform that very oath on his admission.

Chapter 14: Of the presence of the Minor Canons, Gospeller,
Epistoler, Organist and Clerks .

We ordain and decree that the Minor Canons, Gospeller, Epistoler, Organist, Clerks and all the rest of the ministers in the said church shall be perpetually resident. No-one shall be permitted to leave the church unless having previously obtained permission either from the Dean or (in his absence) the Vice-Dean or, if both are absent, from the senior resident Prebendary. If any minister of the choir discourteously leaves the Cathedral without having previously given three months notice to the Dean, or in his absence the Vice-Dean, we wish that this man forfeits three months wages. We wish that each man, either Minor Canons, Gospeller, Epistoler, Organist or Clerks, who has been absent from Matins and Vespers, should be punished by a fine from the Dean or, in his absence, the Vice-Dean or, in his absence, the senior resident Prebendary; for each day for which he was absent from the [ordinary] feasts 2d, on Sundays and festive days for each absence 4d, for double feast days 6d. We declare that the double feast days be: the Nativity of our Lord, the Day of Circumcision, Epiphany, the Purification of the Virgin Mary, Easter, Ascension day, Pentecost, Trinity day (which is the feast day of our church of the Holy Trinity of Norwich), the birth of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael

the Archangel, All Saints Day. Together with these anniversaries we wish that all days of solemnity be celebrated in our church, such as is the day of our coronation and of our successors, and the day of thanksgiving for the liberation from the Gunpowder conspiracy, and others of that kind. Those who come late should be fined by 1d. We say that those who come late are those who have come after the Psalm at Matins, and those who come after the first Psalm has ended at Vespers. Anyone who has been absent from hearing the sermons, either absent from the explanation of God's word in our church, or has departed, having previously been present in that sacred body, from the foregoing divine prayers, should be punished by a fine of 6d. We wish it that those who do not come before the end of the first Lesson or leave the choir before the end of the second Lesson should be pronounced absent without pardon or lawful reason. Whoever in the choir thinks lightly of performing a duty laid on him by the precentor, should be fined a discretionary fine by the Dean. Of the sum of the fines at the end of each quarter or limit, we require that a fourth part be given to the precentor and that which remains should be given back into the possession of the Dean and Chapter of our church. But if any of the Minor Canons, Gospeller, Epistoler, Organist or Clerks present in the choir shall not sing one with the other to the bad example of the rest when they sing psalms, hymns and other sacred songs or when any public lectures have been instituted or appointed for those holy days, or if the word of the meeting has not been diligently listened to, but also if he has cared more for enjoying his mutual conversation with others or his own private readings whilst paying less attention to public prayers, readings and songs, we wish that he be noted and fined for such a special kind of absence. Moreover so that the Minor Canons or priests of the church may more diligently perform their duties, we give them permission to enjoy one [other] ecclesiastical benefice only, together with their aforementioned service in the church on the condition that such a benefice should not be further than twelve miles distant from our city of Norwich and so that the same service of his own private affairs is not detrimental to

the service of our church, we allow that it should be lawful for three ministers of the choir, daily and in turn, to be absent from the choir of the church to deal with their private affairs; but we utterly forbid that it should be lawful for them to be absent on Sundays, feast days, double feast days and on solemn days and on their vigils. We wish that the proper order be observed in the absences. We decree and wish that whereas the number of singers in the choir is 16 the total number be distributed in this manner - that there always be 5 Basses, 5 Tenors, and 5 Countertenors. Of whom we give permission for one bass, one tenor and one countertenor, each in his turn, to absent himself (on the days allowed by this statute) for a whole week from the prayers to be celebrated in our church, without any penalty being imposed for their absence. At the time of their absence, we will that they wash their surplices, if they are dirty, so that no-one may either ask for time of absence on the pretext of washing his surplice, or presume at any time to enter the choir without his surplice. When indeed some inevitable necessity happens that he asks to be given permission for absence beyond the bounds of the statute or its alternatives, we forbid that permission be granted unless the same man finds a substitute from his colleagues with the same voice in the choir for the period of his absence, or unless he ensures to make up the absence in the choir. At the least, therefore, we wish that there be 13 persons present in the choir to celebrate divine service. Indeed we wish that there always be a sixteenth voice, either Bass or Countertenor (for we do not admit more than 5 tenors in our choir) and we allow him and the Organist to have their substitutes of absence, except only the organist is able to acquire another [from outside] who shall fill up his place when he is absent as well as his substitute. We wish that the organist do wear a surplice and be present in the choir at the celebration of prayers until it is time for him to go to the Organ. But if he is permitted by the authorities to be away from his post, and if he undertakes to supply, with permission, another in his

place for his absence, and if he has defaulted in making up the number, we wish him to be fined for his allowed absence from that place. Anyone absent three times in one week from Divine Prayers in the choir over and above their substitutions or without permission, we declare that he is conspicuously negligent and comes in for admonishment.

Chapter 15: Of the Organist and Choristers .

