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## **Acknowledgements**

The facsimile of the only known copy of the Foundation Charter is reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge. The editor is also grateful to the recently retired Archivist at St John's, Mr Malcolm Underwood, for assistance during the course of production. Access to the other foundation documents was only possible due to the generosity of the Pocklington School Foundation, and to the staff of the archives and local studies service at the Treasure House, Beverley. The discovery of the contemporary copy of the charter in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge was made by Mr Phil Gilbank (O.P. 1967-74) and the Rev. Christopher Dent (O.P. 1961-65). The initials 'O.P.', wherever they appear in this book, signify 'Old Pocklingtonian'.

Translation from the Latin of the charter was undertaken by Mr David Stather (O.P. 1949-57) in consultation with Mr Keith Walls (O.P. 1949-57), and incorporates some corrections recommended by Professor Nicholas Orme. Translation from the Latin of the deed establishing the Dowman Scholars was undertaken by Mr Walls. Translation and transcription of all other documents was undertaken by Mr Stather, with much invaluable secretarial assistance from Mrs Christine Harbisher. Furthermore, the introductory notes to the individual documents were written by Mr Stather.

This book, to incorporate the most important documents of the school so assiduously translated by Mr Stather and others, was the brainchild of Brian Fenwick-Smith (O.P. 1943-54), a Dolman Exhibitioner, who organised the production of this work and paid for the printing and binding. The book was edited by Mr Richard Butler, a Foundation Scholar at St John's College, Cambridge.

## **Editorial Note**

The text of the original documents runs continuously without any breaks and therefore the translations of each document, including the transcriptions of any English text in them, has been broken up into paragraphs beginning and ending at convenient break points in the text and punctuation has been supplied for ease of reading. Upper-case initial letters and large type have been supplied wherever these seem to be appropriate and words supplied by the translator are shown in square brackets. Old spelling for place names has been kept throughout the book. The letters 's' and 'p' signify 'singular' and 'plural' respectively.



# INTRODUCTION

*Canon Professor Nicholas Orme  
University of Exeter*

Those who learn that Pocklington School was founded in 1514, when Henry VIII was young, will probably think of that period as the beginning of modern times. They will have heard that the early sixteenth century was a new age when kings and kingdoms were stronger, new technologies were appearing, art and literature were being created in different ways, and explorers were reaching new lands. In truth, most of these developments were much older than we assume. People were writing in English from the 600s. England was a strong kingdom by the 900s. Europeans reached the Pacific via China in the 1200s. Mass-produced leaflets were being created by hand in the 1300s, the century that saw the earliest guns. As for schools, they had existed for centuries before John Dowman founded his at Pocklington.

## **Education before 1514**

There were schools in Roman Britain, and they continued to exist in monasteries and bishops' households in Anglo-Saxon times. At first, such schools were small and chiefly meant for children who aimed to be priests, monks, or nuns, but as early as the 600s some of those who went to school intended to follow lay careers. The nobility especially wished to read Latin or English to imitate the Romans, to worship in church, to gain knowledge, or simply for recreation. As time passed, the number of lay people seeking education grew in quantity, and monasteries could no longer satisfy the demand. By about 1100, at the latest, schools of a modern kind had begun to appear, that is to say schools that were separate institutions like schools today. They had their own buildings and teachers, and were open to anyone who could pay the fees that they charged.

Nobody kept records of schools in the middle ages, and we hear of their existence largely by chance. But there is no doubt that there were many of them, certainly by the 1200s. This was a period that saw an educational revolution in England, comparable to the Agricultural or Industrial Revolution. It has been described as the change 'from memory to written record'. In about 1100, if there was a lawsuit about a piece of land, witnesses would be summoned to say what they remembered about the ownership. By 1300, the owner of the land would produce a written document, a charter, proving who owned the property and forming a more reliable piece of evidence. Not only property, but much of everyday

life now came to be written down. Royal commands, court proceedings, manorial records, financial accounts, letters, and wills all multiplied in quantity, along with prayer books, treatises, and works of fiction. Tens of thousands of people had need to be able to read, and schools were required to teach them.

The vast majority of these schools were elementary ones that merely taught you to read. Parents, if they were literate, could pass on this skill at home. Small private schools sprang up: some run by clergy in churches, others by men and women in their own houses, charging low fees. They taught the Latin alphabet and how to pronounce Latin words. Once you could recognise letters and pronounce them, you could use this skill in any language, and it was much easier to read English than Latin, because in Latin you also had to learn the meanings of the words and how the language is constructed. So the elementary school enabled you to read a Latin prayer book and say Latin prayers in church without necessarily understanding what you were reading, whereas it gave you the full power to read and understand a text in English.

To understand Latin fully, you went to a more advanced school, known as a grammar school, grammar meaning Latin. These schools were for boys and youths alone; girls did not reach so high, even noblewomen and nuns. The pupils were between the ages of about ten and eighteen, and they learnt how to read, write, and speak Latin. The teaching was done by professional schoolmasters, and it was more expensive because the fees were higher and the training longer. Moreover, there were fewer grammar schools than elementary ones, and most were in towns, so that anyone who lived more than a few miles away from such a school was obliged to board with the schoolmaster or in another private house. Then as now, the cost of boarding added enormously to the expense of schooling. However, if you could afford a grammar-school education, it was a valuable resource. Noblemen and gentlemen needed to know Latin for reasons of status, to run their estates, and to engage in legal business. Other school pupils used their skills to become clergy, lawyers, merchants, or clerical staff working for the king, the nobility, or in trade.

In the late 1300s, wealthy benefactors began to come forward to offset the costs of grammar-school education. One of the pioneers in this regard was William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, who founded Winchester College in 1382. Winchester was not a school for the general public, but for seventy specially selected scholars who received free education, board, and lodging. In 1440 Henry VI used Winchester as the model for his own foundation of Eton College, on similar lines. Winchester and Eton are the best-known medieval schools because they exist today, but they were very unusual foundations, and they cost far too much for most benefactors to copy.

Two years after Winchester's foundation, a modest and little-known member of the aristocracy, Lady Katherine Berkeley, endowed a different kind of grammar school at Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire in 1384, a school that is also still with us. Katherine had relatively little money to spend on her project, and she did not attempt to make it a boarding school. Instead, she built a small schoolhouse and assigned revenues to pay a schoolmaster to teach grammar free of charge to anyone who came. This meant in practice boys of relatively affluent families from the nearby district. In theory, poor boys could have attended her school, but that was unlikely to happen. The cost to their families of losing their earnings, the courage required for a poor boy to go into a community of his social betters, and the fact that the school did not pay for books or writing materials were strong deterrents to sending such boys to a grammar school. If they wished to gain access to education, they did better to go to an elementary school and learn merely to read in English.

It took some time for Lady Katherine's initiative to become popular, and this did not happen until the 1440s. The king at the time, Henry VI, had a strong interest in school education, hence his foundation of Eton, and his interest spread to his courtiers and others who took their lead from him. One wealthy person after another – lay members of the nobility and gentry, bishops and richer clergy, wealthy merchants and lawyers – began to found day schools like Wotton to give free education in grammar. The schools tended to be sited in market towns rather than in the cities or the countryside, as was the case in Pocklington. It did not cost a vast amount of money to endow a day school of this kind. The master's salary was usually fixed at £10 a year, which involved setting aside land or money to the value of £200. Another £50 - £100 was required to pay for the legal expenses of founding the school and building a schoolhouse with a master's lodging. But this expenditure was within the means of the kinds of founders mentioned above.

By the early 1500s nearly 100 free grammar schools had been founded in England. In Yorkshire, the first appeared at Hull in 1479, followed by Rotherham (1483), Acaster Selby (at about the same date), Royston (1503), and Giggleswick (*c.* 1507). Pocklington came next in 1514, and afterwards Whitkirk (1521) and Sedbergh (1525-28). Many more were created in the sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries, but it is worth remembering that they are an invention of the later middle ages, not of the Renaissance. Nor did they bring education to a cultural desert where none had existed before. In some of these towns, like Hull and Rotherham, we know that there were earlier fee-paying grammar schools, and there continued to be many such schools alongside the free ones. Some people worry today about the existence of fee-paying schools, and about the tendency of any kind of school to

become popular with, and dominated by, people of higher social and economic status. The truth is that these features have always existed in English education, right from its earliest days.

### **John Dowman the founder**

John Dowman, the founder of Pocklington School, was born in about 1465, the son of William and Dorothy Dowman. His parents were minor gentry with property at Pocklington as well as at Badsworth near Pontefract. They had other sons: Thomas, who inherited the family property, and Christopher, who established a branch in Hertfordshire. We do not know where John was sent to school, but he certainly studied grammar successfully enough to continue his education at Cambridge University, presumably with his father's financial support. He entered Cambridge in about 1483 to study civil law, meaning Roman law, taking the bachelor's degree (LL.B) in 1488 and the doctor's (LL.D.) in 1494. For the next few years he seems to have stayed at Cambridge, giving lectures and



possibly doing private legal work. Civil law did not qualify you to practise in most of the English secular courts, which handled English common law. Instead, civil lawyers usually became administrators in the Church, and a doctor of civil law was a desirable person to employ for this purpose. By 1503 at the latest, Dowman had entered the service of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester. Fox was a senior servant of Henry VII, a member of his privy council, and the keeper of the king's privy seal. His duties at court made it necessary for him to depute the running of his diocese to others, and Dowman became his vicar-general, carrying out the bishop's legal duties. These included approving the appointment of clergy to benefices, granting licences and dispensations, and visiting religious houses to inspect



their affairs. Fox paid him by appointing him to parish churches: Wonston in 1503, Michelmersh in 1504, and (very briefly) Meonstoke in 1508, all in Hampshire. This was an established practice, and Dowman covered himself with a licence from the pope to hold up to two such churches at the same time. He would not have served the churches himself but appointed curates to do so. Once he had paid them, the clergyman's income from the lands and tithes of the churches was entirely his own.

Dowman's competence as an administrator, his closeness to Fox, and his links with the court brought him to the notice of other bishops who wished for his advice or services. In about 1505 the bishop of Norwich appointed him archdeacon of Suffolk, a duty that he could have discharged through a deputy, and in the same year the bishop of Salisbury made him a canon of Salisbury Cathedral. In 1509 the bishop of Lichfield followed suit at Lichfield, and at about the same time the bishop of London (Richard Fitzjames) did likewise at St Paul's. From about 1508, Dowman's life was centred on London, where he continued to do business for Fox as well as for other people. At first he lived in a house in Ivy Lane off Paternoster Row, just north of St Paul's, no doubt employing a small household of male servants to look after his needs. He became a member of Doctors' Commons, an organisation like the inns of court that catered for ecclesiastical lawyers and was situated near Dowman's house. Later, by 1514, he moved a little way further south-west to reside in the parish of St Martin by Ludgate, but still very near to St Paul's.

Dowman probably spent most of his time in London for the remaining twelve years of his life. He kept close links with St Paul's, of which he became a residentiary canon with additional rights and duties. He formed friendships with leading London citizens. William Barde, a fishmonger, was charged with sorting out some of his affairs after his death. William Chertsey, a grocer, was named as an executor of his will, and he became involved with the Haberdashers' Company. He continued to work for Fox as well as for the bishop of London and, by 1522, for Cardinal Wolsey. In 1513 he presided over the trial of Thomas Denys of Maldon, a man accused of maintaining heretical views after renouncing them. Dowman judged him to be a relapsed heretic, and handed him over to the secular authorities to be burnt. In 1526 he took part in another heresy trial of four German merchants in London. They were accused of being followers of Martin Luther, who had just come to prominence as an opponent of the Catholic Church.

Dowman's life came to an end in 1526, when he was aged about sixty. He made his will on 8 November and died shortly afterwards; probate of the will was granted on 6 December. When he established his guild and school at Pocklington in 1514, he seems to have planned to be buried in the parish church there, since he asked his schoolmaster and

pupils to pray for him whenever they passed his tomb. By the end of his life, he had changed his mind in favour of the chapel of St Katherine in St Paul's Cathedral, which he had either created or refurbished. In his will he left money to endow two priests to say masses for his soul in the cathedral, one at the altar of St Katherine and the other at that of St Martha and St Mary Magdalene. Both priests were to be university graduates. Smaller sums of money were given to a wide range of religious houses to say prayers for his soul. His principal law books were bequeathed to Cambridge University, his theological works to St John's College, Cambridge, and his duplicate law books to Clement's Inn, a community of lawyers in London. To the Haberdashers he bequeathed two silver-gilt salt-cellars. He also remembered his brother Christopher and Christopher's five daughters. Four of these were given money towards their marriages; the fifth, Margaret, had become a nun of Romsey Abbey.

The chapel of St Katherine, where Dowman wished to be buried, was probably in the south transept of St Paul's Cathedral. He ordered his tomb to be made beside the pavement around the altar, and in the absence of any contrary information it is likely that he was buried there. The tomb probably took the form of a plain stone slab on the floor above his coffin, either containing a brass memorial or merely carved with an inscription. It was scarcely noticed by historians for the next 150 years. Dowman expected that one of the chantry priests whom he had endowed would say mass for his soul in the chapel every day in perpetuity, but this took place for less than twenty years, because the government of Edward VI abolished all chantries in 1548. When the cathedral was destroyed by fire in 1666 and rebuilt by Christopher Wren, the stone above Dowman's grave must have been broken up or removed. The nearest one can get today to his likely place of rest is to stand in the middle of the south transept of Wren's new cathedral. If anything remains of his grave and body, it is somewhere a few feet away.

The records that survive about men like Dowman throw light on their careers rather than their characters and personalities. However, three of his personal qualities seem to emerge from the documents. He was a learned and efficient church lawyer, because so many leading churchmen employed him in this respect. He was outgoing and sociable, in view of his friendships with clergy and London merchants. And he was firmly committed to the Church of his day, not just in serving it but in maintaining its beliefs and traditions. Hence his willingness to take part in heresy trials, and his many bequests for masses and prayers for his soul. He died when the Reformation was just beginning in Europe, its ripples as yet only faintly extending to England. Yet, as we shall see, he was troubled by

changes in the world as early as 1514, and when he founded Pocklington School he tried to make it a stronghold of the religion into which he had grown up.

### **The founding of Pocklington School**

Wealthy people in the early sixteenth century who wished to give money to charity had several available choices: monasteries, university colleges, chantries, almshouses, the poor, and schools among other things. Dowman may have been led to found a school because he was closely involved with other people who did so. Richard Fox was the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and endowed Grantham School in Lincolnshire. Richard Fitzjames, the bishop of London who appointed Dowman to St Paul's, founded Bruton School in Somerset, and John Colet, the dean of St Paul's, refounded the cathedral school of London as what we now know as St Paul's School. In the same way, Dowman secured a royal licence on 24 May 1514 to found a guild in Pocklington church in honour of the Name of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and St Nicholas (the patron saint of scholars). The licence empowered him to grant endowments to the guild worth up to twenty marks (£13. 6s. 8d.) per annum. Dowman acquired property for this purpose at Thrybergh near Rotherham, but he kept it in the hands of a group of trustees rather than giving it directly to the guild. This proved to be helpful when the Reformation came.

Nearly three years later, on 3 February 1517, he issued the *Foundation Charter*. It laid down how the guild was to function and stipulated that a school should be one of its main activities. The guild was to be led by a master and two wardens, who were appointed in the first instance by Dowman from members of his family. Other people – men and women – could join the guild, and they were to elect the master and wardens in future. One of the purposes of the guild was to run a school, the other was to support religious worship. Out of the income of the endowment, supplemented by offerings made by guild members, the master and wardens were to pay a priest £4 per annum to say a daily mass in Pocklington church for the souls of Henry VIII, Katherine of Aragon, John Dowman, and the members of the guild. Every Friday the mass was to be said in honour of the Name of Jesus, every Saturday in honour of the Virgin Mary, and every Monday in honour of St Nicholas. The Monday mass was to be said at dawn, so that working people could attend it before they went to their employment. Guild members would have been encouraged to attend the masses, and there would have been a social dimension to membership. Very likely, admission to the guild would have favoured respectable people, who would meet one another at services and hold at least one festival each year, with a special meal.

Most people who founded schools up to the 1510s meant them also to support religious activities in this way. It was common to require the schoolmaster to be a priest, so that he could say mass every day for the founder's soul just as Dowman's guild priest was to do. But for reasons that are not quite clear, this arrangement fell out of fashion in the 1510s. Perhaps it was more difficult to find schoolmasters who were priests; perhaps the saying of mass and other prayers disrupted the master's work in the schoolroom. For whatever reason, Colet and Fitzjames did not require the masters of their foundations to be priests, but opened the post to laymen as well. Dowman followed this pattern at Pocklington. Either kind of man might be appointed, and Dowman's first schoolmaster, chosen by himself, was a layman, Walter Carr. Carr was provided with an annual salary of £10, to be paid by the master and wardens of the guild, with free accommodation. This matched what the masters of most endowed grammar schools received at this date.

The founder laid down rules for the schoolmaster's conduct. Future masters were to be chosen by a committee of five members of the guild. The dean and chancellor of York Minster were given a supervisory role over the school, and expected to step in if things went wrong. Each new master had to swear an oath in English to abide by the rules. He promised not to take any money from the pupils, either at their admission, or for teaching, or on customary occasions as in some other schools. Pocklington was to be totally free of charges, although pupils would have had to supply their own books and classroom materials. Dowman claimed that his school was intended for poor scholars 'who are not able to be helped fully by the riches of parents'. In fact, like previous founders, he probably envisaged his scholars as coming from the respectable classes of society that valued school education. The same is likely to be true of an additional endowment that he gave in 1525, which provided £15 per annum to send five scholars to St John's College, Cambridge. They were to be chosen from his family or from pupils of Pocklington School, especially those living on the lands of the endowment. These boys too would have come from families of some prosperity, ambitious for their sons to do well in life through higher education.

Dowman provided a building for his school on West Green, which included a lodging for the master. It does not survive, having been rebuilt in 1698, 1818, and 1851, but one may conjecture the character of the original schoolroom from what is known about other schools of the period. Grammar schools in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries operated in a single large oblong room, with an entrance in the outer short side and a substantial wooden seat inside and beside it. This was the seat of the schoolmaster's assistant, the usher, whose name meant 'doorkeeper' and who kept watch on comings and

goings. If there was no usher, a senior pupil may have done the duty. At the centre of the inner short side was a larger wooden seat for the master, raised on a dais. The boys sat round the room on benches with their backs to the walls and their faces to the centre of the room. The benches usually lacked any book-rests, and the pupils did their work on their laps. As well as those who learnt grammar, there may have been younger ones at the usher's end who were taught to read. The study of grammar involved learning the forms of Latin words (known as *accidence*) and the methods of putting them together into sentences (called *syntax*). The pupils were taught to compose Latin prose and (at a higher level) Latin verse, to read Latin authors, and to speak and debate in Latin. Indeed once they had learnt enough of the language, they were forbidden to use English in the school. The master did not patrol the room but called out boys in turn to examine their work or question them about their knowledge. If he found them deficient, he did not hesitate to punish them by applying a bunch of birch rods to their bare bottoms.

Founders of schools often required their pupils to say daily prayers and to attend church on occasions. Dowman made stringent demands in this respect. The school day began at six in the morning – the usual time in schools – with everybody saying some Latin prayers. There was a break for dinner between eleven and one, followed by afternoon school from one until six, concluding with further prayers. This made up a ten-hour day, six days a week, as was common in schools at that time. Dowman also expected his scholars to attend church on Fridays and Saturdays when anthems were sung in honour of Jesus and Mary, and to say prayers at the tomb of his father William. In addition, both master and scholars had to be in church on every Sunday or festival day during the performance of matins and mass in the morning and vespers in the mid afternoon. Those who were able to do so were told to join in chanting the material of the services, which of course were in Latin at this time. The less able were to read from the Book of Hours, a book of simpler Latin services in honour of the Virgin Mary. Lessons at Pocklington School might be free in terms of cash, but they were paid for heavily with prayers.

At the time that Dowman made his foundation, an important change had come over the Latin that was taught in grammar schools. Up to 1480, the Latin had been medieval Latin, characterised by its practical and Christian nature. It was practical in that boys were trained to use it for administrative purposes, and Christian because the literature read in schools consisted mainly of medieval poetry with a strongly religious and moral character. During the fifteenth century, however, scholars in Europe rediscovered the pagan classical authors of Rome, including Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Terence, and Virgil. The study of Latin changed to become based on these authors and on how and what they

wrote. Such Latin is now known as ‘humanist’ Latin, and its study spread through grammar schools in England from 1480 onwards. By 1514 it was virtually universal. As a result of this, the Latin literature read in schools became less Christian than before, and the Latin taught to the boys was more literary and less practical.

Most educationists welcomed this change. Humanist Latin seemed more elegant and informative, and since it was studied all over Europe, the English had to adopt it to keep up with other countries. The fact that the Latin authors were pagan did not worry most teachers, because much of the moral code of these authors resembled that of Christianity, and the saying of prayers and some Christian instruction continued in schools alongside the study of the pagan classics. However, a few people had misgivings about what was happening. One was John Colet, Dowman’s colleague as dean of St Paul’s. When he issued statutes for St Paul’s School in 1518, he ordered that the authors read in the classroom should be late-Roman Christian writers, such as Lactantius, Prudentius, and Sedulius. Colet felt that these authors were close enough in their Latin to Cicero and Virgil, yet safer to read because they were Christians.

Dowman took a similar view: very likely because his view of education was influenced by Colet. St Paul’s School was dedicated to the Child Jesus, who appears in the centre of the seal of Pocklington School. Dowman was willing to allow Cicero’s *De Officiis* in his classroom, because it was a moral philosophical work, but he disliked Terence who was now widely studied in schools. Terence wrote comedies in relatively easy conversational Latin, but the comedies were about love and intrigues which Dowman thought improper for Christian boys. So his charter forbade the study of ‘things lascivious and provoking to evil in the comedies of Terence, or in music or poetry or songs’. Instead the Pocklington pupils were encouraged to read Boethius, another early Christian writer, who wrote a famous edifying work, *The Consolation of Philosophy*. However, in making these requirements, Colet and Dowman were swimming against the tide. The sixteenth century was to be a century of fierce religious convictions, but it also embraced pre-Christian classical culture enthusiastically. The authors approved by Colet and Dowman were never published in England in formats suitable for schools, which is a proof of their failure to gain wider acceptance. Grammar schools stuck with the pagan classics, and it is highly unlikely that St Paul’s and Pocklington did otherwise, once their founders were dead.

Dowman, then, emerges as a strongly orthodox Catholic who wished to use education as a means of building pupils into his own image. Medieval schools had always been Christian, but they tended to take Christianity for granted. It was all around them, and hardly needed defending. The sixteenth century was to be more troubled about

Christianity, more anxious to plant and protect it. Much of this stemmed from the Reformation, which caused religious conflicts. Catholics wished to organise education to safeguard and perpetuate Catholicism, Protestants to do the same for Protestantism. Dowman's life was largely passed before the Reformation, but he picked up something of a new anxiety about education. Interestingly, his charter quotes from the Lateran Council held at Rome in 1512-17. The Council also preceded the Reformation, but it broke fresh ground in urging schools to teach not only Latin but the articles of the faith, hymns and psalms, and lives of the saints – a sign that schools would be required to put more Christian teaching into their lessons.

Dowman, then, thought that he was strengthening Catholic Christianity when he founded his guild and school in Pocklington and his chantries at St Paul's. But matters turned out otherwise. His school curriculum was probably soon abandoned for the pagan classics alone. His guild and chantries were abolished by the crown in 1548. Fortunately, the guild endowment that he had provided was still in the hands of his cousin Thomas Dowman, the remaining trustee, and Thomas procured a private act of Parliament which re-established the school in 1552. Yet though the school survived, it was a different school in one essential respect. Apart from a brief interval under Mary Tudor, it taught not Dowman's cherished Catholicism, but the Protestantism that he had sought to overcome. We may think that we know what we build, but what we build we do not always know.<sup>1</sup>





**Translations**

**of**

**THE WRIT OF THE PRIVY SEAL  
dated 22 May 1514**

**and**

**THE LETTERS PATENT OF HENRY VIII  
dated 24 May 1514**

**from the Latin into English**

**Translations and introductory note by David Stather**



## Introductory Note

The two translations which follow are of the first two documents which relate to the foundation of Pocklington School. The Writ of the Privy Seal was the King's warrant to his Chancery to affix the Great Seal to his Letters Patent. The school possesses only a photographic copy of the Writ of the Privy Seal, the original being in the National Archive at Kew.

