QUATUOR CORONATORUM ANTIGRAPHA.

Masonic Reprints

OF THE

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FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL.

BRITISH MUSEUM, ADD. MSS., 18,851,
CIRCA, 1500 A.D.

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Hic incipiunt constituciones artis gemetrie secům Euclyde.

Whose wol boye wel rede and loke
he may fynde wryte yn olde boke
Of grete lordys and eke ladyysse
yat hade mony chyldryn y fere y wysse
And hade no rentys to fynde hem wyth
Nowther yn towne ny felde ny fryth
A counsel togedr they cowthe hem take
To ordeyne for these chyldryn sake
how they myzth best lede here lyfe
Without gret desese care and stryfe
And most for ye multytude that was comynge
Of here chyldryn after here zyndynge
sende thenne after grete clerkys
To techyn hem thenne gode werkys

And pray we hem for oure lordys sake
To oure chyldryn sum werke to make
That they myzth gete here lyvynge therby
Bothe wel and onestlyche ful sycurly
Yn that tyme throzgh good gemetry
Thys oneste craft of good masonry
Wes ordeynt and made yn thys manere
Y-cownterfetyd of thys clerkys y fere
At these lordys prayers they cownterfetyd gemetry
And zaf hyt the name of masonry
For the moste oneste craft of alle
These lordys chyldryn therto dede falle
To lurne of hym the craft of gemetry
The wheche he made ful curysly

Hic incipiunt constituciones artis gemetriæ secundum Euclydem.

Whose wol bothe wel rede and loke,
He may fynde wryte yn olde boke
Of grete lordys, and eke ladyysse,
That hade mony chyldryn y-fere, y-wysse;
And hade no rentys to fynde hem wyth,
Nowther yn towne, ny felde, ny fryth:
A cownsel togeder they cowthe hem take,
To ordeyne for these chyldryn sake,
How they myzth best lede here lyfe
Withoute gret desese, care, and stryfe;
And most for the multytude that was comynge
Of here chyldryn after here zyndynge.
(They) sende thenne after grete clerkys,
To techyn hem thenne gode werkys;

And pray we hem, for oure Lordys sake,
To oure chyldryn sum werke to make,
That they myzth gete here lyvynge therby,
Bothe wel and onestlyche, ful sycurly.
Yn that tyme, throzgh good gemetry,
Thys onest craft of good masonry
Wes ordeynt and made yn thys manere,
Y-cownterfetyd of thys clerkys y-fere;
At these lordys prayers they cownterfetyd gemetry,
And zaf hyt the name of masonry,
For the moste oneste craft of alle.
These lordys chyldryn therto dede falle,
To lurne of hym the craft of gemetry,
The wheche he made ful curysly;

prozgh fadrys prayers. and modrys also.
Thys onest craft he putte hem to
He that lernede best. and were of oneste
And passud hys felows yn curyste.
zef yn that craft he dede hym passe.
He schulde haue more worschepe. then the lasse.
Thys grete clerkys name wes dept euclyde.
Hys name hyt spradde ful wondur wyde.
zet thys grete clerke more ordeynt he
To hym that was herre yn thys degre.
that he schulde teche. the symplyst of
yn that onest craft to be parfytte.
And so uchon schull techyn othur
And loue togedr as syst and brothur.

ffor more zet. that ordeynt he.
Mayster y-callud. so schulde he be.
So y he were. most y worschepedd.
Thenne schulde he be so y clepedd.
But mason schulde neu won other calle.
Withynne the craft amongus hem alle.
Hy soget. ny servand. my dere brothr.
Thazht he be not so perfyt as ys another.
Uchon schull calle othr felows by cuthe.
ffor cause they come of ladyes burthe.
On thys manr. throz good wytte of gemetry
Bygan furst the craft of masonry.
The clerk euclyde on thys wyse hyt fonde.
Thys craft of gemetry yn egypte londe.

Throzgh fadrys prayers and modrys also,
Thys onest craft he putte hem to.
He that lernede best, and were of onesté,
And passud hys felows yn curysté;
zef yn that craft he dede hym passe,
He schulde have more worschepe then the lasse.
Thys grete clerkys name wes clept Euclyde,
Hys name hyt spradde ful wondur wyde.
zet thys grete clerke more ordeynt he
To hym that was herre yn thys degré,
That he schulde teche the symplyst of (wytte)
Yn that onest craft to be parfytte;
And so uchon schulle techyn othur,
And love togeder as syster and brothur.

Forthermore zet that ordeynt he,
Mayster y-callud so schulde he be;
So that he were most y-worschepede,
Thenne sculde he be so y-clepede:
But mason schulde never won other calle,
Withynne the craft amongus hem alle,
Ny soget, ny servand, my dere brother,
Thazht he be not so perfyt as ys another;
Uchon sculle calle other felows by cuthe,
For cause they come of ladyes burthe.
On thys maner, throz good wytte of gemetry,
Bygan furst the craft of masonry:
The clerk Euclyde on thys wyse hyt fonde,
Thys craft of gemetry yn Egypte londe.

ỹn egẽpte he tawȝhte hyt ful wyde.
ỹn dyuers londe on euerỹ ſyde.
mony erys afterwarde. y vnd̃ſtonde.
ȝer yt̃ ye craft com ỹn to yys londe.
Thys craft com ỹn to englond as y ȝow ſay.
ỹn tyme of good kyng adelſtonꝰ day.
he made yo boye halle and eke bowre.
And hye templus of gret honowre.
To ſportyn hym ỹn boye day and nyȝth.
An to worſthepe hys god wt alle hys myȝth.
Thys goode lorde loued thys craft ful wel.
And ꝓpoſud to ſtrenthyn hyt euỹ del.
For dyuers defawtys that ỹn the craft he fonde.
he ſende aboute ỹn to ye londe.

Aft alle ye maſonꝰ of ye craſte.
To come to hym ful euene ſtraȝſte.
For to amende yeſe defautys alle.
By good conſel ȝef hyt myȝth falle.
A ſemble yenne he cowbe let make.
Of dyuers lordis ỹn here ſtate.
Dukys erlys and barnes alſo.
Knyȝthys ſqwyers and mouỹ mo.
And ye grete burges of pat ſyte.
Yeỹ were yer alle ỹn here degre.
Yeſe were yer uchon algate.
To ordeyne for yeſe maſonꝰ aſtate.
Yer yeỹ ſowȝton by here wytte.
how yeỹ myȝthyn gouẽne hytte.

Yn Egypte he tawȝhte hyt ful wyde,
Yn dyvers londe on every syde;
Mony erys afterwarde, y understonde,
ȝer that the craft com ynto thys londe.
Thys craft com ynto Englond, as y ȝow say,
Yn tyme of good kynge Adelstonus day;
He made tho bothe halle and eke bowre,
And hye templus of gret honowre,
To sportyn hym yn bothe day and nyȝth,
An to worschepe hys God with alle hys myȝth.
Thys goode lorde loved thys craft ful wel,
And purposud to strenthyn hyt every del,
For dyvers defawtys that yn the craft he fonde;
He sende aboute ynto the londe

After alle the masonus of the crafte,
To come to hym ful evene straȝfte,
For to æmende these defautys alle
By good consel, ȝef hyt myȝth falle.
A semblé thenne he cowthe let make
Of dyvers lordis, yn here state,
Dukys, erlys, and barnes also,
Knyȝthys, sqwyers, and mony mo,
And the grete burges of that syté,
They were ther alle yn here degré;
These were ther uchon algate,
To ordeyne for these masonus astate.
Ther they sowȝton by here wytte,
How they myȝthyn governe hytte:

ffyftene artyculus · þey yer sowȝton ·
And fyftene poyntys · per yey wrozton ·
Hic incipit articulus primus ·
¶ ye furste artycul · of yys gemetry ·
ye mayst mason · moste be ful securly ·
Boye stedefast · trusty and trwe ·
hyt schal hym neu · yenne a rewe ·
and pay yy felows · aft ye coste ·
as vytaylys goth yenne · wel yu woste ·
And pay hem trwly · apon yy fay ·
What yt yey · deserven may ·
And to here hure · take no more ·
But what · yt yey mowe serue fore ·
And spare nowyr · for lowe ny drede ·
Of nowyr ptys · to take no mede ·
Of lord ny felows · whey he be ·
Of hem pou take · no maner of fe ·
And as a jugge · stonde up ryȝth ·
And yenne pou dost · to boye good ryȝth ·
And trwly do pys · where seu pou gost ·
yy worschep · yy pfyt · hyt schal be most ·
Articulus secundus ·
¶ ye secunde artycul · of good masonry ·
as ze mowe hyt here · hyr specyaly ·
pat euery mayst yat ys a mason ·
most ben at ye generak congregacyon ·
So yat he hyt · resonably y tolde ·
where yt ye semble · schal be holde ·

Fyftene artyculus they ther sowȝton,
And fyftene poyntys ther they wrozton.

Hic incipit articulus primus.

The furste artycul of thys gemetry:—
The mayster mason moste be ful securly
Bothe stedefast, trusty, and trwe,
Hyt schal hym never thenne arewe:
And pay thy felows after the coste,
As vytaylys goth thenne, wel thou woste;
And pay hem trwly, apon thy fay,
What that they deserven may;
And to here hure take no more,
But what that they mowe serve fore;
And spare, nowther for love ny drede,
Of nowther partys to take no mede;
Of lord ny felow, whether he be,
Of hem thou take no maner of fe;
And as a jugge stonde upryȝth,
And thenne thou dost to bothe good ryȝth;
And trwly do thys whersever thou gost,
Thy worschep, thy profyt, hyt schal be most.

Articulus secundus.

The secunde artycul of good masonry,
As ze mowe hyt here hyr specyaly,
That every mayster, that ys a mason,
Most ben at the generale congregacyon,
So that he hyt resonably y-tolde
Where that the semblé schal be holde;

And to yat semble he most nede gon-
But he haue a resenabul skwsacyon-
Or but he be unbuxom to yat craft-
Or wt falsse hed ys ouer raft-
Or ellus sekenes hath hym so strongf-
yat he may not come hem a mongf-
yat ys a skwsacyon good and abull'-
To yat semble wt oute fabull'-

Articulus tercius

The prydde artycul for soye hyt ysse-
yat ye mayst take to no prentysse-
But he haue good seuerans to dwelle-
Seuen zer wt hym as y zow telle-
Hys craft to lurne yt ys profytable

Withynne lasse he may not ben able-
To lordys profyt ny to his owne-
As ze mowe knowe by good resowne-

Articulus quartus

The fowrthe artycul thys moste be-
yat ye mayst hym wel be se-
yat he no bondemon prentys make-
Ny for no couetyse do hym take-
ffor the lord yat he ys bonde to-
May fache ye prentes wher seu he go-
zef yn the logge he were y take-
Muche desese hyt myzth ther make-
And suche case hyt myzth befalle-
yat hyt myzth greue summe or alle-

And to that semblé he most nede gon,
But he have a resenabul skwsacyon,
Or but he be unbuxom to that craft,
Or with falssehed ys over-raft,
Or ellus sekenes hath hym so stronge,
That he may not come hem amonge;
That ys a skwsacyon, good and abulle,
To that semblé withoute fabulle.

Articulus tercius.

The thrydde artycul for sothe hyt ysse,
That the mayster take to no prentysse, 120
But he have good seuerans to dwelle
Seven zer with hym, as y zow telle,
Hys craft to lurne, that ys profytable;

Withynne lasse he may not ben able
To lordys profyt, ny to his owne,
As ze mowe knowe by good resowne.

Articulus quartus.

The fowrthe artycul thys moste be,
That the mayster hym wel be-se,
That he no bondemon prentys make,
Ny for no covetyse do hym take; 130
For the lord that he ys bonde to,
May fache the prentes whersever he go.
zef yn the logge he were y-take,
Muche desese hyt myzth ther make,
And suche case hyt myzth befalle,
That hyt myzth greve summe or alle.

ffor alle ye masonȝ · yat ben yere ·
Wol stonde to gedur · hol ȳ fere ·
ȝef suche won · ȳn ȳ craft · schulde dwelle ·
Of dyuers desesys · ȝe myȝth telle ·
ffor more ȝese yenne · and of honeste ·
Take aprentes · of herre degre ·
By olde tyme · wryten ȳ fynde ·
yat ye prentes · schulde be of gentyl kynde ·
And so sumtyme · grete lordys blod ·
Toke ys gemetry · ȳ ys ful good ·

Articulus quintus ·

¶ ye fyfte ye artycul · ys swyȝe good ·
So yat ye prentes · be of lawful blod ·
ye mayst schal not · for no vantage
make no prentes · yat ys out rage ·
hyt ys to mene · as ȝe mowe here ·
yat he hane hys lymes · hol alle ȳ fere ·
To ye craft · hyt were gret schame ·
To make an halt mon · and a lame ·
ffor an unperfyt mon · of suche blod ·
Schulde do ye craft · but lytul good ·
Thus ȝe mowe knowe · euery chon ·
ye craft wolde haue · a myȝhty mon ·
A maymed mon · he hath no myȝht ·
ȝe mowe hyt knowe · longe ȝer nyȝht ·

Articulus sextus

¶ ye syxte artycul · ȝe mowe not mysse ·

For alle the masonus that ben there
Wol stonde togedur hol y-fere.
ȝef suche won yn that craft schulde dwelle,
Of dyvers desesys ȝe myȝth telle:
For more ȝese therne, and of honesté,
Take a prentes of herre degré.
By olde tyme wryten y fynde
That the prentes schulde be of gentyl kynde;
And so sumtyme grete lordys blod
Toke thys gemetry, that ys ful good.

Articulus quintus.

The fyfthe artycul ys swythe good,
So that the prentes be of lawful blod;
The mayster schal not, for no vantage,
Make no prentes that ys outrage;
Hyt ys to mene, as ȝe mowe here,
That he have hys lymes hole alle y-fere;
To the craft hyt were gret schame,
To make an halt mon and a lame,
For an unperfyt mon of suche blod
Schulde do the craft but lytul good.
Thus ȝe mowe knowe everychon,
The craft wolde have a myȝhty mon;
A maymed mon he hath no myȝht,
ȝe mowe hyt knowe long ȝer nyȝht.

Articulus sextus.

The syxte artycul ȝe mowe not mysse,

That the mayster do the lord no pregedysse,
To take of the lord, for hyse prentyse,
Also muche as hys felows don, yn alle vyse.
For yn that craft they ben ful perfyt,
So ys not he, ze mowe sen hyt.
Also hyt were azeynus good reson,
To take hys hure, as hys felows don.
Thys same artycul, yn thys casse,
Juggythe the prentes to take lasse
Thenne hys felows, that ben ful perfyt.
Yn dyvers maters, conne qwyte hyt,
The mayster may his prentes so enforme,
That hys hure may crese ful zurne,

And, zer hys terme come to an ende,
Hys hure may ful wel amende.

Articulus septimus.

The seventhe artycul that ys now here,
Ful wel wol telle zow, alle y-fere,
That no mayster, for favour ny drede,
Schal no thef nowther clothe ny fede.
Theves he schal herberon never won,
Ny hym that hath y-quellude a mon,
Ny thylke that hath a febul name,
Lest hyt wolde turne the craft to schame.

Articulus octavus.

The eghte artycul schewet zow so,

That the mayster may hyt wel do,
zef that he have any mon of crafte,
And be not also perfyt as he auzte,
He may hym change sone anon,
And take for hym a perfytur mon.
Suche a mon, throze rechelaschepe,
Myzth do the craft schert worschepe.

Articulus nonus.

The nynthe artycul schewet ful welle,
That the mayster be both wyse and felle;
That no werke he undurtake,
But he conne bothe hyt ende and make;
And that hyt be to the lordes profyt also,
And to hys craft, whersever he go;
And that the grond be wel y-take,
That hyt nowther fle ny grake.

Articulus decimus.

The thenthe artycul ys for to knowe,
Amonge the craft, to hye and lowe,
Ther schal no mayster supplante other,
But be togeder as systur and brother,
Yn thys curyus craft, alle and som,
That longuth to a maystur mason.
Ny he schal not supplante non other mon,
That hath y-take a werke hym uppon,
Yn peyne therof that ys so stronge,

That peyseth no lasse thenne ten ponge,
But zef that he be gulty y-fonde,
That toke furst the werke on honde;
For no mon yn masonry
Schal not supplante othur securly,
But zef that hyt be so y-wrozth,
That hyt turne the werke to nozth;
Thenne may a mason that werk crave,
To the lordes profyt hyt for to save;
Yn suche a case but hyt do falle,
Ther schal no mason medul withalle.
Forsothe he that begynnyth the gronde,
And he be a mason good and sonde,
He hath hyt sycurly yn hys mynde
To brynge the werke to ful good ende.

Articulus undecimus.

The eleventhe artycul y telle the,
That he ys bothe fayr and fre;
For he techyt, by hys myzth,
That no mason schulde worche be nyzth,
But zef hyt be yn practesynge of wytte,
zef that y cowthe amende hytte.

Articulus duodecimus.

The twelfthe artycul ys of hye honesté
To zevery mason, whersever he be;
He schal not hys felows werk deprave,
zef that he wol hys honesté save;
With honest wordes he hyt comende,

By the wytte that God the dede sende;
But hyt amende by al that thou may,
Bytwynne zow bothe withoute nay.

Articulus xiijus.

The threttene artycul, so God me save,
Ys, zef that the mayster a prentes have,
Enterlyche thenne that he hym teche,
And meserable poyntes that he hym reche,
That he the craft abelyche may conne,
Whersever he go undur the sonne.

Articulus xiiijus.

The fowrtene artycul, by good reson,
Scheweth the mayster how he schal don;
He schal no prentes to hym take,
But dyvers curys he have to make,
That he may, withynne hys terme,
Of hym dyvers poyntes may lurne.

Articulus quindecimus.

The fyftene artycul maketh an ende,
For to the mayster he ys a frende;
To lere hym so, that for no mon,
No fals mantenans he take hym apon,
Ny maynteine hys felows yn here synne,
For no good that he myzth wynne;
Ny no fals sware sofre hem to make,
For drede of here sowles sake;
Lest hyt wolde turne the craft to schame,
And hymself to mechul blame.

Plures constituciones - - - - -
At yys semble · were poyntes y ordeynt mo ·
Of grete lordys · and maystrys also ·
That whose wol conne yys craft · and com to astate ·
He most love wel god · and holy churche algate ·
And hys mayst also · that he ys wythe ·
Whersever he go · yn fylde or frythe ·
And yy felows · yon love al so ·
For yat yy craft · wol yat you do ·

Secundus punctus · - - - -
The secunde poynt · as y zow say
That the mason · worche · apon the werk day ·
Also trwly · as he con or may ·
To deserue hys huyre · for the halyday ·
And trwly to labrun · on hys dede ·
Wel deserue · to have hys mede ·

Tercius punctus · - - -
The yrydde poynt · most be severel' ·
With the prentes · knowe hyt wel' ·
Hys mayst counsel · he kepe and close ·
And hys felows · by hys goode purpose ·
The prevetyse of the chamb telle he no mon ·
Ny yn the logge · whatsever they done ·
Whatsever thou heryst · or syste hem do ·
Telle hyt no mon · whersever thou go ·
The counsel of halle · and zeke of bowre ·

Plures Constituciones.

At thys semblé were poyntes y-ordeynt mo,
Of grete lordys and maystrys also,
That whose wol conne thys craft and com to astate,
He most love wel God, and holy churche algate,
And hys mayster also, that he ys wythe,
Whersever he go, yn fylde or frythe;
And thy felows thou love also,
For that thy craft wol that thou do.

Secundus punctus.

The secunde poynt, as y zow say,
That the mason worche apon the werk day,
Also trwly, as he con or may,
To deserve hys huyre for the halyday,
And trwly to labrun on hys dede,
Wel deserve to have hys mede.

Tercius punctus.

The thrydde poynt most be severele,
With the prentes knowe hyt wele,
Hys mayster conwsel he kepe and close,
And hys felows by hys goode purpose;
The prevetyse of the chamber telle he no mon,
Ny yn the logge whatsever they done;
Whatsever thou heryst, or syste hem do,
Telle hyt no mon, whersever thou go;
The conwsel of halle, and zeke of bowre,

kepe hyt wel to gret honowre,
lest hyt wolde torne thyself to blame,
And brynge the craft ynto gret schame.

Quartus punctus.

The fowrthe poynt techyth us alse,
That no mon to hys craft be false;
Errour he schal maynteme none
Azeynus the craft, but let hyt gone;
Ny no pregedysse he schal not do
To hys mayster, ny hys felows also;
And thazth the prentes be under awe,
zet he wolde have the same lawe.

Quintus punctus.

The fyfthe poynte ys, withoute nay,
That whenne the mason taketh hys pay
Of the mayster, y-ordent to hym,
Ful mekely y-take so most hyt byn;
zet most the mayster, by good resone,
Warne hem lawfully byfore none,
zef he nulle okepye hem no more,
As he hath y-done ther byfore;
Azeynus thys ordyr he may not stryve,
zef he thenke wel for to thryve.

Sextus punctus.

The syxte poynt ys ful zef to knowe,
Bothe to hye and eke to lowe,

For suche case hyt myzth befalle,
Amonge the masonus, summe or alle,
Throwghe envye, or dedly hate,
Ofte aryseth ful gret debate:
Thenne owyth the mason, zef that he may,
Putte hem bothe undur a day;
But loveday zet schul they make none;
Tyl that the werke day be clene a-gone;
Apon the holyday ze mowe wel take
Leyser y-nowzgh loveday to make,
Lest that hyt wolde the werke day
Latte here werke for suche afray;
To suche ende thenne that ze hem drawe,
That they stonde wel yn Goddes lawe.

Septimus punctus.

The seventhe poynt he may wel mene,
Of wel longe lyf that God us lene,
As hyt dyscryeth wel opunly,
Thou schal not by thy maystres wyf ly,
Ny by thy felows, yn no maner wyse,
Lest the craft wolde the despyse;
Ny by thy felows concubyne,
No more thou woldest he dede by thyne.
The peyne thereof let hyt be ser,
That he be prentes ful seven zer,
zef he forfete yn eny of hem,

So ỹ chasted penne · most he ben ·
ffiul mekel care · myȝth per begỹnne ·
ffor suche a fowle · dedelỹ sỹnne ·

Octauus punctus · — — —

¶ pe eghte poỹnt · he maỹ be sure ·
ȝef you hast ỹ taken · anỹ cure ·
vnd͠ yỹ mayst͠ you be trwe ·
ffor pat poỹnt · you schalt neu͠ arewe ·
A trwe medỹat͠ you most nede be ·
To yỹ mayst͠ and yỹ felows fre ·
Do trwlỹ · al . . ỹat you mỹth ·
To boye partỹes · and ỹt ỹs good ryȝth ·

Nonus punctus · — — — —

¶ pe nỹnye poỹnt · we schul hỹm calle ·
ỹat he be stwarde · of oure halle ·
ȝef ỹat ȝe ben · ỹn chambur ỹ fere ·
vchon serue oỹ͠ · wt mỹlde chere ·
Jentul felows · ȝe moste hỹt knowe ·
ffor to be stwardus · alle o rowe ·
Weke aft͠ weke · wt oute doute ·
Stwardus · to ben so alle abowte ·
louelỹche to serven · vchon oỹne ·
As ỹaugh ỹey were · sỹst͠ and breỹ͠ ·
Per schal neuer won · on oỹ͠ costage ·
ffre hỹm self · to no vantage ·
But euerỹ mon · schal be lỹche fre ·

So y-chasted thenne most he ben;
Ful mekele care myzth ther begynne,
For suche a fowle dedely synne.

Octavus punctus.

The eghte poynt, he may be sure,
zef thou hast y-taken any cure,
Under thy mayster thou be trwe,
For that poynt thou schalt never arewe;
A trwe medyater thou most nede be
To thy mayster, and thy felows fre;
Do trwly al . . . . that thou myzth,
To both partyes, and that ys good ryzth.

Nonus punctus.

The nynthe poynt we schul hym calle,
That he be stwarde of oure halle,
zef that ze ben yn chambur y-fere,
Uchon serve other, with mylde chere;
Jentul felows, ze moste hyt knowe,
For to be stwardus alle o rowe,
Weke after weke withoute dowte,
Stwardus to ben so alle abowte,
Lovelyche to serven uchon othur,
As thawgh they were syster and brother;
Ther schal never won on other costage
Fre hymself to no vantage,
But every mon schal be lyche fre

ỹn yat costage · so moste hyt be ·
loke yᵗ you pay wel · euerỹ mon algate ·
yat you hast ỹ bowȝht · anỹ vytayles ate ·
yᵗ no cravỹngf · be ỹ mad to ye ·
Ny to yỹ felows · ỹn no degre ·
To mon or to wommon · whey͠ he be ·
pay hem wel and trwly · for yᵗ wol we ·
Therof on yỹ felow · trwe record you take ·
ffor yᵗ good pay · as you dost make ·
lest hyt wolde · yỹ felows schame ·
And brỹnge yỹ self · ỹn to gret blame ·
ȝet good acowntes · he most make ·
Of suche godes · as he hath ỹ take ·

Of yỹ felows goodes · yᵗ you hast spende ·
Wher · and how · and to what ende ·
Suche acowntes · you most come to ·
Whenne yỹ felows · wollen yᵗ you do ·

Decimus punctus

ye tenye poỹut · p̄sentyth wel god lyf ·
To lỹuen wᵗoute · care and stryf ·
ffor and ye mason · lỹue a mỹsse ·
And ỹn hys werk · be false ỹ wysse ·
And prowȝ suche · a false skewsasỹon ·
may sclawndren hys felows · oute reson ·
Prowȝ false sclawnd͠ · of suche fame ·

Yn that costage, so moste hyt be;
Loke that thou pay wele every mon algate,
That thou hast y-bowȝht any vytayles ate,
That no cravynge be y-mad to the,
Ny to thy felows, yn no degré,
To mon or to wommon, whether he be,
Pay hem wel and trwly, for that wol we;
Therof on thy felow trwe record thou take,
For that good pay as thou dost make,
Lest hyt wolde thy felowe schame,
And brynge thyself ynto gret blame.
ȝet good acowntes he most make
Of suche godes as he hath y-take,

Of thy felows goodes that thou hast spende,
Wher, and how, and to what ende;
Suche acowntes thou most come to,
Whenne thy felows wollen that thou do.

Decimus punctus.

The tenthe poynt presentyeth wel god lyf,
To lyven withoute care and stryf;
For and the mason lyve amysse,
And yn hys werk be false, y-wysse,
And throwȝ suche a false skewsasyon
May sclawndren hys felows oute reson,
Throwȝ false sclawnder of suche fame

May make the craft kachone blame.
zef he do the craft suche vylany,
Do hym no favour thenne securly,
Ny mayntene not hym yn wyked lyf,
Lest hyt wolde turne to care and stryf;
But zet hym ze schul not delayme,
But that ze schullen hym constrayne,
For to apere whersevor ze wylle,
Whar that ze wolen, lowde or stylle;
To the nexte semblé ze schul hym calle,
To apere byfore hys felows alle,
And but zef he wyl byfore hem pere,

The craft he moste nede forswere;
He schal thenne be chasted after the lawe
That was y-fownded by olde dawe.

Punctus undecimus.

The eleventhe poynt ys of good dyscrecyoun,
As ze mowe knowe by good resoun;
A mason, and he thys craft wel con,
That syzth hys felow hewen on a ston,
And ys yn poynt to spylle that ston,
Amende hyt sone, zef that thou con,
And teche hym thenne hyt to amende,
That the (ordys) werke be not y-schende,
And teche hym esely hyt to amende,

wyth fayre wordes · þ^t god pe hath lende ·
for hys sake · pat sytte a boue ·
w^t swete wordes · noresthe hym loue ·

Punctus duodecimus

¶ pe twelpe poynt ys · of gret ryolte ·
per as pe semble · y holde schal be ·
per schul be maystrys · and felows also ·
And op^r grete lordes · mony mo ·
per schal be pe scheref · of pat contre ·
And also pe meyr · of pat syte ·
knyztes · and squyers · y ul be ·
And op^r alder men · as ze ul se ·
Suche ordynance · as pey maken pere ·

pey schul maynte · hyt hol y fere ·
Azeyns pat mon · what seu he be ·
pat longuth to pe craft · bope fayr & fre ·
zef he any stryf · azeyns hem make ·
ynn to here warde · he schal be take ·

xuj punctus · — — — —

¶ pe prenteye poynt ys · to us ful luf ·
he schal swere · neu to be no pef ·
Ny soker · hym · yn hys fals craft ·
for no good · pat he hath by raft ·
And pou mowe · hyt knowe or syn ·
Nowpr for hys good · ny for hys kyn ·

xuj punctus · — — —

With fayre wordes, that God the hath lende;
For hys sake that sytte above,
With swete wordes noresche hym love.

Punctus duodecimus.

The twelthe poynt ys of gret ryolté,
Ther as the semblé y-holde schal be,
Ther schul be maystrys and felows also,
And other grete lordes mony mo; 410
Ther schal be the scheref of that contré,
And also the meyr of that syté,
Knyztes and squyers ther schul be,
And other aldermen, as ze schul se;
Suche ordynance as they maken there,

They schul maynté hyt hol y-fere
Azeynus that mon, whatsever he be,
That longuth to the craft bothe fayr and fre.
zef he any stryf azeynus hem make,
Ynto here warde he schal be take. 420

xiijus punctus.

The threntethe poynt ys to us ful luf,
He schal swere never to be no thef,
Ny soker hym yn hys fals craft,
For no good that he hath byraft,
And thou mowe hyt knowe or syn,
Nowther for hys good, ny for hys kyn.

xiiijus punctus.

ye fourtethe poynt ys ful good lawe
To hym that wol ben under awe;
A good trwe othe he most ther swere
To hys mayster and hys felows that ben there;
He most be stedefast and trwe also
To alle thys ordynance, whersever he go,
And to hys lyge lord the kynge,
To be trwe to hym, over alle thynge.
And alle these poyntes hyr before
To hem thou most nede be y-swore,
And alle schul swere the same ogth
Of the masonus, ben they luf, ben they loght,
To alle these poyntes hyr byfore,

That hath ben ordeynt by ful good lore.
And they schul enquere every mon
On his party, as wyl as he con,
zef any mon mowe be y-fownde gulty
Yn any of these poyntes spesyaly;
And whad he be, let hym be sowzht,
And to the semblé let hym be browzht.

Quindecimus punctus.

The fyftethe poynt ys of ful good lore,
For hem that schul ben ther y-swore,
Suche ordynance at the semblé wes layd
Of grete lordes and maystres byforesayd;
For thylke that ben unbuxom, y-wysse,

Azeyng ye ordynance · yat were yſſe ·
Of yese artyculus · yt were y mened yere ·
Of grete lordes · and masongal y fere ·
And zef yey ben · y preued opūly ·
By fore yt semble · by an by ·
And for here gultes · no mendys wol make ·
Yenne most yey nede · ye craft for sake ·
And so masongcraft · yey schul refuse ·
And swere hyt neu more for to vse ·
But zef yat yey · wol mendys make ·
Azayn to ye craft · yey schul neu take ·
And zef yt yey · nul not do so ·
Ye scheref · schal come hem sone to ·
And putte here bodyes · yn duppe yson ·
For ye trespasse · yat yey han y don ·
And take here goodes · and here catell ·
Yn to ye kynges hond · euery delle ·
And lete hem dwelle · yer ful stylle ·
Tyl hyt be · oure lege ges wylle ·

Alia ordinacio artis gemetrie

Yey ordent yer · a semble to be y holde ·
Euery zer wher seuer · yey wolde ·
To amende ye defautes · zef any were fonde ·
Among ye craft · wt yn ne londe ·
Vche zer · or pryddę zer · hyt schuld be holde ·

Azeynus the ordynance that there ysse
Of these artyculus, that were y-mened there,
Of grete lordes and masonus al y-fere.
And zef they ben y-preved opunly
Byfore that semblé, by an by,
And for herè gultes no mendys wol make,
Thenne most they nede the craft forsake;
And so masonus craft they schul refuse,
And swere hyt never more for to use.
But zef that they wol mendys make,
Azayn to the craft they schul never take;
And zef that they nul not do so,
The scheref schal come hem sone to,
And putte here bodyes yn duppe prison,
For the trespasse that they hav y-don,
And take here goodes and here cattell
Ynto the kynges hond, every delle,
And lete hem dwelle there ful stylle,
Tyl hyt be oure lege kynges wylle:

Alia ordinacio artis gemetriæ.

They ordent ther a semblé to be y-holde
Every zer, whersever they wolde,
To amende the defautes, zef any were fonde
Amonge the craft withynne the londe;
Uche zer or thrydde zer hyt schuld be holde,

Yn every place whersever they wolde;
Tyme and place most be ordeynt also,
Yn what place they schul semble to.
Alle the men of craft ther they most ben,
And other grete lordes, as ze mowe sen.
To mende the fautes that buth ther y-spoke,
3ef that eny of hem ben thenne y-broke.
Ther they schullen ben alle y-swore,
That longuth to thys craftes lore,
To kepe these statutes everychon,
That ben y-ordeynt by kynge Aldelston;
These statutes that y have hyr y-fonde
Y chulle they ben holde throzh my londe,
For the worsché of my rygolté,
That y have by my dygnyté.
Also at every semblé that ze holde,
That ze come to zowre lyge kyng bolde,
Bysechynge hym of hys hye grace,
To ſtonde with zow yn every place,
To conferme the statutes of kynge Adelston,
That he ordeydnt to thys craft by good reson.

Ars quatuor coronatorum.

Pray we now to God almyzht,
And to hys Swete moder Mary bryzht,

That we mowe kepe these artyculus here,
And these poynts wel al y-fere,
As dede these holy martyres fowre,
That yn thys craft were of gret honoure;
They were as gode masonus as on erthe schul go,
Gravers and ymage-makers they were also.
For they were werkemen of the beste.
The emperour hade to hem gret luste;
He wylned of hem a ymage to make,
That mowzh be worscheped for hys sake;
Suche mawmetys he hade yn hys dawe,
To turne the pepul from Crystus lawe.

But they were stedefast yn Crystes lay,
And to here craft, withouten nay;
They loved wel God and alle hys lore,
And weren yn hys serves ever more.
Trwe men they were yn that dawe,
And lyved wel y Goddus lawe;
They thozght no mawmetys for to make,
For no good that they myzth take,
To levyn on that mawmetys for here God,
They nolde do so, thawz he were wod;
For they nolde not forsake here trw fay,

An bŷ leue on hŷs falsse laŷ -
ye emp̃o let take hem sone anõn -
And putte hem ŷn to a dep presoñ -
ye sarre he penest hem ŷn ŷ plase -
ye more ŷoye wes to hem of cristy grace
Yenne when he sye no nother won -
To dethe he lette hem yenne gon -
Whose wol of here lyf zet mor knowe -
By ye bok he maŷ hŷt schowe -
In ye legent of scanctoŗ -
ye names of quatuoŗ coronatoŗ -

Here fest wol be wtoute naŷ -
Aft̃ alle halwen ye eyght daŷ -
ze mow here as ŷ do rede
Yat moný zeres aft̃ for gret drede
yt noees flod wes all ŷ ronne
ye tow̃ of babyloyne wes begonne
Also playne werke of lyme & ston -
As any mon schulde loke vppon -
So long & brod hŷt was begonne
Seuen mŷle ye hezghte schadweŷ p̃ sõne
Kyng nabogodonoſoŗ let hŷt make -
To gret strenthe for mouns sake -

An byleve on hys falsse lay.
The emperour let take hem sone anone,
And putte hem ynto a dep presone;
The sarre he penest hem yn that plase,
The more yoye wes to hem of Cristus grace.
Thenne when he sye no nother won,
To dethe he lette hem thenne gon;
Whose wol of here lyf zet mor knowe,
By the bok he may hyt schowe,
In the legent of scanctorum,
The names of quatuor coronatorum.

Here fest wol be, withoute nay,
After Alle Halwen the eyght day.
ze mow here as y do rede,
That mony zeres after, for gret drede
That Noees flod wes alle y-ronne,
The tower of Babyloyne wes begonne,
Also playne werke of lyme and ston,
As any mon schulde loke uppon;
So long and brod hyt was begonne,
Seven myle the hezghte schadweth the sonne.
Kyng Nabogodonosor let hyt make,
To gret strenthe for mũnus sake,

ȝazgh suche a flod azayn schulde come.
Ouer ye werke hyt schulde not nome:
For yey hadde so hye pride. wt stronge bost
All' ye werke yfore was lost.
An angel smot hem so. wt dyuers speche.
That neu won wyste. what oy schuld reche
Mony eres after. ye goode clerk Euclyde.
Tazghte ye craft. of gemetr wond wyde:
So he dede yt tyme. oyr al so.
Of dyuers crafftes mony mo.
Yrozgh hye gte. of cst yn heuen.
He comensed. yn ye syens seueu.

Gramatica ys ye furste. syens y wysse.
Dialetica ye secũde. so haue y blysse.
Rethorica ye yrydde. wtoute nay.
Musica ys ye fowrthe as y zow say.
Astromia ys ye v. by my snowte.
Arsmetica ye vj. wtoute dowte.
Gemetria ye seuenye makey an ende.
For he ys boye. meke and hende.
Gramer for sope. ys ye rote.
Whose wyl lurne. on ye boke.
But art passey. yn hys degre
As ye fryte doy. ye rote of ye tre.

Thazgh suche a flod azayn schulde come,
Over the werke hyt schulde not nome;
For they hadde so hye pride, with stronge bost,
Alle that werke therfore was y-lost;
An angele smot hem so with dyveres speche,
That never won wyste what other schuld reche.
Mony eres after, the goode clerk Euclyde 551
Tazghte the craft of gemetré wonder wyde,
So he dede that tyme other also,
Of dyvers crafftes mony mo.
Throzgh hye grace of Crist yn heven,
He co. mensed yn the syens seven;

Gramatica ys the furste syens y-wysse,
Dialetica the secunde, so have y blysse,
Rethorica the thrydde, withoute nay,
Musica ys the fowrthe as y zow say, 560
Astromia ys the v, *by my snowte,*
Arsmetica the vi, *withoute dowte,*
Gemetria the seventhe maketh an ende,
For he ys bothe meke and hende.
Gramer forsothe ys the rote,
Whose wyl lurne on the boke;
But art passeth yn hys degré,
As the fryte doth the rote of the tre;

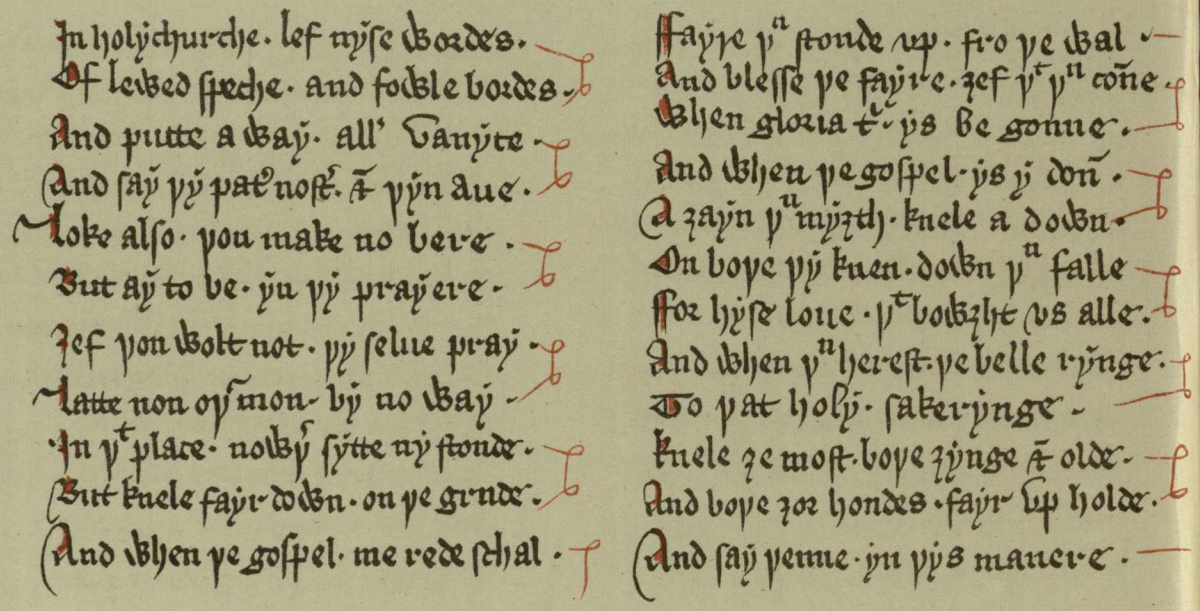
Rethoryk metryth with orne speche amonge,
And musyke hyt ys a swete songe;
Astronomy nombreth, my dere brother,
Arsmetyk scheweth won thyng that ys another,
Gemetré the seventhe syens hyt ysse,
That con deperte falshed from trewthe y-wys.
These ben the syens seven,
Whose useth hem wel, he may han heven.
Now dere chyldren, by zowre wytte,
Pride and covetyse that ze leven hytte,
And taketh hede to goode dyscrecyon,
And to good norter, whersever ze com.
Now y pray zow take good hede,

For thys ze most kenne nede,
But muche more ze moste wyten,
Thenne ze fynden hyr y-wryten.
Zef the fayle therto wytte,
Pray to God to sende the hytte;
For Crist hymself, he techet ous
That holy churche ys Goddes hous,
That ys y-mad for nothynge ellus
But for to pray yn, as the bok tellus;
Ther the pepul schal gedur ynne,
To pray and wepe for here synne.
Loke thou come not to churche late,
For to speke harlotry by the gate;

penne to chur-che. ibhen þ^u dost fare.
haue yn þy mynde. euer mare.
To iborschepe þy lord god. boþe day & nyzth.
wt alle þy wyttes. & eke þy myzth.
To ye chur-che dore. ibhen þ^u dost come.
Of þ^t holy ibat^er. sũ you nome.
ffor euery dr-oze. þ^u felust yer.
Qwenchet a venyal sy̅ne. be þ^u ser.
But furst. þ^u most. do doun þy hod.
ffor hyse loue. þ^t dyed on ye r-od.
Into ye chur-che. ibhen þ^u dost gon.
Pull' vppe. þy herte. to cst a non.
Uppon ye r-ode. þ^u loke vppe yen.
And knele doun fayr-e. on boþe þy knen.
Yen pr̃ to hym. so hyr to worche.
Aft^er ye lawe. of holy chur-che.
ffor to kepe. ye comandement^s ten.
Yat god zaf. to alle men.
And pr-ay to hym. wt mylde steuen.
To kepe ye. fr-om ye sy̅nnes seuen.
Yat þ^u hyr-mowe. yn þy lyue
Kepe ye wel. fr-om care and stryue.
ffor þ^rmore. he gr-ante ye gr-ace.
Inheuen blyysse. to han a place.

Thenne to churche when thou dost fare,
Have yn thy mynde ever mare
To worschepe thy lord God bothe day and nyzth,
With all thy wyttes, and eke thy myzth.
To the churche dore when thou dost come,
Of that holy water ther sum thow nome,
For every drope thou felust ther
Qwenchet a venyal synne, be thou ser.
But furst thou most do down thy hode,
For hyse love that dyed on the rode.
Into the churche when thou dost gon,
Pulle uppe thy herte to Crist, anon;

Uppon the rode thou loke uppe then,
And knele down fayre on bothe thy knen;
Then pray to hym so hyr to worche,
After the lawe of holy churche,
For to kepe the comandementes ten,
That God zaf to alle men;
And pray to hym with mylde steven
To kepe the from the synnes seven,
That thou hyr mowe, yn thy lyve,
Kepe the wel from care and stryve;
Forthermore he grante the grace,
In heven blysse to hav a place.

