

hearing my name turned to one another and gave those base terms, as 3 honest men that came behind affirmed to me."

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The commission,¹ dated 10th April, 1644, issued to Colonel Hutchinson by the Earl of Essex, authorizing him "to Call a Councill of Warre as often as need shall require for the Tryall of the Officers and Souldgers of the Garrison of Nottingham," is now in the Nottingham Castle Museum. This and the commission from Fairfax were formerly in the collection of Mr. James Ward. A list of other Hutchinson documents in the possession of local collectors would be interesting.

EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

By MR. SAMUEL CORNER.

It is a popular error, supported by many historians and writers of acknowledged authority, that English schools mostly date from the Reformation, that education in the Middle Ages was confined to the clergy and a select few of the gentry, and that its aim was to prepare the young monk, or cleric, for the church, or the young soldier of birth in the arts of chivalry. But an examination of existing records, whether in the national or local archives, and of other extant documents, shows abundant evidence that education was widely diffused, and extended even to the working classes; that everywhere there were, from very early times, schools open to all; and English literature from the days of Alfred supports this; for instance, many familiar passages in Chaucer, and in the poem known as *Piers Plowman* clearly show that education was within the reach of rich and poor.

(¹) Reproduced in *facsimile* in the *Transactions* for 1899.

It is not intended in the present paper to give the history of those grammar schools of the county of Nottingham, of which so admirable an account is given by Mr. A. F. Leach, in the *Victoria County History of Nottingham*, or of the ancient grammar school, known since 1868 as the Nottingham High School, the history of which has been published in the school magazine, *The Forester*, but to give some of the evidence for the statement that there were few parishes in which it would have been difficult to find a school or schoolmaster within a short distance.

Professor Thorold Rogers, in his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, combats the idea that a knowledge of reading and writing was confined almost entirely to the ranks of the clergy. He shows the difficulty of accounting for the universal practice of keeping elaborate and exact accounts, if bailiffs, and others who kept them, were wholly illiterate; and, indeed, it is impossible to believe that an official of an estate could carry in his head, or verify by tallies, the exceedingly numerous details which he must have supplied in order to get his assets and liabilities balanced at the end of the year to a farthing. This fact, of which there is evidence in manorial accounts in every county of England, shows that schools must have been attached to the monasteries and other ecclesiastical foundations, and that the extraordinary number of schools founded just after the Reformation were not the result of a new zeal for a new learning, but the fresh and very inadequate supply of that which had been so suddenly and disastrously extinguished. The work just mentioned refers to the records of New College, Oxford, founded in 1379 by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, the founder of Winchester School, where are preserved tradesmen's bills presented and paid before the college

audit, rudely written, and evidently the composition of men who were not adept penmen ; but they are evidence that artizans in the 14th and 15th centuries knew how to keep and write an account. Bishop Stubbs, in his *Constitutional History*, points out that the bailiff of every manor kept his accounts in Latin. The schools of the Lollards, closed by the policy of Archbishops Arundel and Chichele, the latter the founder of All Souls' College, Oxford, and the wide distribution of the books and pamphlets of the Lollards, in spite of the attempts made to suppress them, are strong evidence of ability, general amongst all classes, to read these manuscripts.

When a villein became a free man his lord lost his services ; in some manors, therefore, the lords endeavoured to prevent the sons of their unfree tenants from being educated, lest that they should take orders and so become free. Enfranchisement and the advantages, on occasion, of "benefit of clergy," must have increased the desire for education. The sixteenth article of the Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164, enacts that "the sons of villeins may not be ordained without the consent of the lords on whose land they are known to have been born." The Statutes of Labourers and Apprentices, passed after the great diminution of the population by the Black Death, also restricted their liberty ; but a statute of Henry IV., passed in 1405, expressly provided that "every man or woman, of whatever estate or condition, shall be free to set his son or daughter to take learning at any school that pleaseth them within the Realm." Evidence of this difficulty is still extant. Professor Thorold Rogers, in his *History of Agriculture and Prices*, quotes from the accounts of the Manor of Wolrichston, in Warwickshire, the payment, in 1361, of a fine of five shillings, by Walter Martin, for the privilege of putting his eldest son *ad Scholas* ; in the

same manor, in 1371, Stephen Sprot pays a fine of three shillings and fourpence that he may send his son Richard *ad Scholas*; and William Potter a fine of thirteen shillings and fourpence that his eldest son may go *ad Scholas* and take orders; at Rodestone, in 1261, there is a record of the expenses of "little Stephen," at Oxford, from Christmas to Easter, amounting to four shillings and threepence; at this date the only college founded at Oxford was University College, the first historical endowment of which dates from 1249.