The Letters Patent themselves were the formal instrument by which Dr John Dowman was given licence by Henry VIII to found a religious guild within the parish church of Pocklington and a grammar school in the town. It is this document and its date (24 May 1514) which mark the foundation of the school. The original (owned by the Pocklington School Foundation) is currently held in the county archives at Beverley. Much of the Great Seal affixed to it is now missing but what remains has been carefully preserved in wax.

The Writ of the Privy Seal and the Letters Patent were transcribed in the 1890s by the educational historian Arthur Francis Leach (1851-1915), but were not translated. His transcriptions were published in *The Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society* (vol. V) in 1897. Both documents are now presented in English for the first time. On re-transcribing the Letters Patent in 2010 the translator found seven minor mistakes in Leach's transcription. The marginal notes to the translation of the Letters Patent have been supplied by the translator for ease of reading, and are largely based (with some amendments) on notes by Leach in his 1897 transcription of the document.

Royal grants, whether of lands, honours, liberties or franchises, were usually made by Letters Patent – so called because they were not sealed up but were exposed to open view with the Great Seal appended. They are still used.

The reference to the statute of *mortmain* relates to a series of statutes dating from the thirteenth century and designed to prevent lands being placed, without royal licence, in the 'dead hand' of religious corporations (such as this guild) which would have defeated the rights of feudal lords over such lands. The writ *ad quod damnum* was the legal means by which the sheriff inquired into what loss would be caused by putting land in *mortmain* and was the necessary precursor to the obtaining of royal licence to do so.

We see in the Letters Patent the King dispensing with the need for such an inquest in this case and his grant of a very limited licence for the giving to and receiving by the guild of lands for the purposes specified but excluding any lands held directly of him as feudal overlord. Those purposes were stated to be 'for finding from time to time one worthy man, sufficiently learned in the science of grammar, to prepare and instruct all and

singular the scholars resorting together to the town of Poklyngton aforesaid for the sake of learning' and for performing 'other works of piety' and meeting other charges falling upon the guild.

The task of finding such lands was entrusted by John Dowman to one John Rudston, a London draper, who would later become Lord Mayor of London in 1528 and receive a knighthood. Rudston was also a member of an ancient and honourable family which had been lords of the manor of Hayton near Pocklington since the reign of King John. The two families of Dowman and Rudston would have been well known to each other.

At some point (later in dispute) the sum of £180 was paid to Rudston for the purchase of lands which were (in Rudston's words) 'mete for a scole which the seid John Dolman as he seid entendyd to ffounde in poclyngton in the Countie of yorke.' Dowman would later allege that Rudston had used the money to purchase lands for himself and had refused all requests to account for them or for the rents and profits of them or to repay his money.

Sometime after 1520 Dowman presented a Bill of Complaint to Cardinal Wolsey in the Court of Chancery seeking redress. In this document he inexplicably refers to 'the fundacion of a Gramer Skole whiche yor saide Orator Intendid and yet Intendith to founde', although (as we shall see) he had executed his Foundation Charter some years earlier in 1517. Some but not all of the pleadings have survived in the National Archive at Kew (they are undated).<sup>2</sup>

In his Answer Rudston, by now an Alderman, told a strange story. Whereas Dowman had claimed that he had paid the £180 on first requesting Rudston to look for lands some three years earlier, Rudston claimed that Dowman's request had been made a long time before he made any payment to him and that the arrangement was that Dowman would reimburse his outlay once any bargain was made. He alleged that shortly thereafter one Edward Menskyppe, a gentleman 'which was in necessite of money and desyred...to be holpen of his necessite & nede', came to him and offered a 'Condyconell Bargeyn' under which a fee simple estate in lands 'lying nye vnto Rotheram in the Countie of yorke', with an approximate annual value of £11, would only pass to Rudston if Menskyppe failed to repay on a certain date money which Rudston was to advance to him. In other words it was to be a sixteenth-century form of mortgage.

It is difficult to see how such an arrangement could have satisfied Dowman's purpose of endowing a school and yet Rudston claimed that Dowman was consulted and, having taken the advice of his cousin William at Pocklington, he had expressed himself as

satisfied and had authorized Rudston to conclude the bargain, which he did, and that later, and only after such conclusion, Dowman sent to him the £180 which he had outlaid, with 'grete thanks' for the lands so bought to his use, for which sum a receipt was given. Later still, Rudston had sent some documents of title to Dowman and was ready to deliver the remainder on request.

Unfortunately, Dowman's 'Replication' or Reply to this account of the matter has not survived. From Rudston's 'Rejoinder' it seems that Dowman was now raising issues over the title. If that was so then this is difficult to reconcile with his original complaint. No dates for any of these events are given and, without sight of Dowman's 'Replication' and 'Surrejoinder', it is impossible to throw any light on this affair or to be sure where the truth lay. The outcome of the proceedings is not on record and we cannot say whether or not the lands to which Rudston was referring ever became part of the school's endowment.

All that we know is that in February 1519 John Dowman and six co-feoffees appointed attorneys to take legal possession of lands at Thrybergh near Rotherham which would later become an important part of the school's endowment.

There also survives in the National Archives a Bill of Complaint to the Lord Chancellor (remitted to the Court of Requests), presented sometime after 1521 by Edward Mynskyp (*sic*) of Chesterton in the County of Huntingdon and his wife Katharine, complaining of fraudulent dealings and breaches of covenant by John Rudston whereby he had allegedly acquired from them in May 1520 lands at certain places (not far from Rotherham but not Thrybergh) without fully paying the covenanted price of £180 in coin of the realm or in the manner agreed.<sup>3</sup> We do not know how Rudston answered this complaint.

At first sight it may appear that these were in the very lands to which Rudston was referring in his Answer to Dowman's complaint, but there are differences in the Mynskyps' account which makes this doubtful. It is clear that there was more than one land purchase by Rudston from the Mynskyps and there may have been a history of dealings between them. It is not improbable that the Mynskyps had a variety of landholdings in the area around Rotherham, as elsewhere, and it is not impossible that the lands at Thrybergh had been among them, although precisely how or from whom Dowman acquired them remains unknown.

Certainly, the founding of the school had in no way depended on the outcome of these proceedings against Rudston: all the evidence indicates that the school had been 'up and running' on its present site since 1517.



Memorandum that on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of May in the underwritten year of the reign of the King this writ was delivered to the Lord Chancellor of England at Westminster to be executed.

**HENRY**, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland<sup>4</sup> to the Most Reverend father in Christ William,<sup>5</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and legate of the apostolic see, Our Chancellor, **Greeting. We Command** you that you cause Our letters to be made patent under Our Great Seal in form following.

*‘The King to All to whom &c., Greeting. Know ye that We...’*

*[There then follows the text of the Letters Patent of Henry VIII with some curtailment of the opening and closing words. The full text will be found translated and set out in the next document.]*

**Given** under Our Privy Seal at our Manor of Eltham on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of May in the sixth Year of Our Reign.

T. Robins





**HENRY**, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland<sup>1</sup> **TO ALL** to whom the present letters shall have come, **Greeting.**

Licence to  
John Dowman  
LL.D to found  
a guild in  
Pocklington  
Parish Church  
and to admit  
any persons as  
brethren and  
sisters

**Know ye** that **We**, of our especial grace and indeed from our certain knowledge and mere motion, to the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ and Also for the honour of the most blessed Virgin Mary His Mother and of Saint Nicholas the Bishop and for the increase and enlargement of divine worship, have granted and have given licence and indeed by [these] presents We do grant and give licence, for Us, Our heirs and successors as much as in Us lies, unto Our beloved John Dowman, doctor of laws, that he himself, his executors or assigns or any one or any of them, may be able [s. or p.] to create, set up, form, found or cause to be founded, ordain and establish a certain perpetual fraternity or guild of whatsoever persons, Our liege subjects, willing to be of that fraternity or guild, within the parish church of *Pocklington* in Our county of York, of one master and two wardens and indeed brethren and sisters, and to admit and accept such persons and other persons whatsoever who shall have been willing to be of the said fraternity or guild as brethren and sisters of the same fraternity or guild.

The guild  
to be a  
corporation

Its name

**And** that that fraternity or guild, when it shall have been thus set up, created, formed, founded, ordained and established, may be one integral body in fact and in name and may have perpetual succession, and in the name and by the name of *'the fraternity or guild of the Name of Jesus and of the blessed Virgin Mary and of Saint Nicholas in the parish church of Pocklington in the county of York founded by John Dowman, doctor of laws'* may be called, named and made known forever. And that the master, wardens and brethren of that fraternity or guild who for the time shall have been [such] may forever have and bear the name<sup>6</sup> of *'the Master, Wardens and Brethren of the fraternity or guild of the Name of Jesus and of the blessed Virgin Mary and of Saint Nicholas the Bishop in the parish church of Pocklington in the county of York founded by John Dowman, doctor of laws'*, And they may have a common seal for matters of business of that fraternity or guild to be performed.

With a  
common seal

The master,  
wardens  
and brethren  
may, under that  
name, acquire  
and alienate  
lands and goods;  
sue and be sued;

**And** that the same master, wardens and brethren may be persons apt, fit and capable in law, by the same name to acquire, to receive, to have, to hold and to possess for themselves and their successors, and indeed to give, grant and demise lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions and hereditaments and indeed goods and chattels whatsoever by the same name. And for the lands, tenements, rents and possessions, goods and chattels of that fraternity or guild in whatsoever actions, causes, claims, suits and pleas as well real and personal as mixed, of what kind or condition or nature soever they shall have been, by the same name, before whatsoever justices or judges spiritual or temporal, they may be able and may be of standing to plead and to be impleaded and indeed to answer and to be answered by the same measure by which the other Our liege subjects, persons fit and capable in law, shall be able to plead and to be impleaded and indeed to answer and to be answered.

and may hold meetings in any proper place to transact business of the guild

**A**nd that the same master and wardens and all brethren of the fraternity or guild aforesaid and their successors may be able to assemble and in some worthy place to meet at days, places and times befitting and convenient as often as and when it shall be seen by them to be necessary and convenient, [and] they may be able in perpetuity to assemble and in some worthy place to meet for treating, for consulting and for agreeing among themselves together with others, willing to be present with themselves, for the good advice and sound counsel of the good state, regimen and governance of the fraternity or guild aforesaid and also of the brethren and sisters of the same and of their successors.

Dowman, his executors or assigns to make statutes as well for guild and grammar school as for master, wardens and brethren

**A**nd that the same John Dowman, his executors or assigns, may have full power, ability and authority to publish, to establish and to constitute statutes, ordinances or provisions for the good regimen and governance as well of the said guild and a grammar school as of the master, wardens and brethren of the same guild and their successors to endure in times to come everlasting according to the sound discretion of the same John Dowman, his executors or assigns, for the greater security and continuance of the same guild.

Power to elect a master and two wardens, and remove them at pleasure.

**A**nd that the master, wardens and brethren of the same fraternity or guild for the time in being may have full authority and power, according to the ordinances and statutes of the aforesaid John Dowman or his executors or any one of them by themselves on that account to be made, to elect, to appoint and successively to put in place one of themselves as the master and two as the wardens of that fraternity or guild. And indeed they may in perpetuity be able to remove, to cast out and to rid themselves of the master and the wardens themselves or any one of them from time to time according as it shall have been proper and necessary, and to place, to substitute and to subrogate other master and wardens in their stead and place as often as and when it shall have been pleasing to them.

Licence to Dowman and others to grant, to the guild lands of yearly value of £13. 6s. 8d.;

**AND FURTHER**, of Our more abundant grace, We have granted and have given licence, and indeed by [these] presents We do grant and give licence, for Us, Our heirs and successors aforesaid as much as in Us lies, to the aforesaid John that he himself or his executors or assigns aforesaid or any or any one of them or whatsoever other persons or whatsoever other person, after that the fraternity or guild aforesaid shall have been set up, formed, founded, ordained and established, may be able [*p.* and *s.*] to give and to grant lands tenements, rents, reversions, services, annuities, possessions and hereditaments whatsoever to the annual value of twenty marks besides all charges and deductions, which are not held in chief of Us, to the said master and wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid for the time in being

to find a fit man learned in grammar to instruct scholars coming to town of Pocklington for learning; and to support other burdens of guild

**To Have and To Hold** unto the same master and wardens and their successors forever thenceforth for finding from time to time one worthy man, sufficiently learned in the science of grammar, to prepare and instruct all and singular the scholars resorting together to the town of *Pocklington* aforesaid for the sake of learning according to the ordinances and statutes of the said John in this regard to be made, and for performing and fulfilling other works of piety according to the sound discretion of the said master and wardens for the time in being and indeed for taking in hand and bearing other charges falling from time to time upon the same fraternity or guild.

Licence to guild to receive lands &c. to the yearly value of £13. 6s. 8d.

**And** to the same master and wardens that they themselves and their successors may be able to receive lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, annuities, possessions and hereditaments whatsoever with their appurtenances to the said annual value of twenty marks besides all charges and deductions, from the aforesaid John, his executors or assigns or other persons whatsoever or any person whatsoever willing [*p.* or *s.*] to give, to grant, to bequeath or to assign those things to them, and those things to hold unto themselves and their successors forever without impeachment, impediment, molestation or grievance of Us, Our heirs or successors, or of Our justices, escheators, sheriffs or of other bailiffs or servants of Ours, of Our heirs or successors whomsoever, the published statute concerning lands and tenements not to be placed in mortmain notwithstanding.

and to hold them without impediment notwithstanding statute of mortmain

and

**And** this without any inquest or any inquests by reason of any writ of Ours or of any writs of Ours, of Our heirs or successors, of *ad quod damnum* or of any commission, mandate or precept of Ours, of Our heirs or successors in this regard to be made, to be taken and to be returned into Our Chancery, [or that] of Our heirs or successors or elsewhere And without any other letters patent of Ours, of Our heirs or successors, of, in or for the things before- mentioned or any one of the things before-mentioned by any means to be had or made, any statutes, acts or ordinances on that account made, published or ordained to the contrary notwithstanding.

without inquisition on writ of *ad quod damnum* or otherwise and without other letters patent

Letters Patent to be free from all fines or fees to the hanaper or elsewhere and without mention made of other matters notwithstanding any statutes &c. to the contrary

**And We will** and by [these] presents We do grant to the aforesaid John that Our present letters may be had and delivered to the same John or to his deputy in this behalf without fine and fee,<sup>7</sup> [*sic*] great or small, for the same in any manner to be paid or made into the hanaper<sup>8</sup> of Our Chancery or elsewhere for Our use [and], inasmuch as express mention of the true yearly value or of any other certainty of the things before-mentioned or of any one of them or of other gifts or grants by Us made to the aforesaid John before these times is not in [these] presents made, any statute, act, ordinance, provision or restriction on that account made, published, ordained or provided to the contrary, or any other thing, cause or matter whatsoever notwithstanding.

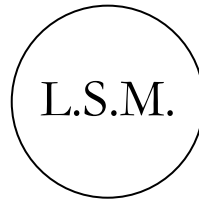
**In witness whereof** We have caused these Our letters to be made patent. **WITNESS** myself at Westminster the twenty fourth day of May in the sixth year of Our Reign.

Studde

By direction of  
the Privy Seal

By Writ of the Privy Seal and from the date aforesaid with the authority of  
Parliament.

The place of the  
Great Seal of  
Henry VIII



[Locus Sigilli Magni]





**A translation**  
**of**  
**THE FOUNDATION CHARTER**  
**of**  
**POCKLINGTON SCHOOL**  
**dated 3 February 1517**  
**from the Latin into English,**  
**with a transcription of the English portion of the text**

**Translation by David Stather in consultation with Keith Walls,  
and incorporating some corrections recommended by  
Professor Nicholas Orme.  
Introductory Note by David Stather.**





## Introductory Note

This charter or deed of 22 pages, by which John Dowman established his religious guild in Pocklington Church and his grammar school on the present West Green site of Pocklington School, is dated 3 February 1516. However, the medieval year in England began with the feast of the Annunciation on 25 March and so the date should be read as 3 February 1517 in accordance with modern custom. It puts into effect all of the things which Dowman was empowered to do by the Letters Patent of 24 May 1514.

The early statutes of the grammar school (apart from those contained in this document) have not survived, and the existence of this Foundation Charter was completely unknown to the school's historians until a near contemporary copy was discovered at St John's College, Cambridge in 2009. Sometime during the eighteenth century it came into the possession of the antiquary, Richard Gough (1735-1809), and thereafter it was in the collection of the Victorian book and manuscript collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), being *Phillipps Ms. 8169*. The manuscript, bound with others in a single volume, was then acquired at a Phillipps' Sale on 27 June 1908 by Robert Forsyth Scott, Master of St John's College, Cambridge (1908-33), who presented it in 1921 to the College Library where it is still kept.

The book containing the Charter also contains two other Dowman manuscripts, namely copies of the text of the deed dated 1 December 1525 founding five scholarships at St John's and the text of an indenture dated 12 March 1525 (1526) relating to another transaction to which Dowman was a party. As these manuscripts all appear to have been written in the same hand(s) we may surmise that this copy of the Charter was not made earlier than 1526 but we cannot be certain.

The Charter begins with a recital of the Letters Patent of 24 May 1514. Dowman then moves on to make provisions for the establishing of his guild which include the appointment of his cousin, William Dowman, as the first master, and two other kinsmen as the first wardens. The guild was to have a common seal for use in matters of business and that seal is still in the possession of the school today. Dowman states his intention 'to build anew' a grammar school so that 'poor scholars, gathering there for the sake of learning', i.e. for instruction in Latin grammar, might 'be able the better and more aptly to aspire unto other sciences.'



The Seal of Pocklington School, which A.F. Leach described in these words:

‘It gives us the boy Jesus, ... a chubby, naked urchin, with his monogram, Ihs, stamped upon his stomach, and the whole seal powdered with the same monogram, for the dedication to the ‘Name of Jesus’. The Virgin Mary crowned, with the Infant Jesus in her arms, appears for the dedication to the Virgin. The place of honour is reserved for Bishop

Nicholas (of Myra) [of ‘Father Christmas’ fame], the patron Saint of schoolboys, with a delightful representation of him in full pontifical by a tub, in which two boys are standing, while a third is putting one leg over the side in order to get out. This refers to the well-known story of Nicholas having arrived in the nick of time to save the boys. They were on their way to school at Athens, and had been murdered at an inn at Myra by the inn-keeper for their money and clothes, and then cut up and put into the pickle-tub, where they were scented out by the Bishops in consequence of a dream, resuscitated, and sent on, not, perhaps, ‘unwillingly to school.’<sup>9</sup>

As the Charter makes clear, the scholars were to pay nothing for their teaching – hence the school’s name for four of the last five centuries as ‘the free grammar school’. He also provides for the maintenance of one master ‘well learned and experienced and sufficiently skilled in the science of grammar’ out of the twenty marks to be taken annually by the guild from the lands &c. with which it was intended to be endowed. The first such master of the school is named on the same page as Walter Carr. Of him we know nothing except that he was not a cleric and that he was ‘good and honourable’ and ‘well learned and erudite in grammar and other faculties and in the Scriptures’.

Thereafter the remainder of the Charter is devoted largely to Dowman’s detailed directions for the day-to-day running of the school and its participation in religious worship. The many topics covered include the siting of the school and the master’s house next to the ‘Westgrene’ – roughly where the school is today; the appointment and dismissal of the schoolmaster and the qualities and behaviour expected of him; his remuneration; the hours of teaching; the books to be used (and not used); the acts of worship to be performed at the beginning and end of each school day; the expulsion of wayward scholars; the role of the guild in the school’s management; and the oath to be taken by the schoolmaster on his admission. The form of the admission of the schoolmaster (given in English) is of particular interest.

There is provision for the reference upwards of certain questions and issues (including the disciplining of the schoolmaster) to the Dean and the Chancellor respectively of the Cathedral Church of York. The Charter shows that, contrary to earlier belief, there was no involvement of St John's College, Cambridge (then itself only six years old) in the management of the grammar school at this early stage (1517). That would come a little later. Nor is there any express provision for the appointment of an usher – only for a 'substitute' where the schoolmaster is a priest. That too would come later. There are references in the Charter to the master or his deputy participating in morning prayers, but 'deputy' here probably means a senior scholar.

Before the Reformation, and for a very long time afterwards, annual activities were performed by reference to saints' and festival days rather than calendar dates. Thus the day fixed for the annual election of the master and wardens of the guild was the day of the Conversion of St Paul (25 January). The schoolmaster's annual salary of ten pounds was to be paid by quarterly payments on the feasts of St Michael the Archangel (29 September), the Nativity of the Lord (25 December), the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (25 March), and St John the Baptist (24 June). The day following the feast of St Martin in the Winter ('Martinmas', 11 November) was when the schoolmaster and his scholars were required to celebrate a requiem mass for King Henry and Queen Catherine after their deaths and for the souls of others. The feast of St Peter's Chair (22 February) was when the master and wardens of the guild were to render their annual account.

The Charter concludes with a *post scriptum* containing an entreaty for the remembrance of John Dowman by his scholars both upon their learning of his death and in future ages – an obligation extended to masters of the grammar school and to the guild. It is clear from his words that Dowman was envisaging his burial in Pocklington Church. In fact, he was interred in old St Paul's Cathedral, the location of his grave being lost when the Cathedral was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. The marginal notes to the translation of the Charter are translations of those which appear in Latin in the original document and have not been altered or added to in any significant manner.

Following the translation is a facsimile of the original document.



**To the Faithful of Christ Universal and Singular** to whom the present tripartite indented deed shall have come, John Dowman, Doctor of Laws, Archdeacon of Suffolk in the Cathedral Church of Norwich and also Prebendary and Canon of the Church of Saint Paul of London, and residentiary in the same, [sendeth] eternal greeting in the Lord.

**W**hereas our most dread prince and sovereign lord, the Lord Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, by his letters patent which bear date at Westminster the twenty fourth day of May in the sixth year of the reign of the aforesaid Lord the King, of his especial grace and from his certain knowledge and mere motion, to the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ and for the honour of the most blessed Virgin Mary, His Mother, and of Saint Nicholas the Bishop and for the increase and enlargement of divine worship, has granted and has given licence, for himself and for his heirs and successors as much as in himself may lie, to me the aforesaid John Dowman, Doctor of Laws, that I, the aforesaid John Dowman, Doctor of Laws, my executors or assigns or any one or any of us, may be able to create, set up, form, found or cause to be founded, ordain and establish a certain perpetual fraternity or guild of whatsoever persons, liege subjects of the Lord the King himself, willing to be of that fraternity or guild within the parish church of *Poklyngton* in the County of York, of one master and two wardens and brethren and sisters.

**A**nd indeed [that] we may be able, or any one of us may be able, to admit and accept such persons and other persons whatsoever as shall have been willing to be of the said fraternity or guild as brethren and sisters of the same fraternity or guild. And that the fraternity or guild aforesaid, when thus by me, John Dowman, my executors or assigns, set up, created, formed, founded, ordained and established, might be one integral body in fact and in name and might have perpetual succession, and indeed in the name and by the name of *'the fraternity or guild of the Name of Jesus, the blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Nicholas in the parish church of Poklyngton in the County of York and founded by me John Dowman, Doctor of Laws'*, might be called, named and made known forever.

**A**nd that the master, wardens and brethren of that fraternity or guild, who for the time might be [such], might forever have and bear the name<sup>10</sup> of *'the master, wardens and brethren of the fraternity or guild of the Name of Jesus and the blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Nicholas the Bishop in the parish church of Poklyngton in the County of York founded by me John Dowman, Doctor of Laws, aforesaid'*. And that they might have a common seal for matters of business of that fraternity or guild forever to be performed in times to come everlasting.<sup>11</sup>

The acquisition  
of lands by the  
master and  
wardens

**A**nd that the same master, wardens and brethren might be persons apt, fit and capable in law by the same name to acquire, to receive, to have, to hold, and to possess, for themselves and their successors, and indeed to give, grant and demise lands, tenements, rents, reversions and services, possessions and hereditaments, and indeed goods and chattels whatsoever by the same name. [And that] for the lands, tenements, rents and possessions, goods and chattels of that fraternity or guild, in whatsoever actions, causes, claims, suits and pleas as well real and personal as mixed, of what kind or condition or nature soever

they might be, by the same name, before whatsoever justices or judges, spiritual or temporal, they might be able and might be of standing to plead and to be impleaded and indeed to answer and to be answered by the same measure by which the other liege subjects of the said Lord the King, fit and capable persons in law, are able to plead and to be impleaded, to answer and to be answered.