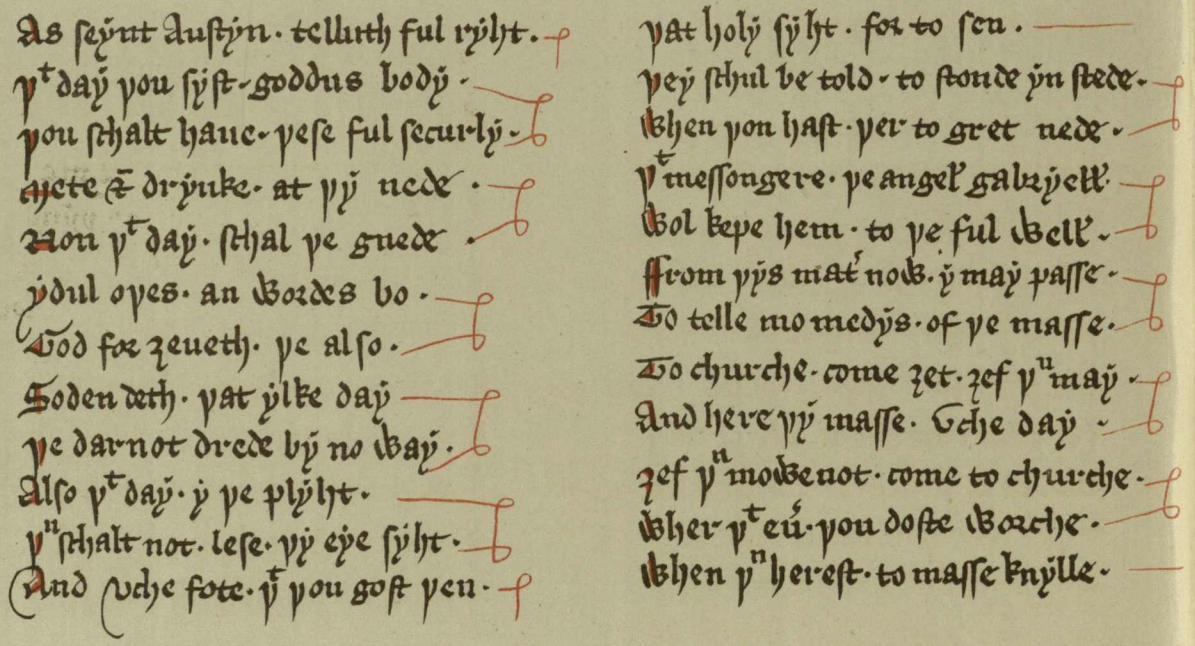


In holy churche lef nyse wordes
Of lewed speche, and fowle bordes,
And putte away alle vanyté,
And say thy pater noster and thyn ave;
Loke also thou make no bere,
But ay to be yn thy prayere;
zef thou wolt not thyselve pray,
Latte non other mon by no way.
In that place nowther sytte ny stonde,
But knele fayr down on the gr nde,
And, when the Gospel me rede schal,

Fayre thou stonde up fro the wal,
And blesse the fayre, zef that thou conne,
When gloria tibi is begonne;
And when the gospel ys y-done,
Azayn thou myzth knele adown;
On bothe thy knen down thou falle,
For hyse love that bowzht us alle;
And when thou herest the belle rynge
To that holy sakerynge,
Knele ze most, bothe zynge and olde,
And bothe zor hondes fayr upholde,
And say thenne yn thys manere,

ffayr and ſofte. wt oute bere.
¶ Ihū lord welcom you be.
yn forme of bred. as y the ſe.
Now Ihū for yyn holy name.
Schulde me from ſynne & ſhame.
Schryff & hoſel. yu grant me bo.
Zer. t y ſchal hennus go.
And very contrycyon. of my ſynne
t y neuer lord. dye per ynne.
And as u bere. of a mayde y bore.
Sofre me neu. to be y lore.
But when y ſchal. hennus wende.
¶ Grante me ye blyſſe. wt oute ende.
Amen amen. ſo mot hyt be.
Now ſwete ladȳ. pray for me.
¶ Thus thou myzht ſay. or ſū oy ynge.
When thou knelust. at ye ſaker. ynge.
For couetyſe aft good. ſpare u nouzt.
To worſchepe hym. t alle hath wroght.
For glad may a mon. t day ben.
t on yn ye day. may hym ſen.
Hyt ys ſo muche worpe. wt oute nay.
ye vtu f of. no mon telle may.
But ſo meche good. doth t ſyht.

Fayr and ſofte, withoute bere;
"Jheſu Lord, welcom thou be,
Yn forme of bred, as y the ſe.
Now Jheſu, for thyn holy name,
Schulde me from ſynne and ſchame;
Schryff and hoſel thou grant me bo,
Zer that y ſchal hennus go,
And very contrycyon of my ſynne,
That y never, Lord, dye therynne;
And, as thou were of a mayde y-bore,
Sofre me never to be y-lore;
But when y ſchal hennus wende,
Grante me the blyſſe withoute ende;
Amen! amen! ſo mot hyt be!
Now, ſwete lady, pray for me."
Thus thou myzht ſay, or ſum other thynge,
When thou knelust at the ſakerynge.
For covetyſe after good, ſpare thou nought
To worſchepe hym that alle hath wroght;
For glad may a mon that day ben,
That onus yn the day may hym ſen;
Hyt ys ſo muche worthe, withoute nay,
The vertu therof no mon telle may;
But ſo meche good doth that ſyht,



As seynt Austyn telluth ful ryht,
That day thou syst Goddus body,
Thou schalt have these, ful securly:—
Mete and drynke at thy nede,
Non that day schal the gnede;
Ydul othes, an wordes bo,
God forzeveth the also;
Soden deth, that ylke day,
The dar not drede by no way;
Also that day, y the plyht,
Thou schalt not lese thy eye syht;
And uche fote that thou gost then,
That holy syht for to sen,
They schul be told to stonde yn stede,
When thou hast therto gret nede;
That messongere, the angele Gabryelle,
Wol kepe hem to the ful welle.
From thys mater now y may passe,
To telle mo medys of the masse:
To churche come zet, zef thou may,
And here thy masse uche day;
Zef thou mowe not come to churche,
Wher that ever thou doste worche,
When thou herest to masse knylle,

Pray to God with herte stylle
To zeue the part of that seruyse
That yn churche ther don yse.
Forthermore zet, y wol zow preche
To zowre felows, hyt for to teche,
When thou comest byfore a lorde,
Yn halle, yn bowre, or at the borde,
Hod or cappe that thou of do,
Zer thou come hym allynge to;
Twyes or thryes, withoute dowte,
To that lord thou moste lowte;
With thy ryzth kne let hyt be do,

Thyn owne worschepe thou save so.
Holde of thy cappe, and hod also,
Tyl thou have leve hyt on to do.
Al the whyle thou spekest with hym,
Fayre and lovelyche bere up thy chyn;
So, after the norter of the boke,
Yn hys face lovely thou loke.
Fot and hond, thou kepe ful stylle
From clawynge and tryzynge, ys sckylle;
From spyttynge and snyftynge kepe the also,
By privy avoydans let hyt go.
And zef that thou be wyse and felle,

Thou hast gret nede to governe the welle.
Ynto the halle when thou dost wende,
Amonges the genteles, good and hende,
Presume not to hye for nothynge,
For thyn hye blod, ny thy connynge,
Nowther to sytte, ny to lene,
That ys norther good and clene.
Let not thy countenans therfore abate,
Forsothe, good norter wol save thy state.
Fader and moder, whatsever they be,
Wel ys the chyld that wel may the,
Yn halle, yn chamber, wher thou dost gon,

Gode maneres maken a mon.
To the nexte degré loke wysly;
To do hem reverans by and by;
Do hem zet no reverans al o-rowe,
But zef that thou do hem knowe.
To the mete when thou art y-sette,
Fayre and onestelyche thou ete hytte;
Fyrst loke that thyn honden ben clene,
And that thy knyf be scharpe and kene;
And kette thy bred al at thy mete,
Ryzth as hyt may be ther y-ete.
zef thou sytte by a worththyor mon,

Then thy selven thou art won,
Sofre hym fyrst to toyche the mete,
Zer thyself to hyt reche.
To the fayrest mossel thou myzht not strike,
Thaght that thou do hyt wel lyke;
Kepe thyn hondes, fayr and wel,
From fowle smogynge of thy towel;
Theron thou schalt not thy nese snyte,
Ny at the mete thy tothe thou pyke;
To depe yn the coppe thou myz ht not synke,
Thagh thou have good wyl to drynke,
Lest thyn enyn wolde wattryn therby—

Then were hyt no curtesy.
Loke yn thy mowth ther be no mete,
When thou begynnyst to drynke or speke.
When thou syst any mon drynkynge,
That taketh hed to thy carpynge,
Sone anonn thou sese thy tale,
Whether he drynke wyn other ale.
Loke also thou scorne no mon,
Yn what degré thou syst hym gon;
Ny thou schalt no mon deprave,
Zef thou wolt thy worschepe save;
For suche worde myzht ther outberste,

That myght make the sytte yn evel reste.
Close thy honde yn thy fyste,
And kepe the wel fro "had-y-wyste."
Yn chamber, amonge the ladyes bryght,
Holde thy tonge and spende thy syght;
Lawze thou not with no gret cry,
Ny make no ragynge with rybody.
Play thou not but with thy peres,
Ny tel thou not al that thou heres;
Dyskever thou not thyn owne dede,
For no merthe, ny for no mede;
With fayr speche thou myght have thy wylle,
With hyt thou myght thy selven spylle.

When thou metyst a worthy mon,
Cappe and hod thou holle not on;
Yn churche, yn chepyns, or yn the gate,
Do hym revera(n)s after hys state.
3ef thou gost with a worthyor mon
Then thyselven thou art won,
Let thy forther schulder sewe hys backe,
For that ys norter withoute lacke;
When he doth speke, holte the stylle,
When he hath don, sey for thy wylle,
Yn thy speche that thou be felle,
And what thou sayst avyse the welle;
But byref thou not hym hys tale,
Nowther at the wyn, ny at the ale.
Cryst then of hys hye grace,
3eve 30w bothe wytte and space,
Wel thys boke to conne and rede,
Heven to have for 30wre mede.
Amen! amen! so mot hyt be!
Say we so alle per charyté.

Urbanitatis.

Cott. MS. Caligula A. II., fol. 88.

Urbanitatis.

Who so wylle of nurtur lere,
Herken to me & ze shalle here.
When thou comeste be fore a lorde
In halle, yn bowre, or at the borde,
Hoode or kappe thou of tho.
Ere thou come hym alle vn to,
Twyse or thryse with outen dowte
To that lorde thou moste lowte,
With thy Ryzth kne lette hit be do,
Thy worshyp thou mayst saue so.
Holde of thy cappe & thy hood also
Tylle thou be byden hit on to do;
Alle the whyle thou spekest with hym,
Fayr & louely holde vp thy chynn,
So aftur the nurtur of the book
In his face louely thou loke;
Foot & hond thou kepe fulle stylle
Fro clawyng or tryppyng, hit ys skylle;
Fro spettyng & snetyng kepe the also;
Be priuy of voydance, & lette hit go.
And loke thou be wyse & felle,
And therto also that thow gouerne the welle.
In to the halle when thou dost wende
Amonge the genteles gode & hende,
Prece thou not vp to hyz for no thyng,
Nor for thy hyz blood, nere for thy konnyng,
Nothur to sytte, nethur to lene,
For hit ys neythur good ne clene.
Lette not thy contynaunce also abate,
For good nurtur wylle saue thy state;
Fadyr & modyr, what euur they be,
Welle ys the chylde that may the:
In halle, in chambur, ore where thou gon,
Nurtur & good maners maketh man.
To the nexte degre loke thou wysely
To do hem Reuerence by and by:
Do hem no Reuerens, but sette alle in Rowe
But zyf thou the bettur do hym knowe.

Urbanitatis

Who so dyȝt of nurtur lore
Herken to me ȝe shall here
When þ̃ comeste be fore a lorde
In halle yn bowre or at þe borde
Hoode or kappe þ̃ of þo
Ere þ̃ come hym all ȝn to
Twyse or thryse wt outen dowte
To þ̃ lorde þ̃ moste lowte
wt þy ryȝth kne lette hit be do
Thy worshyp þ̃ mayst sauo so
Holde of yr cappe & yr hood also
Tylle þ̃ be byden hit on to do
All þe whyle þ̃ spekest wt hym
Fayr & louely holde vp yr chyn
So aftr þe nurtur of þe book
In his face louely þ̃ loke
Foot & hond þ̃ kepe fulle stylle
Fro clawyng or tryppyng hit ys skylle
Fro spettyng & snetyng kepe þe also
Be priuy of voydance & lette hit go
And loke þ̃ be wyse & felle
And þ̃ to also þ̃ gouerne þe welle
In to þe halle when þ̃ dost wende
Amonge þe gentelos gode & hende
Preco þ̃ not vp to hyȝ for no thyng
Nor for thy hyȝ blood nere for thy konnyng
Nothr to sytte nethr to lene
For hit ys neythr good ne clene
Lette not thy cotynaunce also abate
For good nurtur wylle saue thy state
Fadyr & modyr what eur they be
Welle ys þe chylde þ̃ may the
In halle in chambur or where þ̃ gon
Nurtur & good manors makyth man
To þe nexte degre loke þ̃ dyscrly
To do hem reuerence by and by
Do hem no reuens but sette all in rowe
But zyf þ̃ þe bettr do hym knowe

; Lorbannitatis ;

Do pe mette when yͤ art sette
Fayre & honestly thou sete hyt
Fyrste loke pͭ yͤ handes be clene
And yͤ yͤ knyf be shappe & kene
And cutte yͤ breed & alle yͤ mete
Wyth owen as yͤ doste ht to
If yͤ sytte be a worthy man
Whan yͤ solf thou art on
Suffre hym fyrste to tuche pe mete
Ef yͤ solf any yͤ of grete
Do pe beste wherfore yͤ may not stryke
Thoughe yͤ nou so gott ht lyke
Also kepe yͤ hondys fayr & gent
ffro fylynge of the tuchett
Wher on yͤ shalt not yͤ nose dyspe
Wyp at yͤ mete yͤ toth yͤ pyke
Do kepe yͤ cuppe yͤ may not synke
Thanke yͤ hane good dyett to dyynke
Poste yͤ eyen dater yͤ by
Whan ye hyt no curtesy
Loke yn yͤ mouth be no mete
When yͤ be yͤ noste to dyspke or spoke
Also when yͤ sopt any man dyynkyng
Whatt taketh hede of yͤ kappyng
Goone anon yͤ sette yͤ tale
Whyle he dyynke dyne or dale
Loke also yͤ spore no mon
In what yerle so hym gon
Wore yͤ shalte no mon koppons
Wyf yͤ dyett yͤ olden dosshyp sane
ffor suche dozedys yͤ myzth out kaste
Sholde make ye to lyne & ouelt poste
Close yͤn hondo yn yͤ poste
And kepe ye dott hom hadde ydyste
In chaumb among ladyes byzth
Kepe yͤ tonge & spondo yͤ hzth
Lacke yͤ not dt no gyette cyte
Ne tage yͤ not dt by bandy hyr
Poley yͤ not but dt yͤ poyse
Ne tolle yͤ not yͤ yͤ hoyse
for dyshonoy yͤ not ocken dede
ffor no myzth nor for no mede
dt fayr spoche yͤ may hane yͤ dyett
And dt yͤ spoche yͤ may ye spytt
Wyf yͤ suche a dozedyer mon
Whan yͤ solf yͤ art on
Lotte yͤ byzth sholde folde hys bakke
ffor mirt yͤ ye dt odstou lakke
When he doth spoke holde ye stylle
When he hath sou say yͤ dyett
Loke yn yͤ spoche yͤ be sott
And what yͤ sayste a byde ye dott
And be sore yͤ no mon hy tale
Wyp at byne nost at dale
Nock ofte of hys gyette gle
Jone be alle both dyttor & pace
dott yͤ to knowe & to le
And honou to hane for ou mode
Amen Amen so moot ht be
So saye we alle for charyte ;

; Explicit tractus Urbanitatis ;

To the mete when thou art sette,
Fayre & honestly thow ete hyt:
Fyrste loke that thy handes be clene,
And that thy knyf be sharpe & kene;
And cutte thy breed & alle thy mete
Ryzth euen as thou doste hit ete.
If thou sytte be a worthyor man
Then thy self thow art on,
Suffre hym fyrste to towche the mete
Ere thy self any ther of gete;
To the beste morselle thou may not stryke
Thowz thou neuur so welle hit lyke.
Also kepe thy hondys fayre & welle
Fro fylynge of the towelle,
Ther on thou shalt not thy nose wype;
Nothur at thy mete thy toth thou pyke,
To depe in thy cuppe thou may not synke
Thowz thou haue good wylle to drynke,
Leste thy eyen water there by,
Then ys hyt no curtesy.
Loke yn thy mowth be no mete
When thou begynneste to drynke or speke;
Also when thou sest any man drynkyng
That taketh hede of thy karpyng,
Soone a non thou sece thy tale,
Whethur he drynke wyne or Ale.
Loke also thou skorne no mon
In what the ⟨thou se hym gon; gre⟩
Nor thou shalte no mon ⟨repreue⟩
Zyf thou wylt thy owen worshyp saue,
For suche wordys thou myzth out kaste
Sholde make the to lyue in euelle reste;
Close thyn honde yn thy feste,
And kepe the welle from hadde-y-wyste.

In chambur among ladyes bryzth,
Kepe thy tonge & spende thy syzth;
Lawze thou not with no grette cry,
Ne Rage thou not with Rybawdry.
Pley thou not but with thy peres;
Ne telle thou not that thou heres,
Nor dyskeuere ⟨thog. not⟩ thyn owen dede
For no myrth nor for no mede;
With fayr speche thou may haue thy wylle,
And with thy speche thou may the spylle.
Zyf thou suwe a wordyer mon
Then thy self thou art on,
Lette thy Ryzth sholdur folow his bakke,
For nurtur that ys, with owten lakke.
When he doth speke, holde the style;
When he hath don, say thy wylle;
Loke yn thy speche thou be felle,
And what thou sayste a vyse the welle;
And be-refe thou no mon his tale,
Nothur at wyne nere at Ale.
Now, criste of his grette grace
Zeue vs alle bothe wytte & space
Welle this to knowe & Rede,
And heuen to haue for our mede.
Amen, Amen, so moot hit be,
So saye we alle for charyte.

Explicit Tractus Urbanitatis.

Instructions for a Parish Priest.

Cott. MS. Claudius, A. II., fol. 127.

¶ Propt' presbitū pochialem īstruendū ¶

God sayth hym self as wryton we fynde
That whoso þe blynde ledeth þe blynde
In to þe ditche þey fallen boo
For þey no dan wyssh by to go

folio 130.

3et þey moste techyg hem mare
þat whene þey goth to chyrche fare
þonne bydde hem here here mowy wordes
here yfel thoghte and wycke wordes
And put away alle vanyte
And say here þat nost ī here ane
No mon in chyrche stonde ochyal
Ny lene to pylor ny to wal
But fayre on knowe þey shulde hem sette
Knelyng down vp on the flette
And pray to god with herte mekc
Zoo zene hem grace and myght eke
Offere hem to make no bete
But ay to be in here prayere
And whenne þe goffett rised be schalle
Teche hem þonne to stonde vp alle
And blesse fayre as þey comne
Whenne gloria t̄ is by gonne
And whenne þe goffet ys y done
Zoo che hem oft to knele doune sone

Title, and first four lines of the Manuscript.

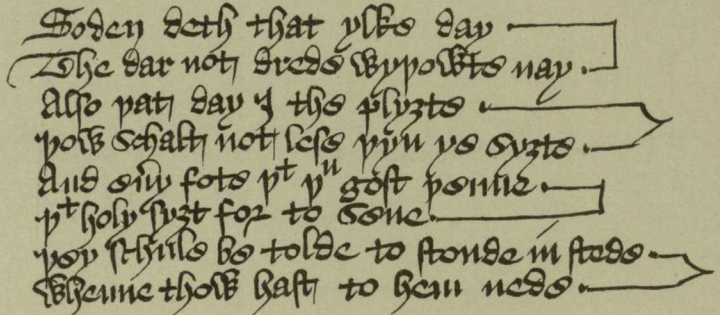
¶ *Propter presbiterum parochialem instruendum.*

God seyth hym self, as wryten we fynde,
That whenne the blynde ledeth the blynde,
In to the dyche they fallen boo,
For they ne sen whare by to go.

3et thow moste teche hem mare
That whenne they doth to chyrche fare,
Thenne bydde hem leue here mony wordes,
Here ydel speche, and nyce bordes,
And put a way alle vanyte,
And say here pater noster & here aue.
No mon in chyrche stonde schal,
Ny lene to pyler ny to wal;
But fayre on kneus they schule hem sette,
Knelynge doun vp on the flette.
And pray to god wyth herte meke
To 3eue hem grace and mercy eke.
Soffere hem to make no bere,
But ay to be in here prayere,
And whenne the gospelle I-red be schalle,
Teche hem thenne to stonde vp alle,
And blesse feyre as they conne.
Whenne gloria tibi ys by-gonne,
And whenne the gospel ys I-done,
Teche hem eft to knele downe sone;

And whenne they here the bellis ryngo
To that holy sakeryngo
Cooche hem knele downe bope zonge & olde
And bope here hondes vp to holde
And say pemne in yre maneris
fayre and softely with ollto bere
Jhu lord welcome pou be
In forme of brod as y se
Jhu for thy holy name
Schelde me to day fro synne & schame
Schrifte & housel lord p̄ grauntc me be
Er that y schale hennes go
And bere contrycyone of my synne
That y lord neuer dye therd ynne
And as pou wost of a may y bore
Before me neid to be for lore
But whenne p̄t y schale hennes wende
Dralbute me po blysse with ollton ende
Cooche hem pus oper owte opere pynge
To say at the holy sakeryng
Cooche hem also y the pray
That whenne pey walken in pe way
And seue pe pfte a gayn hem comyng
Goddes body with hym beryng
Whenne with gretc deuocyone
Cooche hem pere to knele adowne
ffayre no folkis spare pey noghte
To worshippe hym p̄t all hath wroghte
for glad may pat man be
pat onis in pe day may hym se
for so mykyle gode do p̄ pat ryght
As seynt austyn techeth a ryght
pat day p̄t pou syst goddes body
pou benefytes schalt p̄ haue cyenly
Mete & drynke at thy nede
Man schal pe p̄t day be gnede
Dele othes and wordes also
Good for zoure pis be

And whenne they here the belle rynge
To that holy sakerynge,
Teche hem knele downe bothe ȝonge & olde,
And bothe here hondes vp to holde;
And say thenne in thys manere
Feyre and softely wyth owte bere,
Jhesu, lord, welcome thow be,
In forme of bred as I the se;
Ihesu, for thy holy name,
Schelde me to day fro synne & schame;
Schryfte & howsele, lord, thou graunte me bo,
Er that I schale hennes go,
And verre contrycyone of my synne,
That I lord neuer dye there-Inne;
And as thow were of a may I-bore,
Sofere me neuer to be for-lore,
But whenne that I schale hennes wende,
Grawnte me the blysse wyth-owten ende. AMEN.
Teche hem thus other sum othere thynge,
To say at the holy sakerynge.
Teche hem also, I the pray,
That whenne they walken in the way
And sene the preste a-gayn hem comynge,
Goddes body wyth hym beryngе,
Thenne wyth grete deuocyone,
Teche hem there to knele a-downe;
Fayre ne fowle, spare they noghte
To worschype hym that alle hath wroghte;
For glad may that mon be
That ones in the day may hym se;
For so mykyle gode doth that syȝt,
(As seynt austyn techeth a ryȝt,)
That day that thow syst goddes body,
These benefyces schalt thou haue sycurly;
Mete & drynke at thy nede,
Non schal the that day be gnede;
Idele othes and wordes also
God for-ȝeueth the bo;



Soden deth that ylke day,
The dar not drede wythowte nay;
Also that day I the plyȝte
Thow schalt not lese thyn ye syȝte;
And euery fote that thou gost thenne,
That holy syȝt for to sene,
They schule be tolde to stonde in stede
Whenne thow hast to hem nede.

Colophon to "Instructions for a Parish Priest."
(Cott. MS., Claudius A II., f. 152.)

Explicit tractatus qui dicitur pars oculi de latino in anglicum translatus per fratrem Iohannem myrcus canonicum regularem monasterij de Lylleshul cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen.

Explicit tractatus qui dicitur pars oculi de latino in anglicum translatus per fratrem Iohannem myrcus canonicum regularem Monasterij de Lylleshul, cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen.

Colophon to "Liber Festivalis."
(Cott. MS., Claudius A II., f. 123.)

Explicit tractus qui dicitur ffestial. per fratrem Iohannem myrkus compositus canonicum regularem monast. de lulchull. cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen.

Explicit tractus qui dicitur ffestial. Per fratrem Iohannem Mirkus compositus canonicum regularem Monasterij de lulshulle cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen.

VOLUME I.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL

BRITISH MUSEUM, ADD. MSS., 18,851.
CIRCA 1500 A.D.

PART II.

THE PLAIN DEALER.

NO. 51, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1724.

AN ODE TO THE GRAND KHAIBAR, 1726.

A DEFENCE OF MASONRY.

BROTHER EUCLID'S LETTER TO THE AUTHOR.

THE

PLAIN DEALER:

BEING

SELECT ESSAYS

ON SEVERAL

CURIOUS SUBJECTS,

RELATING TO

FRIENDSHIP,	MERCANTILE
LOVE, *and*	AFFAIRS,
GALLANTRY,	PAINTING,
MARRIAGE,	HISTORY,
MORALITY,	POETRY,

AND

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The Plain Dealer. No 51.

——————— *Fallacia*

Alia aliam trudit. TEREN.

MONDAY, *September* 14, 1724.

CREDULITY is a Weakness, from which very few are exempted. It is the Ground-work of Craft and Imposture; and the Means by which they are propagated.

I HAVE often reflected, with Concern, upon the Condition of Humanity, in this Regard: And nothing can be more afflicting, than to behold one Part of the rational World making a *Trade* of misguiding the other! If all the Errors, into which People are drawn, had but the Marks of *Truth*, some Excuse, might be found for their *Credulity*; but the Shame is, in their receiving what is *new*, at the Expence, even of *Probability*,

bability. Vulgar Minds are most struck with what is most incredible; and the Way to *convince*, is, to *amaze* them. *Reason* makes few Proselytes: But *Mystery* rarely fails. And the less they know why, the fonder they grow of the Imposture.

BECAUSE I would not dip into Controversies, wherein *Religion* and *Government*, are concern'd; I must descend into Low Life, and only touch the little Artifices which owe their Reputation to this Weakness.

THE World is wearied with Stories of *Witches* and *Fairies*, and begins to see thro' the Imposture. The Craft of *Astrologers*, *Conjurers*, and *Prophets*, begins also to be exploded, by the Vulgar, whose *Oracles* they have long been. But I am not a little amaz'd to find, that, instead of the Delusions, once practis'd on the Multitude, They, now, work strongest among the polite and fashionable People. What Staring, what Clapping, what Waste of Time and Money have *Harlequin* and *Faustus* occasion'd? The Madness, both of *Actors*, and *Spectators*, has so provok'd me almost to Tears, that I could even have *wept over the City!*

I WILL not be so partial, to our Worshipful Society of FREE *and* ACCEPTED MASONS, as to forbear reproving them, on this Occasion, for the unaccountable Pother and Noise they have lately made in the World. What Stories have been told to amuse, and engage the *Credulous?* What Reflections,

Reflections, what Reproach, have they brought upon That ANCIENT ORDER, by making Proselytes, in so cheap and so prostituted a Manner? It afflicts me sensibly, when I see Coxcombs introduc'd into our *Lodges*, and made privy to our *Secrets*. I have often enter'd my Protest against this Abuse, in private Society; and must use the Freedom to offer this Memorial, in my publick Character. 'Tis my Opinion, That the late Prostitution of our *Order* is in some Measure, the betraying it. The weak Heads of *Vintners*, *Drawers*, *Wigmakers*, *Weavers*, &c. admitted into our *Fraternity*, have not only brought Contempt upon the Institution, but do very much endanger it. And I have heard it ask'd, Why we don't admit *Women*, as well as *Taylors*, into our *Lodges?* I must confess I have met with as *sufficient* Heads among the *Fair Sex*, as I have found in the BROTHERHOOD: I have some Reasons to fear, that our SECRETS are in Danger. There is, in the Conduct of too many, since their Admission, the

——————— *Cœcus amor sui,*
Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem;
Arcanique Fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro;

which is expresly prohibited by our Excellent RULES and CONSTITUTIONS; and, which is the very Characteristick of the Fools, that were received into the LODGES at *ROME*, in the Days of *AUGUSTUS CÆSAR;* and

and whereof our Brother *HORACE* complain'd vehemently, in an *Ode* to *VARUS*, who was then GRAND MASTER. But whatever Freedoms others imagine they may lawfully and discreetly use, my Conscience cannot brook them.

——— ——— *NON EGO TE* ———— *INVITUM QUATIAM: NEC* ———— *SUB DIVUM RAPIAM* ————

MY Female Readers, and, I'm afraid, some of the *Brotherhood* may stop here, and stare, as if I had blabb'd out the whole *Mystery*. They may be doubtful whether the above Words, and Dashes may not be *decypher'd* into the famous *Mason Word?* But I leave the Ignorant to their *Wonder;* and proceed to assure my *Brethren*, that they have promoted *Superstition and Babbling*, contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord, the King, by their late Practices, and Condescentions. Alarming Reports, and Stories of LADDERS, HALTERS, DRAWN SWORDS, and DARK ROOMS, have spread Confusion and Terror: And, if the Government does not put the Laws against us in Execution, it will be an extraordinary Favour, or *Oversight*. For my own Part, I am so faithful a Subject, and have the Weal of *Our Ancient Order*, so much at Heart, that unless the GRAND MASTER puts a Stop to these Proceedings, by a peremptory Charge

Charge to the BROTHERHOOD, I wish I cou'd honourably enter into ANOTHER.

AND, now I have hinted at ANOTHER *Order*, I must entertain my Readers with Two Letters; the first address'd to my self, and the last written from *Rome*, to the Author of the first.

HANG CHI *to the* British PLAIN-DEALER: *Health.*

Sage SIR,

"BY the Help of my *Secretary* and *In-*
"*terpreter* I peruse your Lucubrati-
"ons; and write this Epistle, to assure you
"of my Esteem.

"I AM inform'd, that you have taken
"Notice of the *Advertisement* I caused to be
"publish'd in the News-Papers; and that
"you call'd at the *Castle*, to be satisfy'd of
"the Truth of my Arrival in this Place.
"Your Enquiry, and the Conversation you
"had with my Secretary, give me Occasion
"to gratify you farther; and I am proud to
"have it in my Power to distinguish one of
"your Merit in the Manner I intend.

"THE *Laws* and *Constitutions* of the
"most ancient and illustrious *Order*, of the
"*GORMOGONS* oblige us to be *cau-*
"*tious* and *frugal*, in admitting *new Mem-*
"*bers*. Remarkable *Virtues* have always re-
"commended the Candidates. No Rank,
"Station, or Condition of Life, intitles a
"Person

" Person to be of our *Fraternity*. We know " neither *Prejudice*, nor *Partiality*, in con- " ferring this Honour; and all the *Interest* " in the World to procure it, would be " fruitless, without *Merit*.

" MY Residence here will be short. It " cannot therefore be expected, that I shou'd " invite many worthy Persons to enter into " our *Order;* nor dare I render it cheap and " contemptible, by admitting every Preten- " der: But I know several who deserve to " be received, and to whom I have promis'd " the Distinction.

" I SHALL consider it as an Ornament " to our *most ancient* and illustrious ORDER, " which is the Honour and Ornament of all " its Members, if you, *Sage Sir*, will be " pleas'd to accept the Privileges that I am " empower'd to bestow on the *Deserving*. I " confess, you must first be DEGRADED, " as our Laws require, and renounce, and " abandon, the Society of *False-Builders*. " But, as your great Judgment must distin- " guish the Excellence of our *Order*, I hope " you will prefer being a *Fellow* with *Us*. " Nothing would more sensibly concern me, " when I leave *London*, than not be able to " transmit your Name in the List, that I " must send to the OECUMENICAL " VOLGEE in *China*.

I am, Sage SIR,
Your Affectionate Friend,
HANG CHI.
SHIN

SHIN SHAW, *to* HANG CHI,
at London: Health:

Most Illustrious Brother and Friend,

"I CONGRATULATE you on the "speedy Progress you have made from "the Court of the *Young SOPHY*, and "your safe Arrival in the *Isle of* Britain. "Your Presence is earnestly expected at "ROME. The Father of High Priests is "fond of our *Order*, and the CARDINALS "have an Emulation to be distinguish'd. "Our Excellent Brother GORMOGON, "*Mandarin* CHAN FUE, is well, and "salutes you. Since my last, I had Advi- "ces from *Pekin*, which confirm former Ac- "counts, that our new Emperor is an open "Enemy to the *Jesuits*: But I pray, their "Disgrace in *China* may not provoke the "*Europeans* to use *Us* ill. Take Care of "your Health. Farewell.

SHIN SHAW.

I ACKNOWLEDGE the Honour done me, by the illustrious *Mandarin* HANG CHI; and, though I cannot prevail with my self to be DEGRADED, in the *Manner* requir'd by the *Laws* and *Constitutions* of the Order of GORMOGONS, I approve and applaud, their admitting none, but whom *Merit* recommends into the Fellowship of the OECUMENICAL VOLGEE.

Moreover,

Moreover, I propose the Good Conduct, and Regularity of the GORMOGONS, as a Pattern to the FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, for the Future: And, if I shall be enabled to make any useful Discoveries for the Service of the *Brotherhood*, they may depend on my watchful Fidelity.

THE Letters, sign'd MÆCENAS, communicated to us, by PHILANTHROPOS, are come to Hand, and deservedly claim a Place in this Paper the first Opportunity.

Our Fair Correspondents, the one from *Edinburgh*, the other from *Surrey*, who, both so beautifully, and pathetically, pour forth their Complaints to the PLAIN DEALER, shall meet with a proper and early Regard.

THE ANONYMOUS Gentleman, who requests our speedy Opinion of a certain Case, which, he says, is *urgent*, is desired to suspend his *dangerous* Advice to his Friend; and we shall touch upon that Subject, in an ampler Manner, than is consistent with the Haste he requires.

AN

ODE

TO THE

GRAND KHAIBAR.

In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ
Lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet;
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by J. ROBERTS in the *Oxford Arms* Passage near *Warwick Lane.*

M,DCC,XXVI.

Price Sixpence.

THE

Grand Khaibar.

I.

SOME say their Sires, the first made Man,
Far in Antiquity surmounted;
Before Creation they began,
And by the *Julian* Period counted.
Whole Nations most prodigious Lies
To set Mankind at Gaze agree on,
Make Years to Tens of Thousands rise,
Chinese, *Ægyptian*, and *Chaldean*.

Self rais'd from Earth *Athenians* sprung,
Like Grasshoppers when hot the Noon is:
And old *Arcadians*, Poets sung,
Were much more ancient than the Moon is.
But the *Grand Khaibar* scorns to vaunt
Such Parents strange, that never had 'em;
Content with what the World must grant,
And humbly pleas'd to come from *Adam*.

Arts there were none before the Fall,
Or tasting the forbidden Tree;
But all was happy, Nature all,
Yet then there was SOCIETY:
From whence such dear Delights arise,
Eden without it wanted Joys,
Till *Eve* compleated Paradise.

II.

Wherever Buildings **Masons** found,
To praise their Art they pick'd Occasion;
Hence **Cain** was for the **Craft** renown'd,
And mighty **Nimrod** was a **Mason.**
Cain founded not his City fair,
Till mark'd for murthering of *Abel:*
And **Nimrod** till a Tyrant, ne'er
Commenc'd the Architect of **Babel.**

They feign that *Enoch's* Pillars stood,
(So skill'd the Builder was his Trade in)
Spight of the Waters of the Flood;
And was not this true **Cosonading?**
But *Noah* made an Ark, 'tis true,
Whose Ship a mighty Stress they place on,
As if they no Distinction knew
Betwixt a Shipwright and a **Mason.**

But the *Grand Khaïbar* wise disdains
To idle Dreams or Shifts to flee,
Unmov'd, immortal it remains,
Firm founded on SOCIETY:

From whence such dear Delights arise,
Mankind on Earth by this enjoys
All that is left of Paradise.

III.

To see the Roll of **Masons** good
So boasted of, must move your Laughter;
Cain was their Head before the Flood,
And **Ham** the first **Grand Master** after.
Hence rose the Pyramids so high,
Which cost so many Lives to frame 'em;
That all the Builders Names might die,
Th'*Egyptians* were forbid to name 'em.

But **Nimrod** first despotick **King**
In Verse once more is worthy noting,
From whom our modern **Craftsmen** spring,
Ev'n now the **Grand Design** promoting.
The **Grand Design** t' amuse Mankind
With unintelligible Gabble,
And speaking by dumb Signs their Mind,
The true and genuine Sons of **Babel.**

No **Ham** accurs'd, or Vagrant **Cain,**
In the *Grand Khaibar* can you see,
No **Nimrod** with Ambition vain
E'er tainted this SOCIETY:
SOCIETY, from whence arise
Endearing and substantial Joys,
Compleater but in Paradise.

PART II.

I.

NEXT *Abraham* living in a Tent
Taught **Mason's** Art to each Descendant;
And *Moses* to the Desart went,
Or doubtless there had prov'd an End on't:
The less of History they saw,
Their kind Invention flow'd the faster;
So *Jews* made Bricks without their Straw,
When **Pharao** was the true **Grand Master.**

Behold from Realm to Realm they fly,
All one to them, or *Jew* or *Pagan;*
The Tabernacle now they cry,
And by and by the House of *Dagon.*
Samson his Secret did declare,
The **Craft** he therefore was not skill'd in:
Tho' I should think it Reason fair,
That he pull'd down instead of building.

Self-lov'd the **Mason's** idle Skill
Invents the Praise it cannot find;
So Clouds their Prospect vary still,
Obsequious to the Viewer's Mind:

Castles

Castles soon vanish built in Air,
But what the Building can impair,
That's founded on a solid SQUARE?

II.

Make Room for **Masons** there, make Room,
Sure for their Numbers you'll admire 'em;
Full fourscore thousand of 'em come,
Sent by the *Tyrian* Monarch **Hiram.**
Who can so strong a Troop withstand,
Which muster'd with the People chosen,
Will altogether make a Band
Of eight or of nine hundred thousand?

Yet **Solomon** this num'rous Crowd
In **Masonry** employ'd, and try'd all,
Some for a Temple to his GOD;
And some for Houses to his **Idol.**
One Concubine lost SAMSON'S Fame,
It therefore justly may be wondred
That SOLOMON should keep his name,
After his having of three hundred.

Their own Encomiums **Masons** prize,
Of Force content with them or none;
The wiser *Khaibar* seek to rise,
By other Praises not its own:
No solemn **Fooleries** are there,
But friendly Love and Union fair,
They deal in all things on the SQUARE.

III.

Of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Rome*, and *Greece*,
Of East, and West, and North there Need is,
The great PYTHAGORAS they press,
And EUCLID learn'd, and ARCHIMEDES;
VITRUVIUS, and AUGUSTUS too,
With all the Great in every Region:
To such a jolly *Pagan* Crew
Who can deny the Name of **Legion?**

Next to our **Ancestors** they go,
With seeming Praise, but real Scandals;
From **Goths** they Architecture know,
And draw Politeness from the **Vandals.**
If on their Words you take their Stuff,
They bow, and are your Servants humble,
But if you ask them for their Proof,
Then down their **Gothick Buildings** tumble.

For Crowds the *Khaibar* scorns to shine,
And yet in Numbers cannot yield,
No not, *Pythagoras*, to thine,
Thou Sage, in mystick Silence skill'd.
Grateful when taught the Secret rare,
And who thy Hecatomb would spare,
To find the Virtues of the SQUARE?

PART III.

I.

TO the *Welch* Mountains next they fly,
Like *Merlin* sure by Magick Writing;
And **Mason Lairds** in *Scotland* spy,
As being skill'd the second Sight in:
The *Saxons*, *Normans*, *Danes* are nam'd,
And *Athelstan*'s and *Edwin*'s Charter;
And *Jamy* for his **King Craft** fam'd,
And *Charles* the Mason, and the Martyr.

Nor these alone of Royal Race,
In tedious miserable Ditty,
But other Monarchs they disgrace,
Nassau the wise, and *Charles* the witty.
They call fine Structures Heaps of Stones
That ne'er were match'd since time of *Cæsar*,
Palladio and his Rival *Jones*
Blush at such **Architects** as these are.

See they Sir *Christopher* forget,
And pass unnam'd Sir *Isaac* by,
And by their Tales tho' not their Wit
Declare their need of Memory.

They boast their Gloves and Aprons white,
The sacred Gown with better Right,
Is reverenc'd by the *Khaïbarite.*

II.

So pleas'd with Dreams the **Masons** seem,
To tell their Tales once more they venture;
And find an Author worthy them,
From Sense and Genius a **Dissenter:**
In doggrel Lyrick, worse than Prose,
Their Story he again rehearses;
But nothing of a Poet shows,
Excepting Fiction in his Verses.

As Brutes by Men exceeded are,
A **Mason** other Men excelling
Knows all in Knowledge choice and rare;
A Fable surely worth the telling:
Each happy **Craft's Man,** were it so,
To wear an Apron that is able,
Might greater than Sir *Isaac* grow,
Quite down to *B———n* from *Jabal.*

How can the **Masons** Fame survive,
Which Lays like theirs can ne'er prolong:
Let the *Grand Khaïbar* ever live,
Recorded in sublimer Song;
Ye Bards, your loftiest Verse recite,
And give to future Ages bright
The Glories of the *Khaïbarite.*

III.

For Prentices the Lyre is strung,
When finish'd is each grave Proceeding:
The rest perhaps may pass when sung,
But only this will stand the reading.
For Rhyme they pump, and Numbers strain,
And patch the Verse with *eke* so pretty,
But conscious of themselves refrain
From all Endeavour to be witty.

With empty Names of Kings and Lords
The **Mystick Lodge** may sooth the Fancy,
Words without Meaning it affords,
And Signs without Significancy:
One only thing they plainly tell
In Prose and Verse on this Occasion,
A Mole-hill to a Mount to swell
Is the true Sign of a free **Mason.**

The Craftsmen's Honours Treasures are
Of Fairies, lost as soon as shown,
Let the *Grand Khaibar* happier far
Improve and shine by being known.
You who in Friendship dear delight,
Tuneful in Chorus all unite
Immortalize the *Khaibarite.*

FINIS.

THE

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By W. SMITH, *a Free-Mason.*

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MDCCXXXVIII.

(Price stitch'd 1*s.* 6*d.* Bound 2*s.*)

A DEFENCE OF *MASONRY*,

*By a Worthy Brother,**

Occasion'd by a Pamphlet called

MASONRY Dissected.

Rarus Sermo illis, & magna Libido Tascendi.
JUV. Sat. 2.

CHAP. 1.

AMONG the extraordinary Discoveries of the present Age, nothing has been received with more Delight and Exultation, than a few Sheets, written, it seems, *without Partiality*, called MASONRY DISSECTED. The Grand *Secret* that has long withstood the Batteries of Temptation, that neither *Money*, the Master-key of the Heart,

* MS. interpolation.—[ED.]

nor *Good Liquor*, that unlocks the very Soul, nor *Hunger*, that breaks thro' Stone-walls, nor *Thirst*, a sore Evil to a *Working-Mason*, could bring to Light; has at last been disgorg'd *upon Oath*, to the great Easement of a tender Stomach, the eternal Scandal of the *Fraternity*, and the Good of the *Publick*, never to be forgotten! The Design was no less than to disburden a loaded *Conscience*, to acquaint the World, That *never did so ridiculous an Imposition appear among Mankind*; and *to prevent so many innocent Persons being drawn into so pernicious a Society!*

What could induce the *Dissector* to take that Oath, or the *Magistrate* to admit it, shall not at this time be decided.

However, I must give the World Joy of so notable a discovery, so honourable, so circumstantiated! A mighty Expectation was raised, and without doubt is wonderfully gratified by this *Course of* Anatomy. *It must be this; it can be nothing else. It is, as we always supposed, a whimsical Cheat supported by great Names to seduce Fools; who, once gulled out of their Money, keep the Fraud secret, to draw in others!*

I confess I cannot come into this Method of Arguing; nor is it, in my Opinion, a fair Way of treating a Society, to run implicitely with the Cry, without examining whether these Reproaches are founded upon any thing in the Mystery (as now represented) either *wicked*, or *ridiculous*. For that stupid Imputation *of drawing in Fools, for the sake of their Money*, can have no weight in the present Case, since the *Fraternity*, as it now stands, consists principally of Members of great Honour and Distinction, much superior to Views so sordid and ungenerous.

For

FOR once then, let this *Dissection* contain all the Secrets of *Free-Masonry;* admit that every Word of it is *genuine and literally true*, and that the whole Scheme consists of no more nor no less: yet under all these Concessions, under all the Disadvantages and Prejudices whatever, I cannot but still believe, *there have been Impositions upon Mankind more ridiculous;* and that *many have been drawn into a Society more pernicious.* I would not be thought agitated upon this Occasion, as if I were any way concerned whether this *Dissection* be true or false; or, whether the Credit of *Free-Masonry* be affected by it, or not: These Considerations can give me no trouble. My Design is to address to the sensible and serious Part of Mankind, by making a few impartial Remarks upon this *Dissection*, without contending for the Reputation of *Masonry* on the one hand, or reflecting upon the *Dissector* on the other.

CHAP. II.

THE formidable Objection, which has given Offence to the better part of Men, is the Copy of the *Oath*, as it lies in the *Dissection*. It has been a Matter of Admiration, that so many Persons of great Piety, strict Conscience, and unspotted Character, should lay themselves under so solemn an Obligation, under Penalties so terrible and astonishing, upon a Subject so very trifling and insignificant.