We decree and ordain that there should be in our aforementioned church, in accordance with the choice and nomination of the Dean, 8 Choristers, boys of tender age, and with tuneful voices, skilled in singing, who shall serve, minister, and sing in the choir and have instruction and training in playing various musical instruments and in descant to such a reasonable degree of expertise in singing and playing the instruments (if these be supplied at the church's expense) in skilfully wrought music. We will that one man should be chosen by the Dean, out of those serving in the Choir in the singing of Divine Service, who should be of honourable reputation, honest life, skilled in singing and the playing of musical instruments, and who should diligently devote his time to teaching the 8 boys in their time and supervise the singing of divine offices. We also wish that this man should look after the health of the Choristers and we wish that they live in whatever place he dwells, and we also entrust to his faith and industry their teaching and training in letters and in Scripture. Also we wish that in this place they should be accommodated at table and in daily life - all of them or at least the four who are most fitted to serve in the Choir - until it is possible for them to be furnished and provided for with a table in the Common Hall. If this man should be found negligent or lazy in his teaching duties, after the third warning he must be removed from the office. With a view to the faithful discharge of his office, he should also be bound by an oath. We will that the Organist should certainly be a man of honourable reputation and good character,

skilled in playing the organs and in descant, who shall give the correct note to the choir as they are about to sing the hymns and shall accompany with the same when the hymns shall permit and shall praise God daily only with solemn melodies.

Chapter 16: Of the Celebration of Divine Service .

Since we have now examined the nature of the service of the ministers in the Choir of our church for leading the way and instruction in the Apostles, and since first and foremost there must be supplications, sermons and thanksgivings by everyone in the church, we decree and ordain that in this cathedral church of Norwich, at morning and evening sacrifices, prayers, supplications, intercessions and thanksgivings be perpetually offered to God, morning and evening and that the praise of God be daily celebrated with voices, organs and melodies. We decree and ordain that the Minor Canons, Gospeller, Epistoler, and Clerks, together with the Master of the Choristers, the Choristers and organist do daily perform Divine Service in our temple according to the accepted custom and habit of our other cathedral churches. Moreover we wish that on The Lord's Nativity, Easter Day, and Pentecost, the Dean, if he is at home or in his absence the Vice-Dean, and on the feast days of the Circumcision, Epiphany, and the Lord's Ascension, also of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin and of all Saints and on the remaining double feast days, the Prebendaries in residence in their order should publicly celebrate Divine and Sacred Prayers at the Eucharist in the church ...

Chapter 18: Of the Common Table of the Ministers .

Since in former days it was the custom in the church of Norwich that those who met together and praised God in the Choir may also eat together and praise God at the table, and since this most laudable custom, to the most evil example and grave detriment of Divine Worship, has now become abolished

and obsolete by carelessness if not impiety, we greatly desire it to be restored in its entirety. So that this might be effectively done as quickly as possible, we entreat the Dean and Chapter - indeed we lay it upon their conscience openly before God - and decree and ordain that the Dean and Chapter should diligently and faithfully observe in the letting and handing over the farm possessions each and all belonging to our church as specified by the conditions in the Chapter '*Of the letting of lands and tenements to farm*', so that from the growth of the farm the yearly revenue of our church may be thus augmented that the increase in revenue may suffice first for the maintenance of the Common Table in the Common Hall for the sustenance of those who every day serve God in the choir of the church and then for the growth of a greater richness in hospitality of the Dean and Prebendaries. Therefore we decree and ordain that both the Minor Canons and the Gospeller, the Epistoler, the Organist, and the Lay Clerks with the Choristers of our church should eat and feast in the Common Hall both eating heartily and in those matters more with decorum and propriety in the said Hall. We wish that the Dean every year at some time before the feast of St. Michael the Archangel elect one of the more discrete and sober men (who celebrates Divine Worship perpetually in the Choir) who should be called the Warden and who shall exercise the office of Warden for one whole year from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel after his election to that post. The Warden, with the consent of the majority of the diners temporarily at each table, shall choose one discrete and wise man who should be called the monthly Steward for the Common Hall ...

Chapter 20: Of the Stipend of the Minor Canons, Gospeller,
 Master of Choristers, Epistoler, Organist, and
 Clerks, and Choristers .

We decree and wish that at the end of every year stipends should be paid

to the ministers in the Choir by the hands of the Treasurer from the revenues of the church (as well as those assigned in Chapter 18) in equal portions which are as follows: viz. to every Minor Canon for his portion £10; to the Gospeller £9; to the Epistoler £8 10s; Organist £20; to every Lay Clerk £8 to the Master of the Choristers on top of the stipend allocated in this statute by rights for his place in the choir shall have £8 for the education of the Choristers. To the Choristers in addition to their board and education we allot no further sum of money; this much alone do we wish that out of the first increased revenues of the Church, each Chorister do receive annually at the feast of Easter $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards of cloth, to the value of 5s at the expense of the church at the hands of the Treasurer for a livery (as they call it) which livery we wish to be a gown.

Chapter 21: Of the houses and accommodation of the Dean,
Prebendaries, Minor Canons and the rest of the
ministers assigned to our church .

..... We decree and ordain that the Dean and each of the Prebendaries and Minor Canons and other ministers of our church should have their personal and private houses within the Precinct of our church

Chapter 34: Of the Office of Precentor.

We decree and ordain that one of the Minor Canons, or the Gospeller, who is of a mature age and distinguished in character and education should be chosen every year by the Dean, or in his absence by the Vice-Dean, to be Precentor. His office shall be to guide with decency the singing of psalms in the church to rouse those that are negligent in singing to rebuke quietly those who make a disturbance and [those who] run about disorderly in the choir, and finally to give a vocal lead to the others, just as if he were their guide, so that no discord should arise during the singing. Furthermore he shall truly note, without any deceit or malice, the absentees from Divine

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Norwich Musicians Vol.I	Mann Ms10	Ms436	T132B	L8347
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