**A**nd that the same master and wardens and all brethren of the fraternity or guild aforesaid and their successors might be able to assemble and in some worthy place to meet at days, places and times befitting and convenient, as often as and when it shall be seen by them to be necessary and convenient: [and that] they might be able forever to assemble and in some worthy place to meet for treating, for consulting and for agreeing among themselves together with others willing to be present with themselves for good advice and sound counsel of the good state, regimen and governance of the fraternity or guild aforesaid and also of the brethren and sisters of the same and of their successors.

**A**nd moreover that I, the same John Dowman, my executors or assigns, might have full power, ability and authority to publish, to establish and to constitute ordinances or provisions for the regimen<sup>12</sup> and governance as well of the said guild and a grammar school as of the master, wardens and brethren of the same guild and [their] successors, to endure in times to come everlasting according to the sound discretion of me, the aforesaid John Dowman, my executors or assigns, for the greater security and continuance of the same guild.

**A**nd that the master, wardens and brethren of the same fraternity or guild for the time in being might have full authority and power according to the ordinances and statutes of me, the aforesaid John Dowman, or of my executors or of any one of us on that account to be made, of themselves to elect, to appoint and successively to put in place one [man] as the master and two men as the wardens of that fraternity or guild. And indeed [that] they might in perpetuity be able to remove, to cast out and to rid themselves of the master and the wardens themselves or any one of them from time to time according as it might be proper and necessary and to place, to substitute and to subrogate other master and wardens in their stead and place as often as and when it might be pleasing to them.

The gift to or acquisition of lands by the master and wardens

**A**nd whereas further the same Lord the King, by the same his letters patent, of his more abundant grace, has granted and has given licence for himself and his heirs and successors, as much as in himself may lie, to me, the aforesaid John Dowman, that I myself or my executors or assigns aforesaid or any or any one of us or whatsoever other persons or whatsoever other person, we and they and he, might have power, after that the fraternity or guild aforesaid should be set up, formed, founded, ordained and established, to give and to grant lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, annuities, possessions and hereditaments whatsoever to the annual value of twenty marks besides all charges and deductions, which be not held in chief of the same Lord the King, to the said master and wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid for the time in being and their successors.

**T**o have and to hold unto the same master and wardens and their successors forever from the time of the perfection of the letters patent of the said Lord the King<sup>13</sup> for finding from time to time one worthy man sufficiently learned in the science of grammar to prepare, to teach<sup>14</sup> and to instruct all and singular the scholars coming<sup>15</sup> and resorting together to the town of *Poklyngton* aforesaid for the sake of learning according to the ordinances and statutes of me the said John Dowman, my executors or assigns<sup>16</sup> in this regard to be made, and for performing and fulfilling other works of piety according to the sound discretion of the said master and wardens for the time in being and indeed for taking in hand and bearing other burdens falling from time to time upon the same fraternity or guild.

**A**nd [has given licence] to the same master and wardens that they themselves and their successors might be able to receive lands, tenements, rents, reversions and services, annuities, possessions and hereditaments whatsoever with their appurtenances, to the said annual value of twenty marks besides all charges and deductions, from me, the aforesaid John, our [*sic*] executors or assigns or other persons whatsoever or any person whatsoever willing [*p.*] or willing [*s.*] to give, to grant, to bequeath or to assign those things to them, and those things to hold unto themselves and their successors forever without impeachment, impediment, molestation or grievance of the said Lord the King, of his heirs or of his successors, or of the justices, escheators, sheriffs or other bailiffs or servants of the said Lord the King, his heirs or successors whomsoever, the published statute concerning lands and tenements not to be placed in mortmain notwithstanding.

**A**nd this without any inquest or any inquests by reason of any writ or of any writs of the said Lord the King, his heirs or successors, of *ad quod damnum* or of any commission, mandate or precept of the same Lord the King, his heirs or successors, in this regard to be made, taken and returned in the Chancery of the said Lord the King, his heirs or successors, or elsewhere. And without any other letters patent of the said Lord the King, his heirs or successors of and in or for the premises or any one of the premises by any means to be had or made, any statutes, acts or ordinances on that account made, published or ordained to the contrary notwithstanding, according as is more fully contained in the said letters patent of the aforesaid Lord the King.<sup>17</sup>

The Ordinance  
of Master John  
Dowman

**Know Ye** that I, the aforesaid John Dowman, Doctor of Laws, according to the form, force and effect of the said letters patent by the aforesaid Lord the King delivered and entrusted to me in this behalf, willing and desiring the said letters patent of the Lord the King himself and indeed all and singular the things contained in the same letters patent to be duly put into effect to the praise, glory and honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ as also to the honour of the most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of the Same, and of Saint Nicholas the Bishop and to the enlargement and increase of divine worship, do create, raise up, form, found, ordain and constitute and by [these] presents I do establish, to endure unto future times everlasting, a certain perpetual fraternity or guild of whatsoever persons, liege subjects of the said Lord the King, willing to be of that fraternity or guild, within the parish church of All Saints of *Poklyngton* in

the County of York, of one master and two wardens and indeed brethren and sisters of the same fraternity or guild.

**A**nd I assign, nominate, ordain, create, make and constitute by [these] presents the beloved to me William Dowman, my kinsman, the first master of the same fraternity or guild aforesaid and John Sowthby, my kinsman and indeed spiritual godson, whom I raised up from the holy baptismal font, and Richard Langthorn, my kinsman, as the first wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid. And that the same master and wardens and their successors, the masters and wardens, of the fraternity or guild aforesaid may have perpetual succession.

**A**nd the fraternity or guild itself *'of the most sweet Name of Jesus and of the most blessed Virgin Mary and of Saint Nicholas the Bishop within the parish church of Poklyngton aforesaid'* and the master himself and indeed the wardens and their successors, the master and wardens of that fraternity or guild I do name, proclaim and call, and by [these] presents I will, decree, declare and ordain forever to be so named and made known and called, and indeed by the same name to plead and to be impleaded.

A Corporation  
A Common Seal

**A**nd that the aforesaid master and wardens and their successors, the masters and wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid, may be one integral body in name and in fact. And that they may have a common seal for the business of the same fraternity or guild aforesaid by themselves fitting to be sealed. And that they may be persons fit and having capacity in law to acquire lands, tenements, rents, reversions and services, possessions and hereditaments and indeed goods and chattels whatsoever from whatsoever person or from whatsoever persons willing [*s. or p.*] to give, to bequeath or to assign those things to them and [that] they may be able to acquire, to have and to hold those things unto themselves and [their] successors in fee and in perpetuity.

[marginal note in another hand]  
A demise for 12 or 13 years

**A**nd that the same master and wardens and their successors, the masters and wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid, may have full power and authority to grant and to let to farm the lands and tenements, rents, reversions and services and indeed all other the hereditaments, goods and chattels of the same fraternity or guild to whatsoever person or to whatsoever persons, liege subjects of the Lord the King, for a term of at least twelve years or at most of thirteen years and not more as often as and when by the same master and wardens, or henceforth the successors of them, it shall have been seen [to be] necessary for the greater use, convenience or profit of the same fraternity or guild.

**A**nd that the same master and wardens and the successors of them may be persons fit and capable in law, by the name of *'the master and wardens'* of the fraternity or guild aforesaid, for pleading and impleading for the lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services and other possessions and the goods and chattels of the same fraternity or guild, and to answer and cause to be answered by the same name in whatsoever actions, causes, demands, plaints and pleas, as well real [and] personal as mixed, of whatsoever kind, condition or nature they shall have been, before whatsoever justices or judges, spiritual or



temporal, in whatsoever courts in the same manner by which other liege subjects of the Lord the King shall be able or may be able to plead or to cause to be impleaded.

**A**nd that the same master and wardens, now by me, the aforesaid John Dowman, assigned and named, and all the brethren of the same fraternity or guild and the successors of them to endure unto future times everlasting, may be able to meet together and assemble in the church of *Poklyngton* aforesaid or in any other becoming and fitting place at a time permitted and opportune when and as often as by the same master and wardens and indeed the brethren of the same fraternity or guild it shall be seen to be necessary or opportune for the public good of the same fraternity or guild and for the treating and communing of and upon causes and matters concerning the said fraternity or guild as well for the good regimen and governance of the said fraternity or guild as of a certain grammar school.

**W**hich school I, the aforesaid John Dowman, Doctor of Laws, shall cause to be constructed and shall build anew, God helping, in the said town of *Poklyngton* to the praise and honour of the most blessed Name of Jesus and of the most blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Nicholas above-mentioned and with that intent that poor scholars, gathering there for the sake of learning or of instruction in grammar and desiring to obtain sound instruction in the science of grammar, who are not able to be helped fully by the riches of parents, may be able the better and more aptly to aspire unto other sciences according to the ordinances and statutes by me, the aforesaid John Dowman, below and hereafter to be declared.

The Election  
of the master  
and wardens

**A**nd that the same William Dowman, now the first master, and indeed John Sowthby and Richard Langthorne, now wardens, and the brethren of the same fraternity or guild and the successors of them, in any year on the day of the Conversion of Saint Paul, should come together and be assembled at the aforesaid church of *Poklyngton* or in some other place of good repute within the parish of *Poklyngton* aforesaid for the election of a new master and wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid.

**A**nd if it shall have been necessary, [then] as often as it shall be seen by them to be necessary, so often they may be able to elect, to appoint and successively to put in place one of themselves as the master and two [of themselves] as the wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid, and they shall and may be able from time to time, as often as and when it shall have been necessary, henceforth to remove, to cast out and to rid themselves of the master and wardens themselves or any one of them, and on any day and year as is before mentioned, and as often as it shall have been necessary, to put in place, substitute and subrogate other master and wardens in their stead and name and indeed place, at their will and pleasure according to their sound discretion.<sup>18</sup>

**W**hich master and wardens indeed and their successors, annually thus, as is before-mentioned, elected and to be elected, immediately and incontinently after their election, should take a corporal oath, the most sacred gospels of God having been touched by them, in the presence of the last master and

wardens and of all the brethren of the same then present and willing to be present, that they themselves and any of them shall firmly observe all and singular the foundations, statutes and ordinances by me John Dowman made and to be made as much as relates to themselves, and, as much as they touch upon others, shall cause to be observed as much as in them lies in future times everlasting to endure.

**A**nd I, the aforesaid John Dowman, will, ordain and declare and indeed by [these] presents I grant that the same now master and now wardens and brethren and sisters of the same fraternity or guild and their successors forever may have and take in every year forever twenty marks of sterling from the lands and tenements, rents, reversions and services, annuities and other hereditaments which I, the aforesaid John Dowman, with the aforesaid help, by me myself or another or others, shall acquire, give and grant or [which] they shall acquire, give and grant to the same fraternity or guild to the annual value of the said twenty marks.

**T**o have and to hold unto the same master and wardens and indeed the brethren and sisters of the same fraternity or guild and their successors forever, as well for the maintenance of one master, well learned and experienced and sufficiently skilled in the science of grammar, as for other works of piety and mercy hereafter to be performed and encouraged and indeed [for] the fulfilment of the charges and directions underwritten according to the ordinance by me the aforesaid John Dowman otherwise to be declared and by me declared below and, with the authority of the said letters patent of the Lord the King aforesaid, by me on that account to be imposed and ordained.

[marginal note  
in another hand]

The Tenor of  
the ordinance

**The Tenor Moreover** of the ordinance or regulation of me the aforesaid John Dowman upon the fraternity or guild aforesaid and indeed upon the school [before] mentioned follows and is thus. Principally I will, ordain and decree, pronounce and declare that even as the aforesaid William Dowman, now master, and John Sowthby and Richard Langthorn, now wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid, are known at present to be men more worthy and honourable in manner of living and in esteem of morals in the said parish of *Poklyngton*, so in the future their successors as master and wardens, henceforth to be elected, may be chosen and admitted entirely from the more honourable and more worthy cobrethren of the same fraternity or guild by the cobrethren of the guild itself or by the greater part of the same and not otherwise.

The Ordinance  
of the master  
of the school

**A**nd moreover I, the aforesaid John Dowman, ordain, will, resolve and declare that Walter Carr be the first master or instructor in the science of grammar of the scholars resorting together to the aforesaid town of *Poklyngton*, and indeed Walter Carr himself, the master or instructor of the grammar school of Master John Dowman in *Poklyngton* aforesaid, and indeed his successors I name, style and call and indeed I resolve be named, styled and called in perpetuity '*the masters of the same grammar school of the foundation of me the aforesaid Master John Dowman.*'

**L**ikewise I, the aforesaid John Dowman, ordain, will, resolve and declare that just as the aforesaid Walter Carr, now master or instructor of the scholars, albeit a layman, is known to be a man good and honourable in morals and in manner of living sufficiently proved and irreproachable and indeed is well learned and erudite in the science and faculty of grammar and in other several faculties and in the sacred scriptures, so henceforth his successors, the masters or instructors of the scholars in the same place together resorting and coming to the said school in future years everlasting, may be good and honourable men, proved and irreproachable in manner of living and morals and indeed well and sufficiently learned and erudite in the science and faculty of grammar and in other works of the moral orators and in good literature, if such [men] can conveniently be had.

**A**nd that no other nor any others may be chosen or nominated [s.] or nominated, chosen or confirmed or admitted [p.] in the said mastership for the sake of the instruction of the scholars in the same place unless [he be], thus as is before-mentioned, good, honourable, proved, irreproachable and learned and erudite.

**A**nd that everyone of them in their times should instruct, teach and inform all and singular the scholars together resorting there for the sake of study in the faculty and science aforesaid and indeed in the works of Cicero and especially in the book *De Officiis* of [Cicero] himself and in the books of Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, and in the volumes of suchlike moral orators if for that thing he [the scholar] shall have been fit and worthy, with, however, the governance hereunder written effectually in a certain house next to the *Westgrene* in the parish of *Poklyngton* aforesaid for this purpose by me, the aforesaid John Dowman, to be assigned and for this purpose to be ordained and appointed, that no opportunity of reading and profiting may by too great poverty be taken away from them, freely and without anything to be taken, demanded or extorted from the same scholars for the teaching and instruction of the scholars themselves in the art or science of the faculty aforesaid or in whatever other faculty or art in which he [the master] shall teach the same scholars, either for admission to the said school or for the customary dues often used in whatever other grammar schools by whatever name they may be assessed.<sup>19</sup>

Let the scholars  
pay nothing for  
their teaching

**A**nd that the same master or instructor of the scholars aforesaid, who for the time shall have been [such], and his successors [should proceed]<sup>20</sup> according to and following the force, form and effect of a papal decree of the General Lateran Council<sup>21</sup> now of late solemnly held in the time of our most holy lord, the Lord Pope Leo the Tenth in its ninth session, the tenor of which in this part word for word followeth and is thus.

The Statute of  
Leo &c.

***The Statute*** of Pope Leo the Tenth *Pro Doctrina*. *And whereas every age from adolescence is prone to evil and it is[a thing] of great labour and accomplishment to be made accustomed from infancy to the good, We resolve and We ordain that the masters of scholars and preceptors ought to teach and instruct boys or adolescents not only in grammar and rhetoric and indeed the other things of this kind but also that they should be obliged to teach those things which pertain to*

*religion, as are the divine precepts, the articles of faith, the sacred hymns and psalms and indeed the lives of the saints. And that on festival days they may be able to teach them nothing other than in matters pertaining to religion and good morals: and [that] in those things they be bounden to instruct, to exhort and to constrain them in so far as they may be able that they go to churches, not only to mass but also to vespers and to the divine offices, proper to be heard, and likewise [that] they urge [them] towards preachings and sermons fitting to be heard and [that] they might be able to read to them nothing against good morals or which might lead to impiety.<sup>22</sup>*

**A**nd thus not in things lascivious and provoking to evil in the comedies of Terence, nor in music nor in poetry nor in songs, on the several days not being holidays let him lean diligently towards teaching and instruction at fitting and convenient hours, namely, from the sixth hour in the early morning<sup>23</sup> until the eleventh hour, and in like manner to be begun again from the first hour after noon until the supper hour, that is to say to the sixth hour, at every season of the year unless, from the causes hereunder written or for the sake of recreation or for another cause at least legitimate, it shall at some time or other, albeit rarely, seem meet to be done otherwise.

Of the prayers to be said in the morning in the school

**A**nd that all such scholars in the same school being present moreover in the morning on any day and immediately after the entry of the master and scholars into the school aforesaid, in order that before all things the Kingdom of God may be sought, the master should begin with a loud voice this psalm of praise, *God be merciful unto us &c.*, from which the same master or his deputy should say one verse and indeed the scholars consequently another verse until it is ended with *Glory to the Father &c.*

**W**hich done, let the same master or his deputy immediately say *Kyrye eleyson Christeleyson Kyrieleson* with the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation, and then let the same master or instructor of the scholars say *Let us bless the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit*, the scholars responding *Let us praise and exalt Him above all others for ever and ever*. Afterwards let the same master or his deputy devoutly say the following collects: *O holy Lord, Father Almighty, Everlasting God who [hast safely brought] us to the beginning of this day &c.*<sup>24</sup> And also *Almighty Eternal God direct our deeds &c.*

Of the antiphon to be chanted at the recession of the scholars from the school

**W**hich things said, let him begin to instruct and teach his same pupils according as it shall have been the better given to him by God. And before their last return from the said school on any day let them likewise sing a certain antiphon of the most blessed Virgin Mary with a versicle and collect fitting for this purpose: and after such collect let them recite this psalm, *De profundis*, with prayers and collects for the souls of the aforesaid King Henry the Eighth and Catherine Queen of England, his Consort, and indeed of me, the aforesaid John Dowman, and also of A ... B ... , an especial benefactor of the fraternity or guild aforesaid, who has bestowed and given lands and tenements to the same guild to the annual value of ... pounds, and for the souls of my ancestors and benefactors, and indeed for [those] to whom I am beholden, and of their own, and of the master and wardens, and of the brethren and sisters of the same fraternity or guild, and of all the faithful departed.<sup>25</sup>

The stipend of  
the instructor of  
the scholars &c.

**W**hich master or instructor of the scholars indeed in the same place, now and in the future, shall take and receive for his stipend and salary in this regard out of the aforesaid twenty marks in every year in the future, whether he be priest or layman, ten pounds of lawful English coinage by the hands of the said master and wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid who for the time shall have been [such] in any year at the four usual term days of the year namely at the festivals of Saint Michael the Archangel, of the Nativity of the Lord, of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary and of Saint John the Baptist in every year to be paid by equal portions.<sup>26</sup>

Aid [for] the  
chaplain

**T**he residue, moreover, of the said twenty marks and of other monies, by whatsoever means and by whatever right received and to be received by the said master and wardens of the said guild, over the said ten pounds annually assigned and paid to the aforesaid master of the grammar school aforesaid and his successors in manner and form above-mentioned,<sup>27</sup> I the aforesaid John Dowman will then and ordain, resolve and indeed declare that four pounds from a part of the said remaining five marks and of other monies to be received by the said master and wardens of the said guild, if it can be done after the reparations and charges of the lands, outhouses and buildings of the said guild have been borne, be yearly apportioned and paid by the aforesaid master and wardens and their successors or other lesser sum according as shall be seen by the master and wardens of the said guild [to be fitting], charges having been deducted, to some worthy priest celebrating divine service in the said church of *Poklyngton* in aid and succour of the annual stipend of the same priest and of his successors, thus for the time in being and celebrating in the same church, for praying daily at his mass for the healthful state of the said Lord the King, Henry the Eighth, and Catherine, Queen of England, his Consort, and of the said Master John Dowman, the founder of the said guild or fraternity, and indeed of the master and wardens, the brethren and sisters and benefactors of the same fraternity or guild whilst they shall have lived, and also for the souls above-mentioned and for the souls of all ancestors and benefactors of the said Master John Dowman, and for the souls of all those for whom he is beholden, and for the souls of all the faithful departed.

A board for the  
names of  
brethren and  
benefactors

**A**nd that a board<sup>28</sup> be made on which there should be written the names of all and singular the special benefactors of the same guild and [that] it be placed at the middle of the altar upon which the chaplain of the said guild celebrates, so that the same [person] celebrating, in the secret sections of any masses to be said or to be sung therein, may make remembrance of all those whose names shall be written together on the said board and especially for the soul of the said founder [and for the souls] of all his ancestors and benefactors.

For three masses  
to be said by the  
priest

**A**lso I, the aforesaid John Dowman, will, declare and ordain that the priest whose stipend thus, as is before-mentioned, shall be uplifted, should, week by week, sing or cause to be sung with notation two solemn masses in the aforesaid church, of which one of the most sweet Name of Jesus should be sung on any Friday with some antiphon on the said Name of Jesus before the evening of the same day: but yet the other mass of the most glorious and ever Virgin Mary, the Mother of Jesus, to be sung by the said priest or by another in his name and at his cost on any Saturday with some befitting [antiphon] on the

same holy Mary before the evening of the same day to be sung with versicles and collects befitting these. And [I ordain] a third mass to be celebrated by the said priest and his successors with a low voice in any week on Mondays at about the sixth hour in the early morning. Which [solemn] masses and antiphons indeed are to be sung by the aforesaid priest or his deputy in any week on Fridays and Saturdays thus as is before mentioned.

Let the instructor of the school with the scholars be present at masses

**I**, the aforesaid John Dowman, will that the said Walter Carr, now master of the grammar school of *Poklyngton*, and his successors or one of the senior scholars (he, the master, being occupied)<sup>29</sup> for the instruction of other scholars ought likewise to be personally present together with the remaining scholars experienced in singing, then being in the same school, going over to the church aforesaid two by two, by the direction and denomination of the master or instructor of the scholars in the same place for the time being, to be summoned according to the discretion of the master and wardens of the guild aforesaid, and [that] at the end of any of the said antiphons they be bounden to recite the said psalm *De profundis* with versicles and collects befitting for the souls aforesaid in a place next to the tomb of William Dowman, the father of me, the same John Dowman in the same church of *Poklyngton*.

**M**oreover I, the aforesaid John Dowman, will, declare, ordain and indeed resolve that if the said master of the grammar school for the time being shall have been a priest, then I will that the said masses of the Name of Jesus and His holy Mother Mary, with the antiphons, versicles and collects above-mentioned, be sung by the said master of the grammar school or by another in his name and at his cost and by his successors<sup>30</sup> on the said Mondays [*sic*], Fridays and Saturdays, together with the scholars in the said school [who are] thus, as is before stated, experienced in singing, going over year by year to the church two by two, the master of the scholars or his deputy following them, and thus from the church to the school on the several weeks and days aforesaid, in the like form even as the said priest would celebrate if the said master of the grammar school had not been a priest. And I, the aforesaid John Dowman, will that the said third mass of Saint Nicholas the Bishop be likewise celebrated with a low voice on Mondays by the said priest and [his] successors in the manner and form by me above specified and appointed.

If the master of the school be a priest then he should have a substitute

**A**nd, moreover, I, the aforesaid John Dowman, will that if the said master or instructor of the scholars in the said grammar school and his successors for the time being shall have been [*s.* or *p.*] a priest then I, the aforesaid John Dowman, will that the same master of the grammar school for the time in being should have some certain person a substitute under him well and sufficiently learned in the science of grammar in aid of the said master by the advice of the said master and wardens of the guild aforesaid, to be appointed with the counsel and consent of the Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of the blessed Peter of York.

The stipend of the substitute [master] of the scholars

**T**o whom, his substitute indeed, or to successor substitutes in being for the time, the said master and the wardens and his [sic] successors of the guild aforesaid shall pay annually twenty six shillings and eight pence, or a greater sum even as it shall be seen by the Chancellor aforesaid to be necessary from only needful causes and by him approved, well and faithfully to be paid from a part of the said five marks remaining, to be taken annually.

The residue

**T**he residue, however, of the said five marks not assigned, along with other profits henceforward coming forth and accruing or appertaining to the said guild or fraternity, I, the aforesaid John Dowman, will that it be distributed by the said master and wardens and their successors to pious uses and to other works of piety in accordance with the sound discretion of the said master and wardens and of their successors.

Let the school always be sustained

**I**, the aforesaid John Dowman, also will, ordain, declare and indeed resolve that if henceforth, from whatsoever cause or occasion, it should befall the said grammar school or the lands and tenements with their appurtenances, as far as the supporting of the said master of the grammar school or of the priest above-mentioned or of the substitute, to go to ruin in their structures and buildings so that the annual value of the said lands and tenements with their appurtenances should be less than sufficient for the supporting of the stipends of the said master of the grammar school or of the priest and the substitute aforesaid, then I, John Dowman aforesaid, will above all things that the said grammar school should always be sustained and that the said stipend of ten pounds should be paid to the master of the grammar school and his successors annually from the revenues, profits and rents of the said lands and tenements, following and according to the ordinances of me, the aforesaid John Dowman, above defined and appointed.