To obviate this Objection, I observe; That the End, the *Moral*, and Purport of *Masonry*, as it is described in the *Dissection*, seems not so idle,

and of that very small Importance as may at first be imagined. The real Design of *Masonry*, as confessed by the *Dissector*, is *to subdue our Passions, not to do our own Will; to make a daily progress in a laudable Art; to promote Morality, Charity, Good-fellowship, Good-nature and Humanity.* This appears to be the *Substance*, let the *Form* or Vehicle be ever so unaccountable. As for the Terms relating to Architecture, Geometry, and Mathematicks, that are dispersed throughout the *Dissection;* it would be strange if a Society of such a Denomination could subsist wholly without them, though they seem (to me at least) to be rather Technical and Formal (yet delivered, perhaps, by long Tradition) than essentially attach'd to the grand Design. Now where is the Impiety, where the Immorality, or Folly for a number of Men to form themselves into a Society, whose main End is to improve in commendable Skill and Knowledge, and to promote universal Beneficence, and the social Virtues of Human Life, under the solemn Obligation of an Oath? and this, in what Form, under what secret Restrictions, and with what innocent Ceremonies they think proper? This Liberty all Incorporate Societies enjoy without Impeachment or Reflection. An Apprentice is bound to keep the *Secrets* of his Master. A Freeman is obliged to consult the Interest of his Company, and not to prostitute in common the Mysteries of his Trade. Secret Committees and Privy-Councils are solemnly enjoined not to publish abroad their Debates and Resolutions. There appears to be something like *Masonry*, as the *Dissector* describes it, in all regular Societies of whatever Denomination. They are all held together by a sort of Cement; by Bonds and Laws that are peculiar

culiar to each of them, from the highest, to the little Clubs and nightly Meetings of a private Neighbourhood. There are *Oaths* administer'd, and sometimes solemn Obligations to *Secrecy*. There are a *Master*, two *Wardens*, and a number of *Assistants*, to make what the *Dissector* may call (if he pleases) *a perfect Lodge*, in the City Companies. There is the Degree of *enter'd Prentice*, Master of his Trade, or *Fellow-Craft*, and *Master*, or Master of the Company. There are Constitutions and Orders, and a successive and gradual Enjoyment of Offices, according to the several Rules and Limitations of Admission.

BUT it is replied, That the general Design of *Masonry* may be commendable, or at least innocent, and yet be carried on to the same Advantage without the Solemnity of an *Oath*, especially pressed under such dreadful *Penalties*. In answer I observe, That the Question is not whether the Purpose of *Masonry* may as well be served without an Oath, but whether an Oath in the present Case be lawful, and may be taken with a good Conscience? And to solve this Difficulty, I shall introduce the Opinion of Bishop *Sanderson*, the most judicious Casuist that ever treated upon the Subject of *Oaths* *. *Cum res nullo aut præcepto, aut interdicto divino vel humano legitimè ita determinata est, quin ut possit quisque pro suo arbitrio facere vel non facere, prout ipsi visum fuerit expedire, quod vult faciat, non peccat*, 1 Cor. 7. 36. *Ut si Caius juret se Titio fundum venditurum aut daturum mutuo centum, respondendum breviter, juramentum in hoc casu & licitum esse & obligare.*

* De Obligatione Juramenti, Prælectio 3. Sect. 15.

When a thing is not by any Precept or Interdict, Divine or Human, so determined, but every Man, pro hic & nunc, *may at his Choice do or not do, as he sees expedient,* Let him do what he will, he sinneth not, I. Cor. 7. 36. *As if* Caius *should swear to sell his Land to* Titius, *or to lend him an hundred Crowns: The Answer is brief, an Oath in this Case is both lawful and binding.*

Now, I would know what Precept, Divine or Human, has any way determined upon the Contents of the *Dissection;* and whether the general Design of *Masonry*, as there laid down, is not at least of equal Benefit and Importance to the Publick, with the lending of a private Man a hundred Crowns? The Answers to these Questions are obvious, and the Consequence is equally plain, that an Oath upon the Subject of *Masonry* is at least justifiable and lawful.

As for the Terror of the *Penalty*, the World upon that Occasion is commonly mistaken; for the Solemnity of the Oath does not in the least add to the Obligation; or, in other Words, the Oath is equally binding without any Penalty at all. The same Casuist has this Expression; * *Non magis obligat solenne Juramentum ex se naturâ suâ, quam simplex, quia obligatio Juramenti exurgit præcise ex eo quod Deus Testis & Vindex invocatur. Invocatur autem Deus Testis & Vindex non minus in simplici Juramento quam in solenni & corporali; nam illa invocatio fit præcisè per prolationem verborum quæ eadem est in simplici & solenni, & non per aliquem motum corporalem aut signum concomitans, in quibus consistit Juramenti solennitas.*

* Prælect. 5. Sect. 12.

A solemn Oath of itself, and in its own Nature, is not more obligatory than a simple one; because the Obligation of an Oath ariseth precisely from this, that God is invoked as a Witness and Revenger no less in a simple Oath than in the solemn and corporal (for the Invocation is made precisely by the Pronunciation of the Words, which is the same both in the simple and solemn, and not by any corporal Motion, or concomitant Sign, *in which the Solemnity of the Oath consists.*

I write to intelligent Readers, and therefore this Citation wants not to be explained.

BUT further: If the Oath in the *Dissection* be taken by all *Masons* upon their Admission, no Member of the Fraternity upon any Pretence whatsoever dares violate the Obligation of it, without incurring the Guilt of Perjury; supposing that *Masonry* were more trifling and indifferent, than in the *Dissection* it may appear to be. And therefore if the Conduct of the *Dissector* has stagger'd the Conscience of any one of the Brotherhood, concerning the Observation of that Oath, and has induced him to trifle and play with the Force of it, I hope he will desist betimes, lest he becomes actually forsworn. This Case is thus determined; * *Juramentum ultrò præstitum vel maximè obligat cum nullum vinculum arctius obliget quam quod spontè susceptum est.*

A voluntary Oath is the more binding for being voluntary, because there is no straighter Obligation than that which we take willingly upon ourselves.

* Prælect. 4. Sect. 11.

AND

AND in another place the Casuist is more particular: * *Cum res aut ob sui levitatem indigna est viri prudentis deliberatione, nec cassâ nuce interest feceritne an non fecerit, ut levare festucam de terrâ, fricara barbam, &c. aut ob parvitatem materiæ non est multum æstimabilis, ut dare pomum puero, aciculam commodare, &c. obligare Juramentum in re vel levissimi momenti constat, quia in re gravi & levi eadem est veritatis & falsitatis ratio; & quia omnis jurans tenetur facere totum quod promisit, quatenus potest & licet; sed dare puero pomum & possibile est & licitum, ergo tenetur præstare, ubi juratum est debet impleri.*

Where a matter is so trivial, that it is not worth the Deliberation of a wise Man, nor matters a Straw whether it be done or not done, as to reach up a Chip, or to rub one's Beard, or for the slightness of the Matter is not much to be esteemed, as to give a Boy an Apple, or to lend a Pin; an Oath is binding in a Matter of the least Moment, because weighty and trivial things have a like respect unto Truth and Falshood; and further, because every Party swearing is bound to perform all he promised, as far as he is able and it is lawful: But to give an Apple to a Boy is both possible and lawful; he is bound therefore to perform it, he ought to fulfil his Oath.

* Prælect. 3. Sect 15.

CHAP. III.

HAVING taken off the Weight of the great Objection, the Design of this Chapter is to remove an Imputation, which has been often urged with great Confidence, that *the Principles and the whole Frame of* Free-Masonry *is so very weak and ridiculous, that it reflects upon Men of the least Understanding to be concerned in it.* And now, say the *Merry Gentlemen*, it appears evidently to be so by the *Dissection*, which discovers nothing but an unintelligible Heap of Stuff and Jargon, without common Sense or Connection.

I confess I am of another Opinion; though the Scheme of Masonry, as revealed by the *Dissector*, seems liable to Exceptions; nor is it so clear to me as to be fully understood at first View, by attending only to the literal Construction of the Words: And, for aught I know, the System, as taught in the regular *Lodges*, may have some Redundancies or Defects, occasioned by the Indolence or Ignorance of the old Members. And indeed, considering through what Obscurity and Darkness the Mystery has been delivered down; the many Centuries it has survived; the many Countries, and Languages, and Sects, and Parties it has run thro', we are rather to wonder it ever arrived to the present Age without more Imperfections. In short I am apt to think that Masonry, *as it is now explained*, has in some Circumstances declined from its original Purity: It has run long in muddy Streams, and as it were, under Ground; but not withstanding the great Rust it may have contract-

ed, and the forbidding Light it is placed in by the *Dissector*, there is (if I judge right) much of the old Fabrick still remaining; the Foundation is still intire; the essential Pillars of the Building may be discovered through the Rubbish, though the Superstructure may be overrun with Moss and Ivy, and the Stones by Length of Time disjointed. And therefore, as the *Busto* of an old Hero is of great value among the Curious, though it has lost an Eye, the Nose, or the Right-hand, so *Masonry* with all its Blemishes and Misfortunes, instead of appearing ridiculous, ought (in my humble Opinion) to be received with some Candour and Esteem from a Veneration to its Antiquity.

I was exceedingly pleased to find the *Dissector* lay the original Scene of *Masonry* in the *East*, a Country always famous for symbolical Learning supported by *Secrecy*; I could not avoid immediatly thinking of the old *Egyptians*, who concealed the chief Mysteries of their Religion under *Signs* and Symbols, called Hieroglyphicks. And so great was their Regard for Silence and Secrecy, that they had a Deity called *Harpocrates*, whom they respected with peculiar Honour and Veneration. A learned * Author has given a Description of this Idol; Harpocrates *silentii Deus effingebatur*, Dextrâ prope cor admotâ, pelle anteriùs indutus, *quæ oculis atque auribus pluribus erat distincta, ut eo intelligeremus multa videnda atque audienda, sed loquendum parum.* Harpocrates, *the God of Silence, was formed* with his Right-hand placed near the Heart, cover'd with a Skin before, *full of Eyes and Ears, to signify by this, that many things are*

* Imagines Deorum qui ab antiquis colebantur, à Vincentio Chartario.

to

to be seen and heard, but little to be spoken. And among the same People, their great Goddess *Isis* (the same as *Minerva* the Goddess of *Strength and Wisdom* among the *Greeks*) had always the Image of a *Sphinx* placed in the Entrance of her Temples, *quia Arcana sub sacris* Integumentis *tegi debent, ut a promiscuo vulgo non secus atque Ænigmata a Sphinge proposita ignorentur : That their Secrets should be preserved under sacred* Coverings, *that they might be kept from the Knowledge of the Vulgar as much as the Riddles of* Sphinx.

Pythagoras by travelling into *Egypt* became instructed in the Mysteries of that Nation, and here he laid the Foundation of all his symbolical Learning. The several * Writers that have mentioned this Philosopher, and given an Account of his Sect and Institutions, have convinced me fully, that *Free-Masonry*, as published by the *Dissector*, is very nearly allied to the old *Pythagorean* Discipline ; from whence I am persuaded it may in some Circumstances very justly claim its Descent. To mention a few.

Upon the Admission of a Disciple, he was bound by *a solemn Oath* to conceal the Mysteries from the Vulgar and *Un-initiated.*

The principal and most efficacious of their Doctrines were (says *Jamblichus*) ever kept *secret* among themselves ; they were continued unwritten, and preserved only by Memory to their Successors, to whom they delivered them as Mysteries of the Gods.

They conversed with one another by *Signs*, and they had particular *Words* which they received

* Jamblichus Vit. Pythag. Porphyrius. Laertius Vit. Pythag. Clem, Alex. Stromat.

upon their Admission, and which were preserved with great Reverence as the Distinction of their *Sect:* For (it is the judicious Remark of *Laertius*) as Generals use *Watch-Words* to distinguish their own Soldiers from others, so it is proper to communicate to the *Initiated* peculiar *Signs* and *Words* as distinctive Marks of a Society.

THE *Pythagoreans* professed a great Regard for what the *Dissector* calls the *four Principles of Masonry* *, *a Point, a Line, a Superficies, and a Solid;* and particularly held that a *Square* was a very proper Emblem of the Divine Essence. The Gods, they say, who are the Authors of every thing established in *Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty*, are not improperly represented by the Figure of a † *Square.*

MANY more Instances might be produced, would the Limits of my Design admit; I shall only observe, that there was a false Brother, one ‡ *Hipparchus*, of this Sect, who, out of Spleen and Disappoinment, broke through the Bond of his Oath, and committed the Secrets of the Society to Writing, in order to bring the Doctrine into contempt. He was immediately expelled the School as a Person most infamous and abandoned, as one *dead* to all Sense of Virtue and Goodness; and the *Pythagoreans*, according to their Custom, made a Tomb for him as if he had been actually dead. The Shame and Disgrace that justly attended this Violation of his Oath threw the poor Wretch into a Fit of Madness and Despair, so that he *cut his Throat*, and perished by his own

* Proclus in Euclid. Lib. 2. Def. 2.

† Proclus in Euclid. Lib. 2. Def. 34.

‡ Clem. Alexand. Strom. 5.

Hands;

Hands ; and (which surprised me to find) his Memory was so abhorred after Death, that his Body lay *upon the Shore* of the Island of *Samos*, and had no other Burial than *in the Sands of the Sea.*

THE *Essenes* among the *Jews* were a sort of *Pythagoreans*, and corresponded in many Particulars with the Practice of the *Fraternity*, as deliver'd in the *Dissection.* For Example : When a Person desired to be admitted into their Society, he was to pass through two Degrees of Probation before he could be perfect Master of their Mysteries. When he was received into the Class of Novices, he was presented *with a white Garment ;* and when he had been long enough to give some competent Proofs of his *Secrecy* and Virtue, he was admitted to *further Knowledge ;* but he still went on with the Trial of his Integrity and Good Manners, and then was fully taken into the Society. But before he was receiv'd as an establish'd Member, he was first to bind himself by *solemn Obligations* and Professions, *to do Justice, to do no Wrong, to keep Faith with all Men, to embrace the Truth, to keep his Hands clear from Theft and fraudulent Dealing, not to conceal from his fellow-Professors any of the Mysteries, nor communicate any of them to the Profane, though it should be to save his Life ;* to deliver nothing but what he received, and endeavour to preserve the Principle that he professes. *They eat and drink at the same common Table, and the Fraternity that come from any other Place are sure to be received there ;* they meet together in an Assembly, *the Right-hand is laid upon the Part between the Chin and the Breast, and the Left-hand let down streight by their Side.* *.

* Philo de Vitâ Contemplativâ. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2.

* THE *Cabalists*, another Sect, dealt in hidden and mysterious Ceremonies. The *Jews* had a great Regard for this Science, and thought they made uncommon Discoveries by means of it. They divided their Knowledge into *Speculative* and *Operative*. *David* and *Solomon*, they say, were exquisitely skilled in it, and no body at first *presumed to commit it to Writing*; but, what seems most to the present Purpose, the Perfection of their Skill consisted in what the *Dissector* calls *Lettering of it*, or by ordering the *Letters of a Word* in a particular manner.

†. THE last Instance I shall mention, is that of the *Druids* in our own Nation. They were the only Priests among the ancient *Britons*. In their Solemnities they were clothed in *White*, and their Ceremonies always ended *with a good Feast*. *Pomponius Mela* relates of them, that their Science was only an Effort of Memory, for they wrote down nothing, and they never fail'd *to repeat many Verses* which they received by Tradition. *Cæsar* observes, that they had a Head, who had sovereign Power: This President exercised a sort of Excommunication, attended with *dreadful Penalties* upon such as either divulged or profaned their Mysteries.

LET the sensible Reader (if he pleases) peruse the *Dissection* with Care, and compare it (with reasonable Allowance for Distance of Time, Place, and other intermediate Accidents) with the Particulars of the preceding *Collections*, and if he does not

* Collier's *Dictionary on the Word* Cabale, Basnage's *History of the* Jews, *Chap. on the* Cabala.

† Samm's *History of* Britain, B. 1. Chap. 4. Cæsar's *Comment. lib.* 6.

discover

discover something at least like *Masonry* (if the *Dissection* contains any such thing) I think he must be exceedingly blind or prejudiced.

CHAP. IV.

WHATEVER Reflections may attend the few Remarks that follow in this Chapter, arising either from an Overflow of Wit or Ill-nature, I shall be unconcerned, and leave them wholly to the Mercy of the serious Reader; only desiring him to remember, that *no more ought in any Case to be expected, than what the Nature of it will reasonably admit.* I own freely, I received a great Pleasure in collecting, and was frequently surprized at the Discoveries that must evidently occur to an observing Eye. The Conformity between the Rites and Principles of *Masonry* (if the *Dissection* be true) to the many Customs and Ceremonies of the Ancients, must give Delight to a Person of any Taste and Curiosity, to find any Remains of Antique Usage and Learning preserved by a Society for many Ages, without Books or Writing, by oral Tradition only.

I. THE Number *Three* is frequently mentioned in the *Dissection*, and I find that the Ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, professed a great Veneration for the same Number. *Theocritus* * introduces Person who dealt in *Secret Arts:*

Ἐς τρὶς ἀποσπένδω καὶ τρὶς τάδε ὠότνια ρωγῶ

Remark I. *Masonry Dissected*, p. 10.
* Idyll ζ.

Thrice

Thrice, thrice I pour, and thrice repeat my Charms.

* *Verbaque ter dixit.*
Thrice he repeats the Words.
† *Necte tribus Nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores.*
Three Colours in three Knots unite.

WHETHER this Fancy owes its Original to the Number *Three*, because containing a Beginning, Middle, and End, it seems to signify all Things in the World; or whether to the Esteem the *Pythagoreans* and other Philosophers had for it on account of their *Triad* or *Trinity;* or lastly, (to mention no more Opinions) to its Aptness to signify the Power of all the Gods, who were divided into *three* Classes, *Celestial*, *Terrestrial*, and *Infernal;* I shall leave to be determined by others. The Gods, as ‡ *Virgil* asserts, had a particular Esteem for this Number.

Numero Deus impare gaudet.
Unequal Numbers please the Gods.

WE find *Three* Fatal Sisters, *Three* Furies, *Three* Names and Appearances of *Diana:*

|| *Tria Virginis ora Dianæ.*
Three different Forms does chaste *Diana* bear.

THE Sons of *Saturn*, among whom the Empire of the World was divided, were *Three;* and for the same Reason we read of *Jupiter's Fulmen trifidum*, or *Three*-forked Thunderbolt, *Neptune's Trident*, with several other Tokens of the Veneration they bore to this particular Number.

* Ovid. Metam. lib. 7.
† Virgil. Ecl. 8.
‡ Ecl. 8.
|| Virg. Æn. lib. 4.

II. A particular Ceremony belonging to the *Oath*, as declared by the *Dissector*, bears a near Relation to a Form of *Swearing* mentioned by a * learned Author; the Person, who took the Oath, *was to be upon his bare Knees with a naked Sword pointed to his Throat*, invoking the Sun, Moon, and Stars to be Witnesses to the Truth of what he swore.

III. A Part of the Mason's *Catechism* in this Page has given Occasion to a great deal of idle Mirth and Ridicule, as the most trifling and despicable sort of Jargon, that Men of common Sense ever submitted to. The *Bone-Box*, and the *Tow-Line* has given wonderful Diversion. I think there are some Verses in the last Chapter of the Book of *Ecclesiastes* which in some manner resemble this Form of Expression. I shall transcribe them, with the Opinion of the Learned upon them, without making any particular Application.

† *In the Day when the Keepers of the House shall tremble, and the Grinders cease because they are few, and those that look out at the Windows be darkened; and the Doors shall be shut in the Streets when the Sound of the Grinding is low; and he shall rise up at the Voice of the Bird, and all the Daughters of Musick shall be brought low. Or ever the Silver Cord be loosed, or the Golden Bowl be broken, or the Pitcher be broken at the Fountain, or the Wheel broken at the Cistern.*

II. *Masonry Dissected*, p. 10.

* Alexand. ab Alexandro, lib. 5. cap. 10.

III. *Masonry Dissected*, p. 16.

† *Ecclesiates*, chap. 12. ver. 3, 4, 6.

* THE Expositors upon these Verses are almost unanimous in their Opinion, that they ought to be thus explained. The Keepers of the House are the *Shoulders*, *Arms*, and *Hands* of a Human Body; the *Grinders* are the *Teeth*; those that look out at the *Windows* are the two *Eyes*; the *Doors* are the *Lips*, the *Streets* are the *Mouth*, the Sound of the *Grinding* is the Noise of the *Voice*; the *Voice of the Bird* is the *Crowing of the Cock*; the Daughters of *Musick* are the *two Ears*; the *Silver Cord* is the *String of the Tongue*; the *Golden Bowl* is the *Pia Mater*; the *Pitcher* at the *Fountain* is *the Heart*, *the Fountain of Life*; the *Wheel* is the *great Artery*, and the *Cistern* is the *left Ventricle of the Heart.*

IV. THERE could not possibly have been devised a more significant *Token* of Love, Friendship, Integrity, and Honesty, than the *joining of the Right-Hands*, a Ceremony made use of by all Civilized Nations as a *Token* of a faithful and true Heart. *Fides*, or *Fidelity* was a Deity among the Ancients, of which a learned † Writer has given this Description: *Fidei propria sedes* in dexterâ manu *credebatur*, *ideo interdum* duabus junctis manibus *fingebatur*, *interdum duabus Imagunculis dexteram dexteræ jungentibus*, *quamobrem apud veteres dextera tanquam res sacra credebatur. The proper Residence of Faith*, *or* Fidelity, *was thought to be* in the Right-hand; *and therefore this Deity was sometimes represented* by two Right-Hands joined together; *sometimes by two little I-*

* Bp. *Patrick*, Dr. *Smith*, *Forsterus*, *Melancthon*, *&c.* in Eccl.

IV. *Masonry Dissected.* p. 18.

† Chartarius in lib. ut supra.

mages

mages shaking each the other's Right-Hand; so that the Right-Hand was by the Ancients esteemed as a thing sacred. And agreeable to this are those Expressions in *Virgil* * :

En Dextra Fidesque!

as if shaking *by the Right-Hand* was an inseparable *Token* of an honest Heart.

† ——*Cur dextræ jungere Dextram*
Non datur, & veras audire & reddere voces?

‡ In all Compacts and Agreements (says Bishop *Potter*, in his Antiquities of *Greece*) it was usual to take each other by *the Right-Hand*, that being the manner of plighting Faith; and this was done either out of Respect to the Number of Ten, as some say, there being ten Fingers on the two Hands; or because *such a Conjunction was a* Token *of Amity and Concord, whence at all Friendly Meetings they joined Hands as a* Sign *of the Union of their Souls.*

It was one of the Cautions of *Pythagoras* to his Disciples, *Take heed to whom you offer your Right-Hand*; which is thus explained by *Jamblichus*: || *Take no one by the Right-Hand but the Initiated, that is, in the* Mystical Form; *for the Vulgar und the Profane are altogether unworthy af the Mystery.*

V. The *Dissector* frequently taking notice of the Number *Seven*, I instantly recurred to the old *Egyptians* §, who held the Number of *Seven* to be Sacred; more especially they believed that whilst

* Æneid. 4.
† Æneid. 1.
‡ Vol. 1. p. 251. *last Ed.*
|| In Vit. Pyth.
V. *Mason. Diss.* p. 21.
§ Pignorius in Mens. Ifiac.

their

their Feast of *Seven* Days lasted, the Crocodiles lost their inbred Cruelty; and * *Leo Afer*, in his Description of *Africa*, says that even in his Time the Custom of Feasting so many Days and Nights was still used for the happy Overflowing of the *Nile*. The *Greeks* and *Latins* professed the same Regard for that Number, which might be proved by many Examples.

VI. THE Accident, by which the Body of Master *Hiram* was found after his Death, seems to allude in some Circumstances to a beautiful Passage in the sixth Book of *Virgil*. *Anchises* had been dead for some Time, and *Æneas* his Son professed so much Duty to his departed Father, that he consulted with the *Cumæan Sybil*, whether it were possible for him to descend into the Shades below, in order to speak with him. The Prophetess encouraged him to go, but told him he could not succeed unless he went into a certain Place and pluck'd a golden *Bough* or *Shrub*, which he should carry in his Hand, and by that means obtain Directions where he should find his Father.

THESE are the Words:

——† *Latet arbore opaca*
Aureus & foliis, & lento vimine ramus,
Junoni infernæ dictus sacer: hunc tegit omnis
Lucus, & obscuris claudunt convallibus umbræ,
Sed non ante datur telluris operta subire,
Auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore fœtus.
Hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus
Instituit: Primo avulso, non deficit alter

* Lib. 8.
VI. *Mason. Diss.* p. 27.
† Æneid. 6. l. 156. *

Aureus,

* l. 156. is added in MS.—[ED].

Aureus, & simili frondescit virga metallo.
——ipse volens facilisque sequetur.

——In the neighbouring Grove
There stands a Tree, the Queen of Stygian Jove
Claims it her own ; thick Woods and gloomy Night
Conceal the happy Plant *from mortal Sight.*
One Bough it bears, but wond'rous to behold,
The ductile Rind and Leaves of radiant Gold ;
This from the vulgar Branches must be torn,
And to fair Proserpine *the Present born,*
E're Leave be given to tempt the nether Skies ;
The first thus rent, a second will arise,
And the same Metal the same Room supplies.
The willing Metal will obey thy Hand,
Following with Ease——

DRYDEN.

Anchises, the great Preserver of the *Trojan* Name, could not have been discovered but by the help of a *Bough* which was pluck'd *with great Ease* from the Tree ; nor it seems could *Hiram, the Grand-Master* of *Masonry*, have been found but by the Direction of a *Shrub*, which (says the *Dissector*) *came easily up.* The principal Cause of *Æneas's* Descent into the Shades was to enquire of his Father the Secrets of the Fates, which should some time be fulfilled among his Posterity: The Occasion of the Brethren's searching so diligently for their Master was, it seems, to receive from him the *secret Word of Masonry*, which should be deliver'd down as a Test to their *Fraternity* to After-Ages. This remarkable Verse follows :

Præterea jacet exanimum tibi corpus amici,
Heu nescis !

The

The Body of your Friend lies near you dead,
Alas, you know not how !

THIS Person was *Misenus* that was murdered and buried *Monte sub aerio, under a high Hill,* as (says the *Dissector*) Master *Hiram* was.

BUT there is another Story in *Virgil,* that stands in a nearer Relation to the Case of *Hiram,* and the Accident by which he is said to have been discovered ; which is this : *Priamus* King of *Troy,* in the Beginning of the *Trojan* War, committed his Son *Polydorus* to the Care of *Polymnestor* King of *Thrace,* and sent with him a great Sum of Money ; but after *Troy* was taken, the *Thracian,* for the sake of the Money, killed the young Prince, and privately buried him. *Æneas* coming into that Country, and accidently plucking up a *Shrub* that was near him *on the Side of a Hill,* discovered the *murdered* Body of *Polydorus.*

* *Forte fuit juxta* tumulus *quo cornea summo*
Virgulta, & densis hastilibus horrida Myrtus
Accessi, viridemque ab humo convellere sylvam
Conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras :
Horrendum, & dictu video mirabile monstrum.
(Eloquar an sileam ?) gemitus lacrymabilis Imo
† *auros.* *Auditur tumulo, & vox reddita fertur ad* †*autres :*
Quid miserum, Ænea, *laceras ? jam parce sepulto.*

Not far a rising Hillock *stood in View,*
Sharp Myrtles on the Sides and Cornels grew,
There while I went to crop the sylvan Scenes,
And shade our Altar with the leafy Greens,
I pull'd a Plant, *with Horror I relate*
A Prodigy so strange and full of Fate.

* Aneid. lib. 3. 1: 22. †

Scare

† Marginal correction, as also some of the punctuation, in MS.—[ED].
† 1: 22 in MS.—[ED].

Scarce dare I tell the Sequel; from the Womb
Of wounded Earth, and Caverns of the Tomb,
A Groan as of a troubled Ghost renew'd
My Fright, and then these dreadful †Wounds ensu'd, † *Words.*
Why dost thou thus my bury'd Body rend?
O spare the Corps of thy unhappy Friend.

DRYDEN.

THE Agreement between these two Relations is so exact, that there wants no further Illustration.

VII. WE are told that a Sprig of *Cassia* was placed by the Brethren at the *Head* of *Hiram*'s Grave, which refers to an old Custom in those *Eastern* Countries of Embalming the Dead, in which Operation *Cassia* was always used, especially in preparing the *Head*, and drying up the *Brain*, as * *Herodotus* more particularly explains. The Sweet-wood, Perfumes, and Flowers used about the Graves of the Dead, occur so frequently in the old Poets, that it would be tedious to mention them. *Ovid* thus describes the Death of the *Phœnix:*

† *Ilicis in ramis tremulœve cacumina palmæ*
Unguibus & pando nidum sibi construit ore.
Quo simul ac Casias, *& Nardi lenis aristas,*
Quassaque cum fulva †substravit Cinnama Myrrha
Se super imponit, finitque in odoribus ævum.

Upon a shady Tree she takes her Rest,
And on the highest Bough, her Funeral Nest
Her Beak and Talons build; then strews thereon
Balm, Cassia, *Spikenard, Myrrh and Cinamon:*
Last on the fragrant Pile herself she lays,
And in consuming Odours ends her Days.

VII. *Mason. Diss.* p. 28.
* in Euterpe.
† Metamor. lib. 15. † *Sustravit.*

Corrections in MS:—[ED.]

THE

NEW BOOK

OF

CONSTITUTIONS

OF THE

Antient and *Honourable* FRATERNITY

OF

FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS.

CONTAINING

Their *History, Charges, Regulations*, &c.

COLLECTED AND DIGESTED

By Order of the GRAND LODGE from their old *Records*, faithful *Traditions* and *Lodge-Books*,

For the Use of the LODGES.

By JAMES ANDERSON, D. D.

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M DCC XXXVIII.

In the *Vulgar* Year of Masonry 5738.

Brother EUCLID's *Letter* to the *Author* Against unjust Cavils.

BRother ANDERSON, after Thanks for printing the clever DEFENCE, by the Advice of our Brethren, I send you this Epistle, to answer some lying Cavils. But first we would acknowledge, that

Indeed, the *Free Masons* are much obliged to the generous Intention of the unbiass'd *Author* of the above *Defence:* Tho' had he been a *Free-Mason*, he had in Time perceived many valuable Things suitable to his extended Views of Antiquity, which could not come to the *Dissector's* Knowledge; for that They are not intrusted with any Brothers till after due Probation: And therefore some think the ingenious DEFENDER has spent too much fine Learning and Reasoning upon the foolish *Dissection*, that is justly despised by the Fraternity, as much as the other pretended Discoveries of their Secrets in publick *News-Papers* and *Pasquils*, all of a Sort; for all of 'em put together don't discover the profound and sublime Things of *old Masonry;* nor can any Man, not a Mason, make use of those incoherent Smatterings (interspers'd with ignorant Nonsense and gross Falsities) among bright Brothers, for any Purpose but to be laught at; our *Communications* being of a quite different Sort. Next, it is well known,

That the Antiquity and Decorum of our Worshipful *Fraternity* have been envied by some, who, very lately, have coalesced into Societies, in Imitation of the *Free-Masons*, and some in Opposition to them, tho' in vain; as the **Gormagons**, who soon disappear'd, and Others are going.

But

But tho' we envy not the Prosperity of any Society, nor meddle with their Transactions and Characters, we have not met with such fair Treatment from Others; nay, even Those that never had an Opportunity of obtaining any certain Knowledge of us, have run implicitly with the Cry, and without Fear or Wit, have vented their Spleen in accusing and condemning us unheard, untry'd; while we, innocent and secure within, laugh only at their gross Ignorance and impotent Malice.

Have not People in former Ages, as well as now, alleged that the *Free Masons* in their *Lodges* raise the **Devil** in a *Circle*, and when they have done with him, that they lay him again with a *Noise* or a *Hush* as they please?

How have some diverted themselves with the wild Story of *an old Woman between the Rounds of a Ladder?* Only they should allow the *Free-Masons* to laugh too in their Turn.

Others will swear to the Cook's *red hot Iron* or **Salamander**, *for making the Indelible Character on the new made Mason, in order to give him the Faculty of Taciturnity!* Sure such Blades will beware of coming through the Fingers of the *Free-Masons.*

Some have basely calumniated the *Fraternity* as the *Enemies* of the Fair Sex, in Terms not fit to be rehears'd, and unworthy of a Reply: But tho' in *Lodge Hours* Masons don't allow of *Womens* Company (like many other Societies of Men) yet they make as good Husbands as any other Men, according to their laudable Charges.

Others wonder *at their admitting Men of all Professions, Religions and Denominations:* But they don't consider that *Masons* are true **Noachidæ**, and require no other Denominations, (all other Distinctions being of Yesterday) if the new Brother is a *good Man and True:* For Those of 'em that don't study *Architecture*, are often capable of encouraging the *Craft*, and help to support the poor decay'd Brethren.

Have not some rigid People been displeas'd *at the Admission of some worthless Men?* But if the *Free-Masons* are sometimes deceiv'd about Mens Characters, they are not the only Persons so deceiv'd: Yet when a Brother is obnoxious to Censure, if they don't expel him, they endeavour to reform him. However, the *Grand Lodge* has taken due Care of That.

Others complain *that the* Masons *continue too long in the Lodge, spending their Money to the Hurt of their Families, and come home too late, nay sometimes intoxicated with Liquor!* But they have no Occasion to drink much in *Lodge Hours*, which are not long; and when the *Lodge* is closed (always in good Time) any Brother may go home when he pleases: So that if any stay longer and get intoxicated, it is at their own Cost, not as *Masons*, but as other imprudent Men may do; for which the *Fraternity* is not accountable: And the Expence of a *Lodge* is not so great as That of many a private *Club.*

Some observing *that Masons are not more religious, nor more knowing, than other Men, are astonish'd at what they can be conversant about in Lodge Hours!* But tho' a *Lodge* is not a School of Divinity, the Brethren are taught the great Lessons of their *old* Religion, *Morality*, *Humanity* and *Friendship*, to abhor *Persecution*, and to be *peaceable* Subjects under the Civil Government wherever they reside: And as for *other Knowledge*, they claim as large a Share of it, as other Men in their Situation.

 Indeed,

Indeed, the *antient Lodges* were so many Schools or *Academies* for teaching and improving the *Arts* of *Designing*, especially *Architecture;* and the present *Lodges* are often employ'd that Way in *Lodge-Hours*, or else in other agreeable Conversation, tho' without Politicks or Party Causes; and none of them are ill employ'd, have no Transactions unworthy of an honest Man or a Gentleman, no personal Piques, no Quarrels, no Cursing and Swearing, no cruel Mockings, no obscene Talk, nor ill Manners: For the *noble* and eminent *Brethren* are affable to the *Meanest*; and *These* are duly respectful to their Betters in *Harmony* and *Proportion*; and tho' on the *Level*, yet always within *Compass*, and according to the *Square* and *Plumb*.

Nor can it be denied, that a *Fraternity* so strongly cemented, is more eligible and safe than most Others; especially that there is no Fear of betraying Conversation: and that since *Masonry* has been so much countenanced by Great Men, there have been more fine *Architects* and more expert *Fellow Crafts* in *Britain*, than, perhaps, in all *Europe* besides.

This appears by the stately and regular *Buildings* throughout these *Islands*, from the first Days of the *Great* **Inigo Jones**, the *English* PALLADIO; nor is the fine Taste abated in this present Reign of *King* GEORGE II. but is rather improved; witness the curious House for the *Bank* of *England*, the *South-Sea* House, the *Front* of the *East-India* House, the Lord *Talbot's* fine House in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, the many stately *Fabricks* in the Parishes of St. *George Hanover* and *St. Mary la Bonne*, and many more in and about *London* and *Westminster*, and other Towns and Cities, besides Country-Seats, raised in the *good old* AUGUSTAN **Stile**; and some also design'd only, or begun, as the *Lord* MAYOR of *London's* New Palace, the admirable New *Bridge* at *Westminster* cross the *Thames*, &c. all which discover to the *English* MASONS *Grand Design* of rivalling fair *Italy* in *Architecture*, even the *Revivers* of the AUGULTAN **Stile** mentioned Part I. Chap. VII.

May the ROYAL ART go on and prosper, and spread itself from *Pole* to *Pole*, from *East* to *West!* As it certainly now does in all polite Nations, in spite of the Ignorant and Malicious. I am

From our *old Lodge*, the HORN, in New *Palace-Yard*, *Westminster*, this 2d *Thursday*, or 9th *Nov.* in the *Vulgar* Year of MASONRY 5738.

Your true and faithful Brother

Euclid.

VOLUME I.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL.

BRITISH MUSEUM, ADD. MSS., 18,851,
CIRCA, 1500 A.D.

PART III.

A COMMENTARY

On the "MASONIC POEM," "URBANITATIS,"

AND

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR A PARISH PRIEST."

THE REGIUS MS.

(BIBL. REG. 17 A. I., ff. 32.—BRIT. MUSEUM.)

EDITORIAL NOTE.—For convenience sake, and to economize space, the following abbreviations will be used throughout:—*A.Q.C.*—Ars Quatuor Coronatorum; *Hist.*—Gould, History of Freemasonry; *O.C.*—Hughan, Old Charges; *E.E.T.S.*—Publications of the Early English Text Society. With these exceptions the references to authorities will in each case give the name of the author and title of work, *when first cited*, but subsequently that of the author only, unless two works by a single writer are laid under contribution.—G. W. SPETH.

PROLEGOMENA.

THERE are some points of analogy between the ancient Etruscans and the modern Freemasons, to which a brief allusion will not be out of place, as a preamble to the inquiry we are about to pursue.

Judging from the arts and monuments of the former, there is no people whom we seem to know better, while the books published by the latter, appear to contain all that may gratify the most ardent curiosity. Still, who the Etruscans were remains a mystery, and of "the brethren of the Royal Art" it may be affirmed with equal truth, that they let the outer world know everything about Freemasonry—except what it really is.

This ignorance, however, as we gradually ascend the river of time, the Freemasons to-day must be content to share in no slight degree with those who have not seen the light of Masonry at all, or, in other words, have not sought admission into, and been received within, the pale of the Society.

The earliest Grand Lodge—that of England—was established in 1717, and it is on the oldest document that can in any way be associated with the Masonic teachings which preceded the era of that body, and survive at this day, that I am now about to commentate. But before entering upon my task, and in order that the subject may be the more readily grasped by those readers who approach its study for the first time, some preliminary words are essential.

Among the leading objects which this Lodge has in view, is the publication of all manuscripts which relate to the ancient "Constitutions," or Legends of Freemasonry, and here, at the very threshold of our inquiry, it is necessary to pause, while a survey is taken of the ground over which we are about to pass. The documents handed down from the operative Masons of Great Britain, France, and Germany, have for the most part been generically classed under the misleading title of "Constitutions," from which great confusion has resulted.

In his well-known work, "The New Book of Constitutions," 1738, being the second edition of the first printed code of regulations for the Freemasons, Dr. Anderson thus expresses himself:—"THE FREE-MASONS had always a Book in *Manuscript* call'd the *Book* of **Constitutions** (of which they have several very antient Copies remaining) containing not only their *Charges* and *Regulations*, but also the History of *Architecture* from the Beginning of Time; in order to show the Antiquity and Excellency of the *Craft* or *Art*."*

Besides these compilations, of which the majority now extant are in roll or scroll form, there are two manuscripts of higher antiquity, possessing many characteristics of the Manuscript Constitutions, and apparently derived in great part from versions or readings of them now lost to us, but which were evidently not used by Lodges at the reception of new brethren in the same way as the documents in roll or scroll form; and must be classified rather as histories of, or disquisitions upon, Geometry (or Masonry) than as "Constitutions" of the Craft or Society.

Of the Manuscript Constitutions, or as they are more frequently styled, the "Old Charges of British Freemasons," a large number are still in existence, and an exact copy of every known version, together with the references which have been made from time to time by writers to forms that are now missing (or unidentified), will be given in the third volume of this series of reprints.

These "Old Charges," [to use the name that will be productive of the least confusion, were used in Lodges at the reception of new members, and the practice continued to be

* *Introduction*, vii.

observed until a period overlapping the erection of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717. When the usage had its first origin is indeterminable, but the earliest version of the "Old Charges" that has come down to us, concerning the age of which, as a written document, there is no room for dispute—*Grand Lodge MS.*—dates from A.D. 1583. The two documents of higher antiquity, which I have characterised as histories or disquisitions, next take up the chain. These, to follow the ordinary sequence in which they are given when described in order of juniority, are Addl. MS. 23, 198: and Bibl. Reg. 17 A, I.,—the press-mark being in each case that of the British Museum. Both MSS. are ascribed to the first half of the fifteenth century, by Mr. E. A. Bond*, but the question of their precise age will again come before us, and I shall merely in this place lay down the postulate, which, however, will fully harmonize with the conjectures of all previous commentators, that the Bibl. Reg. MS. is the older of the two. Indeed by Woodford it was pronounced to be "the original of all our later Constitutions."†

In this conclusion I do not concur, for reasons to be presently adduced, though as proceeding from so high an authority on the manuscript literature of the Craft, it merits, and will doubtless receive, the careful attention of those readers—and their name must be legion—who throughout a long series of years have derived instruction from the veteran Masonic writer whose decease we have had so recently to deplore.

On the point, however, of the relative antiquity of the two disquisitions or histories, I see no reason to disturb the priority which until quite recent times has always been assigned to Bibl. Reg. MS., though by an authority of the greatest weight, its age has now been so far reduced, and that of the Addl. MS. increased, as to bring them virtually upon a level.

The former of these MSS. was published by Mr. J. O. Halliwell, and the latter by Mr. Matthew Cooke, with whose respective names they are often labelled, a practice, which as regards the junior document, will be followed by me in this commentary, but the distinctive title I prefer to use with relation to the senior of the two, is that of "Regius MS.," as being alike indicative of the collection—"King's" or "Royal Library," British Museum—upon whose shelves it reposes, and of its own obvious supremacy as a document of the Craft.

Halliwell and Cooke dated these manuscripts late fourteenth and late fifteenth century respectively, but a recent estimate of Mr. E. A. Bond, by pushing the former *down* and the latter *up*, has placed them, as already indicated, on a footing of equality in the matter of antiquity.‡

According to Mr. Bond, "they are both of the first half of the fifteenth century," but as the age of the poem will be minutely considered at a later stage of these remarks, and that of the Addl. MS. in the next volume of our reprints, I shall content myself, at this point, with observing that by no expert in manuscript literature, or historian of the Craft, has the document edited by Mr. Halliwell been adjudged to be of later handwriting than that edited by Mr. Cooke.

The History of Masonry, or Legend of the Craft, is carried back to A.D. 1583, by the evidence of the Old Charges; the "Grand Lodge" form, or reading, of which ancient documents, having passed into its existing vehicle of transmission, or in other words having been written,—*i.e.*, copied—on December 25 of that year: though it hardly requires to be pointed out, that the date of transcription affords but a faint clue, to the real antiquity of a text or reading contained in a manuscript.

Thus, of all the existing versions of the Old Charges, the Dowland was regarded by Woodford as representing the oldest form of the "Constitutions," with the single exception of York No. 4, which latter, in the passage recognizing female membership, he considered takes us back to the Guild of Masons mentioned in the York Fabric Rolls of 1355§. Still the precise measure of antiquity our Masonic Legends or traditions are entitled to, over and above what is attested by documentary evidence, is so obviously a matter of conjecture that it would be a mere waste of time to attempt its definition.

Leaving, therefore, the Old Charges, and passing to the next group of documents in the ascending scale, we come in the first instance to the Cooke MS., and a little higher reach the Masonic poem, after which the genealogical proofs are exhausted.

These two manuscripts, though differing essentially from the previous group of documents, afford presumptive evidence of there having been—at the time from which they speak—pre-existing, or, in other words, fourteenth century Constitutions.

Here it is necessary to say, that we know absolutely nothing of either of the MSS. last cited, except what can be gathered from their actual texts. This should be carefully borne in mind, in order that we may separate the colouring of ardent imagination, or inaccurate observation, from what is positively true and historically correct. Chasms in Masonic annals

* Late Principal Librarian, British Museum. † *O.C.*, iv. ‡ *Hist.*, ii. 214.

§ *Hist.* i. 91; ii. 193; *O.C.*, xiii.

cannot be filled up by any process resembling that by which Cuvier inferred the entire form and structure of an extinct species from a bone. It is futile to suppose that the truth can be discovered by an occult faculty of historical divination, and as it has been well expressed :—"It is not enough for a historian to claim the possession of a retrospective second sight, which is denied to the rest of the world; of a mysterious doctrine, revealed only to the initiated. Unless he can prove as well as guess; unless he can produce evidence of the fact, after he has intuitively perceived its existence, his historical system cannot be received."*

The Regius, and in a lesser degree, the Cooke MS., have been very fancifully interpreted by historians of the Craft, from whose misplaced ingenuity much evil has resulted. This has mainly arisen from the erroneous mode in which their examination of these documents has been conducted. For it should never be forgotten that in working out Masonic History, whether by endeavouring to elucidate the meanings of ancient writings, or in any other way, we are in reality tracing a pedigree, and to obtain success we must, therefore, adhere as strictly as possible to those principles by means of which pedigrees are authenticated. The only sure way being to trace steadily backwards (or upwards), discarding as we go on everything that does not rest on the clearest and strongest available evidence, and so forging step by step the links in the chain until the origin is lost in the mists of remote antiquity.† But, if on the contrary, we proceed in the opposite direction, and commence from what we arbitrarily assume to be the fountain head, we may, indeed, construct a genealogy, but it must rest largely on conjecture, and will derive its best hope of acceptance from the credulity innate in mankind, and upon which Masonic authors are, alas, far too prone to rely.