The education of women was not neglected. The prioress in the *Canterbury Tales* had learnt French at "Stratford atte Bowe," and the wife of the miller of Trumpington in the *Reeve's Tale*, her "nortelry" in a nunnery. In the records of the commissioners of 1539, instances of girl boarders occur. It is stated that at St. Mary's Abbey for Benedictine nuns at Winchester, also known as Nunnaminster, there were twenty-six girl boarders "daughters of Knights, lords, and gentlemen;" similarly the Benedictine nunnery of Carrow, in Norwich, was a school for Norfolk. Professor Thorold Rogers also shows that it was the practice of country gentlemen to send their daughters for education to the nunneries, and to pay a certain sum for their board. A number of such persons are enumerated as boarders at the small nunnery of Swyn, in Yorkshire. Only one roll of expenditure for this religious house survives in the Record Office, but it is quite enough to prove and illustrate the custom.

Dr. Furnival, in his preface to *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*, published by the Early English Text Society, says that a grammar master often formed part of the establishment of a great noble or prelate, who had pages of gentle birth living in his house for education. Mr. Rashdall also shows that a boy of well-to-do family

often received his earliest education from his father's chaplain, or a private tutor, or neighbouring priest employed to teach him. Cardwell, in his *Documentary Annals*, quoting the Injunctions of Edward VI., issued in 1547, whilst the chantries were being dissolved, gives the following clause: "That all chantry priests shall exercise themselves to teaching youths to read and write and bring them up in good manners and other virtuous exercises."

The need of education was felt at an early date all over Western Europe. Charlemagne, in 787, issued a proclamation requiring the clergy to receive the children of their parish, sent to them by their parents for that purpose, to be taught, and no fees to be exacted. He also himself founded large palace schools for the children of his courtiers, nobles, and others. Pope Eugenius II., at a synod held in 826, issued a decree that in all episcopal sees, and all other places where it is necessary, masters and doctors are to be provided, to teach letters and the liberal arts.

Mr. Leach, in his *Educational Charters*, quotes many decrees forbidding money to be paid for teaching, which was also forbidden by canon law; but the frequent repetition of the prohibition shows that the custom of taking money was common. In the later Middle Ages scales of fees were fixed by authority; for instance, in 1477, the Bishop of Norwich fixed the "quarterage" payable to the schoolmaster at Ipswich as tenpence for the grammar school; eightpence for the school; and sixpence for the elementary school.

The oldest existing English school is no doubt Canterbury; it was founded, in all probability, by Augustine, at least as early as 598, for Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, speaks of another school, founded in 631, after the fashion of Canterbury. Bede also

writes of the zeal for education of Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury from 668 to 690, of Abbot Hadrian, an African by birth, of Tobias, Bishop of Rochester, and of Abbot Albinus, the course of study including Greek, Latin, mathematics, and astronomy, as well as music and singing, and mentions schools during this century also at York and Rochester. The writings of Aldhelm and Alcuin show the further growth of schools in the next century.

The Danish invasions checked the spread of education, and a well-known passage in the preface to King Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, written about 893, says that the decay of learning and teaching amongst the English people, at the beginning of his reign, was so general, that there were few south of the Humber who could understand their services in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English; that the churches throughout England were filled with treasures and books that could not be understood; and that all the youth of English freemen, who are rich enough to be able to devote themselves to it, should be set to learning until they are well able to read English writing, and afterwards Latin.

The *Life of King Alfred*, attributed to Asser, but probably written at a much later date, gives some account of the education of his children; they read both Latin and Saxon books, and especially the Psalms and Latin poetry. Alfred is said to have devoted one eighth of his income to the school of boys of noble birth, and others, kept at his palace.

The canons of King Edgar, about 960, enjoin priests diligently to teach youth; and the decrees of a council, held about 994, ordain that priests shall keep schools in the villages and teach small boys free (*gratis*).

The celebrated *Colloquy* of Ælfric gives an excellent

description of school life, and shows that boys of all classes were taught in the schools: ploughmen, shepherds, cowherds, hunters, fishermen, hawkers, chapmen, merchants, shoemakers, salters, bakers, as well as those intending to become clerics; apparently some of these were "half-timers;" for the boy in the *Colloquy* says: "I work very hard; I go out at dawn to drive the oxen in the field, and yoke them to the plough; however hard the winter I dare not stay at home for fear of my master; and having yoked the oxen and made the ploughshare and coulter fast to the plough, every day I have to plough a whole acre or more."