Of the choosing of a master of the scholars

**A**nd when the office of such master in the same place by any means, through the death, resignation, preferment or deprivation of the master or other cause whatsoever, shall in the future chance to be vacant, as often as this shall befall, that the nomination, choice or admission of the next master or instructor of the scholars for the teaching and instruction, as is before stated, in grammar of the scholars together resorting there for the sake of learning, should pertain to me, the aforesaid John Dowman, for my whole life.

**A**nd after the death of me, the aforesaid John Dowman, the said mastership of the grammar school then in any way, as is before mentioned, being vacant, that then the nomination, the choice or the admission of the said mastership [sic] shall pertain to the aforesaid master and wardens and brethren of the same fraternity or guild and their successors on condition that at every time of such vacancy, a forewarning or intimation having been made beforehand openly by the priest having the cure of souls of the church in the same place for the time in being or by another from the said fraternity or guild by the command of the master and wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid or by one of them concerning the vacancy of the said mastership of the school aforesaid, the brethren of the same guild, who may be willing, fit and able to be present, should come together at the same time at the said grammar school on the third

day next after the said warning given to them, as is before-mentioned, and there the said brethren, or the greater part of them being then present, should elect from themselves, whether they shall have been masters or wardens or from others, five persons from the more discreet brethren of the same fraternity or guild.

**W**hich five persons indeed thus elected, I, the aforesaid John Dowman, will that they may have full power of choosing, naming and admitting one worthy man, proven in morals and manner of living and indeed well learned and experienced in the science of grammar, as master of the said grammar school. Which master, wardens and cobrethren of the said fraternity or guild indeed should have their nomination and choice fully to bring to pass within one month after the death of the said master of the scholars.

**O**therwise, such month having elapsed, the gift, nomination and collation of the said mastership or office [shall pertain]<sup>31</sup> to the Chancellor of the Metropolitan Church of York who, for the time, shall have been [such] and his successors, the Chancellors of the said Cathedral Church within the said Church abiding, who if within twenty days immediately following from such month shall not have provided for the aforesaid mastership or office or shall not have been [so] resident, then the collation of the same mastership or office and the nomination and choice of the master should devolve upon the Dean of the same Church and his successors if they shall have been present and resident at that time lawfully.

**A**lbeit if such Dean within another twenty days immediately following shall have bestowed such mastership or office on no one or shall not have chosen or nominated one master, then the collation of such office and the choice and nomination of the master shall pertain to the master and wardens of the said guild or fraternity and their successors who for the time shall have been [such]. And I will that by whomsoever [*s.* or *p.*] the choice, nomination, provision or collation shall be made, such induction of the master shall always be made according as it is noted below.

**L**ikewise I, the aforesaid John Dowman will, ordain and resolve that henceforth the aforesaid master or instructor of the scholars and his successors, the masters and instructors, named and admitted and henceforth to be named and admitted by the said master and wardens and their successors and brethren of the said fraternity or guild or by another or others to whom [*s.* or *p.*] the said nomination or choice shall pertain, without any other presentation or collation, after the pronouncement by the said master of the guild or another in his name of the words following further herein in English delivered in the presence of the wardens and other brethren of the said guild then being present, having thus been admitted as the master of the said grammar school,<sup>32</sup> should remain [*s.* and *p.*] in the same mastership as if perpetual master or instructor of the scholars there unless, from causes further herein made mention of, it shall befall him to be removed.

**A**nd I will that the master himself and his successors, thus admitted [*s.* or *p.*] or to be admitted, be housed<sup>33</sup> and be bounden continuously to abide and to pass



the night in the dwelling house within the said school assigned<sup>34</sup> or to be assigned to him for as long as he or they shall have remained [as] master or masters of the said school.

The form of induction of the instructor to be done in English by those to whom it shall pertain as above

**Syr** *yow ar chosyn to be master, instructor and director of thys scole to teche the chyldren of the same not onely good litterature grammar and other vertens doctryne but also good maners and good condycions according to the fundatyon and ordynaunce of thabove namyd John Dowman certyfing yow that this is a perpetuall roome of contynuaunce and abyding vppon yowr dewtie done in the scole*

**And** *every yere at suche tyme as the master & wardens of the saide fraternite shalbe assymblet or gatherd togethers in the scole howse ye shalbe present, and of such thyngis as the maister and wardens aforesaide shal warne yow and commaunde yow to amende and to reforme yourself theryn acording to the fundatyon and ordynaunce aforsaid, ye shal reforme yourselfe in every poynt or els yow shal submytt and obey yourself to the correctyon and ordre of the lorde Deane of Yorke or Chancelare of the Cathedral churche acordyng to the sayd fundation. And so doyng yowr dewtye ye shal contynew. Otherwise warnyd resonably and not amendyng, nor submitting yourself, ye shal content yow to departe.*

**And** *ye of yowr partye not warnyd of us but of yowr owne mynde in any season wilyng to departe, ye shall gyve us one yeris warnyng and knowlege before, except we can be shorthye wel prouyded of one other. Also being maister ye shall not absent yourselfe but vppon licence of the master and wardens for the tyme beyng, and yf any contraversy or strife shall happen betwix yow & any persone of the scole or any other person ye shall stond att the directyon of the maister and wardens for the tyme being. And if the chosen maister will promyse this, then admitt him and name him as maister, and stall him in his seate in the scole howse and shewe him his lodgyng, saying,*

**Syr** *this lodgyng ye shall have fre withoute any payment and ten powndis yerely to yowr wagis acordyng to the fundation, and in this chambre & parlour yow shall take yowre reste and habytation to yowr comforte and yowrs and to thencrese of vertew & lernyng and brynging forth of yowr scolars and chyldern in good maners, conditions and lernyng to the pleasure of god, and in all other thinges yow shall conforme yowr selfe to the fundation, and so we will do, and thus god geve yow grace long to contynewe and many scolars to bryng forth in vertew and good lernyng, to his plesure.*

Let the master of the school with his scholars be present at divine offices in the church

**I** will moreover that the master of the grammar school who will teach the scholars<sup>35</sup> in grammar should take diligent care by being present in person with his scholars at mattins of high mass, at preachings and at vespers on every of the Lord's and festival days, saving lawful impediment, to be celebrated in the choir of the said parish church with notation, so that the same scholars may be attentive to the divine offices aforesaid, and indeed [that] they who understand these things should sing the invitatories, the antiphons, the psalms, the versicles, the readings, the responses, the verses of the same and the sacred hymns and the remaining things pertaining to such offices, as the manner is, alone or together with the cantors and the priests of the same church.

**Y**et in those things to be sung or chanted I will, nevertheless, that they who are less skilled and are inexperienced be present at divine service in all cases, even as others, together two by two, saying the whole office of the blessed Virgin befitting for the time, and so that they avoid and shun utterly the stepmother<sup>36</sup> of all virtues, namely idleness, I will that on all and every of the festival and semi-festival days after midday all and singular, the scholars, placed according to the will of the master, should in a seemly manner assemble and approach the school or the church intending to see beforehand and to construe the aforesaid things to be read, to be sung or to be chanted, the collects moreover, the epistles, the sequences and the gospels and also things in the vulgar mother tongue delivered to themselves by their preceptor, if time shall have permitted this, to be turned into Latin by the same [scholars] as shortly [as] they shall conveniently be able, and indeed also by the somewhat older and more experienced [scholars] to be versified in order that nothing of time may be let to pass by in vain; but for the increase of divine worship and of holy religion let them be instructed according to the decree of the Lord Pope Leo the Tenth set forth in his ninth session and made mention of above.

The *Placebo* and *Dirige* with the requiem mass to be said on St Martin's day

**A**nd the aforesaid master in grammar, bringing forth with him the scholars or pupils on the feast of Saint Martin in the Winter in every year forever, shall celebrate and sing obsequies namely the *Placebo* and *Dirige* with notation, and indeed, on the day next following, a requiem mass with notation for the souls of the most excellent prince, Henry the Eighth, King of England, and Queen Catherine, his Consort, when they shall have departed from this light, and for the souls of me, the aforesaid John Dowman, and of my ancestors and friends, and of the brethren and sisters and indeed of the benefactors of the said fraternity or guild, devoutly and solemnly, with notation, within the parish church of *Poklyngton* aforesaid. At which mass indeed let the master and the two wardens of the guild aforesaid be severally obliged to offer at least three pence by themselves or by others if they shall have been absent.<sup>37</sup>

Of the account to be rendered by the master and wardens of the guild

**I** will and ordain, moreover, that any master and wardens of the said guild, who for the time shall be [such], after their offices have been laid down, should forever in every year on the feast of Saint Peter's Chair, in the presence of the new master and wardens substituted in their place and at least six senior brethren, render a faithful account, calculation or reckoning of all and every of the monies received and expended by them and any of them in this the preceding year.

**A**nd [that] what residue there may have been over the charges incumbent in this regard should be preserved together with the letters patent of the said Lord the King and the foundation and ordinance and indeed the statutes and common seal of the said fraternity or guild and the remaining precious objects and belongings of the same guild, and should be stored in a certain chest ordained for this purpose to be kept safely and securely by the supervision of the same master and wardens for the fulfilment of this my ordinance, and indeed for the reparation or maintenance of the said grammar school and of the dwelling house ordained for the master or instructor and also for the support of the lands and tenements belonging to the aforesaid guild and of other charges incumbent on the same to be expended when necessity shall have [so] required.

Of the chest

**W**hich chest indeed should be sealed and closed with three locks and keys of which one key should remain forever with the master of the said guild, another with the master or instructor of the said school if he shall have been a priest, otherwise with anyone to be nominated and deputed by the said master and wardens: the third, however, should remain forever with the keepers of the goods of the said church of *Poklyngton* or the churchwardens for the time in being and their successors.

Of the master of the scholars, let him not be a religious [words added in another hand:] exempt, a beneficed clerk, office holder or stipendiary

**L**ikewise, I resolve and ordain that neither the aforesaid Walter Carr, now master or instructor of the scholars of the said school, nor any one of his successors, should be an exempt religious,<sup>38</sup> a beneficed clerk, an office-holder or a stipendiary, but that the same now master or instructor of the scholars in the same place and his successors, the masters or instructors of the scholars in the science of grammar in the said school, should serve and be in attendance there only in person, occasions of infirmity excepted.

That the master of the scholars at a time of infirmity should find a deputy

**L**ikewise, I resolve and ordain that if the same Walter Carr, now master or instructor of the scholars in the same place or his successors aforesaid, as is before mentioned, should be hindered by any infirmity or temporary failure supervening, or [if] any one of them should be [so] hindered, by which he shall be the less able to serve in the exercise, discipline or instruction of the scholars aforesaid according to the ordinance of the same from the taking possession of his stipend or salary aforesaid by me above determined, so long however as the said infirmity or failure should not come to pass from his own fault, by no means should he be driven out but let him find one other clerk, well learned and experienced in the science and faculty of grammar, by the discretion of the aforesaid master and wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid with the counsel of the said Chancellor to be named and chosen, for instructing such scholars and boys and for supporting other burthens and for supplying the deficiency of the said master in all things to which he was and is bounden.

**B**ut if the said infirmity, disease or sickness should be perpetual and it should befall the same master to be hindered in so much that he should not be able personally to attend to and be present at the teaching and instruction of the said scholars, then I will and ordain that the same master should be content with the sum of four pounds sterling from such ten pounds whether he shall have been clerk or layman And [that] the whole residue of the said ten pounds he should yield up for it to be taken up by the said master and wardens for the use, benefit and indeed the stipend of the other master or instructor of the scholars, well learned and erudite in grammar, governing such school for the time and teaching the advanced scholars.

That the master of the school should not absent himself unless &c.

**I** will also, I resolve and indeed I ordain that neither the master or instructor of the scholars aforesaid nor any one successor of his should absent himself from residence or personal attendance for the instruction and teaching of the scholars aforesaid in any way beyond at the most seven continuous or discontinuous days in a quarter in the years in which he should be bounden to teach unless reasonable cause be present, and this he may not do unless by

leave to be obtained from the aforesaid master and wardens of the fraternity or guild aforesaid.

**A**nd if the aforesaid Walter Carr, now master, or a future successor of his, shall have been found blameworthy or culpable and shall have been lawfully convicted thereupon before the Dean of the Church of York, or if he shall have declined to observe, shall have neglected, shall have contemned or shall not have honoured my present ordinance in the form before noted, that then he be canonically corrected and censured by the said Dean. Who, if he shall not have so reformed himself within a suitable time to be appointed by the same Dean, let him from this, by the very fact, be deprived [of office]. And let the office itself be deemed by the law itself to be vacant.

**A**lbeit if the Dean should have deferred the exercise of the office of visitation to the same place by a long time, lest by excessive delay or deferment of such visitation the correction of the same master should be deferred or hindered more than is due in this case, that then the Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of York abiding in that place for the time being, upon the report of the master and wardens of the guild aforesaid, should diligently warn the master of the said school in order that he should correct himself and indeed within a due time by him to be appointed he should amend. And [that] he constrain the same [master] to thus correcting and reforming himself by the withdrawal of his salary.

**A**nd if, thus admonished, he shall have neglected to amend himself, then, as is before stated, he should by the fact itself be deprived [of office], and indeed his office should by the very fact be deemed to be vacant. In which cases the nomination, appointment, gift and disposition of such office should revert to the said master and wardens and brethren of the guild aforesaid and their successors and indeed, on the negligence of them, to the said Dean and the Chancellor of York and others above respectively named in manner and form aforesaid even as and after the same manner that it is provided above.

**A**nd that if any one of the scholars aforesaid shall have been given to so great insolence or wantonness within the school aforesaid or without, so that his manner of living and most corrupt morals may be about to give occasion of the likelihood of scandal or ruin to the others, as soon as the masters [*sic*] and wardens shall have been certified of this thing, let them warn or cause to be warned the master or instructor of the said school so that he may duly correct and chastise such scholar himself and indeed make him forbear such abandoned acts.

**I**f however from such admonition he shall not have been corrected but should remain undisciplined, let the master and wardens [above] mentioned have the power of expelling and removing such incorrigible scholar completely from the said school. Neither may it be lawful for the master of the same school to take back into the school itself the scholar so expelled and removed unless it should proceed from the will of the said master or wardens or from the licence of them themselves.<sup>39</sup>

**L**ikewise I ordain, resolve, decree and indeed declare that our present ordinance be intelligibly, openly and plainly expounded, explained and read distinctly to all and singular the masters or instructors of the scholars aforesaid to be admitted to the said school before that they be admitted and that the same masters or instructors of the scholars may have a copy of the same to be delivered if they shall have so desired.

**A**nd immediately after the admission of the master of the scholars and of his successors, let them take a corporal oath, the most sacred gospels of God having been touched by them, in this form of words which followeth.

*I Walter Carr, now at this time admitted to the grammar school situate next to the West Grene within the parish of Poklyngton by Master John Dowman, Doctor of Laws, as master or instructor of the scholars there, founded in honour of the Name of Jesus and of the most blessed Virgin Mary, His Mother, and of Saint Nicholas the Bishop in Poklyngton aforesaid, do swear by these most sacred gospels of God that henceforth from this hour, so long as I shall have been assigned in the said school for the instruction and teaching of the scholars there, I shall undertake or get no annual service beside [that] of the scholars limited and assigned to me in the ordinance and statute of the said Master John Dowman.*

*I shall observe in humane fashion such ordinances and resolutions [as are] to me above declared and below to be declared and indeed all things contained in the same in their every article and any of them as much as to me appertaineth: neither shall I deceitfully or wickedly violate these things or any one of them, so God me help and these holy gospels of God.*

**A**nd forasmuch as nothing can be so firmly resolved or established but that from certain causes newly arising it may be able to be called again into doubt, I reserve by [these] presents full power unto me, the aforesaid John Dowman, whilst I shall have lived, and after the death of me, the aforesaid John Dowman, unto my executors and assigns, to interpret, add, diminish, correct and convert into more suitable form, whatsoever of doubt upon the premises shall have arisen. And I, the aforesaid John Dowman, will that all and singular the statutes, the ordinances and the resolutions by me above declared, or henceforth to be declared, may be construed and understood according to the grammatical meaning only and not otherwise, nor by any other rule.

**In Witness** whereof I have set my seal to this present deed and ordinance. And forasmuch as my seal is unknown to many I have therefore caused the seal of my Archdeaconry of Suffolk to be affixed to [these] presents. **Given** the third day of February in the one thousand five hundred and sixteenth Year of the Lord, by me John Dowman.

**O**ne thing moreover: since by the bond and instinct of nature all men, even faithless mortals, for the sake of charity are bounden together by reciprocations, I ask, I will and I claim, that all and singular the scholars of the said school now and to come in times everlasting, may not deliver me their founder, living or dead, up to oblivion but in their daily prayers commend [me]

to the Most High, [and] especially that as soon as it shall have become known to them, wheresoever they shall have been, concerning my death, which Almighty God render a happy one, let them devoutly sing or say a *Placebo* with a *Dirige* for the salvation of my soul, and they who then shall have been their priests or are ever to be [so] in future ages, as soon as they shall be conveniently able, let them devoutly celebrate a requiem mass with a special collect and, so that they may recompense this my pious charity to them by their mutual devotion, I ask and in God I entreat that whensoever any one of the same scholars or masters of the school shall have first approached the place of my sepulture and as often as their conscience or devotion should induce those<sup>40</sup> passing by to such a thing, let them, genuflecting, say in the same place either the psalm *De profundis* or at least the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation in pious memory of me.

**T**ruly I pray, I entreat and I beseech in the bowels of Our Lord Jesus Christ the master, the wardens and the cobrethren, all and singular, of the same oft mentioned fraternity that as soon as it shall have been made known to them or to any one of them of my death, immediately and as soon as they shall conveniently be able, they cause to be sung and celebrated the solemn office of *Placebo* and *Dirige* and a solemn requiem mass on the morrow following by the priest of their church having the cure of souls and by the master of the school and his scholars, all and singular, and other priests being present at the same with the lighting of lights and the tolling of bells, as devoutly as they might wish to be done for themselves after their own death even as they may answer before God.







A translation  
of  
**THE DEED OF JOHN DOWMAN  
FOUNDING  
FIVE SCHOLARSHIPS AT  
ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE**

for  
**SCHOLARS OF  
POCKLINGTON SCHOOL  
YORKSHIRE**

dated 1 December 1525

from the Latin into English

Translation by Keith Walls with an  
introductory note by David Stather



## Introductory Note

The next development in the foundation of the grammar school at Pocklington was the founding by John Dowman of five scholarships tenable at St John's College, Cambridge by pupils from the school – initially known as 'Dowman Scholars' but after 1859 as 'Dolman Exhibitioners' and reduced from five to four in number.<sup>41</sup>

We are now in 1525, the last year of Dowman's life, and Dowman had already forged links with St John's College which had been founded in 1511 by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, as one of the executors of Lady Margaret Beaufort (1442-1509), the mother of King Henry VII and henceforth always referred to as 'the foundress' of both Christ's College (in 1505) and St John's College, Cambridge.

Dowman's interest in St John's probably originated before its foundation when, in 1509, the executors of the foundress lodged at his house and were entertained by him.<sup>42</sup> Sometime after founding his grammar school, and certainly after the making of the Foundation Charter of 1517, Dowman seems to have made a statute (although none have survived) obliging his guild to consult with the College about the appointment and removal of future masters of the school.

Then in 1525 he made two notable benefactions to the College – one, in the September of that year, founding nine sizarships which were unrelated to Pocklington scholars, and the other in December of the same year founding the five scholarships for Pocklington boys.<sup>43</sup>

The deed dated 1 December 1525 was drawn in four parts – one part for St John's College, the second for Dowman himself, the third for the guild and the fourth for Christ's College, Cambridge (also founded by Lady Margaret Beaufort). Only the third part has survived – presumably given to the guild and later coming into the possession of the grammar school. It was recorded in an inventory of 'Papers and Writings now remaining in a Chest in the Vestry of the Parish Church of Pocklington in the County of York belonging to the Grammar School of Pocklington aforesaid...taken the fifth day of Aprill Anno Domini 1738'. It is there listed as item 21: 'A Bond from the Master Fellows & Schollars of St John's College Cambridge to John Dowman Clerk dat 1<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1525 ye 17<sup>th</sup> year of K:Hen:8<sup>th</sup>'. It is now lodged in the county archives at Beverley. There are known to exist three other informal 'copies' of this part of the deed made at different times, two of which are held by St John's College and the third is also at Beverley.

This (the third) part of the quadripartite deed bears the seal of St John's College, Cambridge and is in a fine and legible state. A transcription was made by Arthur Francis

Leach and published in *The Transactions of The East Riding Antiquarian Society* (vol. V) in 1897. When re-transcribed and translated in 2010, 31 (mostly minor) differences were found between the text of this exemplar and Leach's transcription of it. The marginal notes to the translation are an amalgam of the work of Keith Walls and David Stather, and have been supplied for ease of reading.

The standard of legal drafting in the deed was not of the highest order. The lands which Dowman was granting to support his scholarships were purportedly conveyed to St John's College in its corporate capacity (i.e. as a corporation with perpetual succession) although there is no recital this time of a licence to hold lands *in mortmain*. One assumes from this that the College had such licence on its foundation.<sup>44</sup>

The next point is more serious. The lands which Dowman was purporting to convey to the College were in East and South Yorkshire and Derbyshire. Unfortunately it seems that the lands in Staveley in Derbyshire were not legally in his name but were in the names of four other men who were holding them as 'feoffees to uses' – i.e. as trustees for him. These four men from Pocklington were his cousin William Dowman (described as 'gentleman'), his godson and kinsman John Sotheby, Thomas Bocher, and John Wilson (all described as 'yeomen').

Accordingly, a short auxiliary deed (now in the possession of St John's College) was drawn up and executed on the same date as that of the principal deed by these four men conveying inadequately identified lands in Staveley – not (as might have been expected) to St John's College but to five individuals by name, who were in fact the Master and four of the Fellows of the College (although not described as such in the auxiliary deed), to hold these lands to the use of Dowman, his heirs and assigns. In other words these five men were to 'stand in the shoes' of the four original 'feoffees to uses'.

Why it was done in this way is beyond understanding. It resulted in the legal title to the various lands with which the scholarships were to be endowed being placed in different names. Furthermore, the auxiliary deed made no reference at all either to the principal deed executed by Dowman or to the uses therein declared.

Whether or not this anomaly was ever rectified is not known but it is assumed that (for a time at any rate) the income of all of these lands was used to support the scholarships, although it may be significant that the school's second founder, Thomas Dowman, seems not to have regarded these lands in Staveley as part of the endowment of the scholarships.<sup>45</sup>

The practice of delivering and taking legal possession or 'seisin' of land by attorneys (referred to in both deeds) was common where the land was at some distance from where

the parties resided. It involved a medieval ceremony on the land itself symbolizing a physical handing over of the land without which the legal title could not pass.<sup>46</sup>

The remaining contents of the principal deed are not without their difficulties. The first difficult passage is that dealing with the choice of the Dowman Scholars. Initially this rested with Dowman himself during his lifetime and he could draw them from any county provided only that they had the requisite morals and learning – presumably to the standard required by the statutes of the Foundress of the College. After his death vacancies were to be filled by the guild at Pocklington and, in the event of disagreement within the guild, the decision was to rest with the Dean or, in his absence, with the Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of York. However, the criteria by which they were to make that choice are far from clear.

Firstly the pupil was to come from Yorkshire but then priority was to be given to those of Dowman's name and kin wherever they were born. Only if there was no one of his kin was eligibility to be confined to boys educated at his grammar school at Pocklington but now it did not matter where they were born, although preference was to be given to anyone who was born where the lands with which the scholarships were endowed were situated and who was more apt and more outstanding than the others, but only if he was from the school and taken from the best grammarians and those more outstanding and more cultivated in manners or morals (the Latin word is 'moribus'). Preeminent over all these criteria was the requirement that the pupil was to have the qualities required by the statutes of the College both in morals and learning.

One wonders how guild members approached their demanding task and how they managed to understand and reconcile these criteria, if they ever did. There is then the requirement that the chosen Dowman Scholars swear on their admission to the observance of four requirements, one of which (the notice to be given by the College to the guild of any vacancy) lay not within the Scholar's power – clearly an oversight by the draftsman.

The principal deed also required the master of St John's or a Fellow sent by him, if he should happen to approach Pocklington (one wonders why he would be), to go to the school and greet and examine the schoolmaster and, if found wanting in conduct or learning or to be otherwise less than suitable, to cause him to be removed and replaced by the guild with all speed. That was so that no one could blame Dowman's ordinances if no Pocklington boys were found to be suitable for sending to the College.