In the inquiry we are pursuing, the Masonic Poem takes the place of the "fountain head" in the sense of affording the earliest documentary evidence with regard to the possession of either a speculative science, or a legendary history, by the mediæval masons. This it does, by exhibiting features, clearly showing that either certain "forms" of the Old Charges, or their original elements and constituents—whether stories or recitals—must have been utilized in some way for the purposes of the compilation.

But in order to prove this point to the satisfaction of the reader, it will be necessary to essay a brief description of the class of documents so oft referred to under the title of Old Charges (or Manuscript Constitutions)—from which—or a common source of origin—it may be safely assumed that the Masonic fragments of the poem were derived.

This will take us to the second group of ancient writings—the first being the Regius and Cooke MSS.—upon which it is my purpose to glance in these prefatory remarks, and there are some others, also requiring to fall under our observation, though distinguished from the first two collections by relating no legendary history. The divisions into which the legends and the records of the building trades will be grouped or classified, are eight in number. I. The Regius and Cooke MSS.: II. The Old Charges or Manuscript Constitutions: III. The Statutes of Labourers: IV. Regulations for the Trade of Masons (London) A.D. 1356: V. The Statute of Apprentices, A.D. 1662: VI. Scottish Charters and Regulations: VII. German Ordinances: and VIII. French Statutes.

The subjects of the first group will be more clearly understood by the reader casting at least a cursory glance over those enumerated in the other sections. English Masonry at the date of the poem, and also when its companion—under the present system of classification—was compiled, was not only more an operative than a speculative science, but there is even some room for doubt whether the latter of these designations can be regarded as in any way applicable to it.

I. The Regius MS. has strong affinities both with the documents which do, and those which do not, relate a legendary history; being of the former in some degree the precursor, and yet preserving such a distinctly operative stamp, as to be itself hardly distinguishable from the latter.

Whether Masonry always had its speculative side, in 1400 or earlier, is indeterminable, but I have elsewhere contended "There is probability, though no certainty, that it had."‡ The point, however, is one upon which authorities will differ, and I am now merely indicating the channel of research, upon which anyone who may be desirous of prosecuting an independent inquiry, will do well to embark.§

II.—The Old Charges, or Manuscript Constitutions, have already been referred to with some particularity in our *Transactions* || and an exact transcript of each of them will be given in an early volume of our *Reprints*. They are divided into three parts or divisions, and of the first—the introductory prayer, declaration, or invocation—the following,

* Lewis, *Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History*, 15. † *Hist.* ii. 61. ‡ *A.Q.C.*, i., 71.

§ In addition to the various constitutions, ordinances, and statutes, which are grouped in the text, the Gateshead Charter, 1671, together with the Alnwick and Swallwell Orders, 1701, 1730, (*Hist*, ii., 151, 261) may be usefully consulted.

|| *A.Q.C.*, i, 69.

taken from the Grand Lodge MS., A.D. 1583, the earliest of the series to which an exact date can be assigned, is an example:—

The mighte of the father of heaven and the wysedome of the glorious soonne through the grace & the goodnes of the holly ghoste y^{t} been three p'sons & one god be wth vs at o^{r} beginning and give vs grace so to gou'ne vs here in o^{r} lyving that wee maye come to his blisse that neu^{r} shall have ending. Amen.*

In the second part, or division—the History of Masonry, or Legend of the Guild—the numerous versions of the Old Charges are substantially in accord, though the actual variance, which on a close study will be found to exist between any two of them, has amply justified the minute and scholarly collation of these ancient documents, which with so much patient assiduity and critical acumen, has been conducted up to a certain point by Dr. Begemann, Prov. G.M., of Mecklenburg, under the "National Grand Lodge of all German Freemasons" at Berlin. It may be hoped, also, in the interests of true Masonic research, that the indefatigable student to whom I have last referred will succeed, at an early date, in bringing to a completion his most interesting and instructive labours in this branch—or as with even greater propriety it might be styled, parent stem—of our antiquities.

The Legend of the Guild opens with a recital of the seven liberal sciences—Grammar, Rhetorick, Dialectick (or Logick), Arithmetick, Geometry (or Masonry), Musick, and Astronomy—all of which, however, are declared to have either been founded by, or to be comprehended in, one science—that is to say, Geometry.

It then proceeds to narrate that before Noah's flood, Lamech (the son of Methusael), took unto himself two wives, one of whom was called Adah, and the other Zillah. The former bare two sons—Jabal and Jubal—and the latter a son and a daughter—Tubal-Cain and Naamah. These four children founded all the crafts and sciences, and being forewarned of the impending destruction of the world, wrote their discoveries on two distinct pillars, which possessed such peculiar properties that one would not sink, nor the other burn, and so were equally capable of resisting the action of either fire or water. After the flood, one (or both) of these pillars† was found by Hermes, the son of Cush, who was the grandson of Noah—and is known as the father of wise men. The knowledge thus acquired he taught to others, and at the building of the tower of Babel it came into great request under the name of Masonry. Nimrod, the king of Babylon, was himself a Mason, and sent sixty Masons, to whom he gave certain charges, to assist in the building of Nineveh.

After this Abraham and Sarah his wife went into Egypt, where they taught the seven sciences to the Egyptians; and Abraham had a worthy scholar who was called Euclid.

In his days the sons of the lords and great people, both lawfully and unlawfully begotten, had become so numerous that there was no competent livelihood for them. Therefore a proclamation was made offering a reward to any person who could find a way of maintaining them; wherefore Euclid said to the King and his lords, if you will give me your children to govern, I will teach them one of the seven sciences, whereby they may live honestly like gentlemen, provided you will grant me the power to rule them. Then his commission being granted and sealed, the worthy clerk Euclid took to him these Lords' sons, and taught them the science of Geometry. And he gave them charges to which he made them swear a great oath that men used in that time. Thus was the science founded there, and Euclid gave it the name of Geometry, or as it is now called throughout the land, Masonry.

Long after, King David began the Temple of Jerusalem, and he loved Masons well, and gave them charges, and at his death Solomon finished the Temple that his father had begun, and sent for workmen into many countries, there being a king of another region, Iram (or Hiram), who supplied him with materials, and whose son, Aymon (or Aynon), was chief Master of the work.

At this time curious craftsmen walked about full wide in divers countries; some to learn more craft and cunning, others to teach them that had but little cunning.‡

* Sadler, *Masonic Facts and Fictions*, 199.

† According to the Cooke MS. (lines 318-26), quoting from the *Policronicon*, Pythagoras discovered one pillar and Hermes the other.

‡ At this point of the narrative, in *four* versions of the Old Charges—comprising the Spencer Family, under the classification of Dr. Begemann—there comes in an allusion to the destruction of the First Temple, by Nebuchadnezzar, who, however, is not otherwise mentioned in any one of these ancient documents, nor in the Cooke MS., which partly bridges over the chasm of years between the oldest (*dated*) form of the Manuscript Constitutions, (*Grand Lodge*) and the Masonic Poem.

So it befel that there was one curious Mason called Naymus Grecus, who had been at the building of King Solomon's temple, and came to France, where he taught the science of Masonry to Charles Martel.

England, in all this season, stood void of Masonry until St. Alban's time, who loved Masons well, and made their pay right good, and got them a charter from the King and his Council to hold a General Council, and gave it the name of Assembly, and thereat he was himself, and made Masons, and gave them charges.

After the decease of St. Alban the good rule of Masonry was destroyed until the time of King Athelstan, who loved Masons well, but whose son Edwin loved Masons much more than his father did. And for the love he had to Masons and the Craft, he was made a Mason himself, and got of the King, his father, a Charter and Commission to hold every year an Assembly or Council, wheresoever himself, with the Masons, would, within the Realms of England, to correct the faults and trespasses that were done in the Craft. And he held himself an Assembly at York, and made Masons and gave them charges. And when the Assembly was met, he made a cry that all Masons, old or young, who had any writings or understandings of the Charges and the Manners concerning the science, that were before in this land, or in any other land, they should bring them forth, and some were found in Greek, Hebrew, Latin, French, English, and other languages. These were all to one intent, and a book was made thereof, showing how the Craft was founded, and he bade and commanded that it should be read or told when any Mason was made, and to give them the Charge.

The third and last section of each version of the Old Charges or Manuscript Constitutions, consists of the regulations and observances which every newly admitted Mason was required to swear on the "Booke" that he would maintain and uphold. These are generally divided into paragraphs, and the first in order invariably is the injunction—"To be true to God and the Holy Church," which corresponds with "Point" I. of the Poem, and the remainder of the Charges in the prose forms will be found, with hardly an exception, among the Articles and Points of the Regius MS.

(Vide addenda post p. 56)

In the above summary, I have endeavoured to give what I trust may be found a typical representation of the class of writings comprised in Group II. Each Family, and in a reduced ratio, each Version, of the Old Charges, is in its way unique; though the specialities or singularities of the one are derived, as it were, from within, and of the other from without. Both of these, however, will be fully considered in a later volume of this series, and I shall merely notice a few of the variant readings, that cannot be wholly passed over without sensibly curtailing the preliminary information, which it is the object of this introduction to impart.

Thus, according to the Lansdown Family, Edwin was made a Mason at Windsor—which has been relied upon by some critics as destructive of the alleged supremacy of York. The "writings" moreover, produced in obedience to the same Prince's command, at the York Assembly, are not enumerated alike in all versions of the Old Charges. Those in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, are each of them not specified in several forms, while in one (*Tunnah*), the statement regarding the "writings or understandings of the science" in the vernacular tongue is curiously enough omitted. But the most singular variance of all is the allusion to Hiram Abiff in the Spencer Family, a class or division of comparatively late transcription and of very doubtful authority. "The widow's son of Tyre," is not referred to in any other versions of the Manuscript Constitutions, a circumstance upon which I have elsewhere based an argument that he could not have figured very prominently in the oral, or his name would have appeared in the written traditions, of the seventeenth century.* This contention has been fortified by a criticism, equally exhaustive and destructive, of the Spencer group, from the pen of Dr. Begemann, which recently appeared in our *Transactions*.† Another very important departure from, or non-agreement with, what may be termed the normal text, occurs in two of the three forms comprising the Roberts Family, but upon this I shall again touch, at a later point.

Attention will next be invited to certain Rules in the Old Charges (normal text) which are not given in the poem.

To call all Masons, Fellows, or brethren, and no foul names.‡

No Master or Fellow to make anyone a Mason without the assent and counsel of 5 or 6 of his Fellows.§

* *Hist.* ii., 244, 365. † *A.Q.C.*, vol. i., p. 152.

‡ Partially covered by the preamble, (*ll.* 47-50) but not included among the Articles or Points of the Regius MS.

§ The numbers vary, and in some forms clearly refer to the years of apprenticeship.

A Master to take no apprentice without he has sufficient occupation for him, or to set 3 of his fellows, or 2 at the least, on work.

That no Master or Fellow put away any Lord's work to task that ought to be journey work.

That every Mason shall reverence his elders.

That a Mason be no common player at cards, dice, or hazard.

That no Fellow go into the town of a night time without a witness to bear record that he was in an honest place.

No Mason to make moulds, stone, square, or rule to any rough layer, or to set any layer within or without the Lodge, to hew or mould stone of his own making.

A Mason not to pay for work improperly executed.

Disputes or differences between Masons to be settled, if possible, without resorting to the common law.

To receive and cherish strange Fellows and set them on work, or refresh them to the next Lodge.

Newly-admitted brethren to be sworn on the "Booke."

The following is a complete list of the various "forms" of the Manuscript Constitutions that are in actual existence or to which there is any known reference at the present time of writing. Many of them have been published by Hughan in his "Masonic Sketches and Reprints" (1871), "Old Charges of British Freemasons" (1872), and other publications; while not a few lie scattered in the now defunct *Masonic Magazine*. In the works cited will be found the largest collections of these interesting documents, but one of, and perhaps the most useful single form of, the entire series, will be found in a recent publication *; the price of which renders it accessible to every class of readers. Another instructive exemplar of the "Old Constitutions" has also been placed within easy reach in the work cited below †, where also, by referring to the index, a full description of every version known down to March, 1887—including place of custody and channel of publication, is given in detail. The subsequent additions are shewn in italics on the present list, and of these it will be sufficient to say that their leading characteristics have been printed in the *Freemason*,‡ as well as in the *Transactions* § of this Lodge. Three MSS. in the present table appear under new titles, though their positions on the former numerical list have not been varied. These, which in each case are distinguished by an asterisk, are the *Phillipps* (formerly the *Wilson*) Nos. 1 and 2, and the *Clerke* (formerly *Supreme Council* No. 2.) Of the last-named an exact copy has been printed by Hughan in the *Freemason*.|| *The* "Wilson" MS., now scheduled with other missing versions in Class III., and also shewn in italics, is *a lost form* of which the present "Phillips" documents (Nos. 1 and 2) were supposed until lately to be the representatives.

CALENDAR OF THE "OLD CHARGES," 1889

I.—Manuscript Versions.

No	Name.	Date.	Custody.	Published.
1	Lansdowne	16th century	British Museum	O.C.
2	Grand Lodge	1583	G. L. of England	O.C and Sadler
3	York, No. 1	17th century	York Lodge, No. 236	O.C. and Mas. Mag., Aug. 1873
4	Phillipps, No. 1*	idem	Rev. J. E. A. Fenwick, Cheltenham	Mas. Mag., Ap., 1876
5	,, No. 2*	idem	idem	N.P. Virtually a copy of No. 4
6	Inigo Jones	1607	Prov. G. L. of Worcestershire	Mas. Mag., July, 1881
7	Wood	1610	idem	ibid June, 1881
8	Harleian, 1942	17th century	British Museum	Freem. Quat. Rev., 1836; and O.C.
9	,, 2054	idem	idem	Mas. Sketches; and Mas. Mag., 1873
10	Sloane, 3848	1646	idem	O.C.; and Mas. Mag., 1873
11	,, 3323	1659	idem	Mas. Sketches
12	Lechmere	17th century	Sir E. A. H. Lechmere, Bart.	Masonic Monthly, Dec., 1882
13	Buchanan	idem	G. L. of England	Hist. i., chap. ii.
14	Kilwinning	idem	Mother Kilwinning Lodge	Lyon Hist., L. of Edinburgh; and Masonic Sketches
15	Atcheson-Haven	1666	G. L. of Scotland	Laurie, 1859; and Lyon, 1873
16	Aberdeen	1670	Aberdeen Lodge, No. 34	Voice of Masonry, Dec., 1874
17	Melrose, No. 2	1674	Lodge of Melrose	Mas. Mag., Jan., 1880
18	Hope	17th century	Hope Lodge, No. 302	O.C.
19	York, No. 5	idem	York Lodge, No. 236	Mas. Mag., August, 1881
20	,, No. 6	idem	idem	ibid March, 1880
21	Colne, No. 1	idem	Royal Lancashire Lodge, No. 116	Freemason, Christmas No., 1887
22	Antiquity	1686	Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2	O.C.
23	Clerke*	1686	Col. S. H. Clerke, G.S.	Freemason, 4th February, 1888
24	Tew (a)	17th century	West Yorkshire Masonic Library	" Christmas No. "

* Sadler, *loc. cit.* † *Hist.* i. 93. ‡ xxi., 100, 114, 184, 318, 403, and 476. § i., 127.

(a) post p. 56. || xxi., 64, 81.

CALENDAR OF THE "OLD CHARGES" 1888.

MANUSCRIPT VERSIONS.—*Continued.*

No	NAME.	DATE.	CUSTODY.	PUBLISHED.
24	Dauntesey	17th century	R. Dauntesy, Agecroft Hall, Manchester	Keystone (U.S.A.), March 20th, 1886
25	York, No. 4	1693	York Lodge, No. 236	Masonic Sketches
26	Colne, No 2	18th century	Royal Lancashire Lodge, No. 116	N.P. A copy of No. 21
27	Alnwick	1701	[ ]	O.C.
28	York, No. 2	1704	York Lodge, No. 236	Masonic Sketches
29	Scarborough	1705	G. L. of Canada	Canadian Craftsman, Feb., 1874 Mas. Mag., Sept., 1879
30	*Stanley*	1713-14	Fred. Stanley, Margate	N.P.
31	Papworth	1714	Wyatt Papworth, London	O.C.
32	Spencer	1726	E. T. Carson, Cincinnati	Spencer's Old Constitutions, 1871
33	Woodford	1728	Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076	N.P.
34	Supreme Council	idem	33, Golden Square, London	idem
35	Gateshead	1730	Lodge of Industry, No. 48	Mas. Mag., Sept., 1875
36	Rawlinson	1730	Bodleian Library	Freemason's Mag., 1855 Mas. Mag., Sept., 1876
37	Harris	18th century	Bedford Lodge, No. 157	Freemason's Chronicle, Ap., 1882
38	Probity	idem	Lodge of Probity, No. 61	Freemason, Jan. and Feb., 1886
39	*Cama*	idem	Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076	N.P.
40	*Phillipps, No.* 3	idem	Rev. J. E. A. Fenwick, Cheltenham	idem
41	Melrose, No 3	1762	Lodge of Melrose	idem. A copy of No. 17
42	Crane	1781	Cestrian Lodge, No. 425	Freemason, Oct. and Nov., 1884
43	*Harris, No.* 2	1781	British Museum	N.P.
44	Tunnah	1828	W. J. Hughan, Torquay	idem
45	Wren	1852	[ ]	Mas. Mag., 1879

* N.P. signifies *not published.*

II.—PRINTED VERSIONS.

(Originals not known.)

No	NAME.	DATE.	FIRST PUBLISHED.	RE-PRINTED.
46	Roberts	1722	Pamphlet	Spencer's Old Constitutions, 1871
47	Briscoe	1724	idem	Mas. Mag., Oct., 1873, and Freem. Chron., 1876
48	Cole	1728-9	idem	Hughan's Constitutions of the Freemasons
49	Dodd	1739	idem	Carson's Rituals of Freemasonry, No. III., 1876
50	Krause (*apocryphal*)	1808	Drei ältesten Urk., 1810 (*see note*)	Englished in O.C.
51	Dowland	1815	Gent. Magazine	O.C.

NOTE.—A Latin M.S. sent to Schneider, of Altenburg, by a certain Van Dyke, then travelling in England, and certified to be a "true translation of an Anglo-Saxon document existing at York."

III.—MISSING VERSIONS, USED OR REFERRED TO.

No	NAME.	USED OR CITED	FORMER CUSTODY.	REMARKS.
52	Melrose, No. 1	1674	Lodge of Melrose	Original of Nos. 17 and 41
53	Plot	1686	Masons of Staffordshire	Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire, 316-18
54	Anderson	1723-38	Dr. Anderson	Forms used in the Constitutions, 1723 and 1738
55	Baker	1730-40	A London Carpenter	A roll seen by Dr. Rawlinson
56	Langley	1738	Batty Langley, London	Builder's Compleat Assistant.
57	Morgan	1752	John Morgan, G. Sec.	Named in G.L. Records (*Schismatics*)
58	Dermott	idem	L. Dermott, G. Sec.	ibid
59	*Wilson*	1778	Mr. Wilson, of Bromhead	Manifesto of the L. of Antiquity
60	York, No. 3	1779	Grand Lodge, York	Inventory of the G. L. (York)
61	Hargrove	1818	idem	Hist. of York (Hargrove)
62	Masons' Company	1839	Mason's Company	Edinburgh Review, Ap., 1839

The division of the Manuscript Constitutions into groups or families, was long looked upon as chimerical, by the limited number of students who had alone attempted to penetrate beneath the somewhat unforbidding husk of their actual meaning and intent. But a learned German—Dr. Begemann, of Rostock—whom nature has bountifully endowed with ability, and untiring industry with a vast armoury of research, shews us very clearly—like Bro. John Lane in another branch of our antiquities—that specialists in Masonic study, as in other pursuits of knowledge unconnected with the Fraternity, by a concentration of thought on a

single topic, may achieve results that are quite impossible, where either the field of inquiry is too large, or the versatility of the inquirer is not kept under subjection.

The groups or families, into which the various "forms" of the Old Charges have been arranged or classified by Dr. Begemann—so far as his collation of the series has yet proceeded—will next be presented; but a word or two, and more I am unable to find room for, are due, both to the doctor and the reader, and in endeavouring within a brief compass to sum up my indebtedness to the one, I shall at the same time hope to bespeak an intelligent appreciation of very arduous and critical labours from the other.

The *readings* or *texts*, as distinguished from the *forms* or *writings* in which the Old Charges have become our heritage, exhibit many discrepancies, whereby some confusion and much disputation have arisen. Thus, the several entries in the series, respecting Hiram Abiff, and a General Assembly of particular note having been held in 1663, were each in their way productive of great dissension among our *literati*. Both traditions or legends were—so to speak—only supported by a small minority vote; "but," it was urged, "however strongly the balance of evidence may appear to incline in one direction, *four* at all events of the Old Charges in the one instance (*Hiram*), and *two* in the other (*Assembly of* 1663), preclude the possibility of either of these incidents in our written traditions, being excluded from consideration as important factors in the complicated problem of early Masonic history." By shewing, however, that in each case the variant reading has come down to us in a single line of transmission, the plurality of "forms" through which it meets the reader's eye, becomes of comparatively little importance. Thus, in their *primâ facie* character, documents present themselves as so many independent and rival texts of greater or less purity. But, as a matter of fact, they are not independent; by the nature of the case they are all fragments—usually casual and scattered fragments—of a genealogical tree of transmission, sometimes of vast extent and intricacy. The more exactly we are able to trace the chief ramifications of the tree and to determine the places of the several records among the branches, the more secure will be the foundations laid for a criticisism capable of distinguishing the original text from its successive corruptions.

The introduction of the factor of genealogy at once lessens the power of mere numbers. If there is sufficient evidence, external or internal, for believing that of ten MSS. the first nine were all copied, directly or indirectly, from the tenth, it will be known that all the variations from the tenth can be only corruptions, and that for documentary evidence we have only to follow the tenth.

If, however, the result of the inquiry is to find that all the nine MSS. were derived, not from the tenth, but from another lost MS., the ten documents resolve themselves virtually into two witnesses; the tenth MS., which can be known directly and completely, and the lost MS., which must be restored through the readings of its nine descendants, exactly and by simple transcription where they agree, approximately and by critical processes where they disagree.

The evidence on which the genealogy of documents turns is sometimes, though rarely, external, and is chiefly gained by a study of their texts in comparison with one another. The process depends on the principle that *identity of reading implies identity of origin.**

The division by Dr. Begemann of the various forms of the Old Charges, into groups or families, leaves very little to be desired, though I must carefully guard myself against being supposed to lay down, that the other methods of classification of older date, are altogether superseded by the new arrangement. The various systems at any time in use, have each of them their merit in special instances, and with a passing allusion to my own—a tabulation of the different forms in strict accordance with their *historical value* †—I shall bring my remarks under this head to a close.

From a strictly legal aspect the manscript constitutions (or any references to them) are divisible into six classes.

I.—Lodge Records, *i.e.*, copies or versions of the "Old Charges," in actual Lodge custody, with regard to which there is no evidence of a possible derivation through any other channel than a purely Masonic one. II.—Now, or formerly, in the custody of Lodges or individuals, under circumstances which in each case raises a presumption of their having been actually used at the admission or reception of new members. III.—Rolls or scrolls, and copies in book form. IV.—On vellum or parchment. V.—On ordinary paper; and VI.—Readings *not* enumerated in the preceding categories—viz., late transcripts, printed copies, extracts, or references in printed books.

The words *Lodge Record* describe documents *coming from the proper custody*, and where there has apparently been *no interruption of possession*. Some MSS. may have been, and doubtless were, veritable "Lodge Records" in the same sense, but having passed out of the

* *cf Hist., chap.* xv., *passim.* † *Ibid* ii., 192, *et seqq.*

proper custody, now fail in the highest element of proof. The muniments in Class II. stand indeed only one step below what I term "Lodge Records," as historical documents, and very slightly above the rolls or scrolls and copies in book form; still, between each of the three divisions there is a marked deterioration of proof, which steadily increases, until at the lower end of the scale, the inference that some of the manuscripts were solely used for antiquarian purposes merges into absolute certainty.

In the present section, I have referred to peculiarities or discrepancies to be found in two families or groups of the Old Charges, and the special feature of the "Roberts" class of these documents (already alluded to) will now serve my immediate purpose, which is to show that although the evidence on which the genealogy of documents turns, is *chiefly* gained by a study of their texts in comparison with one another, it is *sometimes*, though rarely, external.

In Harleian MS., 1942, are given what are termed "The New Articles," but without date. In the "Roberts'" version, however, these are entitled "Additional Orders and Constitutions made and agreed upon at a General Assembly held at ∴ ∴ on the Eighth Day of December, 1663." The Articles in question are not given in the Rawlinson MS., the third member of the group.

It has been contended by Hughan * and myself,† that the compiler of the "Roberts'" *print* simply took the bulk of his so-called "Constitutions" from the Harleian *manuscript*. Herein we are wrong, according to Dr. Begemann, but I pass over this point, where we are slightly at variance with the doctor, to reach another, on which I think it will be possible for German and English students to join hands.

The entry in the Roberts' *print* is certainly a remarkable one, but the date of publication —1722—is very late. The next evidence is gained from Harleian MS., 1942—which if we accept the testimony of greatest weight and authority, that of Mr. E. A. Bond—will take us back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and wherein we find—*mirabile dictu*—*six* out of *seven* regulations that (if the Roberts' text is authentic) were only made in 1663!

But the point I wish to establish is the following one. The value of the evidence, in this particular case, altogether depends upon the channels through which it has descended. These are the manuscript and the print, one of which has its place in Class V., and the other in Class VI., above. Therefore, leaving undecided all minor questions relating to either document, I think their very inclusion among the "records of the Craft," is of itself sufficient to demonstrate the necessity of a legal system of classification being used concurrently with the philological and other methods that may be called into requisition.

When, in a court of law, *ancient documents* are tendered in support of *ancient possession*, care is especially taken to ascertain the *genuineness* of the ancient documents produced; and this may in general be shown, *primâ facie*, by proof that they come from the *proper custody*. It is not, however, necessary *that they should be found in the best and most proper place of deposit*, but it must appear that the instrument comes from such custody, as though not strictly proper in point of law, is sufficient to afford a reasonable presumption in favour of its genuineness; and that it is otherwise free from just ground of suspicion. Where old deeds have been produced as evidence in cases of title, from *collections of manuscripts made for antiquarian purposes*, they have been rejected. They must be produced from the custody of persons interested in the estate. Thus an ancient writing, enumerating the possessions of a monastery, produced from the Heralds' office; a curious manuscript book, entitled the "Secretum Abbatis," preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, containing a grant to an abbey; and an old grant to a priory, brought from the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum—have in each case been held to be inadmissible.

In a court of law the Roberts' print would be wholly inadmissible, and even the Harleian MS. would only be received under the principle laid down with so much force by the late Mr. Pitt Taylor that—"although it is perfectly true that the mere production of an ancient document, unless supported by some corroborative evidence of acting under it, or of modern possession, would be entitled *to little, if any, weight;* still there appears to be *no strict rule of law*, which would authorise the judge in withdrawing the deed altogether from the consideration of the jury;—in other words, the absence of proof of possession affects merely the *weight*, and not the *admissibility*, of the instrument."‡

It is true, no doubt, that the historian has no rules as to exclusion of evidence or incompetency of witnesses. In his court every document may be read, every statement may be heard. But in proportion as he admits all evidence indiscriminately, he must exercise discrimination in judging of its effect. Especially is this necessary in a critical survey of the Old Charges. The evidence of some of these documents is quite irreconcilable with that of others. The truth which lies between them cannot be seized by conjecture, and is only to be got at by a review of facts, and not by an attempt to reconcile conflicting statements. §

* *O.C.*, 11, 18 † *Hist.*, i., 75, ii., 208. ‡ *Law of Evidence*, 547. § Hist. ii., 195.

DR. BEGEMANN'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE "OLD CHARGES."

I.—The Grand Lodge Family.

a — *Grand Lodge Branch.*

Grand Lodge	(2)
Phillipps, No. 1	(4)
Phillipps, No. 2	(5)
Kilwinning	(14)
Cama	(39)

b — *Dowland Branch.*

Dowland	(51)
York, No. 6	(20)
Clerke	(23)
Phillipps, No. 3	(40)
Papworth	(31)

c — *York Branch.*

York, No. 1	(3)
York, No. 2	(28)
York, No. 5	(19)

d — *Lansdowne Branch.*

Lansdowne	(1)
Antiquity	(22)
Probity	(38)

e — *Colne Branch.*

Colne, No. 1	(21)
Colne, No. 2	(26)
Stanley	(30)

f — *Buchanan Branch.*

Buchanan	(13)
Atcheson Haven	(15)

g — *Sundry Forms.*

Melrose, No. 2	(17)
Melrose, No. 3	(41)
Wood	(7)
Aberdeen	(16)
Dauntesy	(24)
Harris	(37)

II.—The Sloane Family.

a — *Sloane Branch.*

Sloane, No. 3848	(10)
Sloane, No. 3323	(11)
Harleian, No. 2054	(9)
Tunnah	(44)
Briscoe	(47)

b — *Hope Branch.*

Hope	(18)
York, No. 4	(25)

c — *Alnwick Branch.*

Alnwick	(27)
Wren	(45)
Crane	(42)

d — *Sundry Forms.*

Lechmere	(12)
Scarborough	(29)

III.—The Roberts Family.

(An offshoot of the Sloane Family.)

Roberts	(46)
Harleian, No. 1942	(8)
Rawlinson	(36)

IV.—The Spencer Family.

(An offshoot of the Grand Lodge Branch.)

Spencer	(32)
Dodd	(49)
Cole	(48)
Inigo Jones	(6)

Note.—The numbers within brackets refer to those on the previous Calendar.

III.—The Statutes of Labourers.—The great plague of 1348, and the consequent depopulation, gave origin to the first Statute of Labourers, whereby it was sought to regulate the rate of wages and the price of provisions. This was followed by a long series of similar enactments, but to which, as they will be found collected in the seventh chapter of my *History of Freemasonry**, I need do no more than refer.

IV.—Regulations for the Trade of Masons (London), A.D. 1356.†—These should be read in their entirety. The ninth article reads:—"Also, if any of the said trade will not be ruled or directed in due manner by the persons of his trade sworn thereunto, such sworn persons are to make known his name unto the mayor; and the mayor, by assent of the aldermen and sheriffs, shall cause him to be chastised by imprisonment and other punishment. That so other rebels may take example by him, to be ruled by the good folks of their trade."

V.—The Statute of Apprentices.‡—This codified the order existing for centuries among the craft guilds, and applied it to all the trades of its time. It is, in fact, a selection from all the preceding enactments on the subject of labour; those provisions deemed useful being retained, others modified, and the rest repealed.

VI.—Scottish Charters and Regulations.—Grant by King James VI. to Patrick Coipland, of Udaucht, of the office of Wardanrie over the Craft of Masons within the Shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine, 1590§;—Schaw Statutes, No. I., 1598 ‖;—Schaw Statutes, No. 2, 1599 ¶;—St. Clair Charters, Nos. 1 and 2, 1601, 1628 **;—"Actis and Statutis" for the government of the several "Airtis and Craftis" in the Kingdom of Scotland, 1636 ††;—Charter of the Scoon and Perth Lodge, 1658 ‡‡;—and Lawes and Statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670.§§

VII.—German Ordinances—also known as Constitutions, Statutes, and Regulations.—Cologne Records,‖‖ 1396-1800;—Strasburg Ordinances,¶¶ 1459;—Torgau Ordinances,*** 1462;—and the Strasburg Brother-book,††† 1563.

The manuscripts comprised in this series relate exclusively to the *Steinmetzen* (Stonemasons) of Germany. The documents of 1459 and 1462 begin with an invocation to the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and the Quatuor Coronati or Four Crowned Martyrs—the legendary Patron Saints of the building-trades. No such prayer appears either in (what has been published of) the Cologne Records, or in the Brother-book, or Ordinances of Strasburg, 1563, though it is worthy of being recorded, that in the former, the guild of stone-masons and carpenters—who are always referred to in connection with one another—is repeatedly called the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist.

* i. 328-80.—*The Statutes Relating to the Freemasons.*

† *Ibid.* Originally published by H. T. Riley in his "*Memorials of London in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries*," 280-82.

‡ 5 Eliz. c. iv., *A.D.* 1562. See *Hist.* ii., 376; and *English Gilds* (Brentano, *Introductory Essay*) clxvii.

§ *Privy Seal Book of Scotland.* Printed in the *European Magazine*, lvii., 433, *A.D.* 1810; and by Laurie, *History of Freemasonry*, 421, in 1859.

‖ Laurie, 441; Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 9; and *Constitutions Grand Lodge of Scotland*, 1848.

¶ Lyon, 12.

** Printed by Laurie, 1804, and Laurie, 1859, in the appendices to their respective works; but facsimiles of the originals, together with printed copies of the same, will be found in Lyon's *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 58-62.

†† From the Minute Book of Lodge Atcheson Haven. Printed by Laurie 1859 (*app.* iv.) where also will be found the minutes accepting and approving the above "Actis," signed—1637 and 1638—by the brothers, Sir Anthonie and Henry Alexander, successively Grand Warden and Master of Works to the King, after conferences with representatives of the Lodge (*app.* v.)

‡‡ Printed by Hughan in the *Masonic Magazine*, Oct., 1878.

§§ *Freemason*, 1871; and Lyon 423-27.

‖‖ Municipal Archives. Many extracts are given by me, *Hist.* i., 169-71, which were derived from *Latomia* (Leipsic), 1862.

¶¶ Printed in German by Heldman, Krause, and Heideloff, in *Drei Aeltesten Gesch. Denkmale*, 1819; *Drei Aelt. Kunsturkunden*, 1821; and *Bauhutten des Mittelalters*, 1844, respectively. An English translation will be found in the *Masonic Eclectic* (New York), Sept., 1860; Steinbrenner, *Origin and Early Hist. of F.*, 1864; and *Kenning's Cyclo*, 1878.

*** This code was discovered by Stieglitz in the Stone-masons' Lodge at Rochlitz, Saxony, and published by him in "*Uber die Kirche der Heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz*," 1829. Fort also gives it (in the original German) as an appendix to his well-known work. Translations of these and the subsequent Ordinances of 1563, will be found in *Hist.*, Chap. iii.—"The Stonemasons of Germany"—where all the Statutes cited above are reviewed and compared.

††† Printed by Heldman, 1819, and Krause, 1821, in the works already described.

VIII.—French Statutes.—Code of the Masons, Stone-masons, Plasterers and Mortarers of Paris,* 1260; Regulations made by the King and Parliament from 1350; and Statutes of the Masons and Architects of Montpellier, 1586. These are minutely reviewed in my *History of Freemasonry*.† The oldest of the series fixes the minimum servitude of an apprentice at six years: workmen and apprentices are to swear by the saints that they will conform to the usages and customs of the craft; powers of petty justice are conferred on the Master; and it is laid down that—"The mortarers are free of watch duty, and all stone-masons since the time of Charles Martel, as the wardens *(preudomes)* have heard tell from father to son" (§ xxii.). The Royal edicts and Parliamentary enactments are not capable of being compressed within a smaller space than where attention has been directed to them in the last note.‡ The Montpellier Statutes decree a servitude of six years, half as apprentice and half as fellow (*compagnon*), as a condition precedent to attaining the mastership. One Master is not to entice away, or find work for, the servant or fellow of another Master. Differences are to be adjusted without going outside the Craft. Honesty and decency are strictly enjoined. Also, that none may plead ignorance of the Statutes, they are to be read once a year on the day of their assembly.

Lastly, and before passing away from the domain of Operative Masonry, I shall invite attention to some papers of great merit and originality, *On the Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages*, from which I have myself derived much instruction, written by Mr. Wyatt Papworth, in 1860 and 1861.§

The Masonic Poem formed the subject of an essay "On the Introduction of Freemasonry in England," read by Mr. J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., before the Society of Antiquaries—April 18, 1839 ||—and editions of it, in a complete form, were published in 1840 and 1844, by the same well-known scholar and antiquary, who, writing in this latter year, states: "The poem is taken from a very small quarto manuscript on vellum, written not later than the latter part of the fourteenth century, preserved in the Old Royal Library at the British Museum. Casley, by some strange oversight in the only catalogue we at present possess, has entitled it 'a poem of moral duties.'" The writer then adds in a note—"The M.S. formerly belonged to Charles Theyer, a well-known collector of the seventeenth century, and is No. 146 in his collection, as described in Bernard's *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Angliæ*, p. 200, col. 2. It was probably from this catalogue that Casley took his erroneous description, his own work being, for the most part, very carefully executed."

But the words,

POEM
ON THE
CRAFT OF
MASONRY

together with Theyer's name, are lettered on the back of the cover, while we know as a fact that the book was bound in 1757, and the authorities at the Museum are confident that the inscription is not of any later date. So that unless this belief is ill-founded, the "discovery," as it has been termed, of the oldest document relating to Freemasonry, must be shared between Theyer and Halliwell, as the former was, at least, a finger post pointing out the way, even if we concede to the latter the distinction of having served as the actual guide.

The poem has been reprinted in America, and a very good German translation of it was published by Dr. C. W. Asher, at Hamburg, in 1842.

The lithographed *fac-simile* of the poem—as of *Urbanitatis* and *Instructions for a Parish Priest*, which are given in Part I. of this volume—has been most carefully executed by Mr. F. Compton Price, and can be relied upon as an exact copy of the original. As regards the *Regius M.S.*, the reproduction is page for page; but the two other *fac-similes* have assumed a shape slightly differing from the originals, owing to the exigencies of space, *i.e.*, the columns are not broken at the same place, and the text does not, therefore, as in the poem, accurately represent the actual size of the manuscript.

It is both a duty and a pleasure before concluding these prefatory remarks, to refer in grateful terms to the good feeling and generosity evinced by Bro. H. J. Whymper towards this Lodge, of which, to the great satisfaction of us all, he has since become a member. Our intention to undertake the present reprint had not long been announced, when Bro. Whymper

* *Doc. Inéd. sur l'Hist. de France.—Le Livre des Métiers (Boileau)*. A translation, with notes, was given in Moore's *Freemasons' Monthly Mag.*—Boston, U.S.A.—May, 1863.

† Chap. iv.—The Craft Guilds (*Corps D'Etat*) of France.

‡ It is not a little remarkable, that an ordinance issued by John II., in 1350 (after the Great Plague), bears a close resemblance in date, purport, and actuating cause, to the English Statutes of Labourers—23 and 25 Edw. III.—enacted in 1349 and 1350, 51. cf. *Hist.*, i. 208.

§ Transactions, R.I.B.A., III., N.S. || *Archæologia*, xxviii., 444.

P.D. Dis. G.M. Punjab, who was, unknown to us, engaged in bringing out a *fac-simile* of the poem, in the original size and binding, became aware of our project. He at once communicated with our Secretary, expressing regret at having incurred the appearance of wishing to forestall the Lodge, and stating that his transfers (the most costly and difficult part of the undertaking) were almost completed. These transfers he not only placed at our disposal, thereby lessening our toil, but he also refused to allow us in any way to share the expense to which he had been put in their preparation. Bro. Whymper was undoubtedly the first in the field, and had he shown any annoyance at the *contretemps*, we could scarcely have blamed him. The truly fraternal manner, therefore, in which he allowed us to reap the benefit of his own very arduous labours, fully merits the hearty acknowledgments of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge—hereby expressed by me on its behalf.

In the succeeding pages, I have found it convenient to intersperse with the actual commentary, some short studies, or dissertations, upon certain marked features of the Regius MS. These, being all more or less digressions, are therefore so entitled, though it is hoped, that in each case, what may appear at a first glance to be extraneous matter, will be found, on a closer view, to be not only germane to the inquiry, but also to be, to some considerable extent, elucidatory of the text. But whether the general structure of the poem, the York Legend, and the traditionary history of the Masons' Craft, are subjects demanding the special treatment they have received, is a question which I shall leave, though not without some confidence as to the result, for the readers of ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM to determine.

A COMMENTARY ON THE REGIUS MS.

"Take pains the genuine meaning to explore;
There sweat, there strain; tug the laborious oar;
Search every comment that your care can find;
Some here, some there, may hit the poet's mind.
Where things appear unnatural and hard,
Consult your author with himself compared."—*Roscommon.*

THE MS., Bibl. Reg. 17 A.—or Regius MS.—conveys the idea, at a first view, of being separated into two great divisions, one terminating at line 496, and the other going on to the end of the poem. But when you look more closely into the matter, the absence of either continuity or connection makes itself felt, and it is at once apparent that the compiler has both collected and transcribed from many sources, but without taking the trouble to attach any real thread of union to the collections or transcripts, of which his verses are made up.

The first of the collections—by which I mean the portions of his *codex* where it is alone possible that the writer has clothed the information he imparts to us in his own rythmic composition—extends to line 470, and comprises a fragment of legendary history, including allusions to Euclid and Athelstan, and enumerations of the fifteen Articles and Points respectively.

At line 471 we meet with—ALIA ORDINACIO ARTIS GEMETRIA. This, by the abrupt manner in which it begins and ends, has been clearly interpolated here from some other legend, as it cannot possibly be pieced on either to what precedes or to what comes after it. In lines 471-96, we have therefore a second fragmentary legend, mutilated and imperfect.

After this (*line* 487) comes ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM, and whether this third legend (or tradition) is connected with its immediate precursor, and whether if so, these two have become disjoined from the first legend of all, and properly form part of it, or are really distinct though imperfect forms—confusedly arranged—are points upon which opinions will differ.

ALIA ORDINACIO has four lines (487-90) which, said our late Bro. Woodford,* are very noteworthy and seemingly a quotation from a speech of the King (Athelstan), or a portion of the actual charter. According to the same authority, "If the slip of parchment once in the possession of Bro. Woolley, of York, and seen as late as 1829 or 1830, by Mr. Wallbran, ever turns up, it will probably be a Guild Charter by Athelstan—a giver of Charters."

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM, which may be regarded as the third milestone on the track we are now pursuing, brings us down to line 534, after which comes—lines 535-76—a still older legend of the Guild, beginning with Noah and the Flood, continuing with the tower of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar and Euclid, and ending with a recital of the seven arts and sciences.

The fifth division of the poem, which is mainly a set of directions as to behaviour in church, and is in great part extracted from "Mirks' Instructions for Parish Priests," begins at line 577 and ends at line 692.

The sixth and last part of the MS.—lines 693-794—is almost word for word with "Urbanitatis," a poem dealing with conduct at meals and before superiors, and which enjoins strict habits of propriety and cleanliness.

Having given an outline of the Masonic poem, my next task will be to fill it in, to the extent that I am capable of doing, and this will be best attempted by dealing with the component parts *seriatim*, which I shall proceed to do.

The legendary history, however, though lying somewhat scattered throughout the metrical compilation, I shall treat as a whole. The opening narrative bears a close resemblance to the second legend in the Cooke MS.—where there is also a variation of the traditionary history.—The "old boke" (*l* 2) I assume to have been some early form of the manuscript constitutions, a conclusion strengthened by the circumstance that in the "History" of immediate juniority,† we meetwith the expression "boke of chargys," which as it can leave no doubt in the mind with regard to its meaning in one *codex*, will materially aid our judgment in determining the actual import of almost identical words in the other.

The plurality of legendary narratives that is met with in both exemplars of the group of

* At the last Masonic conference I ever had with my lamented friend, the present Commentary was the occasion of our then meeting, and the entire subject of our discourse.

† Cooke MS., first legend, *l.* 534.

documents, to which I have assigned the highest place as MSS. of the Craft, demands our attention and for the following reason.

The fact that the manuscript constitutions are not elsewhere referred to in any literature that has come down to us of the 14th and 15th centuries, than in the Regius and Cooke MSS is no proof that but few copies were in existence at those periods.

Not to speak of the slow and silent, but incessant operation of time, assisted by damp and other auxiliaries, through which manuscripts were constantly being destroyed, there was an immense consumption of them after the invention of printing; vast numbers of beautiful and ancient manuscripts were used for backs and bands, fly-leaves, and even covers by the bookbinders.