Abbot Ælfric, or another Ælfric, wrote the first English Latin grammar. In the preface he says that a grammar translated into English may help little boys; but his notions of prosody are unsound and peculiar; for instance, although the vowels of *Deus* and *pater* are short, they should be pronounced long, as a mark of reverence and respect. It is seen incidentally, from the sentences given as examples, that girls were also taught.

Abbot Samson, of Bury St. Edmunds, says that Canute was so pious and charitable, so great a lover of religion, that he established schools in the cities and boroughs and appointed masters to them, and sent to them to be taught grammar not only noble boys of good promise, but also the freed sons of slaves, maintaining them at the expense of the royal purse.

Mr. Leach shows, in his *History of Warwick School*, that some, at least, of the English schools were continued after the Conquest. In a charter of Henry I., it is commanded "that the Church of All Saints, Warwick, have all its customs, and the ordeals of fire and water, as well and lawfully as they used to have them in the time of King Edward (the Confessor), and of my father and brother, and have the school in like manner." There is

also documentary evidence of the continuance of the schools, amongst others, of Dunwich, Canterbury, Hastings, York, Salisbury, Twyneham, and Gloucester.

The same writer quotes from the Episcopal Registers of York a very interesting decree that preserves the recollection of an ancient school at Kinoulton that has long since disappeared, and illustrates the rivalry between different schools in this county at a very early period.

“Dated at Laneham, 30th June, 1289. That no School shall be kept in the parish of Kinoulton except for the clerks of the parish; which is much for the Master of Nottingham.

“To the Schoolmaster of Nottingham and the Vicar of our Church of Kinoulton.

“As we wish our rights to be kept in their integrity, so we do not desire ourselves to derogate from the rights of others. We decree, therefore, that only the clerks of our parish of Kinoulton may, if they wish, attend the School which has been from ancient times customarily kept in that parish, all other clerks and strangers whatever being kept out and by no means admitted to the said School. By this we deem that we have regard to the rights of our Church or free Chapel aforesaid, while as regards clerks from outside [the parish] your rights, Master, are wholly preserved to you.”

Letters, dating about 1111, still existing in the muniments of St. Paul's, show that Hugh the schoolmaster had rooms in the tower, and also had the keeping of all the books of the church.

William Fitzstephen, who died in 1191, in his *Life of à Becket*, published in the Rolls Series, 1877, describing London in 1118, says that “the three principal churches have celebrated Schools of privilege and ancient dignity. Often, however, through

personal favour to some noted philosopher, more Schools are allowed there. On feast days the masters celebrate assemblies at the churches, *en fête*. The scholars hold disputations, some declaiming, others by way of question and answer; these roll out enthymemes, those use the better form of perfect syllogism. Some dispute merely for show as they do at Collections [a scholastic term still used at Oxford]; others for truth, which is the grace of perfection. The sophists using the Socratic irony are pronounced happy because of the mass and volume of their words; others play upon words. Those learning Rhetoric, with Rhetorical speeches speak to the point, with a view to persuasion, being careful to observe the precepts of their art, and to leave out nothing that belongs to it. The boys of the different schools vie with each other in verse; or dispute on the principles of Grammar, or the rules of preterites and supines. Others in epigrams, rhymes and verses, use the old freedom of the highway, with Fescennine licence freely scourge their Schoolfellows without mentioning names, hurl abuse and fun at each other, with Socratic wit gird at the failings of their Schoolfellows, or even of their elders, or bite them more deeply with the tooth of Theon in audacious dithyrambics. The audience, in the lines of Persius (3. 87.)

‘multum ridere parati,

Ingeminant tremulos naso crispante cachinnos.’

(‘ready for much laughter, wrinkle their nose as they redouble their shaking shouts of laughter.’)”

“Games. Every year on the day which is called the Carnival, (Shrove Tuesday), to begin with the boys’ games, (for we were all boys once), all the boys in each School bring their master their game-cocks, and the whole morning is devoted to the boys’ play, they having a holiday to look on at the cock-fights in their Schools.

In the afternoon the whole youth of the city goes into the suburban level for a solemn game of ball, and nearly all the holders of civic offices also provide one. The grown-up people, the fathers and rich men of the city, come on horseback to look on at the struggles of the young, and in their ways grow young with the young; and the motion of natural heat seems to be excited in them by looking on at so much motion and by sharing in the delight of the freedom of youth."