Finally, worthy of notice are the principal deed's provisions for sanctions and penalties in the event of St John's failure or default in its obligations. The purported 'gift over' to Christ's College of the lands with which the scholarships were endowed in the

event of such default would arguably have infringed at least three ancient common law rules then prevailing – rules with which Dowman, as an ecclesiastical lawyer, may or may not have been familiar but with which a common lawyer certainly would have been familiar.<sup>47</sup> It is therefore very much open to question whether the purported ‘gift over’ to Christ’s College could ever have been effective.

Dowman also added for good measure a penalty clause although it is far from clear how the two sanctions – the ‘gift over’ to Christ’s College (even if valid) and the continuing penalty provision on St John’s – could have subsisted together or which was to prevail. One might also ask ‘Who was to determine when and whether there had been a sufficiently serious default and how was it to be determined?’

Doubtless, notwithstanding all of the potential problems, the arrangements made would have worked well enough so long as everyone acted in good faith, as no doubt they did. The College would have had everything to lose by not keeping its part of the bargain. When the guild was dissolved by the Chantries Act of 1547 there was then no one to send scholars from Pocklington to St John’s. This was rectified by an Act of Parliament of 1552, as we shall see later.

We have said nothing so far about the early Dowman Scholars themselves. We have no record of them until 1545. Between 2 November 1545 and 7 November 1633 some 103 Dowman Scholars were sent up to St John’s and we have a list of their names, counties of origin and dates of admission. Of these, 90 were from Yorkshire. Those coming from other counties were Cheshire (2), Cumberland (1), Derbyshire (1), Hertfordshire (2), Lancashire (1), Leicestershire (3), Lincolnshire (1), Northumberland (1) and Richmondshire (1).

Seven were of the name of Dowman – four from Yorkshire, two from Hertfordshire and one from Leicestershire. One from 1575 was Robert Dowman, the son of the school’s refounder, Thomas Dowman, and the last one (from 1616) was Marmaduke Dowman who took an active part in the Civil War fighting for King Charles I.<sup>48</sup>

There were six Dowman Scholars from the other prominent local family of Sotheby – the family which gave its name to the London Auction House in the eighteenth century. One Scholar from 1601, Thomas Sotheby, is recorded in Charles Henry Cooper’s *Athenae Cantabrigienses* as ‘not sworn on account of his being of immature age’. He proceeded to B.A. in 1605-6 and was the author of Latin verses. Another, James Sotheby from 1618, returned to the school as Master in 1624 – the only O.P. to fill this office.<sup>49</sup>

Of all the Dowman Scholars in the list 32 are known to have proceeded to the degree of M.A. and one to D.D., and ten became Fellows of Cambridge colleges (including

one senior dean). At least nine are known to have become beneficed clergymen and another one became Archdeacon of the East Riding. Two (Alexander Smyth from 1550 and Thomas Fallowfield from 1561) came back to the school as Ushers.<sup>50</sup>

Others became involved in Elizabethan politics and suffered an untimely end. Thomas Bishop (a Dowman Scholar from 1562) was hanged, drawn and quartered at York in 1570 for having taken part in the Northern Rebellion of 1569, and his head and quarters graced one of the City Gates and other places in the County.<sup>51</sup> William Anlaby (a Dowman Scholar from 1567) returned from Douai to England as a seminary priest and was similarly executed at York in 1597. He was beatified by Pius XI in 1929.<sup>52</sup>

Thomas Bell (a Dowman Scholar from 1566) is thought to be the person of that name who, as a Catholic convert, was imprisoned at York in *c.* 1573 where he was reported to be ‘more troublesome to the keeper than all the rest of the prisoners together’. He escaped, went abroad and in 1582 returned to England from Rome as a seminary priest but later recanted and thereafter was employed as a spy to seek out priests and their lay supporters whom he had betrayed, for which service he received a pension from both Queen Elizabeth and King James I. He died in 1610 having published many anti-Catholic tracts.<sup>53</sup>

The refounder’s son, Robert Dowman (Dowman Scholar from 1575), a student at Gray’s Inn, was arrested in 1582 on the orders of the Privy Council and his chambers were searched. He and his brother John (also a former pupil) had been reported as ‘noated papists’, keeping company with notorious seminaries. John, who had escaped to the continent, had attended the execution of Edmund Campion, the Jesuit, in 1581 and had caused an account of it to be printed.<sup>54</sup>

Robert survived this experience and went on to receive a knighthood from James I in 1604 and died in 1628. He took great interest in the affairs of the school, as did another brother Peter (Dowman Scholar from 1581) who died in 1621 and who in 1612 wrote to St John’s complaining ‘Then do we craue you will looke into these few yeares bypast and measure who haue bene sent from vs to succede in these Schollerships belonginge our Schoole, alwise till of late sufficientlye by our owne, nowe transferred or transverted to straungers.’<sup>55</sup> He was referring to the unhappy tenure of the mastership by Martin Briggs from 1600-13 during which period Dowman Scholarships were being given to boys from other schools.





**To all the Faithful of Christ** to whom the present quadripartite indented deed shall have come, John Dowman, doctor of both laws and Archdeacon of Suffolk, greeting in the Lord everlasting.<sup>56</sup>

Since by divine law each Christian of orthodox faith is bound to exercise this work of piety that he may the more in this world heap up merit for himself and reward for the future.

**Know Ye therefore** that I, the foresaid John Dowman, of the diocese of York, in honour of almighty God and the most glorious Virgin Mary, His Mother and of all the saints, for the exaltation of sacrosanct Mother Church and the increase of clerks<sup>57</sup> in the University of Cambridge and also for the salvation of my soul,<sup>58</sup> have given granted and by this my present quadripartite indented charter have confirmed to the Master and Fellows and scholars of the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge, commonly called *Seynt John's College*, all my lands and tenements, rents, reversions and services with their appurtenances situate and lying within the townships and parishes of *Kenythorp*, *Bellithorp*, *Langton*, *Bordesall* and *Lenyng* upon *Yorke wolde* in the County of York.

Dowman grants to St John's College lands, holdings &c. in East Yorkshire

As well as all my lands and tenements rents reversions and services with appurtenances situate and lying within the township and parish of *Staveley*<sup>59</sup> in the County of Derby and all my lands and tenements, meadows, grazings and pastures, woods, waters and common rights of pasturage with appurtenances lately in the tenure of James Maden, Miles Northe, Nicholas Walshe, Thomas Lynthwit, Otewell Coterell, Joan Turnor, widow, Christopher Stansall, Roger Firthe and Nicholas Millar, painter, in *Staveley* aforesaid And also all my lands and tenements in the parish of *Walles* and *Walleswode* in the County of Derby lately in the tenure of Nicholas Frechwell And also one messuage and all my lands and tenements, meadows, grazings, pastures and woods with their appurtenances in the parish of *Hamesworthe Wodehouse* in the foresaid County of York lately in the tenure of William Chapman.

and lands and holdings in Derbyshire and South Yorkshire

Which lands and tenements withal and the other things before-mentioned with their appurtenances amount to a yearly worth of fifteen pounds beyond reprises and which at present are demised to certain persons year by year at farm according to the rate of the same value and Which lands and tenements withal I the foresaid John Dowman lately had and acquired to myself, the foresaid John Dowman, and my heirs as by way of several charters to me completed in respect thereof more fully is contained.

These lands of an annual value of £15

**To have and to hold** all the foresaid lands and tenements and the other things before – mentioned with appurtenances unto the foresaid Master and Fellows and scholars of the foresaid College and their successors forever to the certain uses and intents which follow, made plain and specified below.

are to be held by St John's to the uses and intents set out below

**And furthermore know ye** that I the foresaid John Dowman have assigned, made and in my stead by [these] presents have placed and

Dowman appoints attorneys to enter the lands

constituted my beloved in Christ Robert Nevell, gentleman,<sup>60</sup> George Williamson and Thomas Colson my true and lawful attorneys, jointly and severally, for entering on my behalf and in my name all the foresaid lands and tenements and the other things before-mentioned with their appurtenances and also for driving out and removing thence entirely whatsoever persons.

and to deliver  
seisin to St  
John's

**And furthermore** for delivering thereafter on my behalf and in my name to the foresaid Master and Fellows and scholars of the College aforesaid, or to certain attorneys of theirs in this matter, full and peaceful possession and seisin of and in all the foresaid lands and tenements and the other things before-mentioned with their appurtenances in accordance with the force form tenor and effect of this my present quadripartite indented deed, to them completed in respect thereof to this purpose and effect that they and their successors of this kind perform and in perpetuity follow the certain duties according to my ordinances and dispositions defined and made plain below as follows.

The College is to  
incorporate  
statutes for  
Dowman's  
scholars with  
those of the  
Foundress, the  
Lady Margaret

**F**irst I will and ordain and firmly resolve by [these] presents that the foresaid Master and Fellows and scholars cause to be incorporated among the other statutes (which have been ordained by the executors<sup>61</sup> of the illustrious princess Margaret, late Countess of Richmond and Derby, Foundress of the same College) certain statutes and ordinances on behalf of five pupils of me John Dowman aforesaid to be supported in the same College for future times everlasting beyond and besides the above-mentioned pupils installed on behalf of the Foundress aforesaid and installed or in future to be installed on behalf of other benefactors.

Nominations of  
the scholars to  
be by Dowman

**A**nd these five pupils and any one of them, assigned and nominated by me to the College aforesaid, shall be of whatever county I shall have determined during my natural life provided that they shall have been apt and suitable in morals and learning: and after, as God disposes, I shall have taken leave of this world I will and determine that as often as the place of any one of the said five pupils shall chance, through death, retirement, resignation, deprivation or expulsion or by whatsoever other means, to be vacant according to the ordinances and statutes of the Foundress aforesaid, then the assigning, presentation and nomination of the said five pupils and of any one of them, who are for the duration of future times everlasting to be assigned presented and nominated, is to pertain to the master, wardens and brethren of the brotherhood or guild *of the Name of Jesus, the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Nicholas*, lately established and founded by me, the foresaid John Dowman, in the parish church of *Pocklington* in the County of York, and to their successors forever.

and after his  
death, by the  
guild

and if the Guild  
cannot agree, by  
the Dean of  
York: in his  
absence by the  
Chancellor of  
York

**A**nd if it should chance that the master, wardens and brethren in office at the time do not agree nor will be able to come to agreement within two weeks after the news has been brought to them by way of the Master and Fellows and scholars of the College aforesaid, who at the time are in place, then I will and ordain that he or they be nominated and chosen for a pupil or be nominated and chosen for pupils to whom [s.] or to whom [p.] the lord Dean of the Metropolitan Church of York and his successors, who is

in office for the time being, has assented, provided that he [the Dean] be present in the City of York or within the space of twenty miles of the same City.

**A**nd if the lord Dean himself be not then present within the space of the twenty miles aforesaid then I will and grant that that scholar or pupil be nominated or pupils be nominated to whom [s.] or to whom [p.] the lord Chancellor of the Church of York aforesaid should assent.

The scholars to be admitted as the other scholars are

**A**nd I will and ordain that these five pupils be accepted, chosen and received, and any one of them be accepted, chosen and received, into the same College by the same Master and Fellows and scholars of the College aforesaid according to the form manner and time which are ordained in the statutes of the same College for the yearly election of the pupils of the Foundress.

Dowman's scholars to be given the same standing as those of Foundress

**A**nd I will and ordain that these five pupils and any one of them, thus chosen, accepted or admitted, shall have in the same College equal emoluments, commodities and advantages with equal liberties and commodities in all and through all things in like kind and in like manner as the other pupils of the same Foundress, chosen or to be chosen in the future, admitted or to be admitted, have in the College aforesaid and in the future will have, in that the rents and possessions and other tenements, given by me for them and their successors and bestowed on the same College and received by the same, merit this same and are sufficient for that very matter, and [in that] with the same tenements and the other things before-mentioned the said Master, Fellows and scholars and their counsellors are well pleased and contented.

How Dowman's scholars are to be chosen after his death

**A**nd moreover I will and ordain that these five pupils and any one of them have their origin within the County of York: and those pupils be especially taken up and chosen who be of my kin and name from whichever region or wherever they may have been born, if such from anywhere may be found sufficing for this.

**O**therwise I will and ordain, I the foresaid John Dowman, that such pupils are ever to be chosen who shall have been taught and educated from my grammar school of *Poklyngton*, from whatever region they be born, especially however if any have been born there where the tenements and possessions aforesaid lie and be the more apt for this and more outstanding than others. Not however elsewhere than from my school aforesaid and in the manners and forms above-written are they to be taken up, and only from the wholly superior grammarians of that school and from those who are more outstanding and in their character more cultured.

The oath to be taken by the scholars on admission to be that taken by those of Foundress

**Provided always** that they have corresponding qualities in conduct and learning in accordance with the statutes of the same College ordained for the pupils of the Foundress. And straightway after they have been chosen and admitted in the said College, on touching God's sacrosanct Gospels, they shall take such and as like an oath as and in like manner as all the other pupils of the Foundress there at the time shall take and have taken to whom they shall show themselves conforming in all things according to the demands of the statutes, differing however in these four.

with four differences

**F**irst I will that they be said to be and be styled '*scholars of master John Dowman, doctor of both laws, archdeacon of Suffolk.*'

**S**econd, that at the time of masses, for such time as they have not become priests, they are to say on any day the psalm *De profundis* devoutly and clearly for the soul of the same master John Dowman, doctor of both laws. When however they have been raised to the priesthood they are to say a special collect in their masses for the soul of the same master John Dowman above-said, of his parents, of his friends and of his benefactors.

**A**nd third, that in their sermons, when they have sown the word of God, they publicly make a particular and special recommendation for the soul of the said master John Dowman, his parents, friends and benefactors.

The College to advise the guild of any vacancy

**F**ourth, I will and ordain that the Master and Fellows and scholars of the foresaid College make a forewarning to the master and wardens of the foresaid guild of the said town within six weeks of whatsoever vacancy of whatever pupil of my foundation in the same College. And moreover, if a vacancy has fallen on the eighth day before the time for choosing, in this case I will that they, the Master and Fellows and scholars, forewarn the master and wardens of the foresaid guild for six weeks, or four at least, before the feast of All Saints next following, of that vacancy, that the foresaid electors may be able to nominate another or others.<sup>62</sup>

**T**o the observing of all which matters these five pupils aforesaid, and any one of them, shall swear when at their admission they furnish their oath.

The College officers are to swear to uphold these provisions

**A**nd furthermore, I determine and ordain that the Master and Fellows and scholars of the said College and their successors forever swear and be sworn to a firm and unbreakable observance of all and singular the matters in the present quadripartite deed contained in all respects on the part of themselves on their first admission, just as they are to promise for the remaining statutes in general and in particular and in their plighted oaths, solemnly and in particular, that they will observe to the letter, as far as they can, and cause to be observed all and singular the matters in this same deed contained.

Whenever the Master or a Fellow chances to be near Pocklington he is to visit the School and assess the schoolmaster

**S**ince however the experience of a teacher or master of the school aforesaid by itself is not enough unless fortified by good morals and virtues, and their character may not fully or to a nicety be determined by the said master, wardens and brethren of the brotherhood or guild aforesaid, I will and ordain and firmly decree that whatever Master from the College aforesaid, or Fellow sent by the Master of the same College, has chanced to approach the said town of *Pocklyngton*, he is to go to the same town, enter my school there, greet the master of the same school or cause him, if absent, to come to the school, and diligently examine him.

and have him replaced if inadequate

**A**nd if he shall have found him culpable in conduct or knowledge, or less suitable, he is to cause him to be removed within his term, and with all speed is to bring about that another more skilled than he or more cultured in his conduct be chosen, ordained and established by the said master and wardens of the said guild as well for the advantage and adornment of his College as for the strength and force of this my will, so that those who by their remissness or by negligence have been less mindful in noticing this, if they find scarcely any of the scholars to be chosen there for their College to be suitable, should consider that this outcome should be attributed not so much to the defect of my ordinances as to them themselves and their heedlessness.

On a vacancy the master of the School to be chosen and (if needful) to be removed by the guild, with the advice of the College in either case

**H**ence it comes about that I have decreed that here is to be added and inserted, as I have also ordained in the statutes of the guild and of my school,<sup>63</sup> namely that each master of the foresaid school, when the office there falls vacant through death, natural or civil, resignation, retirement, removal or other means whatsoever, is to be chosen, established and confirmed by the said master wardens and brethren of the same fraternity or guild with the mature advice of the Master and Fellows of the foresaid College: and likewise, as has been said before, in case he should be removed, it is with the advice of the Master and Fellows of the foresaid College that he should be removed.

In the event of default by the College

**A**nd I will moreover that if there be a default by the foresaid Master, Fellows and scholars of the said College, or by their successors, in not admitting or not well governing, treating or maintaining my said pupils or scholars from my said school of *Pocklyngton*, presented to them in manner and form above made clear and defined in my present ordinance, then I will and ordain that all right, title, standing and possession which the foresaid Master, Fellows and scholars of the said College of Saint John the Evangelist and their successors then have and possess in the foresaid lands and tenements, rents, reversions and services with their appurtenances, above given to them by me, be altogether void and are to cease.

the legal right and title in the aforesaid lands

is to pass to Christ's College, Cambridge to hold to the same uses

**A**nd from that time I the foresaid John Dowman will that all the foresaid lands and tenements, rents, reversions and services with appurtenances above named and defined, as is aforementioned in my present quadripartite indented deed, are wholly to remain to the Master or Warden and scholars of Christ's College situate and founded in the University of Cambridge<sup>64</sup> and to their successors forever under the same condition and to the same intent, uses, form and effect in which it was above made plain by me the

foresaid John Dowman to the said Master, Fellows and scholars of the said College of Saint John the Evangelist as well for the maintenance as for the admission of my said scholars of *Pocklyngton* and not otherwise nor in other manner.

Bond by St  
John's College as  
security for its  
adherence to the  
statutes in regard  
to Dowman's  
scholars

**I**n regard to which ordinance foundation and grant and whichever article of the same ordinance foundation and grant duly to be observed, we the foresaid Master Fellows and scholars of the College aforesaid bind us and our successors forever to Brian Higden, now Dean of York, and to the Chapter of the same Church and to their successors forever in a penalty of five pounds to be paid to the same Dean and Chapter and to their successors for whatever occasion and for whatever month in which the said five pupils or any one of them shall not have been chosen, accepted, treated and admitted according to the time assigned by the statutes aforesaid or for what month any one of them will not have fully enjoyed the foresaid liberties and advantages granted to them or to be granted to them in accordance with the ordinances of the statutes aforesaid.

The four parts  
of the deed to be  
held by:  
1. St John's

**IN WITNESS** whereof the foresaid master John Dowman, to one part of this quadripartite indented deed remaining in the hands of the said Master, Fellows and scholars of the said College of Saint John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge, has affixed his seal.

2. Dr Dowman,  
his heirs and  
assigns

**W**hereas to the second part of this quadripartite indented deed remaining in the hands of the said master John Dowman his heirs and assigns the foresaid Master, Fellows and scholars of the said College of Saint John the Evangelist have affixed their common seal.

3. The guild in  
Pocklington

**W**hereas to the third part of this quadripartite indented deed remaining in the hands of the master, wardens, brethren and sisters of the fraternity or guild of the Name of Jesus and the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Nicholas the confessor in the town of *Pocklyngton* in the County of York, lately raised and founded by the said master John Dowman, the said Master, Fellows and scholars of the said College of Saint John the Evangelist have affixed their common seal.

4. Christ's  
College

**B**ut to the fourth part of this quadripartite indented deed in the hands of the Master or Warden and scholars of Christ's College situate and founded in the University of Cambridge both the seal of the foresaid master John Dowman and the common seal of the foresaid Master, Fellows and scholars of the said College of Saint John the Evangelist have been appended to [these] presents.

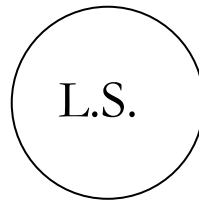
**Given** the first day of the month of December in the year of the Lord one thousand five hundred and twenty five and in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

The Master and  
16 Fellows of St  
John's attest to  
the deed by  
signing their  
names and  
appending the  
College seal

By me Nicholas Metcalf  
By me William Longforth  
By me George Cowper  
By me John Briganden  
By me Robert Truslove  
By me James Urmston  
By me John Rudd  
By me Robert Babthorpe  
By me Roger Dalyson  
By me William Schyrwod  
By me Ralph Bayn  
By me Robert Nevell  
By me Roger Harman  
By me Christopher Jacson  
By me Richard Brandysbye  
By me Robert Thornham  
By me Robert Stenbor[] <sup>65</sup>

Master of the College aforesaid

The place of the  
seal of St John's  
College,  
Cambridge



[Locus Sigilli]





A translation  
of  
**THE LETTERS PATENT**  
of  
**EDWARD VI**  
exemplifying the Act of Parliament for the  
**REFOUNDATION OF**  
**POCKLINGTON SCHOOL**  
dated 6 July 1552  
from the Latin into English,  
with a transcription of the English portion of the text

Translation and introductory note by David Stather



## Introductory Note

In 1547 Henry VIII died and was succeeded by the nine year old Protestant Edward VI, under the protectorship of his uncle, the Duke of Somerset. With Edward the Reformation of the Church began in earnest. The process of dissolving chantries and religious guilds and confiscating their lands and possessions, begun by Henry before his death, was continued apace under Edward VI with the enactment of a second Channies Act in late 1547, which did not however take effect until 1 April 1548.<sup>66</sup>

The crisis for Pocklington School as a result of this Act came about in an unusual way. Firstly, the dissolution of the guild at Pocklington meant that there was now no-one to nominate boys for the five scholarships at St John's College, Cambridge, and yet the College retained the lands with which John Dowman had endowed these scholarships. Further, there was now no guild to manage the school. The impact of the Act on the existence and funding of the school itself was more indirect.

It appears that Dowman, for some unknown reason – possibly the realization that twenty marks would be insufficient to fund *all* of his charitable directions – had never carried out his intention, as expressed in the Foundation Charter, of vesting in the guild the lands from which the grammar school and its master were to be maintained. Instead, as we learn from the findings of a jury in an inquest directed by the Court of Chancery in 1698, these lands at Thrybergh near Rotherham remained in the names of Dowman himself, his cousin William Dowman (the first master of the guild) and a number of other 'co-feoffees' (whose names we do not know, but who were probably brethren of the guild) who were jointly 'seised in their demesne as of fee' and without any uses of the lands declared.<sup>67</sup>

A 1738 inventory of deeds, earlier referred to, records a letter of attorney which affords some evidence that Dowman and six others had taken possession of these lands by attorney in February 1519. As the 'co-feoffees' gradually died off William Dowman became the sole surviving owner and, when he died in 1546 these lands (and also the school house) were inherited by William's son, Thomas Dowman, a lawyer of Gray's Inn in London, as beneficial owner.<sup>68</sup>

This necessarily raises the question how the grammar school had been maintained over the years between 1517 and 1547. The answer is almost certainly from the income of these lands, because if they were held by guild members then in practice there was very little difference from the position if they had been vested in the guild itself. However, with the death of William Dowman and the dissolution of the guild,

the school faced an uncertain future. William's heir, Thomas, might keep the school going whilst he lived but, after that, what then?

The school owed its continued existence after 1547 to two circumstances: (i) the failure of John Dowman and his 'co-feoffees' to vest the lands at Thrybergh in the guild which meant that these lands at any rate escaped confiscation by the Crown under the Chantries Act; and (ii) the extraordinary generosity of Thomas Dowman who has been justly called the school's 'second founder'.

Thomas petitioned the King for both the maintenance of the school and the maintenance of the scholarships at St John's College, Cambridge to be placed on a proper, secure footing for the future, for the first of which purposes he was prepared to give lands of the yearly value of up to £20 to the master and usher of the school as a corporation with perpetual succession. He also bore the not inconsiderable expense of procuring a private Act of Parliament to achieve these objectives.

We can trace the progress of the bill in the *Journals of the House of Commons from 1547 to 1628* (vol. 1, p. 22) from its arrival there from the House of Lords with two other bills on Tuesday, 5 April 1552, to its first reading on Thursday, 7 April as 'The Bill for the Stablishing of the Grammar School at Poklyngton in Yorkshire'; and thence to its second reading on Friday, 8 April and finally to its third reading in the afternoon of the same day, after which it was returned to the Lords for Royal Assent. The parliamentary session ended by dissolution one week later on 15 April 1552.

This Act (5 Ed.VI 34), at some point after its enactment, mysteriously went missing for some centuries but in 1848 was returned (along with 5 Ed.VI.35) to the House of Lords and is now in the Victoria Tower.