The frequency of this practice is incontestible, though the evidence in support of it is gradually disappearing, owing to the books so bound having been principally those published during the first century of printing, and therefore the volumes themselves have now become comparatively scarce.*

"Whole libraries were destroyed, or made waste paper of, or consumed for the vilest uses. The splendid and magnificent Abbey of Malmesbury, which possessed some of the finest manuscripts in the Kingdom, was ransacked, and its treasures either sold or burnt to serve the commonest purposes of life. An antiquary who travelled through that town, many years after the dissolution, relates that he saw broken windows patched up with remnants of the most valuable MSS, on vellum, and that the bakers had not even then consumed the stores they had accumulated, in heating the ovens."†

In France, the devastation was even on a larger scale, and so deficient are the memorials there, that (to use the words of a famous writer) "the only knowledge we possess concerning the destruction of the six episcopal sees of Gascony, arises from an incidental allusion in a charter."‡

FIRST DIGRESSION

[ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE POEM, AND A PART OF THE LEGENDARY HISTORY.]

Warton tells us, in his history of English Poetry§—"There can be no doubt that the works we possess do not fairly represent the actual literature. We know that for many centuries after the Conquest, books written in the old language were considered as waste parchment, and utilized accordingly; and that great havoc was made among the monastic libraries at the Reformation. The consequence is, that many of the finest poems are mere fragments, and those that are preserved have escaped destruction by a series of lucky chances, and, with a few trifling exceptions, are preserved only in single manuscripts." Of the early Anglo-Saxon poems that survive, we learn from the same writer that several were certainly composed before the German colonization of Britain, while the greater number of the rest (with equal certainty) were composed in Northumbria. From this he concludes, "That as literature was first cultivated in the North, there is an *à priori* probability in the case of all the older poems that they were either composed by Northumbrians, or at least first written down in Northumbria.|| Here, of course, the allusion is to *MSS.* in rhythmical form, but the characteristics of all the Anglo-Saxon poetry, including the unwritten (or larger) portion of it, were identical, and must, therefore, have borne the same Northern impress.

Whether our Masonic traditions had their origin in those early times, and passed from mouth to mouth by song and recitation, until the 13th (or 14th) century, though matter for interesting speculation can be carried no further, but their strophic texture when we first meet with them is at least worthy of our attention.

It is also a curious circumstance, and deserves to be recorded, that most of the minstrels are represented to have been of the North of England. There is scarce an old historical song or ballad wherein a minstrel or harper appears, but he is characterised by way of eminence to have been "of the North Countrye," and, indeed, the prevalence of the northern dialect in such compositions shows that this representation is real.¶

The chronology and authorship of the Regius MS. I shall be fain to leave very much in the dark, though I trust not quite in the total gloom in which I find them. A sufficiency of evidence will presently be adduced, to justify a strong presumption that the Masonic poem, like the others of early date, was of Northumbrian origin, but my remarks under this head will be deferred until we reach that part of the narrative where King Athelstan is made to figure as a patron and protector of the Masonic body.

* Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, 281. † *Ibid.*
‡ Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England*, i., 425.
§ Edit. by W. C. Hazlitt, 1871, ii., 7. || *Ibid.*
¶ Essay on the Ancient Minstrels in England.—Percy, *Reliques of Anc. Eng. Poetry*, i., xli.

But as in some degree anticipatory of that inquiry, in which I shall attempt to show that some leading incidents of the Craft Legend could have had no other source of origin than Saxon Northumbria, I shall proceed to examine a special feature of the Regius MS.—its poetic form—by which it is distinguished from all the other ancient writings wherein a History of Masonry is related.

According to an authority of great weight and reputation :—It was long before mankind knew the art of writing, but they very early invented several methods, to supply, in a good measure, that want. The method most commonly used was, to compose their histories in verse and sing them. Legislators made use of this expedient to consign and hand down to posterity their regulations. The first laws of all nations were composed in verse and sung. We have certain proof that the first laws of Greece were a kind of songs. The laws of the ancient inhabitants of Spain were verses, which they sung. Tuiston was regarded by the Germans as their first lawgiver. They said, he put his laws into verses and songs. This ancient custom was long kept up by several nations.*

The usages of the ancient Germans are also referred to, but with greater minuteness, by Sir Francis Palgrave, who observes :—It cannot be ascertained that any of the Teutonic nations reduced their customs into writing, until the influence of increasing civilization rendered it expedient to depart from their primeval usages ; but an aid to the recollection was often afforded, as amongst the Britons, by poetry, or by the condensation of the maxim or principle in proverbial or antithetical sentences, like the Cymbric triads. The marked alliteration of the Anglo-Saxon laws is to be referred to this cause, and in the Frisic laws several passages are evidently written in verse. From hence also may originate those quaint and pithy rhymes in which the doctrines of the law of the old time are not unfrequently recorded. Thus, the Kentishman asserted the liberty of his gavel-kind tenure, by the rude distich of "*The vader to the bowghe—and the son to the ploughe.*" He redeemed his lands from the Lord by repeating, as it was said in the language of his ancestors, "*Nighon sithe yeld—and nighon sithe geld—and vif pund for the were—ere he become healdere.*" The forest verse, "*Dog draw—stable stand—back berend—and bloody hand,*" justified the verderer in his summary execution of the offender. And in King Athelstan's grant to the good men of Beverley, and inscribed beneath his effigy in the minster, *Als fre—mak I the—as heart may think—or eigh may see,*" we have, perhaps, the ancient form of enfranchisement or manumission.†

It is evident, however, that the language of this charter has either been modernized and corrupted by successive transcriptions, or the instrument itself is a forgery of much later date, as will duly appear in the sequel. The technical forms and proceedings of the Scandinavians, like the maxims of the law, appear to have been originally framed in verse or metre. Under the Anglo-Saxons, when the defendant was brought before the Folk-mote, the legal forms were declared or announced in poetry or rhythm. The oaths also, were couched in a kind of easy alliterative rhythm—prose flowing into irregular verse ; enough to aid the memory and to guide the ear, though not circumscribed by any regular metre.

A rhythmical oath was similarly taken by candidates on becoming members of the Holy Vehme, and in the Free Field Court of Corbey, the form of opening the Court was by a metrical dialogue between the Frohner and the Graff.‡

In the words of the same authority, "Notwithstanding the labours of Augustine, it is to be suspected that the ancient wedding form is yet retained in our ritual, when the wife is taken "to have and to hold—for better for worse—in sickness and health—to love and to cherish—till death do us part."§ A supposition, indeed, having much to recommend it, the more especially as in the older marriage forms, the rhythm is more strongly marked than in that which is now in use.

It is probable that the earliest poetry of the Anglo-Saxons consisted of single strophes, each narrating, or rather alluding to, some exploit of a hero or god, or expressing some single sentiment, generally of a proverbial or gnomic character. Such is the poetry of savage nations. The next stage is to combine these strophes into connected groups. The third to abandon the strophic arrangement altogether.‖

In the Masonic poem we are hardly carried beyond the second stage, and it is the one in which a comparison with the Anglo-Saxon verse will be most easily and profitably conducted.

* Goguet, *Origine des Lois, des Arts, et des Sciences*, 1758, i., 26, 27. "Apollo, according to a very ancient tradition, was one of the first legislators. The same tradition says, that he published his laws to the sound of his lyre, thereby implying that he had set them to music."—*Ibid.*

† *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, i., 42, 43.

‡ *Ibid*, ii., cxxxiii., *et seqq.*

§ *Ibid*, cccxxv.

‖ Sweet, *Hist. Anglo-Saxon Poetry.*—Warton ii., 8., *ut supr.*

This will take us back to the heroic song in which the *scôp** or poet related the venerable traditions of the fore-world to the chieftains assembled on the "mead-bench," and to a state of society when all literary genius centres in one person, the minstrel, who equally composed and sang.†

A skill in poetry seems in some measure to have been a national science among the Scandinavians, but the exercise of the talent was properly confined to a stated profession. With their poetry the Goths imported into Europe a species of poets or singers, whom they called Scalds—a word that denotes smoothers and polishers of language.‡

These Scandinavian bards were esteeemed and entertained in other countries besides their own, and may by that means have communicated their fictions to various parts of Europe.

The Northern scalds are said to have constantly frequented the courts of the British, Scottish, and Irish chieftains, but that their tales flourished among the Saxons, who became possessors of England in the sixth century, may be justly presumed.§

As literature gained ground among the Anglo-Saxons, poetry no longer remained a separate science. The profession of bard gradually declined, and in the place of the old scalds (or scôps) a new rank of poets arose called gleemen, || or harpers, from which came the order of English minstrels, who flourished until the 16th century.

From their general diffusion it has been suggested that the scaldic inventions, even if they did not take deep root in continental Europe, must at least have prepared the way for the more easy admission of the Arabian fabling about the 9th century, by which they were, however, in great measure superseded.

It is probable that many of the scaldic imaginations may have become blended with the Arabian fictions, and there is also ground for belief that the Gothic scalds enriched their vein of fabling from this new and fertile source, opened by the Moors in Spain, and afterwards propagated by the Crusades.¶

The minstrel poets of the Anglo-Saxons had, by degrees, composed a large mass of national poetry, which formed collectively one grand mythic cycle. Their education consisted chiefly in committing this poetry to memory, and it was thus preserved from age to age. They rehearsed such portions of it as might be asked for by the hearers, or as the circumstances of the moment might require, for it seems certain that they were in the habit of singing detached scenes even of particular poems, just as we are told was done with the works of Homer in the earlier times of Greece.

The practice of singing detached pieces accounts for the fragments of larger poems which are found in manuscripts. In their passage from one minstrel to another, these poems underwent successive changes; and since the poetry belonged to the whole class, without being severally known as the work of this or that individual, it happens that all the Anglo-Saxon national poetry is anonymous.**

During the long period which elapsed before this poetry was committed to writing, it was preserved almost entirely by the memory, and when this faculty is exercised and disciplined as it was by the minstrels and scholars of that day, its power of retaining and preserving is perfectly wonderful. Yet it is clear that, even in the twelfth century, when the Anglo-Saxon literature was rapidly falling into neglect, some songs composed by Aldheim four centuries before, were still preserved in the memory of the people.

The natural result of the mode of transmission was, that the original compositions were considerably disfigured in their passage from one reciter to another, and the more so, because the persons by whom they were chiefly preserved, were often themselves professed minstrels, and therefore more likely to adulterate them. Moreover, each minstrel sang in the dialect which he himself spoke. Sometimes, too, he forgot a few lines, or a long passage, and the poem became imperfect; sometimes he lost a line or a word, and was obliged to make one to supply its place, or to borrow one which his memory might supply from some other poem; and at other times he might change particular passages, more especially the introductions to poems, to suit the occasion, or to please his own fancy.

* Scope.—(A.S. *scôp.*) Minstrel, singer, poet; the invariable attendant of the feasts.—Garnett, *Beowulf*, xl.; see, Thorpe, Anglo-Saxon Poems of *Beowulf*, *The Scôp or Gleeman's Tale*, and The *Fight at Finnesburg*.

† Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.* i., 1, 2.

‡ Percy, *Rel. Anc. Eng. Poet.* i., xx.

§ Warton, i., 117, *et seqq*; Hickes, *Thesaur*, i., 101.

|| *Gleeman* answers to the Latin, *Joculator*. Fabyan, in his account of Bledgaret, an ancient British King famous for his skill in poetry and music, calls him "a cunnynge musician, the whiche, for his excellence in that facultie, was called of the Brytons God of Gleemen."—Chron. Eng. and France, edit. 1811, 29.

¶ Warton, i., 136, 137.

** Wright, i., 6, 7.

The manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon poetry abound in every kind of defect, and these faults are mostly of such a nature as to show that their contents must have been taken down from recitation.*

The popular literature of the Normans in France and England previous to the twelfth century, is totally unknown to us. However, as nearly the whole of it must have been confined to the jongleurs, who were at the same time authors and minstrels, and as it was probably seldom or never committed to writing, we have no difficulty in accounting for its loss. We know that there were jongleurs in Normandy at an early period, and that they followed their patrons into England. But we only become acquainted with their compositions at a later period.†

The jongleurs were, in the middle ages, an order of men who, uniting the art of poetry with that of music, sang on different instruments, either verses of their own composition, or that of others. Often the songs and gesticulations were accompanied by feats of legerdemain, with which they amused the spectators, and from this, no doubt, was derived their name of *jongleors*, *jugleoours*, *juglers*, and *jongleurs*, from the Latin word *joculator*.

Before the conquest of England by the Normans, the Anglo-Saxons named the jongleurs, *gleemen*, that is, men of music, or musicians, but after the Conquest the Anglo-Normans gave them the name of jongleurs, which they altered in various ways. In the theatre, the jongleurs took the name of mimics (*mimes*) and buffoons (*histrions*), when, however, they introduced stories (*contes*) or recitals (*dicts ou dicties*) with their songs, people called them *conteors*, *conteours*, or *conteurs*, and *diseurs*.

Often, also, they were called *fableors*, *fableours*, and *fabliers*, because they recited tales in verse (*fabliaux*) ; *gesteours*, or *gesteurs*, because they chanted of Romance, to which they had themselves given the name of *chansons de gestes* ; and *harpeours*, or *harpeurs*, because they accompanied their songs with the harp. Lastly, as they marched frequently in bands (or companies), they were then styled *menestrels* or *menestriers*, and by the Anglo-Normans, *minstrels*.‡

From another authority I extract the following :—As the minstrels' art consisted of several branches the professors were distinguished by different denominations, as *rimours*, *chanterres*, *conteors*, *jugleours* or *jongleurs*, *jestours*, *lecours*, and *troubadours*, or *trouvers*,§—in modern language, rhymers, singers, story-tellers, jugglers, relaters of heroic actions, buffoons, and poets—but all of them were included in the general name of minstrel. The trouvers may be said to have embellished their productions with rhyme, while the conteours related their histories in prose.

It is, however, very certain that the poet, the songster, and the musician, were frequently united in the same person.

The *conteours* and the *jestours* who were also called *dissours*, and *seggers* or *sayers*, in English, were literally *tale-tellers*, who recited either their own compositions or those of others, consisting of popular tales and romances, for the entertainment of public companies on occasions of joy and festivity.‖

In the life of Alexander, an anonymous poem, *temp.* Edward II., there appears the following well-known old rhyme, which paints the manners of the time, and is, perhaps, the true reading :¶

> Swithe mury hit is in halle
> When the *burdes wawen alle.*—*l.* 1163.

But in another place is to be fonnd what has more to do with the subject in hand :

> Mury hit is in halle to here the harpe
> The mynstrall syngith, theo jogolour carpith.—*l.* 5990.

From this it would appear that the minstrels and juglers were distinct characters, and Chaucer mentions "*minstrels* and *eke joglours*;"** but they are often confounded or made the same.†† The same poet, also, in the following passage, by *gestiours*, does not mean jesters in modern signification, but writers of adventures :

> Al maner of mynstralles
> And gestiours, that tellen tales
> Both of wepinge and of game.—*House of Fame.*

* Wright 21—23. † *Ibid*, ii., xiv. ‡ De La Rue (Abbé), *Essais Historiq. sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères, Normands et Anglo-Normands* (1834), i., 103.

§ In the Latin, MINISTERELLUS, or *ministrallus*, is also called *mimus*, *mimicus*, *histrio*, *joculator*, *versificator*, and *scurra*. ‖ Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, 135—37.

¶ Warton, ii. 209, *ubi supr.* ** *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 764.

†† Warton, ii., 210. In some instances, however, *mimi*, *joculatores*, *lusores*, and *citharistae*, all seem alternately, and at different times, to have exercised the same arts of popular entertainment.—*Ibid*, 97. It is likewise positively affirmed in the *Essay on the Ancient Minstrels*, to which I have previously referred, that all the different names were given indiscriminately.—Percy, *Rel. Eng. Poet.* lxix. That there was a union of talents, at least frequently, also appears from Fauchet, *Origine de la Langue et Poesie Françoise* (1581), i., ch. viii., 72. cf, Strutt, *supra*.

That is, those who sang or recited adventures, either tragic or comic, which excited either compassion or laughter.*

The *jugglers* appear to have practised legerdemain, which was a popular science in Chaucer's time. Thus in the *Squire's Tale* we have :

As jogelours pleyen at this festes grete.

It was an appendage of the occult sciences, studied and introduced into Europe by the Arabians.†

It was customary with the Norman Kings, and the usage prevailed among the other northern nations, to sit at meat attended by their bards, who accompanied the notes of the harp with their voice; singing the great and heroic acts of their patron, or his predecessors.‡ Thus, says an old historian,§ we owe the finding of the tomb and bones of Arthur (the British king), to the curiosity of Henry II.; before whom a Welsh harper playing, in his song declared that the body of that royal Briton, lay entombed at Glastonbury, between two pillars, which place being opened by king Henry's order, it was duly found.‖

In the same way, the most dignified ecclesiastics were amused and entertained, by songs and recitals of an historical or legendary character, hence it was not deemed an occurrence unworthy to be recorded, that when Adam de Orleton, bishop of Winchester, visited his Cathedral Priory of Saint Swithin in that city, a minstrel was introduced, who sang the *Song of Colbrond*, a Danish giant, and the tale of *Queen Emma delivered from the ploughshares*, in the hall of the prior, in the year 1338.¶

The king's minstrel was an office of rank in the courts of the Northern monarchs, and bore the title of KING or Chief of the minstrels. This officer is named in an account of the fifth year of Edward I., and again in a like record, dated the fourth year of Edward II., when in company with various minstrels, he exhibited before the King and his court, then held at York, and received forty marks to be distributed by him among the fraternity.**

A safe conduct to cross the seas, was granted to the *Rex Minstrallorum*, by Richard II.; it being an ancient custom for minstrels and heralds to repair to foreign courts on great festivals and solemn occasions.††

A learned French antiquary was of opinion, that anciently the French heralds, called Hiraux, were the same as the minstrels, and that they sung metrical tales at festivals.‡‡ Heralds were necessarily connected with the minstrels at public entertainments, and must therefore have acquired a facility of reciting adventures ; and of the former receiving fees or largess in common with the latter, there are ample proofs.§§

In the fourth year of Richard II., John of Gaunt erected at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, a court of minstrels similar to that kept at Chester,‖‖ and which like a Court-leet, or Court-baron, had a legal jurisdiction.¶¶

The *Joculator Regis*, or king's juggler, was also an officer of note in the royal household, and we find from Domesday Book, that *Berdic*, who held that appointment in the reign of the Conqueror, was a man of property. In the succeeding century, or soon afterwards, the title of *Rex Juglatorum*, or king of the jugglers, was conferred upon the chief performer of the company. Both the office and the title were retained in the royal household until the time of Henry VIII.***

In the reign of Stephen there arose a new class of *trouvères* (or poets), who took their subjects from national history.

Richard I. prided himself on his poetic talents, and he was the patron of jongleurs and trouvères, whose works, as far as we are now acquainted with them, became more numerous at this period.

* *Ibid*, 85, 334 ; Chaucer, edit. Morris, v., 245, ver. 107.

† E.E.T.S. xxx., 34.

‡ Strutt, *Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of England*, ii., 20.

§ William of Malmsbury, in *Antiq. Eccles. Glast.*

‖ This, and what follows in the text, will be hereafter relied upon, also a further citation, which I subjoin :—Edward III. established at Windsor a fraternity of twenty-four Knights, for whom he erected a round table, according to a similar institution of King Arthur. Anstis treats the notion, that Edward had any retrospect to King Arthur, as an idle and legendary tradition. But the fame of Arthur was still kept alive, and however idle and ridiculous the fables of the round table *may appear at present*, they were *then* not only universally known, but firmly believed.—Warton, ii., 236.

¶ These were local stories. Guy fought and conquered Colbrond, a Danish champion, just without the northern walls of the City of Winchester, in a meadow to this day called Danemarche : and Colbrond's battle-axe was kept in the treasury of St. Swithin's priory till the dissolution.—Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i., 211. Queen Emma was a patroness of the cathedral, in which she underwent the trial of walking blindfold over nine red-hot ploughshares.—Warton, ii., 97.

** Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, 146.

†† Anstis, *Reg. Ord. Gart.* i., 303.

‡‡ Carpentier, *suppl.* Ducange, *Gloss.*

§§ Warton, ii., 290 ; Anstis, *Reg. Ord. Gart.* i., 56, 108.

‖‖ *Infra*, p. 8.

¶¶ Percy, *Rel. Anc. Eng. Poet.* xxxvi.

*** *Ibid*, xciii.

Some of these trouvères were monks, and cannot in strictness be termed minstrels, as they did not recite their own works, but committed them to memory, a practice also observed by the clergy at this time.*

William, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor to Richard I., invited to his master's court many minstrels or troubadours from France, whom he loaded with honours and rewards. These poets imported into England a great multitude of their tales and songs; which before or about the reign of Edward II. became familiar and popular among our ancestors, who were sufficiently acquainted with the French language.†

It is well-known that Edward I., while he was yet heir to the throne, and in the Holy Land, was attended by a *citharœdus* or harper; and it has been conjectured, that he contracted a love for this instrument, in some of those expeditions into Wales, which he undertook in the lifetime of his father. On the same authority, it is related that the harper referred to, succeeded in killing the assassin who stabbed Edward with a poisoned knife at Ptolemais.‡ After this, the reported massacre of the Welsh bards by the same King has a fabulous ring, and appears to be wholly destitute of foundation.

In the reign of Edward II., owing to the privileges they enjoyed, and the long continuance of public favour, many persons assumed the character of minstrels, to the disgrace of the profession. To restrain this evil an Ordinance was enacted A.D. 1315, which ordains that "if any one do against [it], at the first tyme he [is] to lose his minstrelsie, and at the second tyme to foresweare his craft, and never to be received for a mynstrel in any house."§

At the coronation of Henry V. the number of Harpers in Westminster Hall was very considerable, and these undoubtedly accompanied their instruments with heroic rhymes.‖

The Ordinance of A.D. 1315, must have proved ineffectual, for we find the same grievances recurring under Edward IV., who accordingly granted a charter—A.D. 1469—by which he created, or rather restored, a "perpetual Fraternity or Guild," such as the king understood the brothers and sisters of the fraternity of minstrels to have possessed in former time. This was placed under a marshal,¶ appointed for life, and two wardens, who were empowered to admit brothers and sisters into the Guild, to regulate, govern, and also to punish, when requisite, all such as exercised the profession of minstrels throughout the kingdom.**

The establishment, or confirmation, of a Guild or confraternity of minstrels, at Beverley, in 1555, by a local ordinance, shows that the ancient governors of that town, had not lost the relish for merriment and song, which characterised their Saxon ancestors.

If any reliance may be placed in the preamble to this instrument "from the tyme of kyng Athelstone of famous memorie, all or the more part of the mynstralls ∴ dwelling or serving ∴ between the rivers of Trent and Twede," were in the custom of visiting Beverley annually, at the Rogation days, in order to choose "one alderman, with stewards and deputies, authorized to take names, and to receyve customable dueties of the bretherin of the sade mynstralls fraternytie."††

Later in the century, the minstrels appear to have forfeited a great deal of their popularity, since we find in an act against vagrants, passed in the 39th year of Queen Elizabeth, that they are included among the rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, which this statute was intended to repress, and subjected to like punishments.

It merits attention, that both by the charter of Edward IV., and the law of Queen Elizabeth, as well as by the stat. 17 Geo. II. c. 5., certain privileges are reserved to the minstrels of Cheshire, derived from grant, prescription, or lawful usage.

The rights or immunities which the Parliament of Great Britain has shown itself so tender of infringing, is founded on an event, of which the following relation is to be met with in the works cited below.‡‡

* Wright, ii., xxi. † Warton, ii., 109. ‡ Gale, *Angl. Script. Vet.*, ii., 591.

§ Leland, *Collectanea* app. vi. 36, 37.

‖ Warton, iii., 40. The Abbé Le Gendre, in his description of a Feast, on the occasion of a coronation, observes:—Il y avoit l'Après dinée, *Pesche, Jeu, Chasse, Danseurs de Corde, Plaisantins, Jongleurs, Pantomimes.* Les Plaisantins faisoient des contes, les Jongleurs jouoient de la vielle, et les Pantomimes par leur Gestes representoient des comedies.—*Moeurs et Coutumes des François*, 24.

¶ Hereby putting an end to the office and title of King of the Minstrels,—for a copy of the charter appointing whom, see Blount's *Law Dict.*, s.v. *King*.

** The charter is printed in full, in Rymer, *Fœd.* xi., 642, and Hawkins, *Hist. of Music*, 695. Charles I. granted a charter to some of the most eminent musicians, by the style of marshal, wardens, and cominalty of the arte and science of Musick. This was revived at the Restoration—15 Jul. 11 Car. II.—and recites the charter of Edw. IV. The corporation is now extinct, but its "Orders for regulating the Arte and Science of Musique," from Oct. 22, 1661, to July 29, 1679, are to be found in Harl. MS., 1911, f. 43.

†† Poulson, *Beverlac*, 302.

‡‡ Leycester, *Hist. Antiq. Cheshire*, ii. ch. vi.: Blount, *Ancient Tenures of Land made public*, 156.

In the time of King John, Randle the third, surnamed Blundevil, Earl of Chester, having many conflicts with the Welsh was at last distressed by them, and forced to retreat to the castle of Rothelent in Flintshire, where they beseiged him, who presently sent to his constable of Chester, Roger Lacy, surnamed Hell, for his fierce spirit, that he would come with all speed, and bring what forces he could for his relief. Roger having gathered a tumultuous rout of Fiddlers, Players, Cobblers, and debauched persons, both men and women, out of the City of Chester (for it was then the fair there), marched immediately with them to the Earl.* The Welsh, perceiving a great multitude coming, raised the siege and fled. The Earl coming back with his Constable to Chester, gave him power over all the Fiddlers and Shoemakers of Chester, in reward and memory of his service.

The story goes on to say that John, son of the Constable, conferred the authority over the profligates of both sexes on his steward, one Dutton of Dutton.

Another account has, that the Earl granted, to Lacy, by Charter, the patronage and authority over the minstrels and the loose and inferior people, who, retaining to himself that of the lower artificers, conferred on Dutton the jurisdiction of the minstrels and harlots.†

The right of licensing these two classes remained in the same family, and was successfully vindicated in a court of law in the fourteenth year of Henry VIII.

Blount observes: "The heirs of Henry de Dutton, *at this day* [1679], keep a court every year upon the feast of St. John Baptist, at Chester, being the fair day, when all the minstrels of the county and city, do attend and play before the Lord of Dutton upon their several instruments.‡

Many of the metrical romances were preserved orally by successive jongleurs, and when committed to writing they differed much from the original copy. This is the reason that different manuscripts of the earlier romances, taken down from the recital of different persons, vary so much from one another, as in the case of the Chanson de Roland.§

The Latin MSS. of the twelfth century contain many allusions to the existence of the jongleurs and trouvères, but it was not until the thirteenth century that their compositions were preserved in writing; and then their history in England becomes more complicated, because a more purely national literature was springing up, in which the other was gradually merged.‖

The art of the minstrel seems, from very early times, not only to have found much favour among the clergy, but to have been cultivated by them to the prejudice of those spiritual functions which they were more particularly called upon to discharge.

Thus, in the Saxon canons given by King Edgar, A.D. 769, it is ordered, that no priest shall be a poet, or exercise the mimical or histrionical art in any degree, either in public or private.¶ But as in the King's address to Dunstan, the primate, on the same occasion, the *mimi* (or minstrels) are said both to sing and dance,** the prohibition was scarcely an unreasonable one. *Mimus* seems sometimes to have signified The Fool, but more frequently a mimic or gesticulator.†† After the conquest, however, metrical compositions penetrated into the service of the church, and there is in existence a homily or exhortation on the Lord's prayer, in verse, written before A.D. 1200,‡‡ and during the same century England had seen an English sermon in regular rhyme.§§

In the British Museum there is a set of legendary tales in rhyme (of about A.D. 1300), which appear to have been solemnly pronounced by the priest to the people on Sundays and holidays.‖‖ This sort of poetry was also sung to the harp by the minstrels, instead of the romantic subjects usual at public entertainments.¶¶ Legends of the saints, it may be observed, were sung (or recited) in the same way at feasts.***

The old preachers, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, in general made great use in their sermons of stories and fables. Among the Harleian MSS. (Brit. Mus.) there is a very ancient collection of two hundred and fifteen stories, romantic, allegorical, religious, and legendary, which were evidently compiled by a professed preacher for the use of monastic

* It seems that the Earl had rendered himself famous by his prowess, and that his exploits were celebrated in rhymes and songs down to the time of Richard II. Of this, a proof will shortly be given in the text.

† Percy, *Rel. Anc. Eng. Poet*, xxxiii.

‡ *Ancient Tenures. loc. cit.* The story is also related by Daniel King, in his *Vale-Royall of England*. ii., 29.

§ Wright, ii., xxi. ‖ *Ibid*, xxii. ¶ Spelman, *Concil*, i., 455.

** *I bid.* 477. Carpentier mentions a "Joculator qui sciebat tombare, *to tumble.*"—*suppl.* Ducange, *Gloss.*

†† Warton, i., 132. ‡‡ Printed in E.E.T.S., xxix., 55.

§§ *Standard English*, 77, 79; see Morris, *Specimens of Early English.*, i, where some "Sunday Sermons" in verse, of (*about*) 1330, are given. ‖‖ Harl. MS., 2391. ¶¶ Warton, ii., 62.

*** See *Life of St. Marine, Virgin*—Harl. MS., 2253.

societies. Some of these appear to have been committed to writing from the recital of bards and minstrels, and others to have been invented and written by troubadours and monks.*

The minstrels were always welcome visitors at the religious houses, and a friar in "Pierce Plowman" (*about* A.D. 1377) is said to be much better acquainted with the "Rimes of Robin Hood," and "Randal, Erle of Chester," than with his Pater-noster.

It appears that the minstrels sometimes shaved the crowns of their heads like the monks, and also assumed an ecclesiastical habit; this was probably an external garment only, and used when they travelled from place to place.† The following anecdote will show that the ecclesiastics and the mimics were not always readily distinguished from each other.

Wood relates a story of two itinerant priests coming toward night to a cell of Benedictines, near Oxford, where, on a supposition of their being mimes, or minstrels, they gained admittance. But the cellarer, sacrist, and others of the brethren, hoping to have been entertained with their *gesticulatoriis ludicrisque artibus*, and finding them to be nothing more than two indigent ecclesiastics who could only administer spiritual consolation, and being consequently disappointed of their mirth, beat them and turned them out of the monastery.‡

This shows, clearly enough, that at the period in question, as in more enlightened times, the people loved better to be pleased than to be instructed. It will, therefore, occasion no surprise that during the middle ages the minstrels were often more amply paid than the clergy. In the year 1430, at the annual feast of the fraternity of the Holy Cross, at Abingdon, twelve priests each received four pence for singing a dirge, and the same number of minstrels were rewarded each with two shillings and four pence, beside diet and horse-meat.§ In 1441, eight priests were hired from Coventry to assist in celebrating a yearly obit in the priory of Maxtoke; as were six minstrels, called *mimi*, to sing, harp, and play, in the hall of the monastery. Two shillings were given to the priests and four to the minstrels, and the latter are said to have supped in *camera picta*, or the painted chamber of the convent, with the sub-prior.‖

It is worthy of our attention that the *status* of the secular clergy¶ at this time was by no means a high one. In 1362, Edward III., on the complaint of the Commons that priests had become very dear after the pestilence, ordained that no secular man of the realm should pay more than five marks to a chaplain or six to a priest, as wages for a year.** This law is cited in the stat. 2, Hen. V., c. ii., by which the yearly wages of chaplains and priests were not to exceed seven and eight marks respectively, in each case "for board, apparel, and other necessaries." It was frequently contended that chaplains came within the purview of the Statute of Labourers, but this statute was always held to apply only to those who worked with thir hands.†† In an action against one of this class, it was decided that the writ was not maintainable by the statute, "for you cannot compel a chaplain to sing at mass, for at one time he is disposed to sing, and another not; therefore you cannot compel him by the statute.‡‡ It will be seen further on that the amusements of the humbler ecclesiastics of those early days, as well as their social position, are of some importance.

After the crusades, in the romances, the Soldans and the cities of Egypt and Syria became the favourite topics.§§

The troubadours of Provence, many of whom accompanied their barons to Palestine, are said to have picked up there numberless extravagant stories, and at their return enriched romance with an infinite variety of oriental scenes and actions.‖‖

In the meantime we should recollect that the Saracens or Arabians, the same people who were the object of the crusades, had acquired an establishment in Spain about the ninth century; and that by means of this earlier intercourse many of their fictions and fables, together with their literature, must have been known in Europe before the Christian armies invaded Asia.¶¶

It has been imagined that the first romances were composed in metre, and sung to the harp by the poets of Provence at festive solemnities; though an attempt has been made to prove that the French troubadours acquired their art from the bards of Normandy, which

* Harl. MSS. 463. See further, *Latin stories of the 13th and 14th centuries* (Percy Soc.); and Warton i., 328.

† Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 145.

‡ *Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, i., 67.—*Sub ann.*, 1224. Besides such clerks as held chauntries in the nature of benefices, there were others who were mere intinerants, wandering about the kingdom, and seeking employment by singing mass for the souls of the founders.—Hawkins, 207. Fuller says, that the ordinary price for a mass sung by one of these clerks was fourpence; but that if they dealt in the gross, it was forty marks for two thousand.—*Worthies of Essex*, 339.

§ Hearne, *Lib. Nig.* Scacc. appendix, xii. ‖ Warton, iii., 101.

¶ In the Roman Church, *secular* clergy are those whose duty lies in the outer world, *e.g.*, parish priests, and those who do not belong to any religious Order, like the *regular* clergy, so called from the Latin *regula*, a monastic rule.

** 36 Edw. III., c. viii. †† Reeves, *Hist. Eng. Law*, ii., 274. ‡‡ *Year-book*, 10, Hen. VI.

§§ Warton, ii., 106. ‖‖ *Ibid*, 107. ¶¶ *Ibid*, 108.

would support the theory that metrical romances are lineally descended from the historical odes of the Scandinavian scalds. But Mr. Thomas Wright animadverts on the temerity of seeking the origin of romance in any one source, or of tracing the progress of romance from one people to another, and illustrates his position by pointing out that while there is no nation which has not probably borrowed some of its romantic literature from other nations, there is also none which has not a certain share of home-grown romance. In the opinion of the same writer, the Teutonic tribes possessed many of the *fabliaux* before they were known to Western Europe.*

Here, however, the excellent authority from whom I have last quoted seems to be slightly at variance with himself, of which the following will afford an illustration.

"The fabliaux, or short metrical tales, form a large portion of the French literature of the thirteenth century. They were recited by the *joculares*, *jogelours*, or wandering minstrels, to amuse the feudal barons and knights and relieve the dulness of the evenings.

The character of the *jogelour* was apparently borrowed from the Arabs, perhaps through the Spanish Moors; and the tales which he told may in many instances be distinctly traced to Oriental models.

The number of French fabliaux found in English manuscripts ∴ shows that they were no less popular in our island than on the continent; yet it is singular that we should have so few instances of English translations. This, however, may be accounted for in some degree by the great destruction of English popular literature, much of which, *existing orally*, was perhaps never committed to writing, or, at least, seldom in a permanent form."†

What has been related of the Fabliaux may tend to dissipate in some slight degree the haze with which the early legends of Masonry are surrounded. The latter, we first meet with in a written poem, and the inference will be permissible (as I shall hereafter argue at some length), that could we trace a little higher, we should find that most, if not the whole of them, while retaining a metrical form, were recited orally, without having been committed to writing to all—very much in the same way that the fabliaux were by the jongleurs (or *jogelours*). Indeed, the parallel may be extended. The fabliaux, it has been suggested, were of oriental origin, and came to Europe through the Moors. Very much the same thing may be said with regard to certain distinctive features in the legend of Masonry. The early origin of geometry is wrapped in obscurity, but the ancient tradition was, that the Egyptians were led by necessity to the invention of the science in order to furnish them with a means of recovering their old landmarks, which were obliterated yearly by the inundations of the Nile.‡ This, it is true, had no foundation in fact, though we should do well to recollect that it was supported by the great authority of Herodotus. But it is with the leading part played by Euclid of Alexandria, "the world famous geometer," as a teacher of the science, that we are more concerned. His school of mathematics was so renowned that Alexandria continued for ages the great resort for mathematicians. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs was finally consummated by the surrender, after a fourteen months' siege, of the city of Alexandria, A.D. 640. Early in the following century, A.D. 712, Roderick, "the last of the Goths," was routed and slain at Xeres, and Spain passed under the dominion of the Moors.

The Arabians§ were satisfied at first with translations of Euclid, Apollonius and others, but ultimately left their masters behind in these studies. They continued to extend their conquests, and their frequent incursions into Europe before and after the ninth century, and their absolute establishment in Spain, imported the rudiments of useful knowledge into nations involved in the grossest ignorance, and unpossessed of the means of instruction.

Universities were founded in the more important cities of the Peninsula, libraries were collected, and pupils repaired from many parts of Europe to the famous schools of the Saracens, particularly to those at Cordova and Toledo. It is not a little remarkable that what is justly known as the "dark ages" in the rest of Europe, was a period of intellectual light and splendour in Arabian Spain. In a word, the literature, arts, and sciences of the Arabs formed the connecting link between the civilizations of ancient and modern times; and the culture they introduced into the countries they conquered, has in almost every instance outlasted the rule of the conquerors themselves. To them, at least indirectly and by deduction, are due most of the useful arts and practical inventions laboriously perfected by later nations.‖

"Geometry," observes Wright, "is found in the Anglo-Saxon lists of sciences, and tradition—apparently in after times—has given to the reign of King Athelstan the honour

* Warton, ii. 108. † Wright, *Anecdota Literaria*, i. Barbazan tells us "Les Contes ou récits d'avantures gaies, vraies ou fausses, pour divertir et amuser, se nommoient Fabel, Fablel, ou Fabliau *Fabliaux et Contes, Des Poetes François, des XII, XIII, XIV, & XVes Siécles.*

‡ See the Cooke MS., *ll.* 455-78.

§ The term *Moor* and *Moorish* have also been used as synonymous with *Arab*, *Saracen*, or even *Mohammedan.*

‖ Warton, i., 190; *Book of Dates*; and *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th edit., ii., 264, 265.

of its first introduction."* If we pass over the commentators of the Alexandrian school, the first European translator of any part of Euclid was Boetius (about), A.D. 500, whose best known work, *de Consolatione Philosophiae*, though not his selection from the "Elements," was rendered into the vernacular idiom by King Alfred.

Some centuries after Boetius, Euclid was fully translated into Arabic, from which it was re-translated by Athelard, of Bath, 1110-20, and used by him in the school, opened after his travels, in France or Normandy, where he taught the Arabian sciences. That these were then new among the Christians of the West, we learn from a passage in one of his own writings which should lay at rest the conjecture, arising out of a legend related by William of Malmesbury, that they were introduced long before by Gerbert—better known as Pope Sylvester II.

Four of Athelard's translations from the Arabic are enumerated by his biographers, the most important being the Elements of Euclid, which became the text book of all succeeding mathematicians, and was first printed—with a commentary ascribed to Companus of Novara—at Venice, in 1482.†

Pope Sylvester II., to whom reference has been made, and who died at a great age, A.D. 1003, was regarded as a sorcerer by the ignorant on account of his knowledge of chemistry and physics derived from the Spanish Arabs.

An elegant writer observes:—"Mohammedan Spain was governed during [the tenth] century for nearly fifty years by one monarch, the famous Abder Rahman III. Authors in every branch of literature appeared, so that while the rest of Europe sat in darkness, Spain was a focus of intellectual light. Thus it was that lovers of learning like Gerbert stole away into Spain, and purchased, at the risk of all kinds of imputations, the key of knowledge from the infidel Moor."‡

But to descend from generals to particulars, the Society of Freemasons has, by a consensus of authority,§ been regarded, until quite recently, as a body of men practising a style of architecture derived by them from the Arabians.

This belief took its rise from a passage in the well-known work of Christopher Wren, the younger, wherein the following theory or conjecture is ascribed by him to his father, Sir Christopher, the famous architect:—

"He was of opinion that what we now vulgarly call the *Gothick* ought properly and truly to be named the *Saracenic Architecture refined by the Christians.* [The Saracens] fell into a new Mode of their own Invention, tho' it might have been expected with better Sense, considering the *Arabians* wanted not Geometricians in that Age, nor the *Moors*, who translated many of the old *Greek* Books. The Holy War gave the Christians who had been there an Idea of the *Saracen* Works, which were afterwards by them imitated in the West, and they refined upon it every Day, as they proceeded in building Churches."‖

Then follows the well-known statement, which, attributed to Sir Christopher Wren, "Grand Master"¶ of our Society, long held possession of the encyclopædias:—

"The *Italians* (among which were yet some *Greek* Refugees), and with them *French*, *German*, and *Flemings*, joined into a Fraternity of Architects, procuring papal Bulls for their Encouragement and particular Privileges; they stiled themselves Freemasons, and ranged from one Nation to another, as they found Churches to be built. Their Government was regular, and where they fixed near the Building in Hand they made a Camp of Huts. A Surveyor govern'd in chief; every tenth Man was called a Warden, and overlooked each nine. Those who have seen the exact Accounts in Records of the Charge of the Fabricks of some of our Cathedrals near four hundred Years old, cannot but have a great Esteem for their Œconomy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty Structures."**

The opinion of Sir Christopher Wren (if really his) will take us back to the beginning of the thirteenth century, being in accord with, and it is more than probable based in great part upon, the tradition which dates the introduction of Masonry into England at about the

* *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, i., 83. † *Ibid*, ii., 95, 97, 100; Halliwell, *Rara Mathematica*, 57

‡ Heath, *Historic Landmarks in the Christian Centuries*, 141. Thomas, afterwards Archbishop of York (1070), and the following Englishmen—who "flourished" about the years 1143, 1170, and 1175-85 respectively—Robert de Retines, Alfred the Philosopher, and Daniel de Merlai (or *Merlac*) are said to have visited Spain in order to make themselves acquainted with the Arabian learning.—*Biog. Brit. Lit.* ii., 24, 116; 220; Warton, i., 209; and Wood, *Antiq. Univ. Ox.*, i., 56.

§ *E.g.* "Some have ascribed the principal ecclesiastical structures to the fraternity of Freemasons, depositaries of a concealed and traditionary science. There is probably some ground for this opinion; and the earlier archives of that mysterious association, if they existed, might illustrate the progress of Gothic architecture, and perhaps reveal its origin."—Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, iii., 358. cf. *Hist.* i., 257 *et seqq.* ‖ *Parentalia*, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens (1750), 306.

¶ It will be sufficient to state, that this office did not exist, at the time when Wren is alleged to have held it. ***Parentalia, loc cit.*

time of Henry III.* This period, as observed in the cumbrous essay of Governor Pownall, synchronizes with that in which "the Gothic architecture came forward into practice as a regular established order;"† or, to quote from an authority of modern date—"From the beginning of the thirteenth century downwards, or a few years sooner or later according to the various countries, all religious, civil, and military edifices were constructed in accordance with the Pointed system."‡

In the well-known text book to which I have last referred it is thus laid down:

"The fraternities or guilds of Masons, from whom the Freemasons derive their origin, may have contributed greatly to the completion of the pointed arch. These fraternities were probably formed as early as the period of transition between the Romanesque and Pointed styles, in order to afford a counterpoise to the organisations of the priesthood."§

Leaving out of sight, however, the speculations of the writer with regard to the Freemasons, a short extract from that section of his work, wherein he examines the art or style with which they have been popularly associated, will carry a little further the line of enquiry we are pursuing.

Of the Pointed (called also the Gothic or German) style, he observes:—

"It is indisputable that the Arabs were the first systematically to apply the Pointed Arch to architectural purposes, though their arch was not organically complete; but a Pointed system, that is, a style of which the Pointed arch is the elementary basis and which pervades the entire construction, and which is interwoven with it, was of later development, and arose in northern countries, independent of foreign influences. Nevertheless, the Pointed Arch may be said to have been borrowed from the East, and especially from the Arabs."||

"In the course of the ninth century Sicily was also subjected to the sway of the Arabs, and after the island had attained great prosperity under its new masters, it was again conquered by the Normans under Count Roger, 1090 A.D. But the Arab element had now become engrafted in the population, and consequently the Norman chiefs favoured and advanced the Arabian arts and sciences which they found already existent, and caused buildings to be erected by Arab architects."¶

It is most probable that after the conquest of Sicily by the Normans, their acquaintance with the Moorish Pointed architecture of that island did not remain without influence on the taste and art of the land of their birth, inasmuch as the connection between the two was continuously and intimately maintained, and that this was the cause of the adoption there of the Pointed arch.**

This, in the division into periods, was the *first*, or Arab-Norman Pointed style, employed originally with æsthetic effect by the Arabs in Sicily and Lower Italy, and afterwards accepted by the Normans, who adopted it without further development in those countries when they passed under their sway. It belongs to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Afterwards came the *second*, or Transition style, which, generally speaking, prevailed during the twelfth century and at the beginning of the thirteenth; and then the *third*, or Early Pointed style, that is, the style in which the Pointed arch first appeared as the essentially characteristic and predominant element both for the exterior and the interior.†† Elsewhere, and with reference to the connection of the Freemasons with this style, I have remarked—"without going so far as to agree with Governor Pownall that the Freemasons invented Gothic, it may be reasonably contended that without them it could not have been brought to perfection, and without Gothic they would not have stood in the peculiar and prominent position that they did; that there was mutual indebtedness, and while without Freemasons there would have been no Gothic, but a different, and I think an inferior kind of architecture—without Gothic the Freemasons would have formed but a very ordinary community of trades unionists."‡‡

With regard, however, to the origin of the Gothic (or Pointed) style, although the Saracenic influence may not be so great as was at one time supposed to be the case, there can be little doubt that Sir Gilbert Scott is right in saying that the last hints, as it were, came from the East.§§

A word or two are here essential with reference to the later period of Saracenic rule in Spain. After Cordova (1236) and Seville (1247) were regained by the Christians, Andalusia became the last place of refuge for the Mahometan population, and Grenada reached the apogee of its fame as the point of concentration for Moorish power and colonization in Spain. It exercised considerable influence on Western Europe, and was distinguished—until ceasing

* Hist. ii., ch. xii., *passim*. † *Archæologia*, ix., 110.
‡ Rosengarten, *Handbook of Architectural Styles*, tr. by W. Collett-Sandars, 290. § *Ibid*, 289.
|| *Ibid*, 287, 288. ¶ Ibid, 217. ** *Ibid*, 289. †† *Ibid*, 329. ‡‡ *Hist.*, i., 259.
§§ *Hist.* i., 263.

to be an independent kingdom in 1492—as the seat of a brilliant court and a school of arts and sciences.*

If, indeed, the legends of the Freemasons are of the late mediæval origin to which they have been ascribed, it may, with some show of plausibility, be contended that we are indebted for at least one of them to the Moors (or Arabs) of Granada.