Mr. Leach, in his *English Schools of the Reformation*, shows the importance of chantry schools in English education in pre-Reformation times. Though education, as well as general economic conditions, suffered from the disastrous plagues that devastated the country, the great bulk of the chantries were founded in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, and their number increased, with the spread of wealth, up to the Reformation. In addition to praying for the souls of the founders and their friends, it was the duty of the chantry priest to teach poor boys. The term "chantry" included a chapel, altar, or some part of a church, as well as a distinct foundation. On the other hand, Mr. Hastings Rashdall, in his *Universities of Europe*, states that the grammar schools belonging to the monasteries were secular schools, taught by secular masters, and quite distinct from the schools of the monks. He considers that it may be stated with some confidence that, at least in the later Middle Age, the smallest towns, and even the larger villages possessed schools where a boy might learn to read and acquire the first rudiments of ecclesiastical Latin; while, except in very remote and thinly populated regions, he would never have had to go very far from home to find a regular grammar school.

In the records of the Commission under the Chantries Acts of 1546 and 1548, out of 259 schools,

ninety-three were grammar schools, 140 are so called, twenty-three are song schools, and twenty-two are elementary schools. The chantry school was sometimes small, but sometimes the number of pupils exceeded 150. After the dissolution of the chantries the same injunctions, above quoted, required all the clergy possessed of a certain income from their benefice to contribute to the maintenance of one or more scholars about one-thirtieth of their income.

The craft guilds of London and other towns supported grammar schools; at least thirty-three of these existed.

To show how well provided the county of Nottingham was with foundations, the members of which, if they carried out the intentions of the founders, and obeyed the often repeated injunctions of popes and bishops, and did their duty as defined in the canon law, would be largely engaged in teaching, a list is here given of the more important religious houses and foundations existing in the 16th century. It is taken chiefly from Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, volume vi., pages 679-772, and pages 1524 and 1575, with a few additional names from Abbot Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*, and other sources.

Nottingham, Hospital of St. John, or Spital House, founded in King John's reign, under the government of the burgesses, under rules approved in 1241, situated "in the North of the Town," granted at the Dissolution in 1534 to the town of Nottingham. The certificate relating to this hospital, issued in 1548 by the Commissioners of Edward VI., has this rather cryptic memorandum:—"Scoll maister of the poore relieved by the space of this 20ti yeres and more by my mannes remembraunce was ther none."

Plumtre Hospital, "at Bridgend," founded in 1392 by John de Plumtre, for two chaplains and thirteen widows.

Hospital of St. Leonard, founded in the reign of Henry III.

College, or Free Chapel, at Nottingham Castle, Edward I.

Cell of two monks, in the Chapel of St. Mary, on the Rock under the Castle, Henry III. This is perhaps the cell mentioned in Gasquet as being a Cell of Lenton Priory at "Roche," in Nottinghamshire.

Friars of the Holy Sepulchre, Henry III., in the Castle.

College of Secular Priests in the Castle (Thoroton).

Convent of Franciscans, Grey Friars of Nottingham, "in a place called Broadmarsh, not far from the Castle," said to have been founded by Henry III. in 1250.

Convent of the Carmelites, or White Friars, for a prior and six brethren, between Moothall Gate, and St. James' Lane, in the parish of St. Nicholas, founded by Reginald Lord Grey de Wilton, and Sir John Shirley, 1276.

Willoughby Hospital, formerly on Malin Hill, founded in 1524 by Thomas Willoughby.

Margery Mellors' Hospital, founded by her in 1539.

Nottingham, St. Mary's, Guild of the Holy Trinity, six priests with a house on High Pavement, founded by Thomas Thurlande.

Nottingham, St. Mary's, two chantries dedicated to St. Mary and St. James; the chantry of the Amyas family who lived on the Long Row.

Nottingham, St. Peter's, Guild of St. George.

Nottingham, St. Peter's, three chantries, two of which were dedicated to St. George and St. Mary.

Nottingham, St. Nicholas, a guild or chantry dedicated to St. Mary.

Lenton Priory, Cluniacs, Black Monks, founded by William Peverel about 1080.

Lenton, Carmelites, mentioned in Patent Rolls of Edward I.

Lenton, Hospital of St. Anthony.

Annesley, chantry.