The Pocklington School Foundation possesses the Letters Patent of Edward VI dated 6 July 1552 'exemplifying', i.e. setting forth, at the request of Thomas Dowman, the words of the Act of Parliament which he had procured. This would have been the only way of obtaining an authentic copy of the Act which could be produced, if necessary, in court proceedings. These Letters Patent are now held for safe-keeping in the county archives at Beverley. Part of the Great Seal is missing but a significant portion remains and is carefully preserved in wax.

This document was transcribed by Arthur Francis Leach, and published in *The Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society* (vol. V) in 1897. It is from this source that the translation of the parts in Latin has now been made. Reference has been made by the translator to the original document in order to verify Leach's reading of the Latin text.

A brief explanation here of the opening words of the Letters Patent may be needed. 'Exemplification' required that the King should first call up the parliamentary record to his Chancery for inspection and this was done by Writ of Certiorari directed to the Clerk of the Parliaments. This was followed by the 'Inspeximus' ('we have inspected') of both Writ and parliamentary record. The first part of the Letters Patent in Latin recites this procedure. In this case the Writ of Certiorari was technically in error in referring to the Parliament as having begun on 'the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of January last past'. In fact it had begun as early as the 4 November 1547 and it was in the fourth and final session (which had begun 23 January 1552) that this Act was passed.<sup>69</sup>

The Letters Patent then proceed to give the text of the parliamentary record verbatim – initially in Latin so far as the introductory words are concerned – but the bulk of the text is in English as the antiquated style and spelling show. It begins with a full recital of Thomas Dowman's petition followed by the words of enactment. This was quite normal. The procedure for obtaining a private Act was always initiated by the presentation to either House (but usually to the House of Lords) of a petition to the King by the promoter which then formed the preamble to the words of enactment as here.

The petition begins with a brief recital of the deed of 1 December 1525 by which Dowman had founded the five scholarships at St John's College, Cambridge. Of interest here is the fact that Thomas Dowman refers to the grant to the College of only lands and tenements 'in the countie of York'. He makes no reference to the lands in Staveley in Derbyshire which, it will be recalled, John Dowman had not vested effectively in the College just as he had not vested the lands at Thrybergh in the guild to support the school.

Thomas Dowman refers to the guild's designated role as nominator of the Dowman Scholars to fill vacancies at the College, pointing out that the dissolution of the guild by the Chantries Act now meant the loss of these places to Pocklington boys and yet the College retained the lands with which John Dowman had endowed his scholarships – a manifest injustice: further that Thomas Dowman now found himself holding the school house and lands intended for the school's maintenance but without any use declared of them so that if he were to die there was no assurance that they would be used for this purpose.

The enactment therefore empowered the Master and Fellows of St John's College to appoint the schoolmaster, and the schoolmaster and churchwardens of Pocklington to appoint an usher, with the like powers given to them and their

respective successors to fill vacancies in these posts. The schoolmaster and usher were to be a corporation: they and their successors were to have perpetual succession with powers to hold lands of an annual value of up to £20 by the gift of Thomas Dowman or of any other person or persons, and to sue and be sued as such corporation.

The nominations of Dowman Scholars to fill vacancies at the College (and with the same rights as in the past) were to be made by the schoolmaster, the vicar and the churchwardens of Pocklington who were in effect to take over the role of the dissolved guild in this matter. If the College failed to appoint a schoolmaster or if the schoolmaster and churchwardens failed to appoint an usher within two months of any vacancy in those posts then the Archbishop of York and his successors were empowered to do so. Power was also given to the Archbishop together with the Master of St John's to make statutes for the school within two years after the Easter next following the date of the Act. The Act named and appointed Adam Lockwood (then in post) as the first master of the school for life, surely the only instance of the statutory appointment of a headmaster. By 1554 Alexander Smith was the usher.<sup>70</sup>

Pursuant to the Act procured by Thomas Dowman, St John's College appointed the school's head-masters for the next three hundred years. The College also tried over that period to exercise a supervisory role from Cambridge – an inherently difficult task – but it will be observed that the Act gave no explicit powers to the College of disciplining or removing the schoolmaster once he had been appointed – only a power to make statutes, which proved to be worthless. This was the root cause of the College's difficulty in removing bad head-masters over three centuries.<sup>71</sup>

Thomas Dowman was as good as his word in the endowment of the school. By an indenture made in the first year of Queen Mary and dated 9 January 1554 he gave the lands at Thrybergh to the master and usher of the grammar school and their successors forever.<sup>72</sup> No statutes were ever made for the school under the Act nor could they be. As the Act did not specify any date for its coming into force it had to be read as taking effect from the first day of the Parliament, i.e. 4 November 1547. This meant that the two year period for making statutes, specified in the Act, had already expired when the Act was passed in April 1552.

Thomas Dowman married Elizabeth Vavasour of Spalding and had twelve children of whom five sons and three daughters survived him. Two of his sons went up to St John's College, Cambridge as Dowman Scholars. Both Thomas and his eldest son Robert continued to play an active part in the school's affairs during their lifetimes, although the Catholic sympathies of Thomas were a continuing source of concern to

the authorities in Queen Elizabeth's reign.<sup>73</sup> He died in 1589 and is buried in the Lady Chapel in Pocklington Parish Church where there is an elaborate monument to his memory.

The marginal notes to the translation and transcription of the Letters Patent have been supplied by the translator for ease of reading, and are largely based (with some amendments) on notes by Leach in his 1897 transcription of the document.





**Edward the sixth**, by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland<sup>74</sup> **TO ALL** to whom the present letters shall have come, **Greeting.**

Recital of

(1) an *Inspeximus* of a Writ of Certiorari by which the parliamentary record of an Act for the refoundation of Pocklington Grammar School was brought into the King's Chancery

**We have inspected** a certain Writ of Certiorari of Ours directed to Sir John Mason knight, Clerk of Our Parliament[s], and kept in the files of Our Chancery in these words.

**'Edward the sixth**, by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland to Our beloved and trusty Sir John Mason knight, Clerk of [Our]<sup>75</sup> Parliaments, or his deputy in the same place, **Greeting.**

**W**ishing for certain causes to be informed of the wording of a certain Act in Our Parliament begun at Westminster the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of January last past and continued in the same place until the fifteenth day of April now last past concerning a certain Act in the same Parliament for the erection of a free school in *Pokelington* in the county of York, lately published, **We Command** you that you send the wording of the aforesaid Act to Us in Our Chancery under your seal, plainly and openly, and this Writ.

and

**WITNESS** myself at Westminster the first day of July in the sixth year of Our Reign.'

(2) an *Inspeximus* of the Parliamentary record itself following its removal into the King's Chancery

**We have inspected** also the wording of a certain Act of Parliament published in Our Parliament held at Westminster and likewise being kept in the files of Our same Chancery in these words.

**'I**n a Parliament begun and holden at Westminster on the fourth day of November in the first year of the Most Mighty Prince **Edward the sixth**, by the grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, and by various prorogations continued as far as the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of January in the fifth year of the same Lord the King, namely in the fourth and last session of the same Parliament, among many other things decreed by the common assent of all the Lords and Commons, this present Statute for the erection of a free school in *Pokelington* in the county of York was ordained and enacted word for word as followeth.'

Recital of the petition  
(in English) of  
Thomas Dowman of  
Gray's Inn which  
recites the grant by  
John Dowman LL.D.  
of lands to St. John's  
College, Cambridge  
for the maintenance  
of five scholars there  
from Pocklington  
Grammar School by  
a deed dated 1  
December 1525, any  
vacancies to be filled  
by the nominations  
of a guild at  
Pocklington

**I**n most humble wise complaynyng, sheweth unto your moste Excellent Highnes, your Oratour and faithfulle subject, Thomas Doweman of Greis Inne, that where one John Doweman deceased, doctor of the lawes, for the zeale and love that he had to his countrie and to the educacyon and bringinge uppe of youth in vertue and lernyng, gave, graunted, confirmed and assured certayn londs and tenements in the countie of York of the clere yerlye valew of Fyftene poundes above all chargis and reprises unto the Master fellows and scollers of seynt Johns Colledge in Cambridge, **To Have and To Hold** to them and there successours for ever, to thintent that they, the seid masters fellowes and scollers and there successours for ever, shuld mayteyne, fynde and kepe in there colledge fyve scollers that had bene brought upp in the grammer scole frelye erectid by the seid John Doweman in Pocklington in your graces countie of York, for ever, in such manner and forme as is conteyned in a dede of composicyon quadripertite endentid of the seid John Doweman, beringe date the first daye of December in the yere of our lorde god a thousand fyve hundred twentie and fyve, and in the seventene yere of the Reign of the late king of famous memorye Henry theight, beinge made to the seid Master fellowes and scollers, more playnlye doth and maye appere.

**A**nd amongst the provisions, graunts, articles and agrements of the seid composicion, yt ys conteyned that the Master wardens and brethren of a certayne fraternitye and gylde in Pockelyngton aforseid, foundid there by the seid John Doweman by the lycence of the seid late kinge of famous memorye henrie theight, shuld always, when the seid scolers rowmes or any of them fortunod to be void by deth, resignacion, forfaiture or otherwyse, have the election, nominacion and appoyntement of a scoler or so many scolers as then myght or wold supplye the Rome or Romes of the seid scoler or scollers, then beinge vacant and voide in the seid colledge.

**A**nd that the seid master Fellowes and scollers of seint Johns Colledge shuld alwaies geve knowledge unto the master wardens and brethren of the seid gylde when any such avoydaunce shuld happen to fall by anye the meanes aforseid within a certeyne tyme lymited and appoyntid within the seid composicion, as therin more playnlye apperith.

The Chantries Act has dissolved the guild of Pocklington, as superstitious, whereby the preferments of the scholars of the free school are like to be lost, to the great displeasure of the town and county there

**A**nd nowe moste gracious Sovereigne Lorde, by reason of the estatute made in the first yere of your most noble reign for the dissolucion of chauntries, collegies, ffree chappels, guildes and fraternities, although the meanyng of the makers of the seid statute was not to hurt, alter or chaunge anye such good and godlye foundacions made onlye for the encrease of lernynge, but rather to fortifye, augment and inlarge such godly foundacions and ordinances; yet that notwithstandinge, the seid fraternitie and gilde, onelye foundid for the godlye intents aforseid, by the seid estatute made for the dissolucion of chauntries ffraternities and guyldes, as is aforseid, colorablye, under the pretence of a fraternitie superstitiouslye usid, is now dissolvied and taken away, and by the means therof the benefite and preferment, which the scollers of the seid ffree scole in Pocklington aforseid have alwaies had sithens the seid foundacion made, is lyke to be clerelye gone and taken awaye, moste contrarye to the meanyng and good intent of the seid godlye ordynance and foundacion; and yet the seid colledge of seint Johns at this daye is possessed and seasid of the seid londs and tenements, geven onlye for the intents and purposes aforseid; which thinge is lyke to ensue to the greate displeasour and losse of the Inhabytaunce of the seid Towne of Pokelington and of all the countrye there, Onles it shall please your maiestye that the seid godlye ordynance may be perfyted, recontynued and establysshed by some good and godlye devyse and ordinance.

The Petitioner holds the school house and lands purchased by Dr John Dowman for the maintenance of the school without any use declared so that, if the Petitioner were to die, the same godly use to which they have been employed might be lost

**A**nd where as your seid Oratour is seasid in his deameane as of fee, as well of the Scole-house of the seid ffree scole as also of all the londs and Tenements purchasid by the seid John Doweman, doctor of the lawes, for the mayntenance of the seid ffree grammer scole, without any use declarid, and no other devyse as yet made for the more parfitt continuance of the seid ffree grammer scole, So that yf your seid subiect shuld chaunce to dye, Wherof he is most assurid, yt is not certayne that the seid londs shalbe employed unto the use and godlye intent aforseid as heretofore they have byn.

Be it therefore enacted

**M**aye it therefore please your most excellent highnes, tenderlye consideringe the premisses, that it maye be enacted, and Be it enacted, with the assent of the lordes spirituelle and temporalle and the commons in this present parliament assemblyd, and by the auctorite of the same, in manner and forme foloyng.

that St John's College, Cambridge, may appoint a discreet and well learned man as master of the said free grammar school;

and

that the school master and churchwardens of Pocklington may appoint an usher

with similar powers of appointment on these offices becoming vacant

The schoolmaster and usher to be a corporation

with power to hold lands of the yearly value of not more than £20

and

to sue and be sued as *'Master and Usher of the Free Grammar School of Pocklington'*

**F**irst, that it shalbe and maye be lawfull unto the seid master and fellowes of the seid colledge of Seint Johns in Cambridge, and there successours for ever, to nominate and appoynte one discrete and welle lernyd man to supplye the rowme of the scole master of the seid ffree grammer scole,

**A**nd that it shalbe lawfull for the seid scole master, with the churchwardens of the parissh church of Pocklington aforseid, to nominate and appoynte one sufficiently lernid yonge man to be the usher of the seid ffree grammer scole; and that, as often as the seid scole master's rowme shalle fortune to be voide by deth, resignacion or otherwise, That then yt shall be lawfull for the seid master and fellowes of seint Johns Colledge, and there successours for ever, to nominate and appoynte one discrete and welle lernyd man, as is aforseid, to supplye the rowme of the seid scole master then being voyde, And in lyke manner, and as often as it shalle fortune the seid usher rome to be voide by any the meanes aforseid, That then yt shalbe lawfull for the seid scole master and churchwardens, and there successours for ever, to nominate and appoynte one well and sufficiently lernid yonge man, to supplie the rowme of the seid ussher then being voided.

**A**nd that the seid master and ussher for the tyme beinge for ever shall, by thauctorite of this present parliament, be incorporated by the name of *'master and usher of the said ffree grammer scole of Pocklington'*. And that they and there successors shall have perpetuall succession in the same for ever.

**A**nd that the said scole master and ussher of the seid ffree scole of Pocklington aforseid, for the tyme being, shalbe enabled by thauctorite of this present parliament to receyve to them and there successours in imperpetuite for ever, of the gift and graunte of the seid Thomas Doweman, or of any other person or persons, lands, Tenements, annuities and Rents of the clere yerlye valew of twentie poundes, and not above, for the excersysing and using of the seid rome and romes of the scole master and ussher of the seid ffree grammer scole.

**A**nd that the seid master and ussher, and either of them, and there successours, and the successour of either of them, shall and may be, enabled by thauctorite aforseid, to sue and be sued, to emplede and to be empled, for any matter or cause concerning the seid londs, Tenements, annuities and rents, or any parcell therof, by the name of *'master and ussher of the seid ffree grammer scole of Pocklington'* aforseid,

The school-master, vicar and churchwardens of Pocklington may appoint the 5 scholars at St. John's out of the Free Grammar School on any vacancies arising

**A**nd that from hensforth, as often as the seid fyve scollers romes, or anye of them, within the seid colledge of Seynt Johns shall fortune to be voied by any the meanes aforeseid That then it shall and maye be lawfull unto the seid master of the seid ffree grammer scole in Pocklington, and his successours for ever, together with the vycar or curate and churchwardens of the pariss church of Pockelington for the tyme beinge, to nominate electe and appoynt such lyke number of scolers to be taken out of the seid ffree grammer scole of Pockelington, as will and maye then supplye the rome or romes of the seid scoler or scollers then beinge voide in the seid colledge of Seint Johns.

and may present them to the College in the same way as the guild might have done under the 1525 deed before its dissolution

**A**nd the same scollers, so beinge elected, nominated and appoynted, with the names of them and everye of them, to send and present unto the seid master fellowes and scollers of the seid colledge of Seint Johns for the tyme beinge, in lyke manner and forme and in as large and ample manner as the seid master wardens and brothern of the seid fraternyte and guilde in Pockelington, or anye of them, ever should, myght or ought to have done, at any tyme before the dissolucion of the seid fraternyte or guilde, by virtue of any covenante, graunte, article and agrement conteynd and specified in the seid composicion of the seid John Doweman.

Such scholars to have same exhibition and rights as those scholars previously nominated by the guild

**A**nd that the seid scollers, and everye of them, so to be elected, nominated, appoynted and presented unto the seid master and fellowes of the seid colledge of Seint Johns for the tyme beinge by the seid scole master, vicar or curate, and churchwardens of Pockelington aforeseid, shalbe without delaye receyved, accepted and takyn into the seid colledge of Seint Johns by the seid master, fellowes and scollers, and shall have such lyke commodities, exhibicion, lyberte, privilege and erudicion within the seid colledge of Seint Johns as any other scoller or scollers of the seid ffree grammer scole, or any other hertofore beinge nominated, appoynted and presented into the seid colledge by the seid master and wardens of the seid guilde of Pockelington, have had or hath or of right ought to have or had according to the seid composicion of the seid docter Doweman.

The school-master and usher may do all that the guild might have done concerning the said five scholars under the deed of 1525 before the Chantries Act, 1547

**A**nd be it further enacted, by thauctorite aforeseid, that the seid master and ussher of the seid ffree scole of Pockelington for the tyme beinge shall and maye, by thauctorite of this present acte, be enabled to doo all and everye thinge and things, acte and acts, conteynd and expressed within the seid dede of composicion concerning the seid fyve scollers, which the seid master wardens and brothern of the seid fraternyte and guilde, late foundid in Pockelington aforeseid by the seid John Doweman, shuld,

myght or ought to have done by virtew of the seid composition, before the seid estatute of collegis ffree chappels guildes and fraternities made.

The College shall do unto the schoolmaster and usher, vicar and church-wardens, all that it was required to do to the guild under the 1525 deed as if the guild had continued in existence and as if the Act of 1547 had not been passed

**A**nd lykewise that the seid master fellowes and scollers of the seid colledge of Seint Johns, and there successours for ever, shall from hensforth doo, suffer and cause to be done unto the seid master and ussher, vicar or curate, and churchwardens, and everye of them, all and everye such thing and things, acte and acts, mentioned in the seid dede of composition, which on their partie is therin lymited and appoyntid to be done and performyd, or at anye tyme heretofore to have bene done and performid, unto the seid master and wardens of the seid fraternitie and guilde, late in Pockelington aforseid, in such lyke manner, fourme and effect to all intents, construccions and purposes, as they shuld, myght or ought to have done unto the seid master wardens and brothern of the seid guilde late in Pockelington, as yf the seid guilde had still continued and remayned in his full being and effect, and as yf the seid estatute of chauntries collegis ffree chappells and guildes had never bene had ne made.

The school-master And church-wardens or two of them, may enforce performance of covenants in the said deed to which the College is bound by this Act to the schoolmaster and usher, the vicar and churchwardens, as the guild might have done before its dissolution

**A**nd that the seid scole master and churchwardens, or two of them, for ever for the tyme being, by thauctorite aforseid, shalbe enhabled to take the advantage ageinst the seid master fellowes and scollers of the seid colledge of Seint Johns for the tyme being, for the performaunce of any covenante, graunte, article and agrement conteynid in the seid dede of composition of the seid John Doweman which the seid master fellowes and scollers ar bound by this acte to doo unto the seid scole master and ussher of the seid ffree grammer scole and to the seid vycar or curate and churchwardens of the seid parissh church of Pockelington, by accyon of debt, of all and everye such obligacion and obligacions wherin the seid master fellowes and scollers of Seint Johns Colledge aforseid were bound to the seid master and wardens of the seid fraternyte and guilde in Pockelington aforseid for the performance of the said composition and of everye covenante, graunte and article therin conteynid in as large and ample manner as the master and wardens of the said fraternitie and guilde myght have done before the dissolucion of the seid fraternyte and guilde.

If College fail to appoint a school-master, or if school-master and churchwardens fail to appoint an usher within two months of vacancy, the Archbishop of York may do so

**A**nd be yt ffurther enacted by thauctorite aforseid that yf the seid master and fellowes of the seid colledge of Seint Johns and there successours, at any tyme hereafter, when the scole-masters rome shall fortune to be voide by deth or otherwise, as is aforseid, by the space of twoo monethes, [doo fail to?] nominate and appoynte one discrete and well lernid man to supplye the rome of the seid scole master then beinge voide, or els yf the seid scole master and churchwardens and there successours doo [fail?] to nominate and appoynte one sufficientlye lernid person to supplye the rome of the seid ussher being voide by anye the meanes aforseid by the space of twoo monethes next after such vacacion and avoydanne had, that then and so often as the seid scolemaster rome shalbe and remayne voyde of a discrete and well lerned man, and also so often as the seid usshers rome shall remayne voide, by the space of twoo monethes as is aforseid, yt shalbe lawfull for the lorde Archebisshop of York and his successours for to nominate and appoynte one discrete and well lernid man to be scole-master of the seid ffree Scole of Pockelington and one sufficientlye and well lernid person to be ussher of the seid scole.

Such appointees to have the like corporate status and legal capacity as they would have under this Act if appointed by the College

**A**nd that the seid scole-master and ussher, and there successours for ever, so being appoyntid by the seid lorde Archbusshop and his successours, shalbe encorporated by the name of '*master and ussher of the seid ffree Scole of Pockelington*', and have lyke capacite to all intents and purposes as they shall have by vertue of this acte when they be nominated and appoyntid by the seid master and fellowes of Seint Johns Colledge and there successours as before in this acte ys declarid and appoynted.

Power to Archbishop of York and Master of St. John's to make statutes for the School within a specified period

**A**nd that it may be further enacted by thauctorite of this present parliament that it shalbe lawfull for the seide lorde Archbisshop and his successours, together with the seid master of Seint Johns and his successours, to make ordynances estatuts and lawes for the ordering and governaunce of the seid scolemaster and ussher and there successors, so that the seid ordinances be made within twoo yeres next ensuyng the ffeast of Ester next cummyng after the date hereof.

Proviso that College not to be charged with duties further than under the deed of 1525

but to have the like privileges as it had under that deed before the 1547 Act and as if the present Act had not been passed

**Provided always** that this acte shall not extend to charge the seid master ffellowes and scollers of Seint Johns and there successours to doo or performe anye other thing and things, acte and actes, unto the seid scole-master and ussher, vicar or curate and churchwardens, or any of them, more than ys conteynid in the seid deed of composicion and of there parte ar and were to be done and performed unto the seid master wardens and brethern of the seid fraternite and guilde; but that the seid master ffellowes and scollers, and there successors, shall have the lyke priviledge and advauntage in all things as they shuld and ought to have hadd by the said composicion of the seid John Doweman before the making of the seid estatute of chauntries collegis guildes and fraternyties, and as if this acte had never been had ne made.

Proviso that Adam Lock-wood, now schoolmaster, to continue for life

**Provided also** that Adam lockewood, now scole master of the seid ffree grammer scole in Pockelyngton, shalbe the first scole master to be appoyntid by this ordynance, and where he is so appoyntid to contynnew in the same during his lyff naturall.

**We** likewise by [these] presents have thought fit to be exemplified the wordings of the Writ and of the Act aforesaid at the instance of Thomas Dowman of *Greis Inne*, gentleman.

**In witness whereof** We have caused these Our letters to be made patent. **Witness** myself at Westminster the sixth day of July in the sixth year of Our Reign.<sup>76</sup>

Name of scribe

*done by* Bowis

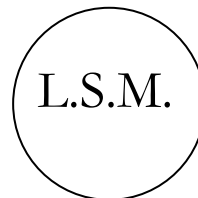
Endorsement at foot of verso of the Letters Patent and folded over

It is examined by us and

William Ermyste  
John Wabliston

clerks

Place of the Great Seal of Edward VI



[Locus Sigilli Magni]







## A SHORT HISTORY OF POCKLINGTON SCHOOL

*Being in large part a synopsis of the History of Pocklington School, by  
Sands, Haworth & Eggleshaw prepared and augmented by  
Richard Butler and David Stather*

To the uninitiated reader, a comment made by P.C. Sands and C.M. Haworth in the preface to their 1950 edition of *A History of Pocklington School*, that the appeal of the school's history to the public might lie in the simple fact that it has survived 'in spite of all mismanagement and threats to alter its course', might seem like a case of mild hyperbole.<sup>77</sup> But this is not the case. The truth of the matter, which becomes apparent as one works through their detailed history, is that on perhaps a dozen occasions over the last five hundred years Pocklington School might simply have ceased to exist. The prospects for a small grammar school in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which Sands himself described as 'rather a backwater' and 'not on any main route', were perhaps not as golden as those of the more famous public schools in the south of England. However, with a strong and noble foundation, an early and influential connection with a Cambridge college, and a series, sometimes interrupted, of dedicated and visionary headmasters, the school survived and thrived, and is perhaps in a stronger position now than at any time in the last five centuries of its history.