About ten years ago an Arabic MS. came under the notice of Professor Marks, one of our most profound Hebrew scholars. This work referred to a sign or password, known to the Masonic brotherhood, each letter being the initial of a separate word, which would make up the sentence, "We have found our Lord Hiram." The title of the MS., Dr. Marks says, has passed out of his memory, but he believes it was an introduction or preface to the Sunnah, and the date he assigns to it is that of the 14th century. The book was found by him (to the best of his recollection) in the Bodleian Library, and he adds—"I made out its meaning readily, inasmuch as the passage referred to Masonry, which, by-the-bye, it traced up to the Patriarchs, if not to Adam himself.†

The author of the History of English Poetry seems to hesitate between the claims of the Saracens and the Gothic Scalds, to rank as the first authors of romantic fabling among the Europeans, though he winds up by awarding the palm to the Arabians.‡ But at the present time many theories which met with a ready acceptance, when Warton wrote, are discredited, and in a note to the edition from which I quote, Mr. Wright says, "I think at the present day no well informed scholar would argue for the Arabian origin of mediæval romance.§

With this, however, must be compared the following, which is also placed over Mr. Wright's name in a subsequent note:—"The *Decameron*, I imagine, belongs to a different class of literature which we do seem to have derived from the Arabs, and of which the best known example is the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*."‖

In his *Canterbury Tales*—which only ante-date by a short period, the Masonic poem—Chaucer clearly imitated Boccaccio, whose *Decameron* was then the most popular of books, by writing a set of stories; and in the *Squire's Tale* the inspiration of the story consists of Arabian fiction engrafted on Gothic chivalry. The original of this tale (though the likeness is not regarded as complete by Mr. Furnival) has been found by the Chevalier de Chatelain in an old French romance, written from Spanish and Moorish sources by Adam Le Roy, king of the minstrels of the Duke of Brabant, in the thirteenth eentury.¶

Chaucer not only imitated but also borrowed largely from Boccaccio, while the latter, if we again look back, derived a great part of the materials for his *Decameron* from the *Gesta Romanorum*. This is a Latin compilation written about A.D. 1340, and to every tale a moralisation is subjoined.

In one of the chapters, or "gests" (clv.) the adventures of an English knight named Albert, in a subterranean passage, within the bishopric of Ely, are related.

This story is said to have been told in the winter after supper, in a castle "cum familia divitis ad focum, ut Potentibus moris est, recensendis antiquis Gestis operam daret,"—when the family of a rich man, as is the custom of the Great, was sitting round the fire, and telling "Antient Gests." Here is a trait of the private life of our ancestors, who wanted the diversions and engagements of modern times to relieve a tedious evening. Hence we learn, that when a company was assembled, if a juggler or minstrel were not present, it was their custom to entertain themselves by relating or hearing a series of adventures.**

Lastly, and with this I shall forsake the filiation of these stories, some of the oriental apologues in the *Gesta Romanorum*, are taken from the *Fables of Bidpai*—of which book, its latest editor says—"Originating in Buddhism, it was adopted by Brahminism, passed on by Zoroastrianism to Islam, which transmitted it to Christendom by the mediation of the Jews."††

Here, having brought in the Jews, it may be observed that Spain, after its conquest by the Moors, was destined to develope the most prosperous and flourishing condition which the

* The city of Granada attained the zenith of its splendour in the fourteenth century. According to Rosengarten, there were three periods of Arabian architecture in Spain. In the third and best of these, the forms were entirely independent, and also richer and more peculiar, while the buildings were characterised by variegated and magnificent ornamentation. This style is illustrated by the buildings of Granada, and, above all, by the Alhambra.—*Handboook of Architectural Styles*, 207.

† A.Q.C., i., 26. ‡ i., 110, 143. § *Ibid*, 93 ‖ *Ibid*, 239. ¶ *Ibid*, ii., 337.

** Warton, i. 282, *ut supra*. According to Strutt,—"It was a very common and a very favourite amusement, *so late as the sixteenth century*, to hear the recital of verses and moral speeches, learned for that purpose, by a set of men who obtained their livelihood thereby, and who, without ceremony intruded themselves, not only into taverns and other places of public resort, but also into the houses of the nobility."—*Sports and Pastimes*, 139.

†† A reprint of this work, 1888—originally translated by Sir T. North in 1570—is described as the first "English version of an Italian adaptation of a Spanish translation of a Latin version of a Hebrew translation of an Arabic adaptation of a Pehlevi version" of an Indian re-arrangement and expansion of the Jütaka tales, supposed to have been told by the Buddha about 550 B.C.

Jews enjoyed in the middle ages, and in this period the diffusion of science by their instrumentality reached its height. The conquest of Spain was, indeed, much facilitated by the co-operation of the Jews.

When, after the battle of Xeres, A.D. 712, Cordova was surrendered to the Moors, the city was left by them in the keeping of the Jews, who had proved themselves staunch allies of the Moslems in the campaign, and who ever afterwards enjoyed great consideration at the hands of the conquerors. The Moors admitted them to their intimacy, and, until very late times, never persecuted them as the Gothic priests had done. Wherever the arms of the Saracens penetrated there we shall always find the Jew in close pursuit. While the Arab fought, the Jew trafficked, and when the fighting was over—Jew, Moor, and Persian joined in that cultivation of learning and philosophy, arts and sciences, which pre-eminently distinguished the rule of the Saracens in the middle ages.*

Many learned Jews began to flourish in the Arabian schools in Spain, as early as the beginning of the ninth century, and it was by them chiefly, for a long period, that learning was communicated from Spain and Africa to the rest of Europe.†

About the year 1087, great numbers of Jews were permitted to come over from Rouen and to settle in England.‡ Their multitude soon increased, and they spread themselves in vast bodies throughout most of the cities and capital towns in England, where they built synagogues.§ In 1189, as we are told by Anderson,‖ there were fifteen hundred at York—at which place, and in the second digression, I shall return to them.

In my judgment, there is a good deal of the spirit or poetry of the jongleur in the separate lays which together make up the Masonic poem. We have already seen that down to the thirteenth century and later, the compositions of neither jongleurs or trouvères were preserved in writing, but passed from mouth to mouth by song and recitation. Thus, by a gradual transition, our Masonic laws and traditions may have been passed down through the alliterative rhythm of the Anglo-Saxons and the rhyme of the Normans, to find their first place in written language, a remove or two only from the poem under examination.

It is said that poets and priests are the two classes of men that have most influence in keeping a language tolerably well fixed, as with rare exceptions they look back with loving eye to what is old.¶ But although these two offices may have been combined in the unknown compiler of the Regius MS., the field of vision embraced in his retrospection—*i.e.*, if we judge from the general structure of the poem—cannot have been a very large one.

Our ancient poetry, it has been observed, was so strictly national that it clave to every ancient form and every ancient word. The song of Malden** is written in a tongue which must even then have been antiquated. While Old-English prose has no difficulties which are not soon overcome by use, Old-English verse has to be studied like a foreign language.††

As early as the eleventh century, the difference between the common language of prose, and the traditional language of poetry, was distinctly felt; and in the twelfth century it acted as a hindrance to one who was zealous to preserve all that was left.‡‡

It is evident, therefore, that the "old book," and other writings (*ll.* 2, 143), from which the clerical penman of the Regius MS. derived any portion of the Masonic information he dispenses to us, could not have been documents of any real antiquity. Indeed, on a closer view of the poem as a whole, indications are not wanting from which it may be inferred that a great part of it was taken down from recitation, but whether this occurred a remove or two from the existing MS., or at the period of its actual birth as a written document, I shall not pretend to decide.

Colour is lent to this supposition, by the great want of cohesion between the several parts of the compilation, as well as by the general structure of the poem.

Thus, the ARTICLES are mainly imparted to us, or (as it were) recited, in the third person; which is varied, in the POINTS, to the second; and on reaching ALIA ORDINACIO, we find our instructor boldly launching out as the direct impersonator of King Athelstan.

This is highly dramatic, and in perfect keeping with the character of a jongleur or minstrel, to whom frequent apostrophes, and the playing of many parts, would be both usual and natural. But in actual poetry, or dramatic writing, as distinguished from oral rhymes, or dramatic recitation, we might expect to meet with a stricter regard to the unities of time, place, and action, that together constitute (in the two former) the principle by which the tenor of the story and propriety of representation is preserved.

It is scarcely possible, therefore, that the passages last referred to, were the rhythmical composition of a single individual. Indeed, it is far more probable that all three were taken down (at some time) from different recitals, and the way they were then addressed to the *ear*,

* Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, 24. † Warton, i., 235. ‡ Hollinshed, *Chron.*, 15.
§ Warton, ii., 370. ‖ *Hist. of Commerce*, i., 93. ¶ Oliphant, *Old and Middle English*, 85.
** Composed about A.D. 993.—Warton, ii., 13; Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, i., 29.
†† Freeman, v., 587. ‡‡ *Ibid.*

will, I think, furnish the true explanation of the manner in which they now severally meet the *eye*.

Nearly a third of the poem (*ll.* 577-794) is plainly made up of extracts from other treatises, while both ALIA ORDINACIA (*ll.* 471-96) and ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM (*ll.* 497-543) are so curiously wedged in, without connection of any sort, as to leave no reasonable doubt of their either belonging to the same category, or of their having been taken down, as I have already suggested with regard to the former piece (at some time) from recitation.

Interpolations, however, are a common feature in the most ancient metrical compositions, and are often of a religious and sermonizing character, just as we find exemplified, to no slight extent, in the *collectanea*, which are so largely represented in the document under review.

Of this we are afforded many evidences in the early poem of Beowulf, which (in the words of Mr. Oliphant*) "is to us English what the Iliad was to the Greeks" (and I shall add), or the Regius MS. will always be to the Freemasons.

Let me now briefly revert to the invention of printing, and to one of the consequences which followed in its train. The fact must not be lost sight of, that as a country advances the influence of tradition diminishes, and traditions themselves become less trustworthy. "Although," says a famous writer, "without letters there can be no knowledge of much importance, it is nevertheless true that their introduction is injurious to historical traditions in two distinct ways: first by weakening the traditions, and secondly by weakening the class of men whose occupation it is to preserve them."†

The testimony on this head is abundant, but one more extract is all that I am able to find room for:—

"Our employment of writing, as the sole means of preserving knowledge, enfeebles the power of memory, and causes us to forget the powers of memory. Genealogies entrusted to memory, known *by heart*—that most forcible expression—are written in a living record, compared to which the Heralds' Roll is chaff and straw."‡

With the decay of popular literature many oral recitals must have gradually died out, though it is probable that the Laws of the Craft continued to be rehearsed in the old way, long after the Legendary History (or what survived of it) had found rhymeless expression in some early MSS., of which—if we leave out of sight, their lineal descendents, the Old Charges—we can now only track some faint vestiges, in the allusions to pre-existing writings of the Craft, which are met with in the Regius and Cooke *codices*.

In support of this view, it may be remarked, that with the exception of the reference to the Four Crowned Martyrs (*l.* 497)—upon which I shall again touch—there is no *legendary history* related in the poem, that indicates any fount of information which had apparently become dried up, before the originals of our existing Old Charges crystallised into their present forms. But with regard to the *Laws*, the case presents quite another complexion. Both the Regius and Cooke MSS. divide the *Regulations* into Articles and Points—a mode of arrangement not followed in any of the Old Charges—the former giving fifteen of each and the latter eight. This variance, coupled with the difference of method in the documents of later date, seems to warrant the assumption that several codes of laws, in rhyme or metre, were at some time in existence. This, indeed, will almost ripen into demonstration, if the laws contained in the two histories or disquisitions are carefully collated with those appearing in the "Constitutions" or Old Charges.

Two examples, however, will sufficiently illustrate the position for which I am contending. One taken from the seventh ARTICLE and the other from the seventh POINT.

By the former, the Master is forbidden to harbour a man-slayer: and by the latter, each Mason of lesser degree is strictly enjoined not to have unlawful commerce with the concubines of his fellow workmen. Neither of these injunctions will be found in the Old Charges or in the Cooke MS. Indeed, in the last named, the injunction respecting concubines—which also occurs in the seventh POINT—is of an entirely different character, and peremptorily forbids the keeping of concubines at all.

The legendary history (as well as the laws), which we meet with in the oldest group of documents, must, I think, have come down, for the most part, in two distinct channels, those of poetry and prose.

In the Regius MS. every passage seems to suggest a rhythmic original. It has been usual, indeed, to lay all faults of construction on the compiler. But I believe that in all cases he honestly copied from manuscripts, or took down the verses from actual recitation; though if the latter process is to be carried a little higher—as in my judgment it safely can—then, with regard to it, I consider he must have simply transcribed certain passages that were orally recited in the first instance, and put into writing by an earlier scribe.

* *Standard English.* † Buckle, *Hist. Civilization.*, i., 297.

‡ Palgrave, *Hist, Normandy and England*, i., 12, 13.

If this theory be accepted, then the many discrepancies and redundancies of the poem bear witness to the care and exactitude of the copyist and *not* (as hitherto supposed) to the haste and incompetency of a framer of rhymes. It is quite impossible that the three fragments of legendary history (*ll.* 1, 471, 535), or four, if the story of the Holy Martyrs is included, were encased in their rhythmical settings by the writer of the MS., or by any other single individual. Indeed, the evidence seems to me to bear in quite another direction, and to justify the conclusion that all the separate pieces in the Regius MS. were derived from metrical originals, though there may have been many conduits by which they were conveyed.

Here, to a limited extent, I must pass over ground already traversed, but in order that my last contention may have its due weight with the reader, some recapitulation is essential.

Returning to the legendary history, at line 13 a plurality of "clerks" is referred to, but a little farther on (*l.* 35) the number is reduced to one, and we join hands with the Euclid of the prose constitutions. After this (*l.* 61) the introduction of Masonry into England, in the time of King Athelstan, together with particulars of the Assembly convoked by that monarch, are related. The narrative is then interrupted (*l.* 87) —by recitals of the Articles and Points to be observed by the Masons—but eventually resumed (*l.* 471), and further details given of Athelstan and his Assembly. Ars Quatuor Coronatorum (*l.* 497) reads to me like an interpolation, but however this may be, at its close (*l.* 535) we again touch familiar ground, in an earlier portion of the Guild Legend than has, up to this point, been incorporated with the poem. Thus we are brought back to "Noah's Flood" and the "Tower of Babylon," though in the place of Nimrod, who is ordinarily associated with this edifice, we get Nebuchadnezzar. A mistake arising, I imagine, from the actual narrator not exactly recollecting the names of the various characters it was his business to introduce, nor the parts they were supposed to play, or he would have followed Herodotus* and Josephus† in connecting the earlier, rather than the later, of the two Assyrian Kings with the Tower of Babel, or Belus.

This incident disposed of, the "goode clerk Euclyde" again figures on the scene (*l.* 551), and becomes a graduate in the seven sciences, with an enumeration of which the legendary narrative ends, or rather breaks off, for it carries us to the precise starting point of the Legend, as exemplified in the poem, and this fragment of tradition would, therefore, have been better placed had it figured as the first instead of the last of the series.

It will be observed that mention is nowhere made of Solomon, Hiram, Namus Grecus, Charles Martel, St. Alban, the city of York, or Prince Edwin.

In connection with the foregoing, the first question we are called upon to determine is, was any portion of the Masonic poem the rhythmic composition of the person by whose hand the Regius MS. was written?

That a very great part of it was transcribed from other documents, we already know, and the real point for decision is, whether the Masonic fragments—also derived from a like source, or from recitals—were copied (or written down), in prose or rhyme, by the penman of the poem?

No distinction can, I think, be drawn between the historical passages and the laws, in the sense that he may have been a versifier in one instance and a copyist (or scribe) in the other.

This supposition is not only forbidden by the general structure of the poem (as previously referred to), but it is also in the highest degree improbable, that if the penman had exercised the poetic faculty at all, the specimens of his art would be circumscribed within the narrow limits in which it is alone possible that they are contained.

In 1882 I said of the Regius MS:—It displays rather the features of an epic poem than of a simple ethical code adapted to the genius and requirements of illiterate builders.‡ A closer study of the manuscript has but strengthened this impression, and the following passage, extracted from the Essay on Anglo-Saxon Poetry by Mr. Sweet, to which I have previously referred, will afford an example of the guides by whom I have been led.

"How far the original substructure of separate songs is still visible in the finished epos, depends entirely on the genius of the manipulator, and his command of his materials. *If he is destitute of invention and combination*, he will leave the separate poems unaltered, except, perhaps, in cases of repetition and very obvious contradiction, and merely cement them together by a few lines of his own.

"But if the traditions contained in these songs are handled by a poet, that is to say, a man of invention, combination, and judgment, they are liable to undergo considerable modifications. There will be room for *original work* in *connecting* the various incidents and introducing episodes, in removing *incongruities and repetitions*, and in fusing together *two or more different renderings of the same tradition.*"§

* Lib. i. c. 181. † *Antiq.* i. iv. 3.

‡ *Hist.* i., 80. Epic—*epicus*, Lat., ἔπος, Gr.—Narrative, comprising narrations, not acted, but rehearsed.—*Johnson's Dict.* § Warton, ii., 9.

The italics are mine, and in the comparison I have introduced, I shall ask the reader to at least go so far with me, as to admit that much of the manner of the *scôp*, or gleeman, may have been inherited by the minstrel, or jongleur. I cannot but think that a priest-poet would have woven the scattered threads of legendary history into an orderly sequence, nor do I consider it entertainable for an instant, that one and the same person would have laboriously versified a series of prose extracts, and then have strung them together so loosely and carelessly in a MS., that it is difficult in several cases to perceive their connection. Nor if he had access to any forms of the Old Charges, is it conceivable that he would have restricted his use of them, to extracting therefrom a number of disjointed passages, and serving them up, as it were, without either order or cohesion in rhymes of his own composition. In other words, it is quite impossible to believe that the writer (or penman) of the manuscript saw a full version of the legendary history, and yet contented himself with inserting versified scraps of it in his compilation.

If, then, the Masonic pieces were not clothed in their present literary vesture, by the compiler of the poem, it is quite clear that he must have either copied or taken them down from dictation.

The following lines are taken from the concluding verses of John Russell's "Boke of Nurture":—

As for ryme or reson, *Þe* forewryter was not to blame,	The transcriber is not to blame.
For as he founde hit aforne hym, so wrote he *Þe* same	he copied what was before him.
and *Þaughe* he or y in oure matere digress or degrade,	and neither of us wrote it.
blame neithur of us / For we neuyre hit made;	
Symple as y had insight / somewhat *Þe* ryme y correcte;	I only corrected the rhyme.
blame y cowde no man / y have no persone suspecte.	

Of the above, Mr. Furnivall says, "On the whole, I incline to believe that John Russell's Boke of Nurture was written by him, and that either the Epilogue to it was a fiction of his, or was written by the superintender of the particular copy in the Harleian MS., 4,011."*

But however this may be, the lines seem to attest that very frequently the transcription of manuscripts must have been almost, if not quite, a mere manual exercise, and it is indeed quite possible that they would have been equally well placed as an Epilogue to the Regius MS.

In many passages, there occur what many be termed "snatches of song," and are suggestive of the minstrel or jongleur, to which attention will be directed as we proceed, but the point I am now upon, is not so much the possibilities of the case in the more remote past, as its probabilities at the date of the MS.

It is evident, that the stock of legendary history accessible to, or at any rate availed of by, the compiler, whether existing in manuscript form, or treasured in living memory, was a very slender one. But if the legendary history is meagre, the statutes (or Charges) are diffuse, and in this we have a further presumption of their oral transmission down to some period of time, a remove or two from, or synchronizing with that of the Regius MS.

In the Cooke MS., the preponderance is the other way, as the laws are shorter and fewer, while the legend is both prolix and discursive.

Each compiler, therefore, must have had certain sources of information to rely upon, from which the other was debarred, and the inference I myself draw is, that the Craft Legend has come down to us in two (chief) lines of transmission—one through an oral and rhythmic, and the other through a written and prose channel.

It is possible, indeed, that because the laws given in the Cooke MS. are divided into Articles and Points, as in the poem, while the legendary history it relates is analogous to that contained in the Old Charges, a contention will arise that it is equally founded on poetic and on prose originals. But as it is the design of this Lodge to reach the Manuscript Constitutions by two easy stages, the Commentary on Addl. MS. 23, 198, in volume II. of this series, will deal with the special features of that ancient writing, and thus finally pave the way for an exhaustive criticism of the Old Charges, in their several and collective forms.

The few and scattered fragments of traditionary history, that we alone meet with in the Regius MS., may perhaps be accounted for, on the supposition of the poem having gradually become denuded of its Northumbrian impress, in passing from the north to the south of England.

This brings us to the York Legend, which will form the subject of a separate study, and I shall defer till its close, the consideration of some remaining points, arising out of the general structure of the poem, as their treatment will be more conveniently proceeded with, when the traditions of Saxon Northumbria have been passed in review.

* E.E.T.S., xxxii, pref. cix. The lines quoted above, as well as the marginal notes, are taken from the same volume (*Boke of Nurture, ll.*, 1244-48.)

SECOND DIGRESSION.

[THE YORK LEGEND.]

"Out of olde fieldes, as men saithe,
Cometh all this new corne from yere to yere;
And out of olde bookes, in good faithe,
Cometh all this new science that men lere."

The "Old Charges," or "Manuscript Constitutions," concur with the Regius MS., in tracing the establishment of Masonry as a science, to an Egyptian origin, though they bring it into England by a more circuitous route. The discrepancy, however, is immaterial, for whether we regard the prose and metrical versions of the Craft Legend as based upon one and the same original, or as derived from distinct and separate sources, the vast preponderance of our written traditions, and the whisper of tradition, unitedly assure us that—throughout Britain—York was long regarded the earliest legendary centre of the Building Art. In that ancient city all lines of way seem to converge, and in connection with it, a tradition has grown up, wherein are associated the names of Athelstan and Edwin as patrons of Masonry. This subject, however, a few historical *data* will enable us to consider with greater ease.

The old notion of a heptarchy, of a regular system of seven kingdoms, united under the regular supremacy of a single over-lord, is a dream which has now passed away. Yet, although the English kingdoms were ever fluctuating, alike in their number and in their relation to one another, *seven* stand out in a marked way, which alone supplied candidates for the dominion of the whole island. These were the Jutish kingdom of Kent (449-823); the Saxon Kingdoms of Sussex (477-823); Essex (526-823); and Wessex (519-1889); and the three Anglian Kingdoms of East Anglia (571-870); Northumberland (547-876); and Mercia (584-877). Such were the territorial divisions of Teutonic Britain at the end of the sixth century, and it was not unusual for the sovereign of one or other of these states to acquire a certain dominion over the rest, in virtue of which he became distinguished by the famous title of Bretwalda, or Wielder of Britain. Eight Kings, of five different kingdoms—including all except Essex and Mercia, are said to have possessed this supremacy over the rest of their fellows.*

They were Ella, of Sussex; Ceawlin, of Wessex; Ethelbert, of Kent; Redwald, of East Anglia; Edwin (or *Eadwine*), Oswald, and Oswy, of Northumberland; and Egbert, of Wessex.

The list, it should be remarked, does not form a continuous series, and it ends, after a considerable gap, with the Prince who established in one kingdom a lasting supremacy over all the rest.

It is singular, no doubt, that several Kings, especially of Mercia, who seem to have been at least as powerful as any of those on the list, such as Penda and Offa, and Ethelbald, whom Henry of Huntingdon speaks of as "Rex Regum," are not found on it. But the explanation is suggested that the well-known passage in the Chronicles—A.D. 827—giving the names of the *eight*, was, with respect to the first *seven*, merely copied from Bede,† and that the Chronicler, a subject of Egbert or one of his successors, only *added* the eighth (and last) name, unwilling perhaps to record the glories of princes of the rival kingdom.‡

During the seventh and eight centuries there were many fluctuations in the relative position of the English kingdoms. Not only Essex, but Sussex and East Anglia, each of which had given the nation a single Bretwalda, sink into insignificance, and even Kent falls into quite a secondary position. Wessex stood higher, but its kings had no small difficulty in maintaining their own independence against Northumbrians and Mercians, and the rivalries of the last two powers fill for a long while the most important place in our history.

At the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh, Northumberland was at the height of its power.§

Edwin, the first Christian King of Northumberland, and who ranks as the fifth Bretwalda, has left his name to the frontier fortress of Eadwinesburh or Edinburgh. Edwin was a true Bretwalda in every sense of the word, exercising a supremacy alike over Teutons and Britons. Five Kings of the West Saxons fell in battle against him,‖ but at last he died at Heathfield in battle against Penda, the heathen king of the Mercians. A similar fate befell Oswald—restorer of the Northumbrian kingdom, and sixth Bretwalda—and the arms of Penda were no less successful against the West Saxons. This king, indeed, came nearer to achieve the union of the whole English nation under one sceptre than any prince before the West-Saxon Egbert. He was defeated and slain at the battle of Wingfield, A.D. 655, and Northumberland again became the leading power of Britain. Under her two Bretwaldas,

* Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, i., 22, *et seqq.*
† ii., 5. ‡ Freeman, i., 544. § *Ibid*, 35. ‖ A.S. Chronicle, 626.

Oswald and Oswy, the English dominion was—apparently for the first time—extended beyond the Forth, and Picts and Scots, as well as English and Britons, admitted the supremacy of the Northumbrian king. But the greatness of Northumberland only lasted until A.D. 685, and after its decline Mercia became the most powerful English kingdom, under three resolute kings—716-819—one of whom, Offa, victorious over all enemies within his own island, as the mightiest potentate of the West, corresponded on equal terms with Charlemagne, the mightiest potentate of the East. For a time Wessex was actually tributary to Mercia, but it again became independent about the middle of the eighth century.*

Egbert was chosen king of the West Saxons, A.D. 800, and in his reign of thirty-six years he reduced all the English Kingdoms to a greater or less degree of subjection. But the eighth Bretwalda did what no other Bretwalda had ever done, by handing on his external dominion as a lasting possession to his successors in his own kingdom.†

The reigns of the son and the grandsons of Egbert were almost wholly taken up by the struggle with the Northmen, and Wessex itself nearly fell a prey to the invaders, but by the terms of the Peace of Wedmore, A.D. 878, termed "Alfred's and Guthrum's Peace," the Danes were to evacuate Wessex and the part of Mercia south-west of Watling Street, and they were to receive the whole land beyond Watling Street as vassals of the West Saxon King.‡

A large part of England thus received a colony of Danish inhabitants, and the country became divided into Wessex, Mercia, and the *Danelagh*.

Under the Great Alfred all authority was thus lost over East Anglia, Northumberland, and the larger half of Mercia,—he was more than king of the West Saxons, but he was less than king of the English.

Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred (901-925), succeeded in becoming, what no West Saxon king had been before him, immediate sovereign of all England south of the Humber, and the princes of Wales, Northumberland, Strathclyde, and Scotland, all submitted to him by a voluntary act.§

At the age of thirty, Athelstan (925-940), succeeded his father Edward, though it is doubtful if he was the offspring of a lawful marriage. A fruitless conspiracy was formed against him, in which his half-brother Edwin (of unquestionable legitimacy), is said to have been implicated, whose fate is involved in deep obscurity. The story is, that when he attained the age of manhood, Athelstan ordered him to be sent out to sea in a frail boat, without oars or rowers, and with a single attendant, who survived to be drifted on shore, after witnessing the unhappy prince leap overboard in a paroxysm of despair. But all we know with certainty is, that as related in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under A.D. 933, "this year Edwin the Atheling was drowned in the sea."

Athelstan added the finishing stroke to the work of his father by first making Northumberland an integral portion of the realm. But as it was dread of the Northmen which had alone drawn Scot and Cumbrian to their acknowledgment of Edward's overlordship, this act of annexation by his successor had no sooner occurred than dread of Wessex took the place of dread of the Danelagh.‖

Athelstan had therefore to fight for his empire, and he defeated the kings of the Scots, Cumbrians, and Welsh, who in concert with the Danes had formed a confederacy against him, on the field of Brunanburh (937), which was long distinguished as the Great Battle. That fight, looked on at the time as the hardest victory that Angles and Saxons had ever won, still lives in the earliest and noblest of those national lays with which the Chronicles, especially at this period, relieve the direct course of their prose narrative.¶

The victory of Brunanburh rendered Athelstan the undisputed monarch of the English and Emperor of Britain, and nothing is better established than that during his reign England had an unusual connexion with foreign countries, and enjoyed an unusual consideration among them. At the court of Athelstan, Haco the Good, king of Norway, Lewis D'Outremer, king of France, and Alan of Britanny were brought up; and his sisters were married to the Emperor Otho the Great, Lewis, king of Provence, Charles the Simple, king of France, and Hugh the Great, count of Paris.

But England, which had been rescued from ruin by the genius of the Great Alfred, strengthened by the steady policy of Edward, and raised to an unexampled pitch of glory by the energy and valour of the indomitable Athelstan, threatened, before the close of his eventful career, to relapse into its original disunion when no longer upheld by the arm of the mightiest warrior who ever sat upon the throne of Saxon England.**

* Freeman, i., 35, 38. † *Ibid*, 39.

‡ *Ibid*, 44, 47. In reality, however, Alfred's rule never extended over the Danes.

§ *Ibid*, 57. ‖ Green, *Hist. Eng. People*, i., 83.

¶ Freeman, i., 60. The unchallenged dominion of the whole of Saxon England, the submission of the Welsh and of the Northumbrian Danes, and the alliance and admiration of Flanders, France, and Germany, rewarded the victor of this glorious day.—*Sax. Chron.* 937; Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, i., 65.

** Robertson, i. 68, *ut supra*.

The laws of Athelstan exhibit in a fuller degree the same tendencies that prevailed under Alfred. The Frank-pledge or Frith-Guild system had been vigourously enforced under Edward. Its laws were codified under Athelstan, and every freeman was then obliged to belong to some guild or to some lord.* (Vide addenda post. p. 56)

Guilds, in England, were at first political, and one of the grand elementary parts of our constitution. Their origin, in the opinion of many authorities, must be looked for in the Saxon custom of Frank-pledge—which, itself, according to Minsheu, was borrowed from the Lombards.

Every freeman of fourteen years old and upwards, was required to find sureties to keep the peace. This was effected by associations of ten free families, in which every member was responsible for the orderly behaviour of the rest. Therefore, that they might the better identify each other, as well as ascertain whether any man was absent upon unlawful business, they assembled at stated periods at a common table, where they ate and drank together. This sort of assembly was in the seventh century called the *Gibeorscipe*—a banquet, beer-shop, beer-drinking—and it was at such meeting that the poet Caedmon was called upon to sing, on the occasion of the harp having been handed round to each of the company in his turn.† It has been further stated that because this association of pledges consisted of *ten* families, it was called a *decennary* or *tithing*, and subsequently, as being composed of such Frank-pledges, a Fribourg, or Frith-guild.‡

Thus the responsibility which had hitherto attached to the kindred was thrown upon the district—the *Voisinage*, or neighbourhood—which still appears to have been regulated, like the earlier military systems, upon the immemorial theory of the kindred, each of the lesser associations in which the neighbours chose their *Tunginus*, or *Tything-man*, answering to a *Mœg* under the elected or hereditary *Senior*. The earliest enforcement of the principle of *Voisinage* in England, may be referred to the time when Southern Britain was being gradually knit together in one monarchy by the introduction of the principles of Imperial Law.§

Of Frith (or Peace) Guilds there are traces in the laws of Ina (689-728), and they are also referred to in the laws of Athelstan, though it has been affirmed that Edgar was the first to establish the *Frith-borh* as a legal necessity. But it is very probable that the first written law relating to it was merely confirmatory or declaratory, and the fact should not be lost sight of that a considerable portion of the Anglo-Saxon law was never recorded in writing at all.|| From some very early period, therefore, in Anglo-Saxon times, it became incumbent upon every member of certain classes of society to be enrolled in a Tything, and in a Hundred, for certain purposes of civil government, thus fixing a degree of individual responsibility upon every free member of the community, each of whom was bound to have a *Borh* upon whom it was incumbent to produce him if justice so required it, and who, in case he could not be brought forward within a year, were responsible for him altogether. This *Borh* was the Tything.¶

To the Frith Guilds, with their social feastings, succeeded the Guilds devoted to religions, social or trading purposes, and which copied from the former not only their convivalities, but also many other customs. Each of the latter formed a kind of artificial family. An oath of mutual fidelity among its members was substituted for the tie of blood or locality, while the guild feast, held once a month in the common hall, replaced the gathering of the kindred round their family hearth, or the assembly of the Frith-borh at a common table.

We learn from the *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniae*, that the statutes of the London Guilds were reduced into writing in the time of King Athelstan. From these, the Guilds in and about London appear to have united into *one* Guild, for the purpose of carrying out more effectually their common aims,** and at a later time we find the Guilds of Berwick enacting, "that where many bodies are found side by side in one place, they may become one, and have one will, and in the dealings of one with another have a strong and hearty love."††

In the reign of Edward III., the old name of Guild became generally exchanged for that of Craft or Mystery, and the old title of Alderman gave place to that of Master or Warden.‡‡

In the twelfth year of Richard II.—A.D. 1389—writs were sent to all the sheriffs in England to make proclamation for the sending up of the returns from Guilds and Crafts, called for by the parliament of Cambridge. The masters and wardens of "Guilds and Brotherhoods" were required to furnish full information "as to the manner and form of the oaths, gatherings, feasts, and general meetings of the bretheren and sisteren;" also as to

* Pearson, *England during the Early and Middle Ages*, i., 190; A. S. Laws, i., 161, 201, 205.
† Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, iv., 24.
‡ Herbert, *Companies of London*, i., 3, 4; Milner, *Hist. England*, 141.
§ Robertson, ii., 335 || Palgrave, *Rise and Progress Eng. Com.*, i., 58.
¶ Robertson, ii., 336, 337.
** *English Gilds*, lxxv. †† Green, i., 210. ‡‡ Herbert, i., 28.

their liberties, privileges, statutes, ordinances, usages, and customs, and to lay before the King and his council their charters and letters patent, where such existed.

The masters, wardens, and overlookers of the mysteries and crafts, who held any charters or letters patent, were in like manner required to exhibit them.*

The returns sent up by the Social Guilds and the Guilds of Craft, in obedience to these writs, were very numerous, and we shall do well to bear in mind that the close search for "charters" which must have taken place, can only have preceded by a comparatively short interval, the collection and stringing together—either wholly or in part—of the series of verses—the subject of the present commentary.

But before resuming the thread of my argument, it will be convenient to explain—up to a certain point—the positions I have sought to establish by the above gleanings from the facts of history.

In the first place, then, I think we may safely assume that Athelstan having been the first king of all England, was therefore the most natural fountain-head from which a legendary belief in the grant of a Royal Charter to the Masons, can be supposed to have arisen. Before his time, England was governed by the laws of the West Saxons, the Mercians, and the Danes. These were in substance the same,† and many of them were confirmed or re-enacted, by Athelstan and his successors, but the weight and authority with which they speak, before and after there was a king of all England, may be likened to the weight and authority appertaining respectively to a provincial or a general synod (or council).‡ No Englishman before the time of Athelstan had ever possessed so much power at home—this fortifies my first conclusion; or so much influence abroad—which suggests an inference of another kind. If there is a "foundation-truth" (as the Germans express it), or even if we only have regard to the common belief in the tradition that the Masonry of England was derived from a foreign source, there is no period which could be more plausibly assigned for its really taking firm root and being established in this country, than the reign of "glorious" Athelstan,§ by whom a closer intercourse with the continent was maintained, than by any of his predecessors.

But the written traditions of the Craft still await our consideration, and though there is nothing in the poem which tells us, either that there was such a person as Prince Edwin, or such a city as York—the Old Charges are, for the most part, so strikingly in accord, with regard to the existence of one as the patron, and of the other as the traditional centre, of Early British Masonry, that any speculation with regard to Athelstan himself, as a prominent figure in our legendary history, would be incomplete, without including therewith, an attempt at least, to penetrate beneath the mythical colouring by which the other incidents in this part of the narrative are equally surrounded.

The Edwin of the ~~poem~~ prose legend, I do not think by any process of induction, can be identified with Edwin the Atheling, whose death occurred A.D. 933. It is extremely improbable that he ever visited York. From Egbert to Edward the Confessor, Winchester was the undoubted metropolis of the kingdom. Here Athelstan principally resided, and held his court, as did his (and Edwin's) father previously. Indeed the only scrap of evidence that can be tortured into the semblance of a proof that the Atheling is referred to in the Old Charges, is to be found in the Grand Lodge family—Lansdowne branch—of these documents, where, if we regard the passage, "Edwin ∴ was made Mason at Windsor," as containing an error of transcription, and consider that for "Windsor" should be read "Winchester," the supposition may, perhaps, become entertainable.

But with this shadowy exception, all the evidence points in the direction of the Bretwalda, Edwin of Northumberland, of whom Dr. Francis Drake, the author of "Eboracum," thus spoke in his celebrated oration:—"We can boast that the first Grand Lodge ever held in *England*, was held in this City; where *Edwin*, the first Christian King of the *Northumbers*, about the Six Hundredth Year after *Christ*, and who laid the Foundation of our Cathedral, sat as Grand Master."‖

Here, indeed, the exigencies of the situation carried the speaker a little too far, but the "centre-fact" in his address, divested of its rhetorical colouring, re-appears in the work by which he is best known¶ and to this I shall presently return.

* *English Gilds*, 127.

† It would seem, however, that in Anglo-Northumbria and the Danelage—contrary to the usually received idea—a greater amount of freedom was enjoyed than in England proper, *i.e.*, Wessex and English Mercia.—*Robertson*, ii., 273.

‡ From Athelstan's time the whole land formed one kingdom under one king, and the King and his Witan possessed direct authority in every corner of it. The King of the English, moreover, was also Emperor of the whole isle of Britain.—*Freeman*, i., 116. See further "The Bretwaldadom and the Imperial Titles," *Ibid*, 542-56.

§ Styled by Florence of Worcester, "Strenuus et gloriosus."—Freeman, i., 61.

‖ Speech of the Junior Grand Warden, Grand Lodge of York, Dec. 27, 1726. ¶ *Eboracum*, 472.

Edwin had been acquainted with deep adversity in early life, for he was dispossessed of his paternal inheritance, Deira, by his brother-in-law, Ethelfrith, a Bernician, who founded the kingdom of Northumberland by the union of the two states. Persecuted by the usurper, the youthful prince sought refuge with Redwald, king of the East Angles, at whose court the scene is first laid of the story I am about to relate.

Redwald, either terrified by the threats, or cajoled by the promises, of Ethelfrith, pledged his word to the monarch of Northumbria, that he would put to death or surrender the unfortunate refugee.

Edwin, being informed of this decision, disdained to fly, but resolved to stay where he was and await the end.

Suddenly, however, and in the dead of night, a person whose features and attire were equally strange to him, stood by his side.

A colloquy ensued, in which the visitor asked, what reward the prince would give to one who prevented any injury being done to him, and also pledged his word that he should surpass in power all previous kings of England. Edwin having made a suitable reply—then said the other, "But if he who foretells so much good as is to befall you, can also give you better advice for your life and salvation than any of your progenitors or kindred ever heard of, do you consent to submit to him and to follow his wholesome counsel?" Edwin, without hesitation, made the requisite promise, and then the stranger's hand was laid upon his head, with the injunction—"When this sign shall be given you, remember this present discourse that has passed between us, and do not delay the performance of what you now promise." Having uttered these words, the speaker is said to have vanished, in order that the prince might understand it was not a man, but a spirit that had appeared to him.*

After this, fortune smiled upon Edwin, and on the defeat and death of Ethelfrith, in 617, he became king of Northumbria. His kingdom consisted of Bernicia, extending from the Tyne to the Pictish border, and Deira, the tract between the Tyne and the Humber, which, originally independent states, had soon coalesced and taken the collective title of Northumbria.†

In 625, while still a pagan, he espoused Ethelburga, a daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, who had been converted by Augustine. Before, however, the marriage took place, Edwin had promised to allow the lady, if she became his wife, to worship, with all her suite, according to the christian faith, and he also promised that he would himself embrace the same religion, if, being examined by wise persons, it should be found more holy and worthy of God.

On leaving Kent, Ethelburga was accompanied by Paulinus, as her chaplain, who had been consecrated Bishop of the Northumbrians—21st July, 625—to preside over the mission.

In the following year, an unsuccessful attempt was made on the king's life by a minion of the king of Wessex, and, on the same evening, Edwin's wife gave birth to a daughter. The king gave thanks to his gods, but the Bishop, on the other hand, returned thanks to Christ, to whose agency he ascribed these two signal favours; and struck by his earnestness, Edwin promised, that if the God whom Paulinus worshipped, should enable him to vanquish, the king of Wessex, he would renounce paganism and embrace christianity, while as a pledge of his sincerity, he forthwith delivered up his infant daughter to be baptized.

Edwin was victorious over the West Saxons, but the exhortations of Pope Boniface, of his wife (Ethelburga), and of Paulinus, to adopt the true faith were alike ineffectual.

The supreme moment had arrived. The king was alone and wearied with his thoughts. Suddenly Paulinus passed into his presence. A hand was laid upon his head, and "the man of God" asked him, "Whether he recognised that sign?"‡

The part played by Paulinus at so critical a moment, is ascribed by Bede to the efficacy, of his constant prayers, and he states "At length, as we may suppose, it was shown him *in the spirit* what was the vision that had been revealed to the king."§ But the alternative has been suggested, that the Bishop acquired his familiarity with the earlier incident, *in the flesh*, and that he was, in point of fact, the mysterious stranger, whose prophetic instinct, twelve years previously, had led him to speak and act in the manner already related.‖

Returning, however, to the occurrences as narrated by the Venerable Bede, it may be observed that nothing in his entire works is as beautiful as the story of this conversion.

The king, in obedience to the "sign" communicated to him through Paulinus, expressed his willingness to become a christian, and called together the Witenagemote (meeting of the wise men) to consider the question. The opinions of his councillors were taken individually, and the speech of Coifi, the pagan high priest, was a very striking one. He saw no

* Bede, *Eccles. Hist.* ii., 12.

† Far to the North, from the Humber to the Forth, lay the great realm of the Northumbrians, sometimes united under a single prince, sometimes divided by the Tyne or the Tees into two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira.—Freeman, i., 25.

‡ Bede, ii., 9—12. § *Eccles. Hist.*, ii., 12. ‖ *Fasti Eboracenses*, 38.

virtue whatever in his own religion, and thought that if the gods were good for anything, they would have done something for himself. The next speaker said:—"Thou hast seen, O king, when the fire blazed, and the hall was warm, and thou wast seated at the feast amidst thy nobles, whilst the winter storm raged without and the snow fell, how some solitary sparrow has flown through, scarcely entered at one door before it disappears at the other. While it is in the hall it feels not the storm, but after the space of a moment it returns to whence it came, and thou beholdest it no longer, nor knowest where nor to what it may be exposed. Such, as it appears to me, is the life of man—a short moment of enjoyment, and we know not whence we came nor whither we are going. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed."*

Others expressed similar views, and Paulinus having been heard at length, Coifi, the heathen pontiff, was the first to renounce his idolatry, and when it was inquired who would profane the altars of Woden, he vaulted, by permission, on the king's stallion,† and girding on his sword, rode, lance in hand, to desecrate the idols and the shrine that he had so long revered.