Beauvale, Greasley Park, Carthusians, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Mary, founded in 1338 by Nicholas de Cantelupe for a prior and twelve monks; at the dissolution there were nineteen monks.

Bingham, College of St. Mary, a guild or chantry.

Bingham, Chapel of St. Helen, founded by Richard de Bingham for one chaplain.

Blyth, an ancient school, with a small endowment of lands.

Blyth Priory, Benedictines, Black Monks, founded about 1080 by Roger de Busli or de Builli.

Blyth, Lazar Hospital, for a warden and three chaplains, founded under a bull of Pope Honorius III., issued to Blyth Priory, by William de Cressy, Lord of Hodsock, about 1216.

Clifton, collegiate chantry, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, for a warden and two priests, founded in the reign of Edward IV.

North Clifton, near Newark, a collegiate chantry, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, for a warden and two priests, founded by Sir R. Clifton in the reign of Edward II.

Coddington, a richly endowed chantry, founded by Henry of Coddington.

Felley, conventual priory, founded about 1080 by Randolph Britto, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and subordinate to Worksop Priory.

Fiskerton, Cell of Austin Canons, from Thurgarton Priory.

Gonalston, Bradbusk Spital, founded by William de Heriz, in the reign of Henry VIII., to the honour of St. Mary Magdalen.

Harby, chantry founded by Edward I. in memory of Queen Eleanor, who died there in 1290, afterwards removed to Lincoln.

Kinoulton, ancient school existing in 1289.

Laxton, St. Michael's, chantry.

Mansfield, St. Peter's, ten chantries.

Marsh, Cell of St. Mary's Abbey, York, Benedictines.

Mattersey, Gilbertine Abbey, founded before 1192 by Roger Fitz Ranulph, of Maresey, for six canons.

Mattersey, Chantry of St. John the Baptist, to help the vicar, and teach children.

Newark, Franciscans, Grey Friars.

Newark, Austin Friars.

Newark, Hospital of St. Leonard, founded about 1130 by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, still in existence as almshouses, in Northgate and the London Road.

Newark, the Spital.

Newark, Hospital belonging to the Knights Templars.

Newark, Convent of Observant Friars, founded by Henry VII. in 1499.

Newstead Abbey, Conventual Priory of Austin Canons (Black), founded in 1170, by Henry II., in expiation of the murder of Thomas à Becket.

Ossington, Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, held by Knights Hospitallers.

Radford Priory: Radford is the name of that part of Worksop in which the priory stands.

Retford, St. Swithin's, chantries dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Mary, founded "to maintain the service of the Church, and to bring up children."

Ruddington, college for warden and four chaplains, founded by William Babington in the reign of Henry VI.

Rufford Abbey, Cistercians, White Monks, founded in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in 1148 by Gilbert de Gaunt, Earl of Lincoln, with monks from Rievaulx Abbey, in Yorkshire.

Shelford, Conventual Priory, Austin Canons, founded by Ralph de Halselin about 1150.

Southwell, Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, existing in 1313.

Stoke-by-Newark, Hospital dedicated to St. Leonard, for a master, chaplain, brethren, and sick persons.

Sutton-in-Lound, chantry.

Thurgarton, Conventual Priory, Austin Canons, dedicated to St. Peter, founded in 1187 by Ralph de Ayncourt or d'Eyncourt

Tuxford, chantry for three priests, founded by John de Longvillers, in the reign of Edward III.; the endowment was transferred to Retford Grammar School.

Tuxford Priory.

Welbeck Abbey, Præmonstratensian Canons, White, founded by Thomas, Lord of Cuckney, about 1150, with canons from Newsome, in Leicestershire.

Willoughby-in-the-Wolds, St. Mary and All Saints, chantry, probably dedicated to St. Nicholas, founded in 1250 by Richard Bugge.

Worksop, Conventual Priory, Austin Canons, Black, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Cuthbert, founded by William de Lovetot in the reign of Henry I.

Broadholm, in the parish of Thorney, Præmonstratensian Nunnery, founded in the reign of Stephen by Agnes de Camville, wife of Peter Gousla.

Mattersey, Gilbertine Nunnery, dedicated to St. Helena.

Wallingwells, Benedictine Nunnery, founded by Ralph de Capreocuria, or Chevrolcourt, in the reign of Stephen, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, anciently known as St. Mary's of Wallondewelles.

To this list may be added the ancient grammar schools, still existing, of Nottingham (before 1289), Southwell (before 1248), Newark (before 1238), Mansfield (1561), East Retford (1551), Tuxford (1669).