1552

We pick up the school's history at the time of its refoundation in 1552 – the reader will find much information about the school's first decades, from 1514 to 1552, in Professor Orme's introduction and in the introductory notes to the translations in this book. In 1552, the school probably consisted of just two buildings – a schoolhouse and a lodge for the schoolmaster where, perhaps, a few boys were boarded but, more likely, scholars from a distance boarded in the town. The schoolmaster, Adam Lockwood, appointed by the 1552 Act of Parliament, probably had around 100 boys, of whom fifteen went up to St John's College, Cambridge as Dowman Scholars, during the 1550s. Lockwood died in 1558 and was replaced by Anthony Ellison, under much of whose long stewardship the school continued to flourish, peaking at perhaps 140 boys in the 1570s (Haworth surmises) with 25 Dowman Scholars.

The school appears to have had quite strong Roman Catholic sympathies in these years which must have caused some problems under the decidedly anti-Catholic, Queen Elizabeth, especially after her excommunication in 1570. An entry in the Biographical Register of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge and their College Admissions relates to a former pupil, Christopher Langlaye, admitted in 1584, aged 20: his father, it is noted, ‘was hanged at York, Dec. 1586, for sheltering Romish priests in his house’. Religious conflict apart, all was not well at the school by 1580. At the time of Ellison’s death in 1581 St John’s College had found Pocklington’s scholars to be ‘rude and vnlearned’ – a fact of which the College made complaint to the Archbishop of York.

1599 The conduct of the two schoolmasters at the close of the sixteenth century, Robert Fawcett and James Nelson, precipitated a long and angry letter from Robert Dowman (Thomas’s eldest son) to St John’s in 1599 complaining about the quality of, and lack of control over, the schoolmasters and ushers and the ‘revenue estate of the Schoole’. By 1599 the number of boys (according to Dowman) was hardly more than 20 and their acquaintance with Latin no more than elementary. And all this at a time when the value of the school’s lands had nearly doubled and the responsibility of the school to serve a large district was in no way diminished. As Dowman observed – ‘The Contry that do depend vpon this fundacon is great, and therefor your care had not nede but be also.’ Dowman’s letter appears to have had few consequences, for the half-century after Nelson resigned in February 1600 was marked by ill-fortune and the all-too-present sense that the school could simply fail.

1600 Of the schoolmasters, the ‘worst of them all’ from this period (to quote  
1612 Haworth) was Martin Briggs, schoolmaster from 1600 to 1613. For reasons unknown, he neglected his duties of instruction to the boys at Pocklington and managed to waste much of the revenues of the school. By October 1612, when he was formally admonished by the Master and fellows of St John’s, the school buildings were in ruins and almost deserted. The townspeople of Pocklington, many of whom depended upon the revenue generated by boarders for their livelihoods, wrote to St John’s asking for something to be done by appointing ‘a painefull man’ to succeed Briggs or otherwise that they restore the school to its ‘former and pristinate worthe’.

In their reply, the College laid the charges at Briggs:

‘They charge yow with deepe neglect of your duty, breach of many promises of amendement; that by your extreme negligence, the number of Schollers is not decayed but perished, of fourscore persons only two small children left.’

To add insult to injury, some Dowman Scholarships were now being given to boys from other schools owing to the lack of sufficient candidates at Pocklington. Briggs left a few weeks later, bound for the College living at Barmston, and was first replaced by William Nesfield (the King’s nominee) in April 1613, who refused to take up the post, and subsequently by Richard Elcock.

1616

The challenge facing Elcock was formidable. He wrote to St John’s in 1616 ‘How ruinous I found the buildings here at my first cominge, and what cost hath been bestowed since in reparaire I spare to write’. In his 11 years in charge 13 Dowman Scholars were elected, including in all likelihood two of his sons, and three Open Sizarships were gained at Gonville and Caius College. He was succeeded by James Sotheby who died prematurely in 1630 after only six years in office during which eight Dowman Scholars were elected.

1650

His successor was Robert Sedgwick who was not the subject of any complaint until 1650 when he had been in office for nearly 20 years. This may be partly explained by anti-royalist sentiment at the time but there were also serious charges of neglect against him. He attracted the ire of many influential people, leading them to make a ‘vigorous effort to get rid of him’. He resigned in July 1650 after Seth Elcock, ‘preacher of the Word’ in Pocklington, along with 32 inhabitants of the town, wrote to St John’s to complain of a ‘Negligent Schoolemaster whose carelessness hath not only much ruined the fabrique of the Schoole, but exceeding eclipsed its former Honour, by diminution of the number of Schollers. Thereby much Impoverishing the Towne.’ This final remark is an important reminder (if any is needed) of the symbiotic relationship that existed between town and school. When the school was diminished so was the prosperity of the townspeople – especially (Haworth noted) one Jasper Belt, the then publican. During Sedgwick’s time 18 boys went up to St John’s but the average duration of a boy’s sojourn in the school was only one year.

Edward Lluellin, recommended by the townmen as ‘a man of an honest, and pious conversation’, was appointed schoolmaster in 1650 during the Commonwealth period. A congenial character with many of the qualities of a businessman, Lluellin set about rebuilding the school’s reputation and canvassing the County for boys. He also left more records than any of his predecessors to our benefit. Three months into his role he had admitted 43 boys: by September of the following year it was 73; and within two years in it had risen to 118. Lluellin kept a register of these admissions which included the occupations of the fathers who had boys at the school during the 6½ years of his mastership. Almost half were the sons of gentlemen and a fifth the sons of husbandmen (i.e. agricultural workers). Almost all came from Yorkshire (several from well-known County families), often staying at Pocklington for less than a year. Most were aged between 8 and 15 and it seems likely from the figures that up to 100 boys may have been in the school for at least some of the period. Eleven went up to St John’s and a few to other colleges. In 1657 Lluellin became a Catholic and resigned his position.

The school embarked on another period of decline with the appointment of Rowland Greenwood in 1657. It is likely that many boys left with Lluellin, and Greenwood’s Puritan sympathies did not endear him well to either the townspeople of Pocklington or the Yorkshire gentry likely to enrol their sons. Again the townspeople got involved, writing to St John’s in 1659:

‘For now here is not about eight or nine little boys in the Schoole, where as formerly by the pains and industrie of some former masters there hath bene six or seven score Schollers in our Schoole...’

There was also a complaint that Greenwood was exacting money in respect of every scholar, contrary to the will of the founder.

Just four years into his tenure, Greenwood resigned and was replaced by John Clarke, the first of four Johnian schoolmasters in the period between the Restoration and the end of the seventeenth century. Clarke took a bribe to let the school’s principal endowment (the lands at Thrybergh) to Sir John Reresby on a long lease at an excessively low rent and it took 23 years of litigation to procure its annulment. Otherwise the school seems to have fared well at this time, with an average of two boys per year going to Cambridge colleges between 1660 and 1693.

1698

The most important event during this period was the rebuilding of the school in 1698 by the then master, Thomas Dwyer. In his appeal for funds, sent to Old Boys, parents of prospective pupils, landowners and townspeople, Dwyer wrote:

‘All this while...no provision was made for repairs of the buildings of the said Guild, wherein the school was settled, so that in the space of 148 years ever since the dissolution of the Guild all the said buildings and schoolhouse have been running into ruin, and had ere this fallen quite down, at least a great part therof, if not underpropped, according to the judgment of severall as well gentlemen as artificers and others who have viewed the same.’

Reference was also made to the uneconomic letting of the school’s lands on a long lease of 81 years and the financial problems thereby created. Just over one fifth of the total funds raised came from St John’s with large donations also from the Earl of Burlington and Cork (whose seat was at nearby Londesborough) and the Archbishop of York.

1700

Little is known about the school during the first half of the eighteenth century which saw something of a decline in the efficiency and number of grammar schools: but at Pocklington education seems to have continued unaffected by the problems experienced elsewhere. The first portrait of a Pocklington headmaster dates from this period – that of Robert Robinson (1740-49) who would become Senior Fellow at St John’s College before his death in Pocklington in 1791.<sup>78</sup> There were no less than seven headmasters between 1704 and 1754 – all Johnians and clergy – with one usher, Richard Donn, serving under five of them from 1710 to 1745.<sup>79</sup> Only 19 boys are known to have gone up to Cambridge during this long period of 50 years.

1754

By contrast, the remainder of the century from 1754 to 1807 was occupied by a single headmaster, Kingsman Baskett whose chief error, it appears, was that he stayed in office too long – well beyond the time when he was best able to serve the school. According to his successor, Thomas Shield, there were only three or four pupils during his last 20 years and Baskett had agreed to too many unprofitable rents from the school’s lands, storing up a problem for Shield to address later. Baskett’s reign coincided with William Wilberforce’s time at Pocklington (1771-76) from whence the great Emancipator proceeded to St John’s College, to Parliament, and to

international acclaim. Wilberforce wrote his first public letter against the slave trade whilst at the school.

1807

The long tenure of Thomas Shield from 1807 to 1848 was on the whole a disastrous one. At one level, he did everything Baskett did not: he renegotiated rents through an arduous series of suits in the London Courts in order to raise the school's income from around £100 per annum at the beginning of the century to over £1,000 by 1828, falling back to around £800 by 1840. But he seems to have done it for his own enrichment. His legal pursuits occupied much of his time and energy, and he indulged in self-praise when, in 1840, it is likely he was the author of the following, from the *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the East and North Riding of Yorkshire*:

‘By the spirited and praiseworthy exertions of Mr. Shield, during an expensive litigation of thirteen years, the school has been raised to the rank of one of the most liberally endowed scholastic institutions in the kingdom.’

The same extract tells us that the school's principal landholding of two farms of 188 acres at Thrybergh had been exchanged for other lands in 1824.

1817

But at another level, the school he rescued from financial difficulty nearly ceased to exist owing to his neglect, absenteeism and lack of interest in teaching. By 1817 the complaints to St John's were so serious as to warrant an immediate visitation. Nearly 50 inhabitants had complained of an usher so deaf and infirm as to be incapable of teaching; of a master who seldom or never attended, who had not been seen for nearly 12 months, who had let the schoolroom to a carpenter for use as a sawpit and for storing lumber, who had received but failed to apply money for dilapidations resulting in a school in a dirty and ruinous state and finally who was the subject of proceedings for outlawry made known by public proclamation in the churchyard.

Many of the complaints had been given in evidence to a parliamentary committee, chaired by Henry (later Lord) Brougham, in 1816 which severely criticized St John's for its failures in visitation of the school – e.g. ‘for years the gross perversion of its ample revenues, known to all Yorkshire, had never penetrated into Cambridge.’<sup>80</sup> The visitation in 1817 found that only one boy was in attendance and that there had been only 16 scholars since 1809.



1825 A further visitation in 1819 found a schoolhouse ‘wholly new in front, and of white brick, handsomely finished and covered with slates’ although the interior was clearly not finished and so remained as later visitations showed. This time there were ten scholars, two classes and a well-qualified usher but no Greek taught. The hours were 7 – 8 a.m., 10 a.m. – 12 and 3 – 5 p.m. In 1825 there was another favourable report with no complaints save as to Shield’s renewed absenteeism. This complaint was repeated in 1827 when, it seems, an assistant usher (one Jones) appointed since 1817, had been dismissed and the school left entirely to the control of Shield’s son.

1836 After this the story is one of ‘shocking decline’. After appointing his son as usher in 1836 Shield promptly quarrelled with him over salary which took them both to the Court of Chancery and the son (it seems) to the local magistrates court for breaking windows in the schoolhouse. A complaint by Wilberforce’s son, Archdeacon R.I. Wilberforce, to St John’s about the school’s neglected state led to a further visitation in 1842 which found Shield instructing only two pupils, and an usher who had not attended for months.

1842 Thereafter it seems that the school closed but was reopened at the insistence of an influential townsman to accommodate his son, he being the only pupil between 1843 and 1846. By 1847 Shield, aged 80, was in debt, engaged in a law suit with his son and under threat of removal by the College. In August of that year he reopened the school with ten scholars, and with the usher and an assistant now in attendance, but, mercifully, his reign ended the following year.

1847 Shield was replaced by the indomitable Frederick James Gruggen whose mastership is described as ‘perhaps the greatest turning point in the School’s history’ by a later headmaster, P.C. Sands. Gruggen was a fellow of St John’s and a Cambridge ‘wrangler’ and was to be the last appointment made by that College. Not only did he revive the school’s fortunes and devise a new curriculum more in tune with contemporary trends but he also rebuilt the school in much the form in which it appears today. During his reign the number of pupils and staff rose, and many of his pupils made their names on university playing fields and on the river but above all in academic achievement. The number of boys rose to 43 of whom 25 were boarders. Only in the last few years of Gruggen’s leadership, before his untimely death in 1872 did the school go into another period of decline with the number of pupils at

the date of his death being reduced from 44 to two plus a few dayboys, no doubt due to Mrs. Gruggen having become a Roman Catholic.

1850

In 1850-51 Gruggen raised the funds necessary to rebuild the school. As in 1698, around a quarter of the £4,000 needed came from St John's, but this time as a loan to be repaid at 4 per cent. Much of the remainder, it appears, came from Gruggen himself. The main façade of white brick, two large two-storey bay windows and a fine Classical doorway frame continues to give dignity to the school just as they did when built in 1851. Gruggen also erected Wilberforce Lodge in 1858 as a residence for the Second Master, and later, St John's Lodge and Dolman House both of which were let. Those boarders who could not be accommodated in the Schoolhouse boarded with the Second Master, the Rev. E.B. Slater.

1858

A former pupil, M.C.F. Morris, has left an entertaining memoir of the respective teaching styles of Gruggen and his able (if eccentric) Second Master, Slater.<sup>81</sup> An Honours List from 1857 to 1879 records numerous 'wranglers' and lower honours gained in mathematics, with former pupils from this period securing third, fifth and eleventh places in the Tripos. One such 'wrangler', Rawdon Levett, in a distinguished teaching career, went on to initiate the reform of mathematical education in English public schools which included the abolition of Euclid as a text book.

Another pupil gained a double first in classics and moral science. 'College prizemen abound in the list, which records over twenty open scholarships and exhibitions, mostly at St John's College, Cambridge, but including two choral scholarships at Oxford and foundation scholarships at Christ's and Pembroke and at Durham.' An external inspection report on the school, published in 1870, was almost entirely favourable and the local press congratulated the town on Gruggen's success. It was all a far cry from the school over which Shield had presided (or rather had not presided). The school's annual income from its endowments at this date would appear to have been of the order of £1,500.

1870

Between 1872 and 1889 there were two headmasters, Charles Gilmour Wilkinson and Herbert London. During this period the school was, for the most part, quite successful, with numbers being gradually restored to 40, though this fell to just 10 towards the end of London's reign as a result of a reputation for poor catering, it seems, and a controversial court case taken by

1872

the parent of one boy who alleged London had administered a severe beating to his son. Two classrooms and a dormitory above were erected at the rear of Gruggen's buildings (with a narrow corridor between) in Wilkinson's time (1878-79). The first school magazine, *The Pocklington Grammar School Chronicle*, was produced in 1881, but its life was short, being replaced by the *Annual Register* in 1886 and *The Pocklingtonian* in 1891. This last has continued to be the name of the school's magazine – though occasionally varied in recent years. The school's Cadet Corps made its first appearance during London's reign.

1875

The 1875 reforms of the Charity Commissioners had a great effect on the school. The system of boarding was revised and the subjects justifying extra fees were specified. Most importantly, with the appointment of a board of governors and the removal of the supervisory burden from St John's, it was ensured that abuses of the kind perpetrated by Shield could never occur again.

1889

The last schoolmaster of the Victorian era was Charles F. Hutton who brought with him 40 boarders from Daventry to add to the ten left by London. A shrewd and enthusiastic Irishman, Hutton, a Hebrew scholar, with the aid of P.M. Stewart, introduced the teaching of Hebrew to the school which greatly enhanced its reputation with the two Universities to which scholarships were won – not only in Hebrew but in classics, science and mathematics over a period of twelve years. The study of Hebrew also produced several distinguished churchmen from this period. Of many illustrious former pupils from the Hutton era in various fields probably the most eminent was Lord Moran (1882-1977), Medical Adviser to Winston Churchill, who, as President of the Royal College of Physicians, collaborated with Aneurin Bevan in setting up the National Health Service.

1892

During Hutton's time the school excelled at cricket – the cricket XI winning all its matches in 1892. One contemporary of his recalled that 'games were a very serious business, because [Hutton] was the worst possible loser.' Much building also took place during this time – a gymnasium (1891), a cricket pavilion (1893), a fives court (1896), a large dormitory with classrooms below and the bell tower (1898) and a long awaited science laboratory (1907). The first Old Pocklingtonians' Club dinner and cricket tour was held in April 1898 though it was to be 1915 before a more permanent organisation was established. Hutton was much loved by his pupils and the school's official history contains many anecdotes of his eccentric behaviour.

The numbers at the school by 1892 had risen to about 100 with a staff of five and peaked around 1905 with 150 boys of whom 110 were boarders.<sup>82</sup> This was clearly a substantial increase on the Gruggen-Wilkinson-London era and brought the number of boys back to a level last seen in the Commonwealth period. However, Hutton's desire to keep fees extremely low and the lack of a good bursar were to have repercussions towards the end of his tenure, leading the school into financial embarrassment. Nonetheless, 'scholarship and games and a steady procession of boys to the universities all made the School well known and its head was invited to be a member of the Headmasters' Conference.' By 1909-10 the number of boarders had fallen to 50 and the school's overdraft had risen to over £4,000. Faced with bankruptcy, and in order to retain a local authority grant, Hutton accepted an inspection from the Board of Education and thereby set in train greater State involvement in the school's future. The Board's report was unfavourable, and so in 1910 Hutton left Pocklington to accept a College living near Colchester after a reign of 21 years.

The new plan for the school developed by the Board of Education began to take effect immediately. After 400 years' use the word 'Grammar' was dropped from the title of the school, the governing body was expanded to include a broader range of local and national representatives, and it was stipulated that 12½ per cent. of pupils should hold free places. A second inspection followed under Hutton's successor in 1911 which was broadly favourable and praised the new headmaster, George Haydn Keeton, for his reforms. In promising a grant, the Board drew attention to the small number of pupils, each of whom, on the existing level of fees, was being subsidised to the extent of £8. At this time, the annual income from the school's lands was just over £800 supplemented by a grant of £750 (to be reduced to £500) from the County Council.

George Haydn Keeton came from Fettes with a strong reputation. He obtained a first in classics from Emmanuel College, Cambridge and was a rugby football Blue. He took on three young men to help in the instruction of the boys, and worked with the County Architect to restore the interior of the school. During his tenure the school celebrated its 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1914 with a visit by the Duke of Norfolk. However, there were ongoing tensions at Governors' meetings between Keeton and the Governors which resulted in his

resignation in October 1914. Because of these difficulties, the school's recent history, competition from the new Bridlington School and the outbreak of war, the numbers of boarders had sunk to just 27 with about 20 day boys. During Keeton's brief tenure four open scholarships in mathematics were gained at Oxford and Cambridge and the school displayed considerable prowess on the rugby field in fixtures with other schools.

The long tenure of Percy Cooper Sands as headmaster from 1914 to 1944 through both World Wars, saw the emergence of Pocklington School as we know it today. He is undoubtedly one of the most important figures in the long history of the school. He moved from a large London day school to a small rural boarding school. So small was Pocklington that very soon after his appointment the Local Education Authority threatened to withdraw the school's grant which would have led to its closure. Owing to the uncertainty created by the War the Authority's position was made quite clear to Sands, i.e. 'Unless *by some miracle* you can increase the number of pupils, I much fear the School cannot be continued on the present basis.' An Old Boy, T.F. Brewster, offered £500 to keep the school afloat, but, as this was not needed in the end, the money was eventually put towards the construction of the school's swimming bath – opened in 1920 to replace the use of 'The Spinney' in the corner of the 'Big Field' as a primitive swimming pool.

1919 The school increased its numbers, presumably as a result of Sands' increased effort to market the school, to engage high quality staff and to gain favourable inspectors reports, so that by 1919 it was necessary to open a Junior House. From this time onwards, except for a brief slump caused by the Great  
1929 Depression of 1929-31, the numbers at Pocklington only increased. The Sands era saw the construction of the Assembly Hall, designed by an Old Boy, Allen  
1932 Foxley, in 1928, as well as new laboratories and classrooms in 1932. The construction of the Assembly Hall saw the removal of the last four of the twelve elm trees, known to former generations of boys as 'The Twelve Apostles'. Dolman House (previously sold off) had been repurchased in 1924  
1938 and adapted as a third boarding house and a sanatorium was built in 1938.

Many boys went on to university education including of course the flow of Dowman Scholars (renamed since 1859 'Dolman Exhibitioners') although these 'closed exhibitions' came to be called into question by St John's

as competition for College awards became fiercer and an Order in Council by Government empowered it to set the required standard and override the terms of the Dowman endowment. To highlight the College's folly, as he saw it, Sands (himself a former fellow of the College and holder of the Thirlwall Medal) was known to send to St John's a list of boys whom they had rejected but nevertheless went on to achieve firsts and gain scholarships at the College. There was excellence too in gymnastics, rugby, cricket and athletics as well as in minor sports.

1939 By the outbreak of the Second World War the school was packed to capacity with around 200 boys. Soon many dozens of evacuated children would also come to Pocklington from Hull and Sunderland, which meant the school premises being shared with Hymers College, Hull. Black-out regulations meant that only 'the dimmest of *blue* light-bulbs' were allowed in the dormitories. The boys helped local farmers, filled sandbags for the local authority, dug a large trench in the Dolman field in case of stray bombers, and put down much of that same playing field to vegetables. In 1941 an aerodrome was constructed close to the school which provided a lot of excitement for the boys, though the reality of the conflict was brought home in September 1941 when some anti-personnel bombs landed around the school. There were no injuries, but most of the glass was blown out. When the end of the War finally came in 1945 the school celebrated with large bonfires. The first V.C. of this War was awarded to an Old Pocklingtonian, R.W. Annand.

1945 The first post-war headmaster was Robert St. John Pitts-Tucker, a scholar of Clare College, Cambridge with (like his predecessor) a first in both parts of the classics Tripos, previously on the staff of Shrewsbury School, whose reign was from 1945 to 1966. An ever-increasing demand for places at the school, restrictions on access to building materials and difficulties in securing building licences meant that the school became increasingly overcrowded. The Education Act, 1944, which came into force on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1945 initially posed a threat to schools like Pocklington, but in the end the effect was more subtle and the school received Direct Grant status but had to bear its own building costs. Fees rose – partially to cover the purchase of Lyndhurst, a large house, about half a mile from the school, which became a fourth boarding house (for juniors) in 1946-47. It was followed by the erection of a new Junior School which was opened in 1951. More classrooms were built

over the chemistry laboratory in 1950, by which time the number of boys was at its highest ever at around 300 and continued to increase thereafter.

Pitts-Tucker was increasingly focused on dealing with the surge in post-war government bureaucracy, that J.H. Eggleshaw (his second master) contemptuously called 'the Paper Age'. A 1947 H.M.I. report was critical of the school for its substandard premises (extensive use then being made of old army huts) and what it termed a 'lack of a suitably dignified environment' – this despite the handsome Gruggen frontage of the school. As a result three major building operations were undertaken (funded by a series of appeals) between 1958 and 1965. These involved the building of new science laboratories space, a new classroom block, new changing rooms, a courtyard area with cloisters (St Nicholas Court), a new gymnasium with classrooms above, and new, increased and improved accommodation for both Wilberforce and Dolman House boarders. The old gymnasium became the new library – previously inadequately housed in the old School House.

Before any of these developments took place the Old Boys had paid for a new War Memorial pavilion to replace the wooden structure of 1893 but on a different site. This was erected and opened in 1955 by a distinguished Old Pocklingtonian, Col. Sir Percy Simner, in honour of those Old Boys who had fallen in the two World Wars. This event coincided with the acquisition of a large allotment site adjacent to the Dolman fields, thereby greatly extending the school playing fields which now stood comparison with those of any school in the North of England.

In this period of growth it was seen as important to maintain the balance between day boys and boarders, the latter being known for contributing much to the ethos of the school. The decision by British Railways to close the York – Hull railway line (which had served the school for over 100 years) in 1965 could have seriously reduced the number of day boys arriving by train every morning, but in fact other means of transport were found and the balance was retained. The system for dining also changed in this period as the Dolman and Wilberforce boarding houses pooled their catering facilities, realising that it was uneconomical to have a number of small kitchens operating independently. Under a later headmaster this process would end in the construction of a large new dining hall on the Near Dolman field in the mid-1980s to provide catering for the whole school.