Shortly afterwards—Easter day, 627—Edwin and his two sons were baptized at York, in a little oratory erected for that purpose, and their example was followed by "all the nobility of the nation, and a large number of the common sort."‡

Paulinus, who had been appointed Bishop of the province, then told the king he ought to build an house of prayer more suitable to the divinity he now adored. By the prelate's directions, therefore, he began to build a magnificent fabrick of stone, *ipso in loco*, where the other stood, and in the midst of all stood the oratory already constructed. The building went on very fast, but scarcely were the walls erected, that is, so far as to come to roofing, when the royal founder was slain, the Archbishop forced to flee the country, and the fabrick left in the naked condition it was then arrived to.§

This calamity was the result of a terrible struggle which had taken place between the pagan and christian powers. The fiery and savage Penda, of Mercia, aided by a strange ally, Cadwalla, the *christian* king of the Strathclyde Welsh, broke into Northumbria, and slew Edwin in a great battle at Haethfelth, or Hatfield Chase, in 633. The loss of her protector was a sad blow to the Northern church. The king's bloodstained head was brought to York, and interred in the porch or chapel of St. Gregory, within the minster that he was building.‖ This was finished by king Oswald, but I shall here pause to explain, why the leading features of the introduction of Christianity into the North, have been dwelt upon with such particularity.

These are all given on the authority of Bede,¶ whose *Ecclesiastical History*—written in Latin—was completed A.D. 731.** "Of the value of the work," says Dr. Giles, "we can have no better evidence than the fact of its having been so often translated into the vernacular tongue. King Alfred thought it not beneath his dignity to render it familiar to his Anglo-Saxon subjects, by translating it into their tongue."††

The same writer tells us, "The history of Edwin, with its interesting details, shows that Bede must have had access to highly valuable materials which reached back to the very earliest era of authentic history;" and he goes on to characterize the details given, as being "too minute in themselves, and too accurately defined by Bede, to have been derived by him from tradition."‡‡

The point, however, that I wish to establish is, not the authenticity of the narrative, but the undoubted fact that it was both extensively read and firmly believed,§§ from the time of Bede down to a period far overlapping the crystalization of the traditions of Masonry into their earliest written form.

The zeal and tragic fate of the great Bretwalda have enshrined his name in the calendar, and an interesting account of "St. Edwin, king and martyr," is given by Capgrave, in his *Nova Legenda*.‖‖

The triumphant pagans ravaged the Northumbrian kingdom, and the Queen and Paulinus effected their escape by sea into Kent. The provinces of Bernicia and Deira fell to different kings, who relapsed into paganism, but were both treacherously killed soon after by Cadwalla. The Strathclyde king then reigned for a time over the Northumbrians, and the period of his sovereignty was described in later times as the "unhappy year."¶¶

* Unde si hæc nova doctrina certius aliquid attulit merito esse sequenda videtur.—Bede, ii., 13.

† Coifi did not mount the king's horse because there was any journey to make to the temple, but simply to show his contempt for the pagan rule that a priest should only ride upon a mare.—Bede, ii., 13; *Fasti Ebor.*, 41. ‡ Bede, ii., 14. § Drake, *Eboracum*, 472, *ut supra.*

‖ Bede, ii., 20; *Fasti Ebor.*, 43; Freeman, i., 35.

¶ The other references given in the notes, indicate that the passages in Bede, upon which I have relied, have been cited approvingly by several of our most eminent living historians.

** *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, i., 266, 281. †† *Eccles. Hist.*, (Bohn's edit.) pref. xxix. ‡‡ *Ibid*, xxviii.

§§ *Ante*, 6, note ‖. ‖‖ 116-20. ¶¶ Bede, iii., 1.

Oswald, the son of Ethelfrith, and nephew of Edwin, succeeded to the Bernician crown, and in winning the battle of the "Heavenly Field," where Cadwalla was defeated and slain, became king of all Northumbria, and sixth Bretwalda.

Immediate steps were taken by him to re-establish christianity in his dominions, and he naturally turned to the particular form of it in which he had been educated. Accordingly, he sought for his purpose the assistance, not of Paulinus, who was in Kent, but of the Culdees, from Iona.* There was no delay in complying with this request, and Aidan, who arrived in England A.D. 634, was appointed by the king to the bishopric of Lindisfarne.†

Under Oswald, the provinces of the Bernicians and the Deiri, which until then had been at variance, were peacefully united and moulded into one people. These fair prospects, however, were soon to be overcast, for his old enemy Penda, the pagan king of the Mercians, having resolved to renew the struggle and make a second attempt to crush the christian kingdom of the Northumbrians, Oswald, who appears to have anticipated the attack, was killed in a great battle with the Mercians, August 8th, 642.‡

The deceased king was succeeded by his brother Oswy—seventh Bretwalda—who while far from exhibiting his virtues, adhered nominally to the same faith, but patronised ecclesiastics of the Romish communion, in whose esteem the Scottish clergy (*Culdees*), were schismatical, and by whom they were superseded. The great event of this reign was the overthrow of Penda, the victor, successively, over Edwin and Oswald, who acquired the name of "The Strenuous" from his unshaken devotion to the cause of paganism, and incessant hostilities on its behalf.§

But the greatness of Northumbria lasted no longer than the reigns of Oswy and his son Egfrid. The latter was slain in battle by the Picts—685—and the dominion of the northern province died with him, while the kingdom itself sank into comparative insignificance.‖

As already related, a change of ecclesiastical systems occurred under Oswy, and the name of the prelate by whose influence it was accomplished will next enter into the narrative. Wilfrid of York,—described as being in many respects "the Star of the Anglo-Saxon Church,"—by his boldness and skill shook off the supremacy of Colman—the third bishop of Lindisfarne—and built up the Benedictine rule upon the ruins of the system of Columba.¶

Wilfrid (634-709,) a native of Bernicia, and of noble birth, was afterwards "bishop of York, and of all the Northumbrians, and likewise of the Picts, as far as the dominions of king Oswy extended."** But no place was perhaps so dear to his heart as the little monastery of Ripon, which he ruled both in prosperity and adversity, and where he was lovingly interred at his decease.

Wilfrid may be regarded as the first patron of architecture among the Anglo-Saxons. He surrounded the wooden church, in which King Edwin was baptized, with stone, covered it with lead, and furnished it with windows of glass. The cathedral church of Hexham, and the conventual church at Ripon, owe their erection to his munificence.†† The latter became one of the three great churches in Yorkshire, and it was famous throughout England. The privilege of sanctuary and the right of using the ordeal were among the honours conferred upon it by Athelstan. The power of working miracles, which is said to have belonged to Wilfrid in his life time, added in after years to the glory of his shrine. His seal was a sovereign specific for the murrain, and his banner went out frequently, as a talisman, to the wars.‡‡

During the troubled episcopate of Wilfrid—who was twice dispossessed of his see—the vast diocese of Northumbria was subdivided, the plan, as it was finally arranged, in addition to York, placing a bishop at Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Whitherne.§§

When Wilfrid first lost his see—A.D. 678—Bosa received as his share the province of Deira, the seat of his bishopric being placed at York.‖‖ But he seems to have made way for Wilfrid on the latter's return about 686, and to have regained his position a few years later, holding it from that time continuously until his death, which occurred in 705.¶¶

* *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, i., 166; *Fasti Ebor.*, 19; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i., 251.

† Bede, iii., 3. Mr. Robertson observes:—"Culdees were the ministers of York Cathedral, from the date of Oswald's foundation until after the Conquest, and they probably inherited their privileges from the time of Bishop Aidan."—*Scotland under her Early Kings*, i., 333.

‡ Skene, i., 252. § Milner, 60. ‖ Freeman, i., 37.

¶ *Fasti Ebor.*, 78. At the time of the celebrated conference between Wilfrid and Colman—A.D. 664—as representing the Roman party and the Culdees, respectively, the see of York had been vacant many years, and the kingdom of Northumbria was allowed to remain under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Scottish bishops of Lindisfarne.—*Biog. Brit. Lit.* i., 171.

** Bede, iv., 3. The expression in the text "undoubtedly implies," to use the words of Mr. Skene, "that the territory of the Picts formed at this time a constituent part of Oswy's dominions."—*Celtic Scotland*, i., 260.

†† *Fasti Ebor.*, 55-83; *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, i., 164-84; Poulson, *Beverlac*, 662.

‡‡ *Fasti Ebor.*, 79, *ut supra.* §§ *Ibid*, 66. ‖‖ Bede, iv., 12. ¶¶ *Fasti Ebor.*, 84.

Bosa was therefore succeeded, in the life time of Wilfrid, by John, or, as he is generally called, "St. John of Beverley," (705-18), who was of noble parentage, and a native of Harpham, in Yorkshire.

Bede has been very elaborate on the life and miracles of John, and dwells upon his character for piety and learning.* He is claimed, indeed, by the University of Oxford, as her first master of arts, but it has still to be proved that there was an university at Oxford at that time.†

After his translation from Hexham to York, he chose as the place for his retirement, a village called Inderawood—or the wood of the Deiri—which was changed in latter years to Beverley (*Beofor-leag*), from the beavers that then sported in the waters of the Hull. A little church was there, dedicated to the beloved disciple, the name-sake of the holy prelate who now gazed in rapture upon the scenery around him. This church he converted into a monastery, and when he felt the pressure of old age—718—he resigned his bishopric, and retired to Inderawood, to enjoy at the close of life its peaceful shades. There he died—721—and was buried in St. Peter's porch, within the Church that he loved so well, and from which he is called to this day, St. John of Beverley. In 1037 he was solemnly canonized at Rome, and in the same year Archbishop Alfric removed his bones, and deposited them in a precious shrine which was radiant with gold, and silver, and jewels.‡

In England, during many centuries, the name of John of Beverley was held in the greatest reverence, and the fame of his alleged miracles was very widely spread. The cry of St. John, nearly as frequently as that of St. George, particularly in the Scottish wars, gave courage to the soldier in the hour of battle.§

In addition to the miracles performed by John himself, the Bollandists|| have published four books of those which were wrought at his relics, written by eye witnesses of the same. William of Malmsbury has rather an amusing account of one, which he states to have existed even in his day, and was shown as a sight. "The people of the place used to bring bulls, the wildest and fiercest they could find. These unmanageable creatures were brought hampered with cords, and several strong men to drag them along, but, as soon as they entered the church yard in Beverley, they dropped their fierce and formidable nature, and were as tame as if they had been metamorphosed into sheep. The people were so well assured of their inoffensiveness, that they used to turn them loose and play with them."¶

The posthumous fame acquired by the two bishops—Wilfrid and John—in connection with the later histories of their respective shrines, will be referred to with some frequency as we proceed, but I must now take up the thread of Northumbrian history from the death of Egfrid, A.D. 685.

This king was succeeded, but only as it would appear, in the province or realm of the Deiri, by Alfrid, surnamed the Learned, 685-705—who had been trained in the school of Iona. He was the patron of the great literary movement, which, originating with Caedmon and Benedict Biscop, long outlasted the political importance of Northumbria.

During the eighth century Northumbria is only remembered as the home of Bede, Archbishops Egbert and Albert, Alcuin, and other great scholars.

At an earlier period, the principal seats of learning were in Kent, and the south of England, but the kingdom of Northumbria seems to have afforded a still more congenial situation. The school established by Egbert, (735-66), at York was soon famous through Christendom. From all parts of Europe youths of noble birth found their way to the seat of the northern primacy to be taught by the prince-bishop. Albert, his successor (766-82), travelled far and wide in search of books, returning to York with the treasures that he had collected. By this prelate, Alcuin, the glory of his age was raised to the office of *magister scholarum*, and had charge of the famous library, the contents of which in his well-known letter to Charlemagne, A.D. 796, he describes as the "Flowers of Britain." In one of his works, a metrical history of the church of York, he gives a more particular account of this library, which was deemed by William of Malmesbury not only of sufficient importance to be mentioned in his History, but to be styled, "omnium liberalium artium armariam, nobilissimam bibliothecam." But though literature was at its height among our Saxon ancestors in the eighth century, by the tenth it had fallen into such decay, that Oswald, Archbishop of York (972-92), was obliged to send to France for competent masters to place in the monasteries of his province. The greatest destruction of Anglo-Saxon books happened during the numerous inroads of the Danes, from the ninth to the eleventh centnry, when so many of the richest libraries were committed to the flames, along with the monasteries in which they were deposited.**

* v., 2-6. † *Fasti Ebor.*, 84. ‡ *Ibid*, 88, 89; Bede, v., 2, 6; Poulson, *Beverlac, passim.*
§ *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, i., 233. || Acta S.S. ¶ *De Gestis Pontificum Angl.*
** Wharton, *Angl-Sacr.* ii., 201; Warton, i., 196, 208; Milner, 70; *Biog. Brit. Lit.* i., 36, 107; *Fasti Ebor.*, 97, 98, 102.

After 806, the chroniclers cease to give a regular succession of the Northumbrian kings. The supremacy of Egbert of Wessex was peacefully submitted to. Then came the incursions of the Danes, who, in 867, took possession of York, and by whose leader, Halfdene, in 875, Deira was partitioned among his followers.

It is singular and noteworthy, however, that while Deira was actually divided and occupied by the Danes—Bernicia, into whatever degree of subjection it may have been brought to the Danish power, still remained occupied by Englishmen, and under the immediate government of English rulers.*

Here an interesting point suggests itself, with regard to the birthplace of the Craft Legend that has come down to us. The probability is greater that the traditions of old Northumbria were longer preserved in English Bernicia, than in Danish Deira, and in the same way, many oral legends of the "first christian king of the Northumbers," may have survived in the former, that were swept away in the latter.

Even at Edwinesburh, in the extreme north, the fame of its founder must have lingered in the popular memory, when most or all of the floating traditions with regard to him, were submerged beneath the wave of Danish occupation, at York, in the south.

The events last related were followed by the Peace of Wedmore, A.D. 878, to which I have previously referred,† the result being that England became divided into Wessex, Mercia, and the *Danelagh*—the last named district comprising the country ceded to the Danes. I now pass to Athelstan, around whose name many legends have clustered, and among them the alleged grant of three charters, two in rhythmic and one in prose form, conveying in the former some privileges of a cognate character, to those traditionally conferred by the same monarch on the Masons.

But in order that the story I am about to relate, as well as the object with which it is brought into the narrative, may be more clearly understood, a word or two are essential with regard to the supremacy over the other Princes of Britain, achieved by Edward—the father of Athelstan—A.D. 922-24.

From 924, to the fourteenth century, the vassalage of Scotland was an essential part of the public law of the Isle of Britain. No doubt many attempts were made to cast off the dependent relation which had been voluntary incurred; but when a king of the English had once been chosen "to father and to lord," his successors never willingly gave up the position which had thus been conferred upon them. Whenever the King of England is strong enough he always appears as the acknowledged feudal superior of the King of Scots.‡

It must also be borne in mind that in the days of Edward and Athelstan, Lothian was still English (or Danish), an integral part of Bernicia, and that the kingdom of Strathclyde was not conquered and abolished until the time of Edmund—the brother and successor of Athelstan—A.D. 945.

The adventures of Athelstan, on his march against the Scots, have next to be recounted, but at the very outset I may explain, that the most marvellous of them all, was circumstantially related by Edward I., in a letter to Pope Boniface VIII., as declaratory of his right to the kingdom of Scotland.§

The dates as well as the order of events are conflicting, but a careful writer tells us:—"The truth seems rather to be that Athelstan, when he came with his army to Ripon, on his expedition against the Scots, vowed, that if it should prove successful, he would endow the churches of York, Ripon, and Beverley, with profitable privileges; and that his Grant consisted in the creation and conveyance of peculiar and exempt legal jurisdiction, over those manorial and appurtenant lands already acquired by the see of York, and since, comprehended in what is termed the franchise, or "Liberty of Ripon."‖

Two charters granted by Athelstan to the monastery of St. Wilfrid, were printed by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*, one in old English verse, and the other in Latin prose.¶ The following is the English charter, which is similar to that granted by the same monarch to the church at Beverley, and concedes the privilege of sanctuary, together with the ordeal of fire and water, freedom from tax or tribute, and other immunities.

Vide addenda post p. 56.

* Freeman, i., 644; Robertson, ii., 430.

† *Ante*, 19, *q.v.*

‡ Freeman, i. 58, *ut supra*. The legal and permanent dependence of Scotland upon England from 924 to 1328, is denied by Scottish writers. But the A.S. Chronicle—A.D. 924—plainly states that *the people of Scotland*, as well as the king, chose Edward as their lord, and therefore the only doubtful point seems to be, whether he became lord to each particular man? The clause in the "Old Charges" "to be liegeman to the King of England" is here worthy of our consideration, for though "Englaland," in its different forms does not appear in the Chronicles until the year 1014, the same idea as that underlying the Charge in the Manuscript Constitutions, viz: the supremacy of an over lord, may have been passed down from mouth to mouth by song and recitation, from A.D. 924, or even from the Bretwaldadom of Edwin of Northumbria.

§ Responsio ad literas Bonifacii VIII., Papæ antedictas, declaratoria de jure Regis Angliæ ad regnum Scotiæ.—Rymer, *Foedera*, i., 932.

‖ Walbran, *Guide to Ripon*, 7.

¶ These Charters are also referred to by Allen, *Hist. County of York*, iii., 365; in *Magna Britannia*, vi., 499; and by Sheahan and Whellan, *Hist. and Topog. of York*, ii., 174; iii., 21.

CARTA ADELSTANI REGIS SANCTO WILFRIDO DE RIPPON CONCESSA*

Wyt all that es and es gan
Þat ik King Adelstan
As gyuen als frelich as I may
And to Þe capitell of Seint Wilfrai,
Of my free deuotion,
Þair pees at Rippon
On ilke side Þe kyrke a mile,
For all ill deeds and ylke agyle,
And wiþin Þair kirke yate
At Þe stan Þat GriÞstole hate;
WiÞin Þe kirke dore and Þe quare
Þair haue pees for les and mare.
Ilkan of Þes stedes sal haue pees
Of frodmortell and il deeds
Þat Þair don is, tol, tem,
With iren and with water deme;
And Þat Þe land of Seint Wilfrai
Of alkyn geld fre sal be ay.
At na man at langes me to
In Þair Herpsac sal haue at do;
And for ik will at Þa be saue
I will at Þai alkyn freedom haue;
And in al Þinges be als free
As hert may thynke or eygh may se,
At te power of a kinge
Masts make free any Þynge.
And my seale haue I sett Þerto,
For I will at na man it undo.

Either before or after his visit to Ripon, King Athelstan is said to have gone to Beverley, where, at his request, he was conducted to the sepulchre of St. John. Prostrating himself before the relics of the holy man, he devoutly prayed for his protection and assistance, and drawing his dagger from its scabbard, he placed it on the high altar, as a pledge that, should he succeed in his undertaking, and return alive to claim it, he would shew honour to the church and increase its possessions. The 'custodes ecclesiæ,' who witnessed this solemn vow, suggested to the king that he should take some token with him of having visited the sacred spot. Therefore he caused a standard to be taken from the Church—which was borne before him in his subsequent battles. He then pursued his march to York to join his army.

St. John seems to have had the king from this time under his protection, and, indeed, on the eve of battle, is said to have appeared to him in a vision, attired in a pontifical habit. The Saint charged Athelstan to pass the river which separated the two kingdoms, fearlessly with his army. This the king communicated to the troops, who highly inspirited thereby, crossed the river as they were commanded, and duly vanquished the opposing Scots.† After this, Athelstan ravaged the country, and when in the vicinity of Dunbar, "He praieed unto God, that at the instance of St. John of Beverlaie, it would please him to grant that he might shew some open token, whereby it should appear to all them that then lived, or should hereafter succeed, *that the Scots ought to be subject unto the Kings of England;* herewith the king smote with his sword upon a great stone, standing near the Castle of Dunbar, and with the stroke there appeared a cleft in the same stone to the length of an elme,‡ which remainde to be shewed as a witnesse of that thing manie years after."§§

Upon the return of Athelstan from Scotland, he again repaired to Beverley, and fully redeemed his pledge, by conferring many important privileges and possessions on the Church of St. John, among the former being the right of sanctuary, which it retained until the Reformation.

Of the numerous variations of the legend, the following will perhaps be found the most interesting. It is related that Godruff, the cellarer of the monastery, after Athelstan's vigil and departure, also set out on a journey to the north. The former, however, when the King

§. Vide addenda post. p. 56.

* Kemble, Cod. Dipl. Ævi Sax. (1839-47), ii., 188, 189; Thorpe, Dipl. Ang. Ævi Sax. (1865), 182, 183, Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.* ii., 133.

† *Fœdera*, 1816, i. (pt. ii.), 771.

‡ Quatinus tam succedentes quam presentes cognoscere possent Scotos Anglorum Regno Jure Subjugari: et videns quosdam scopulos juxta quendam locum prope Dunbar, in Scotia, prominere; extracto gladii, dei virtute agente, ita cavatur, ut mensura ulnae longitudine possit coaptari, etc.—*Ibid*, 932.

§ Holinshed, *Chron.*, vi., 20. This miracle is quoted at length in the letter already cited from Edward I. to Pope Boniface VIII., and from which the preceding note is an extract.

returned to Beverley, avoided the royal presence, but one day they met accidentally. "Who art thou?" said the king. "I am," replied the cellarer, "an humble brother, who has been living in seclusion by reason of a vow." "Yet thy features are familiar to me," continued the king, "thou art marvellously like St. John, who appeared to me in vision on the eve of the battle." Godruff, though a little disconcerted, was soon cool enough to reply, "It may be so, my lord, for I am descended from the same family, and the likeness has previously been remarked."*

According to the historian of Beverley, it was on the occasion of his *first* expedition against the Scots, in 933, that Athelstan visited the shrine of St. John, and deposited his "cultellum" on the high altar; while it was on his *second* expedition, which terminated with the battle of Brunanburh—937—that he displayed, as it is said, the standard of the Saint.† (post. p. 58)

The privileges granted by Athelstan to the Church, were confirmed by Edward the Confessor,‡ and afterwards by William the Conqueror, the latter, it is said, having done so in consequence of a miracle wrought by St. John. Various were the struggles made by the English to throw off the yoke of the Normans, and the most prominent success was in Northumbria. Crowds of English, with Waltheof, son of the celebrated Siward, Edgar the Atheling, and others, united with the Danes, who, entering the Humber, were very cordially received. The news of the loss of York and of the slaughter of the three thousand Normans who formed its garrison, was speedily conveyed to William, and in an outburst of wrath the king swore, *by God's splendour*, his usual oath, that he would destroy all the people of Northumbria. He spread his camps over the country for the space of a hundred miles, and then the execution of his vow began. Alfred of Beverley, a monkish writer of the twelfth century, who was treasurer of the collegiate church of St. John, and resided there, states, "that the Conqueror destroyed men, women, and children, from York even to the Western sea, except those who fled to the Church of the glorious confessor, the most blessed John at Beverley, as the only asylum. When it was known that the king's army had pitched their tents within seven miles of Beverley, all the people of the district fled thither for protection, and brought their valuables with them. Certain soldiers for the purposes of plunder, entered the town, and not meeting with any resistance had the temerity to advance to the churchyard. Thurstinus, their captain, on seeing a venerable man sumptuously attired, with golden bracelets on his arms, moving towards the Church, (to the astonishment of the people, who wondered what he could be doing on the *outside* of it), dashed after him, sword in hand, without the least respect to the place, rushing through the doors of the edifice, which he had scarcely entered before he became a corpse, falling from his horse with a broken neck, and his head turned towards his back, his feet and hands distorted like a misshapen monster. This was considered a miracle by all. The astonished and terrified companions of Thurstinus, throwing down their arms, humbly besought John to have mercy on them; then returning to the king, related the circumstances to him, who fearing a similar revenge upon the rest of his army, sent for the elders of the Church, and whatever liberty had been conferred by former kings and princes to the Church, he confirmed by his royal authority and seal. That he might not fall short of his predecessors in munificence, he decorated the Church with valuable presents, and increased its possessions; and to prevent his army from disturbing its peace, he commanded them to remove to a greater distance, and there pitch their tents."§

Thus were the demesne lands of St. John surrounded as it were with a magic ring, amid the most appalling scenes of cruelty, devastation, and blood. No less than one hundred thousand persons are stated by William of Malmesbury to have perished, and a district of sixty miles in length, which had been full of towns and cultivated fields, is said to have remained desolate even to his day.‖

The fabulous appearance of St. John is merely related in order to show what was written—and doubtless believed—within less than a century after the safety of the minster had been ensured by his alleged miraculous interference.

But the devastation wrought by William, and the immunity enjoyed by Beverley, are well attested facts, and of this period it has been observed:—"The City of York,

* Parkinson, *Yorkshire Legends and Traditions*, 84. † *Beverlac*, 35.

‡ This king, at the request of Archbishop Alfric (*ante* 25), allowed *three* fairs to be held at Beverley in each year, but the privilege seems to have been more than counterbalanced by a custom of the same prelate's institution. It was, "that the principal inhabitants of Beverley, and the more noble of those who dwelt nigh, should *thrice* in the year follow the relics of St. John, within and without the town, both fasting and barefooted."

§ Aluredi Beverlacensis *Annales* (Hearne) 129. See also, the statements of John of Brompton, and Henry Knighton of Leicester, *apud* Twysden, X *Scriptt.* 966, 2345.

‖ *Beverlac*, 45. Hallam observes, "The whole country between the Tyne and the Humber was laid so desolate, that for nine years afterwards there was not an inhabited village, and hardly an inhabitant left; the wasting of this district having been followed by a famine, which swept away the whole population. The desolation continued in Malmesbury's time, sixty or seventy years afterwards.—*Middle Ages*, ii., 312.

captured and re-captured, was in ashes; the minster with its treasures—its muniments, and the glorious library which had been the pride of Saxon England—all were surrendered to the flames. The archiepiscopal lands were wasted. Beverley was the only place in Yorkshire that escaped."*

Athelstan's grant appears to have been confirmed by every king of England from Edward the Confessor to Edward IV., and by many of them the original grantor is referred to in their charters. This occurs in one from Stephen, to whom—says Alfred of Beverley—St. John appeared in a vision, and in another from Richard II., but the first king who quotes the words,

"Al's free make I thee,
As hert may think,
Or eyhe may see,"

as having been inserted in the first charter of all, was Henry IV. They also appear in a petition† of the Commons to Henry V., in a charter from Henry VIII., and may still be seen on a tablet in Beverley minster under a portrait of King Athelstan.‡

Stephen, John, Edward I., Edward II., Henry IV., and Henry V. each visited the shrine of St. John, while pilgrims in thousands, rich and poor, nobles and peasants, resorted unto it.

Twice, or more, Edward I. carried with him to Scotland the banner of the Saint as a talisman in the wars.§

The victory of Agincourt was won on the 25th of October, the day on which the translation of the remains of the Saint was commemorated, and Henry V. attributed his success to the intercession of St. John.|| At the same time the relics at Beverley were moved in sympathy, and we have it on the authority of Archbishop Chichely, of Canterbury (1416), that during the engagement, "holy oil flowed by drops like sweat out of his tomb."¶

The victor of Agincourt shewed his gratitude by making a pilgrimage to the shrine with his Queen, in August, 1420.**

CARTA ADELSTANI REGIS
SANCTO JOHANNI BEVERLACI††

Þat witen alle Þat euer been,
Þat Þis charter heren and seen,
Þat I Þe king Adelstan
Has yaten and giuen to seint Iohn
Of Beuerlike, Þat sai I yow,
Tol and theam, Þat wit ye now,
Sok and sake ouer al Þat land
Þat es giuen into his hand,
On euer ilke kinges dai,
Be it all free Þan and ay;
Be it almousend, be all free
Wit ilke man and eeke wit mee.
Þat wil i be him Þat me scop
Bot til an ercebiscop,
And til Þe seuen minstre prestes
Þat serues God Þer saint Iohn restes.
Þat giue i God and seint Iohn
Her befor you euer ilkan.
All my herst corn ineldeel ‡‡
To uphald his minstre weell:
Þa fourÞreue be heuen kinge
Of ilka plough of estriding.
If it swa betid, or swa gaas,
Þat ani man her again taas §§
Be he baron, be he erle,
Clark, prest, parson, or cherel;

* *Fasti Ebor.*, 146. The curious reader is further referred to the X *Scriptt.*, *loc. cit.*; and Freeman, iv., 289-92.

† The preamble of this instrument recites, "that King Athelstan promised if God should grant him success in his march, by giving him the victory over the Scots, he would endow the Churches of York, Beverley, and Ripon, with profitable liberties and franchises for ever."

‡ Leland, *Collectanea*, ii., 364; *Beverlac*, 55, 162, 176, 530, 563; *Fasti Ebor.*, 91.

§ *Beverlac*, 83; *Fasti Ebor.*, 380.

|| *Fasti Ebor.*, 91. Gifts poured in to the shrine of St. John. Even so late as the fifteenth century its fame, and the fame of the saint, had by no means diminished. At the battle of Agincourt (A.D. 1415), St. John was said to have appeared in the ranks of the English army, sitting on a white horse, and to have encouraged the men with many gracious words.—*Yorkshire Legends and Traditions*, 85.

¶ In a letter to the Bishop of London, requesting that in consequence of the great victory, the day of St. John's burial, *i.e.* the 7th of May, should be observed with due state and ceremony.—*Beverlac*, *app.* vii.; *Fasti Ebor.*, 91; Sir Harris Nicholas, *Battle of Agincourt*, 176.

** *Beverlac*, 191.

†† Dugdale, ii., 129; Kemble, ii., 186; Thorpe, 180. The charter will also be found in Lansdowne MS., 269—the copy there given, being, as I am informed by Mr. J. Compton Price, in the handwriting of John Withie, a herald painter, and of approximate date, A.D. 1619.

‡‡ hest corne and meldrel. §§ saes.

Na be he ne ꝑat ilk Gome
I will forsaye ꝑat he come
(ꝑat wit ye weel or and or)
Till saint Iohn mynstre dor;
And ꝑar i will (swo Crist me red)
ꝑat he bet his misded,
Or he be cursed son on on
Wit al ꝑat seruis saint Iohn.
Yif it swa betid and swa es,
ꝑat ꝑe man in mansing es:*
I sai yow ouer fourti daghes,
(Swilk† ꝑan be sain Iohn laghes)
ꝑat ꝑe chapitel of Beuerlike
Til ꝑe scirif of Euerwike
Send ꝑair writ son onan,
ꝑat ꝑis mansedman‡ be tan.
ꝑe scirref ꝑan say i ye,
Witouten any writ one me
Sal nimen him (swo Crist me red)
And into my prison lede,
And hald him (ꝑat is my wilt)
Til he bet his misgilt.
If men reises newe laghes
In any oꝑer kinges daghes,
Be ꝑay fromed, be ꝑay yemed
Wit yham of the mynstre demed,
ꝑe mercy of ye misdeed,
Gif i saint Iohn, swo Crist me red,
Yif man be cald of limes or lif
Or men chalenges land in strif
Wit my bodlaik,§ wit writ of right,
Y wil saint Iohn haue ye might.
ꝑat man ꝑar for noght fight in feeld,
Nowꝑer wit staf no wit sheeld:
Bot twelue men wil i ꝑat it telle
Swa sal it be swo heer ibelle.‖
And he ꝑat him swo werne may
Ouercomen be he euer and ay.
Als he in feld war ouercomen,
ꝑe crauantise of him be nomen.
ꝑat yati¶ God and saint Iohn
Her befor iow and euer ilkon.
If manbe founden slan idrunkend,**
Sterued on saint Iohn rite,†† his aghen men,
Wiꝑouten swike his aghen bailiffs make ye sight,
Nan oyer coroner haue ꝑe might:
Swa mikel fredom giue i ye,
Swa hert may think or eghe see.
ꝑat haue i ꝑought and forbiseen,
I will ꝑat ꝑer euer been.
Samening and mynstre lif
Last follike‡‡ witouten strif,
God help alle ꝑas ilk men
ꝑat helpes to ꝑe ꝑowen. Amen.

The privileges granted by this charter, are:

Tol, theam, sok, sake,
A writ de excommunicando capiendo
Judgment of life and member,
A writ of right,
To hold the office of Coroner,
The right of Sanctuary,

Also the gift of Hestraffa, or herst corn; that is, of all the provender which was yearly payable to King Athelstan for his horses throughout the East Riding, being four thraves of corn for every ploughland throughout the district. Independently of the gift of herst corn, King Athelstan gave to the CHURCH§§ the lordship of Beverley, as well as lands in Brandsburton and Lockington.‖‖‖

* that the mansings is. † whilke. ‡ his manserman. § god lake. ‖ swa here well.
¶ hat. ** founden dronken. †† St. Iohns rike. ‡‡ for euer.

§§ The privileges subsequently enjoyed by the burgesses of Beverley are stated, very incorrectly, to have been granted to them by King Athelstan, (*ante* 3)—whereas the germ whence these immunities sprang, which afterwards flourished so luxuriantly, was a charter obtained from Archbishop Thurstan, A.D. 1114—40.

‖‖‖ *Beverlac*, 39, 40.

It was an appendage to many grants of land, that the possessors should have the soc, sac, toll, team, and infangthef. These words generally went together in the description of such privileges, and signify the holding of a court to which all freemen of the territory should repair, of deciding pleas therein, as well as of imposing amercements according to law, of taking tolls upon the sale of goods, and of punishing capitally a thief taken in the fact within the limits of the Manor.*

A commentator upon the preceding charter, observes :—"The Saxon language was in use until after the reign of Stephen, when the Saxon Chronicle was composed, in which the deeds of Athelstan are recorded very fully. The union of the Norman and Saxon languages appears, both from internal evidence and political history, to have been complete about 1216. The language of the Beverley charter seems somewhat more modern than that of Layamon's translation of Wace's Brit [*Brut*] and more accordant with that of Robert of Gloucester, who flourished about 1280. Perhaps a conjecture may be safely hazarded, that the charter in its present form is a production of the reign of Edward I., about the year 1300. That king's visits to Beverley, and his taking the standard of St. John with him to Scotland, would naturally revive the remembrance of Athelstan's expedition, which is accordingly copiously alluded to by Walsingham and other chroniclers. At p. 97, v. i., of Warton's History of Poetry, is a fragment on Athelstan, which is attributed to this very period. Nothing therefore is more probable, than that the memory of Athelstan's Scottish invasion should recall that of his grants to Beverley, and lead the monks to *recast them in verse*, according to the custom of the age. A rhyming grant to the ancestor of the Rawdon family is given in Collins's Peerage; and a rhyming charter (ascribed to *Edward the Confessor*), to Ralph Peperking, or Peverell, beginning 'Iche Edward koming,' is said to be among the records in the exchequer of Hilary term, 17, Edw. II. (see Camden's Brit. Essex). Yorkshire at this period was not deficient in men capable of producing better poetry than was here required. Robert de Brunne, of Malton, who was connected with the lords of Cottingham, who were also lords of Brunne; Robert Baston, the Carmelite friar of Scarbro'; Peter de Langtoft, an Augustine monk of Bridlington; and Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hempole; all flourished about this time."†

As to the value of doubtful or spurious charters, some remarks of Mr. Freeman are so much in point, that I shall here introduce them.—"A forger will naturally reproduce whatever he thinks most characteristic of the class of documents which he is imitating. The spurious documents are, in this way, evidence just as much as the genuine ones; they continue the tradition of the genuine ones. The doubtful and spurious charters have therefore a certain value; their formulæ are part of the case, and I have not scrupled to add them to my list."‡

Of the Anglo-Saxon Charters, Sir Francis Palgrave says, "Successive copyists modernized the language, and reduced the pure Anglo-Saxon of Ethelred to the Anglo-Norman or English of the Plantagenets."§

Of the grant, by Athelstan, to the Church at Beverley, of a charter, *in some form*, there can hardly be a doubt, and among the instruments described by antiquaries as having been inventoried at one time as belonging to the collegiate or municipal archives of that town are,

"The Charter of King Athelstan of the immunity, liberty, and sanctuary of the lands of St. John, writ in Saxon."

"The Charter of priveleges given *to* the King Athelstane *by* St. John of Beverley, [*italics mine*] A.D. 925."‖

The leuga, or privileged circuit of St. John, included the *town* of Beverley within its bounds. The privilege of sanctuary was connected with the *Church*, in which the *frid stool* was placed, but the refugees, called grithmen, were *domiciliated within the town*, and had the oath administered to them by the secular officer of the Archbishop. This official was directed to inquire of each refugee :—

"What man he killed, and wher with, and both ther names : and then gar hym lay his hand vppon the book, saying in this wyse,

Sir tak hede on your oth. Ye shalbe trew and feythful to my lord Archbishop of York, lord off this towne, to the provest of thessame, to the chanons of this chirch, and all othir ministr's thereof.

Also ye shall bere no poynted wapen, dagger, knyfe, ne none other wapen agenst the Kyngs pece.

Also ye shalbe redy at all your power if ther be any debate or stryf or sothan case of fyre within the town to help to s'cess it.

* Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii., 299. In an alleged charter granted—A.D. 948—by Edred to the monastery of Croyland, the following occurs :—"Quare uolo quod dicti monachi habeant ista praedia de donatione et confirmatione mea, libera et soluta ab omni causa et onere saeculari, et omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines, cum omni illo quod appelatur *socha, sacha, tol* et *tem, infangthef*, weif et stray, et cum hiis legitime appendentibus, in puram et perpetuam eleemosinam meam." Kemble, *Cod. Dipl, Ævi Sax.* ii., 283.

† *Beverlac*, 40, 41.

‡ *Norman Conquest*, i., 554.

§ *English Commonwealth*, ii., 9.

‖ Leland, *Collectanea* vi., 43; *Beverlac, app.* i. The documents are also referred to in the *Monasticon*.

Also ye shall be redy at the obite* of King Adelstan, at the dirige and the messe at such tyme as it is done at the warnyng of the belman of the town, and do your dewte in ryngyng, and for to offer at the messe on the morne, so help you God and thies holy evangelists. And then gar hym kysse the book."

The various crimes and circumstances of those who resorted to the Sanctuary, were duly recorded, and of these entries the following is a specimen :—

"On the 20th day of August in the 25th year of King Henry VIII., Henry Shepman late of London pinner came to the liberty and sanctuary of St. John of Beverley for felony and other causes touching the safety of his body and the deprivation of his members and is admitted and sworn."†

These grithmen were often pardoned on condition of their serving in the king's army. In the 31st Edward I., the sanctuary-men at Beverley and many thousands of thieves and out-laws were allowed to enlist. The same practice continued under Edward III., by which king, A.D. 1334, a number of malefactors, who had joined him, were permitted to return home. John le Yong of Beverley, and twenty-two other homicides and robbers, as they are termed, had a similar license accorded to them.‡ [Vide addenda. post. p. 58]

Returning to the narrative, there are statements that in the same expedition, Athelstan also invoked the protection of St. Cuthbert, but this version of the story presents no features which are of interest in the inquiry we are upon.

The next scene, therefore, will be laid at York, at which city, until the dissolution of these associations, there was an hospital called St. Leonard's, the chartulary of which, a beautifully written volume, engrossed in the reign of Henry V., passed into the Cotton collection, where it is now preserved in that section of the British Museum Library. From this book Dugdale has printed in his *Monasticon* an abstract, which furnishes the following particulars :—

When Athelstan was on his march against the Scots, he halted at York—A.D. 936§—and there besought of the ministers of St. Peter's Church, who were then called *Colidei*, to offer up their prayers on behalf of himself and his expedition, promising them that, if he returned victorious, he would confer suitable honour upon the church and its ministers. Accordingly, after a successful campaign, he revisited this church, and observing that the *Colidei*, who maintained a number of poor people, had but little whereon to live, he granted to them and their successors for ever, a thrave of corn from every ploughland in the diocese of York—a donation which continued to be enjoyed until a late period under the name of Petercorn.

The record goes on to state, that these Colidei continued to receive fresh accessions to their endowments, and especially from Thomas, whom William the Conqueror advanced to the see of York in 1070. The Colidei soon after erected or founded in the same city, on a site which had belonged to the crown, an hospital or halting place for the poor who flocked thither, to which were transferred the endowments that the said Colidei or clerics had hitherto received. William Rufus removed the hospital to another part of the city, and king Stephen, when further augmenting its resources, changed its name from St. Peter's to St. Leonard's hospital. It contained a master or warden and 13 brethren, 4 secular priests, 8 sisters, 30 choristers, 2 school-masters, 206 beadsmen, and 6 servitors.|| I find a confirmation of its privileges, in the Statute-book, so late as 1423.¶

It would appear that these Colidei were the officiating clergy of the Cathedral of St. Peter's at York in 936, and that they discharged the double function of divine service and eleemosynary entertainment; thus combining the two leading characteristics of the old conventual system which was common to the Irish and Benedictine rules. But when things assumed a new complexion, and a Norman Archbishop was appointed, the Colidei, or old order of officiating clergy, were superseded, and were removed to another quarter of the city, whither they took their endowments with them, and thus continued through several centuries, under an altered economy and title, till all memory of their origin had perished, save what was recorded in the preamble of their charter-book.**

* In religious houses they had a register or calendar, wherein they entered the obits or obitual days of their founders or benefactors, which was thence called the obituary. At Beverley besides the solemn observance of their patron saint's day, and the splendid exequies of King Athelstan, there were obits kept for King Edward III., Queen Phillippa, and many other persons.

† In the Latin entries the concluding words generally are "et admissus est ac juratus."

‡ Landsdowne MS. 4292 ; *Sanctuar Dunelm. et Beverlac.* (Surtees Soc. v., 97 *et seqq.*); Poulson, 100, 107, 248, 611, 664 ; *Fasti Ebor.*, 358.

§ In a previous work, and as a footnote to the story which is being related in the text, I observed : —"It is highly probable that the legend which connects English Masonry with a charter granted by Athelstan at York, A.D., 926, has been derived from the incident narrated above. The form of the legend, as given by Dr. Anderson in the Constitutions of 1723, varies slightly from that in the edition of 1738. In the former, he places the date of the occurrence at *about* 930; in the latter, at 926. In the former he styles the congregation at York a General Lodge ; in the latter a Grand Lodge."—*Hist.*, i., 52.

|| Cotton MS. Nero D. iv. ; Dugdale, *Monasticon Angl.*, (1846) vi., pt. ii., 607 ; Drake, *Eboracum*, 232.

¶ 2 Hen. VI. c. ii.

** Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands*, 59, 60.

The facts then are, that the Cathedral of St. Peter's at York, was begun under Edwin in 627, and the officiating clergy of the same edifice were granted a charter by Athelstan about the year 936. Here at all events two leading incidents in the Legend of the Craft coalesce in a common centre—York Minster—which Edwin founded, and whose ministers Athelstan endowed.

Before, however, commencing to sum up the evidence, it is incumbent upon me to lay the whole of it before the reader, and this, after a parting glance at the Colidei, I shall proceed to do, by resuming and concluding my sketch of the early history of Northumbria.

Mr. Robertson observes:—"It is worthy of notice that *a Hospital* is generally to be found where Culdees can be traced to have existed, and this hospital is generally dedicated to St. Leonard.

"A prior and twelve Culdees constituted the College of Kilrimont, better known under the subsequent name of St. Andrews. Upon seven of the community devolved the duty of ministration at the altar. The altar-offerings were divided into seven portions; one for the bishop, another for the hospital,—that invariable appendage of a Culdee monastery; while the remaining five became the property of the five Culdees, who never officiated at the altar, on the condition of entertaining all pilgrims and strangers when the hospital (which contained six) was full; and upon such occasions the host was decided upon by lot."*

It is not a little remarkable, that the part of old Northumberland which is quite away from the Humber, has kept the name of Northumberland to this day. This resulted from the policy of the Danes, who conquered and occupied Yorkshire (or Deira), but allowed Egbert, an Anglo-Saxon, to assume the crown of the country beyond the Tyne (or Bernicia), and to direct the executive machinery under their paramount authority. Thus, while Yorkshire was parcelled out amongst the invaders, and adopted as their home, modern Northumberland was left in a great measure in the hands of its Anglo-Saxon inhabitants, who were even permitted to live under rulers of their own race, in subordination to the Danish kings.† Egbert was succeeded in his government by other Anglian rulers, but in the southern district of old Northumbria there seems to have been much disorder. According to Henry of Huntington, "the Danes reigned in a confused manner, sometimes there was a single king, at others two, sometimes even more."

Among those who submitted to Edward the Elder, A.D. 924, were Regnold, the Danish king at York, Constantine of Scotland, Ealdred of Bamburgh, and the king of Strathclyde.

Ealdred of Bamburgh was the son of Athulf, or Eadulf, who is described by a chronicler as duke of Bamburgh. These princes were the successors of those Anglo-Saxon kings who ruled the country beyond the Tyne in subordination to the Danes, during the reigns of Ingwar, Halfdene, and Guthred.‡

In the second year of Athelstan—A.D. 926—all the vassal kings, together with Ealdred—styled by Mr. Freeman "a solitary Northumbrian chief who still sustained some sort of dependent royalty"—renewed their homage.§

Athelstan was succeeded in his empire by his two younger brothers, Edmund and Edred. The former, who conquered and abolished the kingdom of Strathclyde, granted the greater portion of it—including Cumberland, Galloway and other districts—to Malcolm the Scottish king, as a fief; the latter finally subdued Northumbria, A.D. 954, and the last phantom of Bernician royalty vanished.