The academic standards of the school improved strongly in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This was to a certain degree precipitated by the decision in 1953 to abandon the Northern Universities Joint Board and instead take the Oxford and Cambridge for external examinations. In 1960 seven boys won open Oxbridge awards. The teaching of Hebrew (which had not been maintained after the Hutton era) was briefly revived in the late 1950s at Pocklington but did not long outlive Pitts-Tucker's departure. As the Sixties progressed, senior boys were allowed to attend the local cinema at weekends, and to listen to radios or watch television. Former strict rules concerning clothing outside of school hours were also relaxed, and some of the anachronistic rights of the school prefects in terms of caning and 'fagging' gradually disappeared. The school's 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary, which 'fitly marked the climax of the greatest period of growth the School had known,' was celebrated in York Minster on 24 May 1964 with a special Commemoration Service. When Pitts-Tucker retired in 1966, there were around 500 boys at the school. The first internationally famous Old Pocklingtonian since Wilberforce, Sir Tom Stoppard, O.M., was a pupil during this period (1951-54).

1966

Guy Longfield Willatt, an Old Reptonian who had read history and English at Cambridge, succeeded as headmaster from 1966 to 1980. He had a more relaxed approach than his predecessor which stood him in good stead in dealing with the changing attitudes and expectations of youth in the late Sixties. He decentralized, taking on more administrative staff including a bursar, thus freeing himself to be more easily available to staff and boys. Departmental meetings of senior staff were also introduced. This was an era when boarding schools became increasingly unpopular nationally and when such schools were faced with unprecedented disciplinary challenges to a greater or lesser extent. These 'never quite reached the dimensions of a crisis at Pocklington.'

1970

In a number of areas efforts were made to keep up to date with contemporary educational trends. A Design Centre was opened in 1970, which served well the four boys who went on to win the 1976 B.B.C. 'Young Scientist of the Year' competition. A vast increase in numbers in the sixth form led to the curriculum being broadened and made more flexible by the introduction of economics and other non-specialist subjects. The swimming bath was renovated, covered and made usable throughout the year and a new biology laboratory was built. The old railway station was bought and converted into a

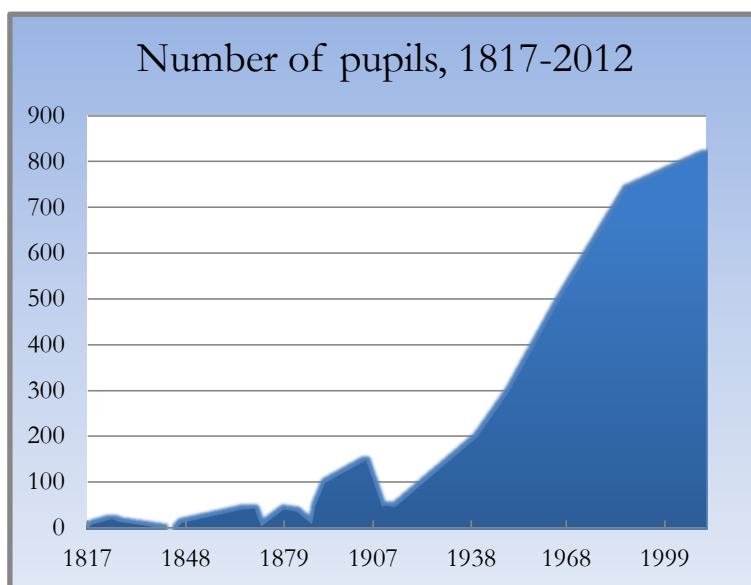


Sports Hall in 1974 and nearby railway cottages were acquired and adapted for sixth form teaching.

1975

Under Willatt school numbers and academic standards continued to rise, and this paved the way for the school to adopt independent status in December 1975 upon the ending of the Direct Grant Scheme by the then Labour Government. As Eggleshaw observed, the school was ‘in a position to offer all-round educational facilities comparable with those of many more famous schools and much more cheaply. Its prospects of surviving, and indeed prospering, if it went independent were therefore bright.’ With independence there was also preserved the school’s freedom since its foundation to recruit pupils from outside the County’s boundaries.

During this decade girls were admitted to the school for the first time in its near 500 year history, but only in the sixth form and not at that stage as boarders.



Willatt’s last year as headmaster (1980) saw the school gain 14 Oxbridge places, excellent O- and A-level results and unprecedentedly successful rugby XV’s and cricket XI’s.

1981

Willatt was succeeded as headmaster in 1981 by Anthony Derwent Pickering, M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford who came to Pocklington from Wellington College, Berkshire. The school’s official history by Sands & Haworth, updated by Eggleshaw, takes us up to 1988 – the last years of Pickering’s headmastership – and ends there. It records the building of a new dining hall in those years (as mentioned earlier), the acquisition of premises (Faircote House) in 1984 to accommodate 20 girl boarders (the old Wilberforce Lodge, built by Gruggen in 1858, being sold off to defray the costs), the creation of a computer centre and then the building of a new electronics laboratory and three more classrooms. In 1983 there was a peak of

1987 academic achievement when 14 boys gained Oxbridge places – eight of them with scholarships or exhibitions. School numbers continued to rise and by 1987 had reached 740. The number of young boarders however decreased but demand for day places, especially in the sixth form, increased. Girl pupils were only admitted at all levels of the school in 1989 so as to make it fully co-educational.

1992 The past 25 years have seen four headmasters at Pocklington: Pickering retired in 1992, and was succeeded by James Northey David Gray (1992-2000), Nicholas Clements (2000-2007) and Mark Edward Ronan (2008-present). Of 2001 the many building projects, four stand out as especially important. In 2001 a new building, the Tom Stoppard Centre was opened by Sir Tom Stoppard, for the teaching of performing arts. This was followed by the conversion of the 2006 old gymnasium into a well-equipped and modern library in 2006 and the opening of the Fenwick-Smith boarding house (named after the donor Brian Fenwick-Smith, O.P 1943-54) in 2007, at which 100 Old Pocklingtonians from the 1940-1960 generations attended. Finally, a new sixth form centre opened in School House in 2009. A statue of the College's most famous alumnus, William Wilberforce, was unveiled at the front of the school by the Archbishop of York in 2007 to commemorate the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade.

2012 As remarked in the opening paragraph, the school is probably now in a stronger position than at any point in the previous five centuries. There are 82 full-time teachers, plus 16 part-time in the Junior and Senior schools. The number of students (aged 3-18) stands at 819 (638 at the Senior school and 181 at the Junior school). Of these, 446 (54%) are boys and 373 (46%) are girls. There are 103 boarders (around 13% of the total number of students), of these 59 are boys and 44 are girls.

Now as the school approaches the quincentenary of its founding by John Dowman in 2014, it is pertinent to reflect upon its chequered history but also to remember the gifted and visionary headmasters throughout the last five hundred years who rescued the school in times of peril and brought it to such an advantageous position today.





## REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> For further reading, there is a general history of school education in England up to 1530 by Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools* (New Haven & London, 2006). The same author has published a history of childhood up to the same date, *Medieval Children* (New Haven & London, 2001). A more academic and detailed study of schools in Yorkshire is by J.A.H. Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling, 1340-1548* (Princeton, 1985). Some idea of what was taught in early Tudor grammar schools can be gained from a delightful anthology of school exercises from Oxford: *A Fifteenth Century School Book*, edited by William Nelson (Oxford, 1956). There is a concise biography of John Dowman in A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 192-93, and a more detailed one based on the research of Mr Keith Walls will appear in a forthcoming history of Pocklington School.

<sup>2</sup> 'The bill of complaint of John Dowman', ref. C1/499/1; 'The Answer of John Rudston', ref. C/4/128/001; and 'The Rejoinder of John Rudston', ref. C/4/128/002.

<sup>3</sup> 'The bill of complaint of Edward Mynskyp and Katherine, his wife', ref. req. 2-8-36.

<sup>4</sup> The title of 'fidei defensor' ('defender of the faith') was conferred on Henry VIII by Pope Leo X in 1521. It was not until 1525 that Henry began styling himself 'Henry VIII'. By an Irish statute of 1541 he was declared 'King of Ireland'. Previously he was styled 'Lord of Ireland' as here. The claim to be 'King of France' originated with Edward III in 1340 and was maintained by English monarchs until being finally abandoned in 1801. See F. Maurice Powicke & E.B. Fryde (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London, 1961), pp. 36 & 39.

<sup>5</sup> William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury 1503-32, Lord Chancellor 1504-15.

<sup>6</sup> The text gives 'per' ('by') in contracted form before 'nomen' ('the name'), rendering this sentence untranslatable. Some other word, intended to supply the object of the verbs 'habeant et gerant' ('may have and bear') has been omitted, or (as this translation assumes) the word 'nomen' was the intended object and the preceding word 'per' was inserted by the draftsman in error, this error being later repeated in the Charter (Plate 2, l. 5). The missing word may have been 'se', which would give the translation: 'may forever be constituted and conduct themselves by the name of '. The meaning comes out as much the same in either scenario.

<sup>7</sup> The draftsman of the Letters Patent incorrectly gives 'fine et feodo' ('fine and fee') when 'fine vel feodo' ('fine *or* fee') is called for.

<sup>8</sup> The 'hanaper' was an office in Chancery into which fees due to the King for the sealing, examining and enrolling of documents such as this were paid. No such fees were required from Dowman. Statute (1 Hen. IV c.6) required that every petition to the King seeking some favour should state the value of the thing sought and what other gifts the supplicant had received from the King or his predecessors, but here nothing of monetary value was being sought and so this requirement was also dispensed with.

<sup>9</sup> P.C. Sands, C.M. Haworth & J.H. Eggleshaw, *A History of Pocklington School, East Yorkshire, 1514-1980* (Beverley, 1988), p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> As in the Letters Patent, 'per' ('by') appears in contracted form before 'nomen' ('name'). The draftsman of the Charter is here copying the text of the Letters Patent exactly as he found it.

<sup>11</sup> The draftsman here uses five words 'imperpetuum perpetuis futuris temporibus peragendis' meaning 'forever to be performed in times to come everlasting' (Plate II, l. 9-10) when the Letters Patent used only the single word 'agendis' (i.e. 'to be performed').

<sup>12</sup> Here, the text, which is given in the Letters Patent as ‘statuta ordinationes aut provisiones pro bono regimine’ meaning ‘statutes, ordinances or provisions for the good regimen’ is recited in the Charter as ‘ordinationes aut provisiones pro regimine’ (Plate II, l. 32-33), i.e. with the words ‘statuta’ (‘statutes’) and ‘bono’ (‘good’) missing.

<sup>13</sup> The Letters Patent gave the single word ‘abinde’ which has been translated as ‘thenceforth’, meaning from the time when the lands &c. were given to the guild. Inexplicably, the draftsman of the Charter has substituted for ‘abinde’ the words ‘a tempore confectionis litterarum patentium dicti domini regis’ (Plate III, l. 25-26) which means ‘from the time of the perfection of the Letters Patent of the said Lord the King’. In so doing either he or Dowman appears to have misunderstood the meaning of ‘abinde’ in this context. Whatever else it might have referred to it could not have been to the Letters Patent (the very document in which the word appears) or to the date of their composition.

<sup>14</sup> The draftsman here interposes the word ‘docendum’ (not present at this point in the Letters Patent) between the words ‘ad instruendum’ and ‘et erudiendum’ (Plate III, l. 27-28) so as to give (in translation) ‘to prepare, to teach and to instruct’.

<sup>15</sup> The draftsman interposes the words ‘venientes et’ before the word ‘confluentes’ used in the Letters Patent so that we now have ‘coming and resorting together’ (Plate III, l. 29). ‘Confluentes’ literally means ‘flowing together’. Elyot’s *Latin Dictionary* (1548) gives for the verb ‘confluere’ – ‘to assemble together out of dyvers places’. These words show that it was envisaged from the outset that the scholars would come primarily from outside Pocklington.

<sup>16</sup> Here, the addition by the draftsman of the words ‘executorum seu assignatorum meorum,’ i.e. ‘of my executors or assigns’ (Plate III, l. 30), which do not appear at this point in the *Letters Patent*, is not material as the Letters Patent gave power elsewhere to Dowman, and *his executors or assigns*, to make statutes.

<sup>17</sup> The recital of the Letters Patent ends here and the substantive provisions of the Charter begin.

<sup>18</sup> The provisions for the election of the master and wardens of the guild are not well drawn and are not easy to follow but in the two foregoing paragraphs there appear to be three distinct powers granted, i.e. (i) to meet annually on a specified day to elect a new master and wardens (not discretionary); (ii) to meet at any time, if necessary, for this purpose (presumably in an emergency such as the death or illness of a master or warden) (discretionary); (iii) to meet at any time, if necessary, to oust the sitting master and/or wardens or any one of them and to elect another or others in their place (discretionary).

<sup>19</sup> In view of the convolutions of this lengthy sentence it has been necessary in translation to rearrange the order of some clauses as they appear in the Latin text in order to give sense to the whole. See Plate VIII, l. 28 to Plate IX, l. 8, beginning ‘Et quod omnes’ and ending ‘informet’.

<sup>20</sup> As the main verb is missing from this sentence, i.e. from ‘Et quod idem’ to ‘est talis’ (Plate IX, l. 8 to l. 12-13), a suggested verb has been supplied in the translation.

<sup>21</sup> The Fifth Lateran Council, first summoned by Pope Julius II, began its first session in 1512.

<sup>22</sup> This is from the ninth session (opened 5 May 1514) and from the text dealing with reform of the Church. As the text of the Council’s decrees was not officially published in Rome until 1521 it is interesting that Dowman’s quotation, given four years earlier, differs from the published version in only one word. The ‘divine precepts’ can be interpreted as the Ten Commandments.

<sup>23</sup> The words used here (Plate IX, *l.* 27) are ‘in aurora’, the primary meaning of which is ‘at dawn’ or ‘at daybreak’, but here the meaning must be ‘in the early morning’ – given the specification of 6 a.m. as the starting time for the school day throughout the year. The times given for the school hours are typical of the period and are modern clock times and not the old Roman ones. See also Plate XII, *l.* 1, where the words ‘in aurora’ appear again and are given the same meaning in that context.

<sup>24</sup> The verb and adverb ‘hast safely brought’ (supplied here in translation) would have come at the end of the sentence and are therefore to be inferred after the words ‘ad principium huius diei etc.’ (i.e. ‘to the beginning of this day’), see Plate X, *l.* 10.

<sup>25</sup> ‘De profundis’, from Psalm 129 in the Vulgate, is associated with the Office of the Dead. The reference to a special benefactor, with spaces left for the insertion of the donor’s name and the value of the gift, could signify either an anticipated gift or the possibility of one not anticipated. The Latin ‘parentum’ can signify ‘of ancestors’ as well as ‘of parents’ and it is thought that ‘ancestors’ is the more likely meaning here. This interpretation recurs wherever the word ‘parentum’ appears in the charter (e.g. Plate X, *l.* 20; Plate XI, *l.* 16 & 23; and Plate XVII, *l.* 11).

<sup>26</sup> A mark was worth 13*s.* 4*d.* Therefore the schoolmaster’s annual stipend of ten pounds was equal to fifteen marks and hence ‘the residue’ of the expected yield of twenty marks per annum from the guild’s intended endowment would have been only five marks (£3. 6*s.* 8*d.*). This would have been insufficient for carrying out all of Dowman’s directions, and the guild would have found it necessary to have recourse to other resources. The guild was subject to the limit of twenty marks on the annual value of the lands which it was empowered to hold.

<sup>27</sup> The sentence up to this point (Plate X, *l.* 30 to Plate XI, *l.* 1) has no main verb. Some text may be missing. Then there is a very long sentence beginning ‘Volo tunc’ which does have a main verb. The text has been read in translation as one continuous sentence.

<sup>28</sup> Other possible translations of ‘tabula’ (apart from ‘a board’) would in this context be ‘panel’, ‘table’, or ‘tablet’, but ‘board’ seems the most likely (Plate XI, *l.* 18).

<sup>29</sup> These brackets may have been a later insertion by someone other than the copyist or draftsman. If so, it is not certain if the closing bracket is in the right place (Plate XII, *l.* 6), i.e. the words ‘eo m[agist]ro occupato’. It is not possible to say but if the second bracket should have come after ‘aliorum scholarium’ (‘of other scholars’), some three or four words further on, then that would mean having to change the translation of ‘pro eruditione’ from ‘for the instruction’ to ‘on account of the instruction’ and the meaning of the sentence would change accordingly.

<sup>30</sup> By ‘successors’ we are presumably to understand ‘successors who are also priests’.

<sup>31</sup> There is another missing main verb here (Plate XIV, *l.* 19-22), i.e. from ‘Alioquin’ to ‘trahente’ – probably ‘pertineat’ or ‘pertinebit’. The omission has been supplied in translation.

<sup>32</sup> The Charter erroneously gives ‘gilde grammaticalis’ here instead of ‘scole grammaticalis’ – another drafting error which has been corrected in translation (Plate XV, *l.* 9).

<sup>33</sup> ‘Continentur’ is given (Plate XV, *l.* 13) with the present indicative tense and mood where the subjunctive mood is appropriate – perhaps a copying error based on a misreading of ‘contineantur’.

<sup>34</sup> The word ‘assignatam’ (‘assigned’) appears thus in the Latin text as agreeing with ‘scolam’ (‘school’) when the word should be ‘assignata’ agreeing with ‘mansione’ (‘dwellinghouse’). It is the house which is assigned to the master – not the school (Plate XV, *l.* 13-14).

<sup>35</sup> Hitherto the draftsman has used the word ‘scolares’ for ‘scholars’. At Plate XVI, l. 17 he uses ‘scolastici’ instead, and interchanges later on, i.e. at Plate XVII, l. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Stepmothers were held in poor regard in medieval times because it was supposed that they would inevitably hate their husband’s children from an earlier marriage – ‘novercale odium’ was the Latin phrase; hence the ‘wicked stepmother’ handed down in folk tales. Therefore, ‘stepmother’ can be interpreted as ‘false mother’ or ‘enemy’.

<sup>37</sup> The ‘Placebo’ (‘I shall please the Lord in the land of the living’), is taken from Psalm 114 in the Vulgate, and the ‘Dirige’ (‘Direct, O Lord my God, my way in thy sight’), is taken from Psalm 5. These antiphons mark the beginning of separate parts of the Office of the Dead. The three pence, which the three guild officers were required to give at the requiem mass held at ‘Martinmas’ was known as ‘soul penny’ which was money given by the brethren of religious guilds at masses.

<sup>38</sup> An ‘exempt religious’ refers to a member of a religious order (monk, nun or friar) who was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction.

<sup>39</sup> It is assumed that ‘master *or* wardens’ is a scribal error and that ‘master *and* wardens’ was intended, see Plate XX, l. 7, i.e. ‘m[agist]ri vel gardiano[rum]’.

<sup>40</sup> Dowman here passes from the singular to the plural (Plate XXI, l. 28). The syntax also seems to go awry here and it is not clear why ‘eos’ (‘those’) is given in the accusative case rather than in the dative case (‘eis’) which the grammar would require.

<sup>41</sup> Sands, Haworth & Eggleshaw, p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>44</sup> Conveyances of land to the universities or to the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were eventually exempted from mortmain restrictions by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1923.

<sup>45</sup> See the recital of Thomas Dowman’s petition in the Letters Patent of Edward VI.

<sup>46</sup> W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Oxford, 1768), Book II, ch. 20, pp. 315-16.

<sup>47</sup> These were rules against contingent remainders and uncertain conditions subsequent and the rule that at common law, the seisin transferred by livery could not be divested without its actual resumption by re-entry by the grantor or his heir. See G.C. Cheshire, *The Modern Law of Real Property* (8<sup>th</sup> ed., London, 1958), pp. 227, 291 & 300-02.

<sup>48</sup> Sands, Haworth & Eggleshaw, p. 32.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>51</sup> W. Knipe, *Criminal Chronology of York Castle: with a register of criminals capitally convicted and executed at the County assizes, commencing March 1<sup>st</sup> 1379, to the present time* (York, 1867), p. 5.



<sup>52</sup> T. Cooper & G. Bradley, 'William Anlaby', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ed. H.C.G. Matthew & B. Harrison, Oxford, 2004), vol. 2, p. 168.

<sup>53</sup> A. Walsham, 'Thomas Bell', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 4, p. 972.

<sup>54</sup> Sands, Haworth & Eggleshaw, p. 20.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>56</sup> In the Charter Dowman designated himself a 'legum doctor' (a 'doctor of laws'), but here he adopts the style 'doctor of both laws', i.e. of both canon and civil law. There is, however, no record of any university granting him a Doctorate in Canon Law. He was, however, made a Doctor of Theology, at Cambridge in the academic year 1523-24 (See M. Bateson (ed.), *Grace Book B* (Cambridge, 1905), part II (1511-1544), p. 114). He may have considered himself fit to claim the title of Doctor of Canon Law after long years of practice in his archidiaconal court in the administering of canon law.

<sup>57</sup> Dowman intended his scholars not to follow a secular career but to take holy orders as priests, as is made abundantly clear later.

<sup>58</sup> The sentiments expressed on Plate III, l. 3 of the Charter are echoed here. One of Dowman's aims in funding the five scholarships was to 'heap up merit for himself' and help to save his soul.

<sup>59</sup> The Staveley lands seem to have been an important part of his total holdings, with nine separate households paying rent.

<sup>60</sup> Robert Nevell, Provost of Rotherham College from 1517.

<sup>61</sup> The executors of the will of the Lady Margaret (d. 29 June 1509) were Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; Lord Herbert, the King's Chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovell, Treasurer of the King's household; Sir Henry Marney, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Sir John Saint John, her Chamberlain; Henry Horneby, her Chancellor; and Sir Hugh Ashton, Comptroller of her household. In the summer of 1509 Dowman entertained the executors at his house. Ashton's accounts include 'ix li. xs. jd for the expensys of the executours lyeng at doctor Dolmans at iij deners', see C.H. Cooper, *Memoir of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby* (ed. J.E.B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1874), pp. 119 & 191.

<sup>62</sup> Since the academic year began on 10 October the minimum notice of a vacancy which Dowman stipulated for the master and wardens - four weeks before the feast of All Saints, i.e. 4 October - would just suffice for them to provide a replacement and send him to Cambridge.

<sup>63</sup> Dowman's statutes for the School have not survived. The most detailed and extensive contemporary statutes for a school were probably those of Cardinal Wolsey for his Ipswich foundation. But the tenor of Dowman's statutes may be surmised from sections of the Charter.

<sup>64</sup> Christ's College, as the sister college to St John's, was the obvious second choice for Dowman's grant. Both colleges bear on their gates the arms of Lady Margaret Beaufort.

<sup>65</sup> Leach gives this as 'Robert Roston' or 'Robert Royston', as suggested by Robert Forsyth Scott, a previous Master (1908-33) of St John's, who noted a fellow by this name in Thomas Baker's history of the College. See *The Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, vol. V (1897) and T. Baker, *History of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge* (ed. J.E.B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1869), vol. I, p. 282.

<sup>66</sup> The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge had been exempted from the provisions of the Chantries Act.

<sup>67</sup> Sands, Haworth & Eggleshaw, p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

<sup>69</sup> Powicke & Fryde, p. 536.

<sup>70</sup> Sands, Haworth & Eggleshaw, p. 18.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 20, 23 & passim.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17 & 20.

<sup>74</sup> By 1543 Henry VIII had assumed the style 'King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and of the Church of England and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head' (35 Hen.VIII c.3). This style is followed by his son, Edward VI.

<sup>75</sup> The Latin text gives 'suorum' ('his') instead of 'nostrorum' ('our') which is clearly a scribal error. It has been corrected in the translation.

<sup>76</sup> 6 July 1552. The first regnal year of Edward VI began 28 January 1547. The sixth regnal year therefore ran from 28 January 1552 to 27 January 1553.

<sup>77</sup> Readers desiring further information are requested to consult the History of the school above mentioned, where they will find much good material which, for reasons of brevity, has had to be omitted from this article. Any errors or serious omissions in this work, or misrepresentations, are solely the fault of the authors of this brief history.

<sup>78</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. LXI, part 2, Sept. 1791), p. 875.

<sup>79</sup> *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* (vol. LXXI, 1927), vol. III, p. 118.

<sup>80</sup> H. Brougham, *A Letter to Sir Samuel Romilly, M.P., from Henry Brougham, Esq. M.P., F.R.S., upon the abuse of charities* (10<sup>th</sup> ed., London, 1818), pp. 17, 25, 27 & 55-56.

<sup>81</sup> M.C.F. Morris, *Yorkshire Reminiscences (with others)* (London, 1922), pp. 52-57.

<sup>82</sup> T. Bulmer, *History, Topography and Directory of East Yorkshire* (1892), pp. 691 & 695.