At this period, Osulf, the son of Ealdred, was the Earl (duke, or king) of Bamburgh, and as a reward for relinquishing his petty sovereignty, received the Earldom of Yorkshire, his government being thus extended over all that remained of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. Henceforth, the northern Earldom, of which Bamburgh was the capital, and to which the name of Northumberland was afterwards limited, appears to have descended to his family, as he himself enjoyed it, by inheritance; while the government of Yorkshire was bestowed at pleasure by the Saxon and Danish monarchs of England. He was himself deprived of the latter before his death, by Edgar, the nephew and successor of Edred, who again divided the old kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, allowing the northern province to remain under the rule of Osulf, but granting the southern one to Oslac.||

According to John of Wallingford, Kenneth, king of Scots, accompanied by these two Northumbrian Earls, went to London, where, with the consent of his Witan, Edgar granted to him the province of Lothian. Kenneth did homage for the fief, and promised that the ancient laws and customs of the country should be preserved and the English language retained, an engagement which was strictly carried out.¶

* *Scotland under her Early Kings*, i. 333, 338. † Hinde, *History of Northumberland*, 120, 158.

‡ *Ibid*, 140. § *Norman Conquest*, i., 59. || Hinde, 159.

¶ Sub cautione multâ promittens quod populo partis illius antiquas consuetudines non negaret, et sub nomine et linguâ Anglicanâ permanerent. Quod usque hodie firmum manet.—*Chron.* Joh. of Wallingford, *ap.* Gale, ii., 545.

That the conditions, mentioned by John of Wallingford—the retention of the laws and language of Lothian—were strictly observed, is proved by the whole later history. The laws and language of Lothian became the laws and language of the historic Scotland.*

As we shall presently see, the cession of Lothian has been ascribed to a later date, but of the fact that this district from the time of Edwin the Bretwalda, and long after, was politically as well as ethnologically English, there exists no doubt whatever.

Oslac, the Earl of Yorkshire (or Deira) was banished A.D. 975, and in the same year we find Eadulf† (or Waltheof‡) seated at Bamburgh, as the successor of his father Osulf in the northern Earldom.

Towards the close of his career—A.D. 1006—Bernicia was invaded by the Scots, and the lord of Bamburgh, afraid of meeting them in the field, shut himself up in his castle. But his place was taken by his son Uhtred, who levied an army, rescued Durham, and gained a signal victory over the Scots. For this he received his father's Earldom, and that of Yorkshire also.§ Uhtred's second wife was the daughter of a rich citizen, whose bitter enemy, Thurbrand, he promised to kill; which, unfortunately for himself, he failed to do, and on the marriage being set aside, became the son-in-law of king Ethelred.‖

In 1013, Northumberland, under Uhtred, submitted to Canute, but now the influence of the old feud made itself felt. Thurbrand, whom he had before engaged and omitted to kill, was now allowed to kill him. England was divided by Canute into four great governments, and that of Northumberland he bestowed on his brother-in-law, Eric, a Dane.

It is stated that the authority of Eric did not extend to Bernicia, but it seems probable that Eadulf Cudel, the brother of Uhtred, was allowed to hold the northern division of the Earldom under the supremacy of the Dane, and that he succeeded to the whole when Eric was banished some years later.¶

In 1018 there was another Scottish invasion. Malcolm II. entered England, and a great battle took place at Carham on the Tweed, in which the Scots gained a decisive victory over the whole force of the Bernician Earldom.

According to one theory, the annexation of Lothian to the Scottish kingdom was the result of this battle, but the whole matter has been made the subject of a separate study by Mr. Freeman, from which the following is an extract:—"The question with regard to Lothian is simply this. Was the cession of that part of Northumberland to the Scottish crown a grant from Edgar to his faithful vassal Kenneth? Or was the district wrung by Malcolm from the fears of Eadwulf Cutel, or won by force of arms after the battle of Carham in 1018? The simplest explanation is to suppose that Lothian was recovered by the English after the great victory of Uhtred in 1006; that it was occupied again by the Scots after their victory at Carham, and that then the cowardly Eadwulf relinquished all claim to it."**

It is strange, no doubt, that a monarch like Canute should have acquiesced in the cession of any portion of his dominions, but with regard to this part of his reign there is much obscurity, and all we know with certainty is, that in 1031, if not before, "he set matters straight." In that year, not only Malcolm II., but also Jehmarc and Macbeth—two other Scottish chiefs—became the "men" of the king of all England.††

Edulf Cudel did not long survive the defeat of his forces at Carham, and was succeeded, but in the Bernician Earldom only, by his nephew Ealdred, the son of Uhtred. The new Earl straightway put to death Thurbrand, the murderer of his father, and was himself slain in turn, about the year 1038, by Carl, the son of his victim.

Ealdred was succeeded by his half-brother Eadulf, who held the Bernician Earldom for three years, during which time he seems to have maintained, like his two immediate predecessors, a precarious independence, unrecognized, but unmolested, by the Anglo-Danish kings.‡‡

At this period, the southern Earldom was in the possession of the famous Siward, a Dane, whose gigantic stature, vast strength, and personal prowess, made him a favourite hero of romance. His wife was a daughter of Earl Ealdred, and in her right he may have laid a claim to the Bernician Earldom. But however this may be, in the same way that Canute permitted or incited the slaughter of Uhtred at the hands of Thurbrand, so Hardicanute permitted or incited the slaughter of Eadulf at the hands of Siward, the husband of his niece.§§

The murderer then obtained—A.D. 1041—the whole Earldom of Northumberland, which he held until his death, A.D. 1055, when it was given by Edward the Confessor to his brother-in-law, Tostig, not only to the prejudice of Waltheof, the son of Siward, but of the numerous male descendants of the ancient lords of Bamburgh.‖‖

* Freeman, i., 578, *ut supra*. † Hinde, 159. ‡ Freeman, i., 645. § Hinde, 159.
‖ Freeman, i., 326, 327. ¶ Hinde, 162; Freeman, i., 377; Robertson, ii., 442.
** *Norman Conquest*, i., 573-79. †† *Ibid*, 447, 578; *A. S. Chron., sub. anno*. ‡‡ Hinde, 164.
§§ Freeman, i., 521. ‖‖ Hinde, 166.

Ten years later—A.D. 1065—the chief men of both divisions of Northumberland, rose in revolt. A Gemót was held, at which Tostig was deposed, and Morkar, a Mercian, elected in his place.*

Morkar kept Deira, or as it was beginning to be called, Yorkshire, in his own hands. But the government of the northern province, the old Bernicia (but without Lothian), now beginning to be distinctly called Northumberland, he entrusted to Osulf, the young son of Eadulf, the predecessor of Siward.†

The proceedings of the Northumbrians were approved at a Gemót, held at Oxford, October 20th, 1065.

William the Conqueror entrusted the government of Northumberland to Copsi, the former representative of Tostig, but the new Earl was slain by Osulf, who was himself killed shortly afterwards. The Earldom was then sold by William to Gospatric, but the newly-appointed Earl, together with Edgar the Atheling, and as we learn from Ordericus Vitalis, "all the best men of Northumberland" soon sought a refuge in Scotland.

The Earldom was next given—1069—to Robert de Comines, or Comyn, a Norman, the founder of a family afterwards renowned in Scottish history, who, however, was slain at Durham on proceeding to take up his government, and in the same year Edgar the Atheling, Waltheof, Gospatric, and many other leading men proceeded to York, where Danes and Saxons united in arms against the yoke of the Conqueror. [Vide addenda post. p. 58]

The rebellion was put down with a ruthless hand,‡ and in 1072, at Abernethy, Malcolm III. became "the man" of the Conqueror. As the elder Malcolm had bowed to Canute, so the younger Malcolm bowed to William.§

In the same year William forgave Waltheof—son of Siward, by the daughter of Earl Ealdred—who now succeeded to the Earldoms of Yorkshire and Northumberland, to which he was entitled both through his father and mother.

Waltheof retained his honours for less than three years, during which period he found an opportunity of putting to death two sons of Carl, the murderer of his grandfather Ealdred, and was himself executed on a charge of conspiracy in 1075.

As it has been finely expressed, "the Englishman highest in birth and rank, the one remaining Earl of the blood of the conquered, was to die, and, as the conquered deemed, the martyr of his country."‖ The lamentations of the English over the grave of the last great noble of their nation were loud and universal.¶

Waltheof left a daughter, Matilda, who was married, in the first instance, to Simon de Senlis, and secondly, A.D. 1108, to David—afterwards king of Scotland—who obtained in her right the Earldom of Northampton, and the Honour of Huntingdon.** It is not quite clear whether the manor of Huntingdon was a portion of Earl Waltheof's estates assigned to David, or was given to him as a compensation for Northumberland.†† The old Saxon Earldom was eventually restored in the person of Prince Henry, the son of David and Matilda—1139—by king Stephen. This took place in the year following that of the Battle of the Standard, to which attention will again be directed.

We have now seen Northumbria as a separate state or earldom, one of the centres of Saxon, and subsequently of Scandinavian power in Britain. We have also seen it divided into two lesser Earldoms, which have often been re-united under a common head, and as often become again dissevered.

The aggregation of smaller states that was making two powerful kingdoms, one on either side of Bernicia, could not fail to press it into the service of one or the other, or of both. The shadowy place it retained as a still undivided territory, was as a province (and Earldom) held by the king of Scots by tenure from the king of England.‡‡

The chroniclers, Florence, William of Malmesbury, and Simeon of Durham in his main history, are all silent as to any transfer of Lothian from English to Scottish dominion. Yet nothing is more certain than that Lothian was at one time English and that at a later time it became Scottish. The only question is as to the date of the change.§§

We are told by the Pictish Chronicle that during the reign of Indulf 954-62, Duneden, or Edinburgh, was evacuated by the English, and surrendered to the Scots.‖‖

The conclusions of modern historians with regard to the period at which the rest of Lothian passed into the possession of the Scots are somewhat conflicting. Thus, the story told by John of Wallingford, of the cession of Lothian by King Edgar to Kenneth,¶¶ is accepted by Mr. Freeman but rejected by Mr. Skene. But whether the territory was granted peacefully by Edgar, or wrested by force of arms from Eadulf Cudel, is immaterial. We

* *A. S. Chron.* † Freeman, ii., 487. ‡ *Ante*, 28. § Freeman, ii., 517. ‖ *Ibid*, 594.

¶ Hume observes, "The English, who considered this nobleman as the last resource of their nation, grievously lamented his fate, and fancied that miracles were wrought by his reliques, as a testimony of his innocence and sanctity."—*Hist. of Eng.*, i., 266.

** Skene, i., 455. †† Burton, *History of Scotland*, i., 427. ‡‡ *Ibid*, 369.

§§ Freeman, i., 573, *ut supra*. ‖‖ Skene, i., 365. ¶¶ *Ante*, 33.

know, as a fact, that prior to the battle of Carham, in 1018,* the Scottish Chronicles include this part of modern Scotland in the general name of Saxonia, while afterwards it is described as Lao-donia, or Lothian.†

But though our leading authorities are at variance respecting the date of the cession, there is substantial agreement between them with regard to the consequences that followed in its train. Mr. Freeman observes:—"A part of the Kingdom which was governed by a foreign sovereign, on whatever terms of dependence, could not long remain in the position of a province governed by an ordinary Earl. That the possession of Lothian would under all ordinary circumstances remain hereditary, must have been looked for from the beginning. This alone would distinguish Lothian from all other Earldoms."

"It was then to be expected that Lothian, when once granted to the king of Scots, should gradually be merged in the kingdom of Scotland. But it could not have been foreseen that this purely English or Danish province would become the historical Scotland. The different tenures of Scotland and Lothian got confounded; the kings of the Scots, from the end of the eleventh century, became English in manners and language. They retained their ancient title of kings of Scots, but they became in truth kings of English Lothian and of Anglicized Fife."‡

The same writer tells us:—"In the eleventh century at least, if not in the tenth, the king of Scots stood to his English over-lord in a three-fold relation, grounded on three distinct acts, which are popularly confounded. These were: First, the commendation of the king and people of the Scots to Edward the Elder in 924. Secondly, the grant of Cumberland by Edmund to Malcolm in 945. Thirdly, the grant of Lothian to the Scottish kings, either under Edgar or under Canute.

At the time of the Commendation, the country which is now called Scotland, was divided among three quite distinct sovereignties. North of the Forth and Clyde the king of Scots reigned over a Celtic people, but south of the two great friths the Scottish name and dominion were unknown.

By Cumberland (in 945), must be understood, not only the present English county, but all northern Strathclyde, or modern Cumberland with a considerable portion of modern Scotland.

The south-west part of modern Scotland formed part of the kingdom of the Strathclyde Welsh. The south-east part of modern Scotland—Lothian—was purely English or Danish, as in language it remains to this day. It was a part of Northumberland, and had its share in all the revolutions of that kingdom.

The relations in which Scotland, Cumberland, and Lothian stood to England, were as follows:—Scotland was a vassal state, Cumberland a fief held without, and Lothian a fief held within, the kingdom of England.

These distinctions it is essential to bear in mind, because by the time of the great controversy of the thirteenth century, that Scotland, Strathclyde, and Lothian were originally all dependencies of England, but held in three different degrees of dependence, had passed out of mind on both sides."§

The general narrative left off at the execution of Earl Waltheof by order of William the Conqueror. At the period of the Norman invasion, and down to A.D. 1093, Malcolm III., surnamed Canmore, or great head, was king of the Scots.

The form in which the influence of the Conquest was first felt in Scotland, was by a steady migration of the Saxon people northward. They found in Scotland people of their own race, and made a marked addition to the predominance of the Saxon or Teutonic element. About the year 1068 there came among these emigrants a group whose flight from England, and reception by Malcolm, make a turning point in history. Edgar the Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line of kings, came over, bringing with him his mother and his two sisters, and such a body of retainers as an exiled court might command.|| One of the sisters, Margaret, was afterwards married to Malcolm, and from the time of this king English became the language of the Scottish court.

As already related, Malcolm submitted to the Conqueror in 1072, and this homage he renewed to his son and successor in 1091. By his treaty with William Rufus, the southern portion of the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, or Cumbria, now forming the modern county of Cumberland, but which for many years afterwards was only known by the name of its capital, Carliol, or Carlisle, seems to have been surrendered by Malcolm to the king of England, who took possession of it in the following year.¶

It is contended by Scottish writers, that the homage done by Malcolm was rendered for Lothian, as being an integral part of England, and for Strathclyde or Cumbria, but not for the kingdom of Scotland.

* *Ante*, 34. † Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, lxxix. ‡ *Norman Conquest*, i., 126-28.
§ Freeman, i., 123-25, 127. || Burton, i., 373. ¶ Hinde, 195.

With the wider contention I am unconcerned, as the only point I am seeking to establish —by occasional references to the doctrine and practice of Commendation—is, that the claims of the king of England, as over-lord, were repeatedly acknowledged throughout the entire realm of Old Bernicia.

At Malcolm's death, in 1093, Lothian had become a very important and influential dependency of the Scottish kingdom, and its Saxon population must have looked with longing eyes to the children of their revered Queen Margaret as their natural lords. This is clear from the Saxon Chronicle, which, in recording the death of Edward, the eldest son of Malcolm, by Queen Margaret, who was slain with his father in 1093, adds, "who should, if he had lived, have been king after him," though there was in existence at that time an older prince, Duncan, the offspring of the king's first marriage.*

The Anglicizing of Scotland went on vigorously under Malcolm's sons, all of whom, but notably David I., inherited the piety and civilizing instincts of their mother, St. Margaret. David accompanied his sister, the wife of Henry I., to the English Court, where he was brought up. By his brother-in-law he was created Earl of Northampton, on his marriage with the daughter and heiress of Waltheof, the last English Earl of Yorkshire and Northumberland, and the death of his brother Edgar placed him in possession of the principality of Strathclyde, having been detached by a bequest of that king from the rest of the Scottish kingdom. On the death of Alexander I., the next king of the Scots, another son of Malcolm Canmore, in 1124, David succeeded him, and as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us "held at the same time both the kingdom of Scotland and the English Earldom.

In 1138 David invaded Yorkshire in order to support the title of his niece, the Empress Matilda, to the crown of England, and the Barons who were supporters of Stephen's cause in that part of the kingdom, assembled an army and encamped at Northallerton, where a battle took place. Thurstan, archbishop of York, the king's lieutenant in the north, was prevented by illness from accompanying the army further than Thirsk. He therefore commissioned Ralph, bishop of Orkney,† to fill his place, who, standing on an eminence in the centre of the army, absolved (in the name of the archbishop), all those who might be killed in the approaching action.

This engagement has ever since been called the Battle of the Standard, from a long pole,

"Like the mast of some tall ammiral,"

which Thurstan brought from the convent of Beverley. [Vide addenda post p. 58]

This was drawn on a four-wheeled carriage, and had on the top of it a silver crucifix, under which were suspended the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon, and above all, in a silver pyx, the consecrated host.‡

We may well suppose that the unfurling of these consecrated banners, must have awakened some echoes of King Athelstan's famous march against the Scots, if, indeed, a sense of gratitude for his endowments, did not directly prompt the custodians of the several ensigns, to send them out wherever danger threatened, and as talismans to the wars. The Scots forces were routed, and in the following year, Henry, the eldest son of David of Scotland, was created by Stephen, Earl of Northumberland, that is, of the land between the Tweed and the Tyne, and received also from his father the immediate possession of Carlisle and Northumberland.§

David I., like all the children of St. Margaret, was devoted to the Church. He began the establishment of the bishopric of Glasgow while he was yet Prince of Strathclyde. In his reign were founded or enlarged the bishoprics of Dunkeld, Moray, Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, Dunblane, and Galloway, and to the same time also belong the religious houses of Holyrood in Edinburgh, Melrose, Jedburgh, Kelso, Dryburgh, Newbattle in Lothian, and Kinloss in Moray.‖

In Scotland the old Celtic style, with its small oratories in place of churches, and its round towers, prevailed until the reign of David, who introduced the Norman style and the Catholic discipline and organization.

It has been alleged that workmen were imported from Strasburg by this king, in order to build Holyrood Abbey, and upon this story a legend has been erected that it is from these artisans that the most ancient Scottish Lodge—Mary's Chapel—derived its origin.¶

But it is certain at all events, that the munificence, or rather the prodigality, of David, in rearing ecclesiastical edifices, seriously impoverished the royal revenue. An old chronicler tells us, "King James the First, quhen he com to Davidis sepulture at Dunfermeling, said,

* Skene, i., 435.

† Mr. Ingledew observes:—"Both the MSS. which I have consulted concur with Savile's printed text—[*Angl. Rerum Script. Post Bedam*]—in the reading of 'Orcadum,' but Roger of Wendover and other historians say 'Ralph, bishop of Durham.'"—*History and Antiquities of Northallerton*, 19.

‡ Ailred of Rievaux, *apud* Twysden, 338-46; Ingledew, 21-23.

§ Freeman, v., 260. ‖ Burton, i., 442. ¶ Lyon, 242.

'he was ane soir sanct for the crown:' as he wald mene, that king David left the kirk ouir riche, and the crown ouir pure."*

The number of religious edifices erected in Scotland during the twelfth century was very large, and the demand for operative masons must have been equally great. The supply of skilled workmen, it has been contended, could therefore only have been met by importing them from the trading associations on the continent.†

The foreign masons (so obtained), were long believed to have introduced their customs into Scotland, and the palm of priority as the centre of Operative Masonry in that kingdom was traditionally assigned to Kilwinning.

But the earliest lodge in Scotland, of which any distinct record has come down to us, is that of Mary Chapel, in Edinburgh, which city, from its ancient political importance—as the historian of Scottish Masonry well observes—is more likely to have been the centre of an Association of Builders than an obscure village in the provinces.‡

It may, however, be safely laid down, that no argument whatever can be drawn from the existence or non-existence of local Masonic tradition, as all genuine tradition of the kind in Scotland, was swept away by the famous oration of the Chevalier Ramsay, in 1737, which substituted for it a spurious tradition, awarding the palm of priority over all the other Scottish Lodges to the Lodge of Kilwinning.§

It is, however, between York, the capital of the Deiri, and Edinburgh, or Edwinesburh, the most famous city in the old realm of the Bernicians, that I wish to institute a comparison.

The existing craft legend may have had its origin in one of these centres, and have assumed its first set form in the other, but this point we shall approach later, and the idea is only thrown out, as it were, *en passant*, and in order that the importance of David's reign to the Masonic student, may not seem to have been overlooked.

The period, consisting of the reigns of David I., Malcolm IV., William the Lion, and Alexander the Second and Third, was characterized by the rapid amalgamation of the different provinces, and the spread of the Saxon race and feudal institutions over nearly the whole of the country.

During the first portion of her early history, Scotland may be viewed as a purely Celtic kingdom, with a population composed of different branches of the race popularly called Celts. But at a later period, though the connection between Scotland with her Celtic population, and Lothian with her English inhabitants was at first but slender, her monarchs identified themselves more and more with their Teutonic subjects, with whom the Celtic tribes maintained an ineffectual struggle, and gradually retreated before their increasing power and colonization, until they became confined to the mountains and western islands. The name of Scot passed over to the English-speaking people, and their language became known as the Scotch, while the Celtic language, formerly known as Scotch, became stamped with the title of Irish.‖

David was succeeded by his grandson, called Malcolm IV. Henry II., son of the Empress Matilda, was now king of England. About this time, Northumberland and Cumbria south of the Solway, leaned towards the crown of England rather than that of Scotland; and at a meeting of the cousins at Chester, in 1157, it was agreed that Malcolm should give up any claim to those possessions. He was, however, at the same time solemnly re-invested in the honour and earldom of Huntingdon—a possession of a very different kind, which a politic English king, observing the tendency of the feudal system, would like to see in the hands of a king of Scotland.¶

Malcolm died in 1165, and was succeeded by his younger brother, commonly called the Lyon king. His first proceeding was to claim from the king of England the restitution of Northumberland, which had been assigned to him as an appanage by his father David, but had been surrendered along with Cumberland, during his brother Malcolm's reign.** This was refused, and he invaded the territory in dispute, but was taken prisoner at Alnwick, July 12th, 1174, by the English.

The value of such a captive was almost incalculable. The occurrence was found to have been prophesied by Merlin, and it was made out that it occurred on the same day when Henry II. expiated his great crime by his penance at the tomb of Thomas à Becket.††

The admission of a complete feudal superiority over the kingdom of Scotland was the price at which Henry resolved to rate the liberation of his captive, and the matter was arranged in December, 1174, by what was called the treaty of Falaise. The obligation taken was for absolute homage for Scotland—homage as absolute as had been given for other estates held by the king of Scotland from the crown of England, and as absolute as the homage paid by any other vassals of England.‡‡

* Bellenden, xii., 20.
† Lawrie, 90. ‡ Lyon, 241. § *Hist.* iii., 88. ‖ Skene i., 17.
¶ Burton i., 444, *ut supra.* ** Skene i., 474. †† Burton i., 447. ‡‡ *Ibid*, 448.

In the following year the two monarchs met at York, and the conditions assented to at Falaise were solemnly sworn to and confirmed. They subjected the state of Scotland entirely to England, and the church, also, in all that was right and proper. In token of his submission the Scottish king deposited his spear and shield upon the altar of St. Peter in the minster, where they were for a long time preserved.*

To use the words of the late Mr. E. W. Robertson :—" On August 10th, 1175, William the Lion, king of Scotland, with the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and other freeholders of that kingdom, swore fealty to Henry II. of England, and his eldest son. All became the liegemen of the English king in the cathedral church of St. Peter, at York, whereby all the king of Scotland's lieges, whether clergy or laity, became in consequence the liegemen of the English king."†

The independence of Scotland was re-established—on payment of ten thousand marks of silver to Richard I.—December 5th, 1189, but in the interval the complete submission to Henry II. had made every native of Scotland "his man," which according to some high authorities was a step beyond the terms of the original commendation to Edward the Elder in 924, or even of the homage rendered to Canute by the king and under-kings of Scotland in 1031.‡ [Vide addenda post p 58]

The reign of William the Lion extended to the year 1214, and during the latter part of it, when King John of England had made himself so many enemies, he had some prospect of recovering, by force of arms, the Northumbrian and Anglo-Cumbrian provinces.§ These expectations were inherited by his son and successor, Alexander II., but the progress of events put an end to the hopes of acquiring the border provinces for Scotland. In 1237 there was a meeting of the kings of England and Scotland at York, at which Alexander resigned his right to the counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, and in return was granted by Henry III., certain manors in Cumberland and Northumberland, not in sovereignity, but in feudal property.‖

From this period the efforts to extend the Scots frontier cease, the people of the northern counties of England obtained quietness for a time, and the boundaries of the two kingdoms were virtually adjusted.¶

Alexander II. left a son, who succeeded him, with the title of Alexander III., and I shall now pass to a very brilliant scene, witnessed at York in 1252.

Henry III., his Queen, and the whole court kept their Christmas in that city, and they were joined there by the royal family of Scotland. Then it was that Alexander, the youthful monarch of the Scots, was married to Margaret, Henry's daughter. He performed homage for his English estates, Penrith and Tyndal, and was made a knight.

The ceremonial in the minster at the celebration of the nuptials must have been a magnificent one. More than a thousand knights in silken attire were in the train of the bride, and, when the wedding was over, such a banquet took place that the historian of the occasion, conscious of his inability to describe it, shrinks altogether from the task. The Archbishop contributed as many as sixty oxen to the feast.**

Alexander's reign was a prosperous one, and the English claims seemed a vision of the past. But while riding in the dark along the coast of Fife, he was thrown from his horse and killed, on the 12th of March, 1286. Four years later his infant grand-daughter and heiress, the Maid of Norway, died at Orkney, on her way to Scotland, and the country became involved in the turmoil of a disputed succession.

It is affirmed by one set of writers, and denied by another, that Edward I. was invited to become the arbiter of this dispute. But however this may be, it is at least certain that he first of all placed John Baliol on the Scottish throne, but shortly afterwards took the northern kingdom into his own hand, compelling all ranks to do homage to him.

But with the events of the War of Independence we are here rather collaterally than directly concerned, as they are only of interest to the extent that they may throw any light upon the subject of the present digression. The scene must therefore be once again shifted to York, and I shall go back to A.D. 1284, in which year the cathedral there received within its walls a most illustrious assemblage.

Up to this date York had possessed no saint exclusively its own. John of Beverley had been its bishop, but his shrine was at Beverley. In 1227 a movement was made to obtain the canonization of Archbishop William (1143-54). It was, however, about fifty years later before this was done by Pope Nicholas III. Perhaps the most magnificent gathering of royalty, nobles, and ecclesiastics that York Minster has ever witnessed took place on the 8th of

* *Fasti Ebor.*, 244. † *Scotland under Her Early Kings* i., 375; ii., 404.
‡ Robertson, *loc. cit.*, and Freeman i., 130, 447, 565.
§ Burton ii., 7. ‖ *Fasti Ebor.*, 286; Burton ii., 8. ¶ Burton ii., 9, 10.
** *Fasti Ebor.*, 288, *ut supra.*

January, 1283-4, at the translation of the bones of the saint from their resting-place in the nave, to the shrine prepared for them behind the high altar.*

A double ceremony took place that day—the translation of St. William, and the consecration of that noble-minded man who had secured for the church of York the canonization of its Archbishop. Anthony Bek—the bishop-elect of Durham, who was called,

"Le plus vaillant clerk de roiaume,"

was surrounded by the chief estates of England, including Edward I. and his gentle consort. The king had recently fallen from an eminence, and had escaped unhurt. He ascribed his good fortune to the agency of St. William, and hastened to York to show his gratitude by being present at the translation of his body.†

No less than thirty-six marvels, wrought through William's intercession, are recorded in the magnificent window known as St. William's window, in the north aisle of the minster.

The Rev. J. T. Fowler tells us:—"Among the fifty compartments (of the window) representing miracles of St. William, are several representing miracles of St. John of Beverley. The most probable explanation of this co-mingling seems to be as follows: Until the acquisition of St. William as patron saint of York, St. John of Beverley, Archbishop‡ of York in the eighth century, held that position. The right of sanctuary enjoyed by Beverley at that period, and which gave it another ground of precedence, was connected with the relics of St. John. On any great emergency the York clergy were in the habit of going to Beverley, to appeal in person to the clemency of their patron." This is clear, not to mention other instances, from an account in the 'Acta Sanctorum,' written before the time of St. William, of the clergy of York, on one occasion when there was a great drought, having gone to Beverley to implore the assistance of St. John. His feretory was carried in procession; the sky, before cloudless and serene, gradually became wild and overcast; rain fell in torrents to refresh the parched earth; and the monks went back to York full of praises towards, and confidence in, their glorious Confessor. Nothing seems more natural, therefore, than that after the death of St. William and the beginning of miracles at his tomb, some at least of those of the earlier saint, with which the people were more familiar, should have gradually got mixed up with those of the latter, and, *in days when books were few and instruction chiefly oral*, should have become attributed to him.

It was unreasonable that the saint of the metropolitan city should be outdone in miracles by the saint of Beverley, to say nothing of the natural tendency of later miracles to outshine those that go before. If St. John of Beverley cured a man of blindness, well, St. William gave back eyes to a man named Ralph—whose eyes had been bodily extracted and carried off, none knew where, by a boy of the name of Hugh."§

The story of St. William of York has been brought into the narrative, because in common with those of St. Wilfrid of Ripon, and St. John of Beverley, it may not have been wholly without influence in shaping or fashioning the Legend of the Craft, in the particular form it has come down to us.‖

From the date of the canonization of William, the relative superiority of Beverley over York, as possessing a shrine of greater sanctity, began to disappear, nor can we wonder that such was the case, when we glance at the official register of the marvels which were wrought at his sepulchre. Thus, in the book of chapter acts, the following extraordinary circumstance is said to have occurred on St. William's Day, 1290:—"Mutus quidam ad tumbam ipsius Sancti usum linguæ recepit in aurora diei, cujus lingua ante triennium per latrones fuerat amputata."¶

The following is an extract from the register of William de Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317-40:—

"1328, Jan. 4. Penance enjoined by the Archbishop to Sir Peter de Mauley, knight, for adultery with Sara de London. On every Friday in Lent, the Ember days and Advent, for seven years, he is to fast on bread and small beer, and on Good Friday and the vigil of the festival of All Saints, to use only bread and water. He is to make a pilgrimage to the shrines of S. William of York, S. Thomas of Hereford, B. M. at

* *Yorkshire Legends and Traditions*, 88. † *Fasti Ebor.*, 228.

‡ This is incorrect. The first Archbishop was Paulinus, and the second Egbert, A.D. 735. The intermediate Bishops never received the pall.

§ *Yorkshire Archael. and Topogr. Journal*, iii., 198—348; *Yorkshire Legends and Traditions*, 88—90. In the brief or petition to the Pope in 1226, for the canonization of William, it is related that Ralph received back two eyes, smaller, and of a different colour than his former ones, but giving him again sharp and clear sight.

‖ By this is meant that if the germs of the old Manuscript Constitutions were not in existence *before* 1284—the acquisition of a local saint, having his shrine in the minster, may, with some show of plausibility, be held to strengthen the supposition that the Legend of the Craft had its origin at York, in the early part of the fourteenth century.

¶ *Fasti Ebor.*, 227.

Southwell, S. John of Beverley, and S. Wilfrid of Ripon, and is to be 'fustigated' seven times before a procession in the Church of York, 'in sola basna, capucio deposito.' "*

From the foregoing may be derived a glimpse of the manners of those early times, but the object with which I cite it is to show that—under the third king Edward—while the reputation of Archbishop William had advanced, that of Bishops Wilfrid and John, of York, had by no means declined.

During the wars with Scotland the city of York became the great rendezvous of the English armies, and for a time, as it were, the capital of England. In 1298 Edward I. held a parliament there, while the courts of justice were also removed thither from London, and did not return for seven years. In 1299 a large army assembled at York under the command of John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, for service in Scotland. There were two more parliaments held there—in 1299 and 1300—in the presence of the king, and Edward with his family spent much time in the city.

Ultimately, as we all know, Edward I. temporarily subdued Scotland, and the whole country, except William Wallace, laid down their arms and their freedom, on the 9th of February, 1304.

Some proceedings, however, of the king, between 1298 and 1301, are of interest in our inquiry. In 1290 and again in 1299, Edward issued writs to the various monasteries and other religious houses, ordering returns in some instances, of all that their registers or chronicles contained about the relations between England and Scotland; in others, of any information so appearing concerning homage by the king of Scotland to the king of England.

Out of the matter obtained from these returns, and the chronicles of England at large, a case was made out for the superiority of the king of England over Scotland. This was afterwards embodied in the historical narrative, signed and sealed by Edward and no less than a hundred and four of his Barons, in which the whole question was brought under the consideration of the Papal Court.†

According to this document, in the time of Eli and Samuel, Brutus, the Trojan, discovered the isle of Albion, which he re-named Bruton or Britain, and founded the town of Trinovantum, now called London. Brutus had three sons, Locrin, Albanac, and Camber, and they inherited England, Scotland, and Wales, respectively. Of these, Locrin was the first-born, and it is laid down as having been the invariable practice of succession in Troy, that the eldest and his line should rule over the younger brothers and their descendants.

The victories of the great king Arthur and his supremacy over the Scots, are then recounted, after which comes the familiar story of Athelstan's expedition to the north, and this having already been related,‡ will be best re-told in the words of an entirely distinct authority.

"It is impossible," observes Mr. Burton, "to estimate the weight attributed to the next precedent, without remembering that king Edward was deeper even than his age in reverence for the later saints and their miracles. King Athelstan of England, it was said, had under the auspices of St. John of Beverley subdued a rebellion in Scotland. Having finished his work, he prayed, through the intervention of the same St. John, that it might be granted to him to receive a visible and tangible token, by which all future ages might be assured that the Scots were rightfully subject to the king of England. His prayer was granted in this way: Standing in front of one of the rocks at Dunbar, he made a cut at it with his sword, and left a score which proved to be the precise length of an ell, and was adopted as the regulation test of that measure of length. This miracle was attested by a weekly service in the church of St. John of Beverley. He was perhaps the most powerful miracle-worker of all the English saints, and king Edward and some of his advisers would devoutly believe that this story of the miraculously-created ell-wand standard would do more for his cause than his long array of historical precedents; but it may be questioned if the acute scribes working at the Vatican conceded so much influence to it, for they were apt to be perplexed and overburdened by such miraculous solutions of temporal difficulties."§

The case for the English crown concludes with citations of the various submissions made by Scottish kings to Edward the Elder, and his successors, to which, as they have been already noticed in this digression, it will be unnecessary to do more than refer.

Mr. Burton's statement that Edward I. was profoundly impressed by the alleged miracle at Dunbar, is fully borne out by the action of this king, who honoured the town of Beverley

* Mauley was an old offender, and the Archbishop, probably, was glad to catch him. In the 9th of Edward II. the king ordered an enquiry to be made into an affair in which he (Mauley), and others were concerned. They had opened and carried off a car containing as many as seven nuns from Watton Abbey.—*Fasti Ebor.*, 419.

† Walsingham, 55; *Rot. Parl.* iv. 85,; *Fœdera*, ii., 771, 873; Hume, ii., 251, 307; Burton, ii., 139, 212; Skene, *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, clxix, clxxv.

‡ *Ante*, 27. § *Hist. Scotland*, ii., 213.

with three distinct visits. The first took place on the 24th day of November, A.D. 1299, in the 28th year of his reign. He remained there three days, and was lodged and entertained by the collegiate society of St. John's. From entries in the wardrobe account for this year, it appears that he left some valuable tokens of his munificence to the different orders of the clergy, and also commanded that the standard of St. John should be taken into Scotland.

"To Master Gilbert de Grymmesby, vicar of the Collegiate Church of St. John de Beverley, for his wages from the 25th day of November, on which day he left Beverley to proceed, by command of the king, with the standard of St. John, in the king's suite aforesaid, to various parts of Scotland, until the 9th day of January, both computed, 46 days, at 8½d. per diem, £1 8s. 9d.

"To the same, for his wages from the 10th day of January, the day on which he departed from the court, going with the standard aforesaid, to his home at Beverley, the 15th of the same month, both days inclusive, being six days, at 1s. per diem . . . . 6s. 0d.

"By his own hands at Meriton . . . . together £1 14s. 9d."

The banner of St. John had, however, been conveyed to Scotland some years previously, and by the hands of the same custodian.*

Edward again visited Beverley, accompanied by his queen and eldest son, in 1300, and was also there in 1306.†

The following is an extract from the register of William de Greenfield, Archbishop of York, 1304-15 :—

"August 28th, 1310.—Licence to John de Rolleston, one of the seven clerks in the Church of Beverley, and chaplain of the chantry of the fraternity of St. Nicholas, to carry the standard of St. John of Beverley to the wars in Scotland, by the king's order."‡

From the foregoing it will appear that Edward II. inherited his father's deeply-rooted belief in the efficacy of St. John's banner as a talisman in the day of battle.

No later instance of this standard having been carried out to the wars has met my eye, though, as we have already seen, the fame of St. John, as a worker of miracles, outlasted the line of the Plantaganets, and to his intercession was also attributed the great victory of Agincourt.§

But it may be assumed, I think, that in the fourteenth century, in York itself, the memory of St. John was gradually confused with, and at last obscured by, that of St. William.

Under the second Edward, a parliament was held at York in 1319—and in 1321, the courts of Justice were again removed from London to that city, and remained there for half a year. Again the hopes of England seemed to centre in the metropolis of the North. Edward III. was married at York in 1328, and in 1334 he held a parliament there.‖

Here, in bringing the narrative to a close, it may be observed, that we again find the seat of the northern primacy occupying a commanding position, and with the facts I have laid before the reader, gain a further clue to the legend which bears its name.

The historian of Scottish Masonry, in his well-known work, commenting upon the "Kilwinning" version of the Old Charges or Manuscript Constitutions, observes :—

"That it was a production of the sister kingdom is evident, from its containing a charge in which 'every man that is a mason' is taken bound to 'be liedgeman to the king of England,' and also from that part of the legend which refers to the introduction and spread of masonry in Britain, being confined to the rehearsal of the patronage extended to the Craft by English kings."¶

The "charge" or clause referred to, which I extract from the Kilwinning MS.** is as follows :—

"And also that yee should be liedgemen [and bear true Allegiance]†† to the king of England, without treason or any other falsehoode; and that yee know not treason or treacherie; but you amend it if you may; or also warne the king or his council thereof."

Of these "Old Charges" there are four Scottish versions,—or to use words of greater precision, four versions of which the custody is Scottish.

They are, the "Kilwinning," "Atcheson Haven," "Aberdeen," and "Melrose" MSS., and will be found at the numbers 14 to 17 inclusive, in the calendar which has been already given of these instruments.‡‡

The "Atcheson Haven" MS. has, "yow sall be true to the king," and the words "of England" do not appear, but in the other three forms they are given.

The remaining versions or copies of the "Old Charges" (in English custody) ordinarily, though not invariably, contain a similar recital to that already quoted from the "Kilwinning" MS., and in the exceptions to the general rule, we meet with the words "true" (or "liegeman") "to the king," as in the "Atcheson Haven" MS.

* *Lib. Quot. Cont., Garderobae*, 51, 334. † *Beverlac*, 84, 86. ‡ *Fasti Ebor.*, 380. § *Ante*, 29.
‖ *Fasti Ebor.*, 402, 404, 410; *Beverlac*, 99. ¶ Lyon, 108. ** *Proleg.*, viii.
†† The words within brackets are added by me from "York" MS., No. 1. ‡‡ *Proleg.*, viii.

On the strength of this, and the omission of any reference to the Scottish kings as patrons of Masonry, it has been laid down (in effect) by Lyon,—whose *dictum* has been universally accepted,* that all the Old Charges are of English origin.

Here it is necessary to be precise, for if by the word "English" we are to understand "English-speaking people," I shall raise no demurrer to the general accuracy of this proposition. But if, on the other hand, we are asked to accept as a settled point in Masonic history, the impossibility of the unwritten traditions of the Craft having assumed their first set form in what was once English, but is now Scottish, territory—I shall ask my readers to at least hold their judgment in suspense, while I attempt to lay before them some considerations which seem to me to have hitherto either eluded the research of, or to have been passed over by, our historians.

But in order to clear the ground, I shall first deal with that part of the Masonic Legend "which refers to the spread of masonry in Britain, being confined to the rehearsal of the patronage extended to the Craft by English kings."

Here it is quite clear, that if the *Legend* of the Craft is of *late* mediæval origin, the omission of any reference to the Scottish kings, would be inconsistent with the supposition, that it could have had either its origin or development, in any part of Britain under their immediate government. But the entire body of evidence, such as it is, seems to bear in the direction of a much higher antiquity for the source or sources whence the Manuscript Constitutions were derived.

That the Edwin of Masonic tradition, is identical with Edwin of Northumbria, seems to me fairly inferential, from the fact that the latter was an undoubted patron of Operative Masonry, A.D. 627. The Athelstan of the Legend, can be identified with even greater ease, and he equally owes his position in Masonic history, to an actual connection with York and its famous Minster.

If, indeed, in the skein of fable of which the Masonic legend is composed, there be a solitary thread of fact, it appears to me that we must look for it among those of our traditions which can be associated in any way with the city of York and the cathedral there.

It is noteworthy, also, as supporting the claim for its antiquity, that no later English king than Athelstan is referred to in the legend.

We should bear in mind, moreover, that it was not until the reign of David I. (1124) or precisely two centuries after Athelstan began his (924), that there existed any Scottish king who could possibly be made to figure as a distinguished patron of the plastic art.

I now pass to the other branch of the proposition. This relates to the *laws* of the Craft, and is founded on the "charge," to be liedgemen to the king of England.

The Regius MS. has only the lesser injunction, to be true to the king (*ll.* 431-34), but its companion in my system of classification, the Cooke MS.,† which is of far earlier date as a written document than the oldest of the actual MS. Constitutions, contains the following:

"At the fyrst begynyng, new men that never were chargyd bi fore, [shall be] charged in this manere,—That ∴ ∴ they schall be trewe to the kynge of englond, and to the realm" (*ll.* 912-27).

The suggestion I have now to make is, that the words "king of England" would be unnecessary and out of place, except in a locality where there was any risk of a confusion of allegiance. This, for example, in the reigns of Edwin and Athelstan would have been impossible in Deira and Wessex respectively, where a reference to the king, *simpliciter*, could only have pointed to the immediate sovereign of the district. But in the external dominions of either, the term would at best have been but an ambiguous one, and open to misconstruction.

Thus to repeat somewhat, Edwin in the Deira, and Athelstan in Wessex, were each of them both lord and over-lord, while the former in Wessex or Mercia, and the latter in Bernicia, were only in either case the over-lords.

The vernacular title "King of England" could hardly have come into use before the reign of Canute,‡ but things generally exist before names, and it is immaterial to the point for which I am contending, what were the regal titles severally used by his predecessors.

Neither am I concerned, at this stage, with regard to any approximate date at which the injunction, to be true to the king, as forming a "charge" in Masonry, can be set down.

This, to the extent, at all events, that a subject lying in such obscurity, can be investigated, will presently engage our attention, but before we essay the consideration of how and when the "charge" in question got into the Manuscript Constitutions, it will be advisable to arrive at some conclusion with regard to the meaning of the words which make it up.

From the time of Athelstan down to the Norman Conquest, and from the Conqueror to Edward I. and later, the oath of allegiance was annually administered to every freeman of

* *Hist.*, i., 90, 433. † *Ante, proleg.* iv. ‡ Freeman i., 585; *ante*, 26, note ‡, *q. v.*

twelve (or fourteen) years and upwards, at what was called the View of Frank pledge.* The following is a copy of this oath :—

"You shall swear, that from this day forward you shall be true and faithfull to our Soveraign Lord the King and his heires, and truth and faith shall bear of life, and member, and terrene honour. And you shall neither know, nor hear of any ill or dammage intended unto him, that you shall not defend :—So help you God."†

With the foregoing, I shall ask the reader to compare the extract already given from the Kilwinning MS.‡ Of the latter document, Mr. Lyon says :—

"We here present what we believe to be a transcript of the Masonic Legend and Charges which, with certain modifications, would in all probability be used by the Lodge of Edinburgh in the initiation of its intrants *in the middle of the seventeenth century*."§

Virtually, therefore, the two excerpts between which I am instituting a comparison, stand on the same level as regards antiquity, and as survivals of more ancient forms, their general resemblance is very suggestive of their common origin.

At the View of Frank Pledge, it will be seen, the charge or injunction "to be true to the king," was given, but without the additional words "of England," upon which I have dilated.

This reading I assume to be the normal one, and the corresponding "charge" in the Manuscript Constitutions, I believe to have been derived from it.

Here it may be necessary to say, that a distinction must be drawn between the Legend and the Laws (or regulations), as while the leading features of the *tradition* would remain unaltered, the *customs* and *statutes* of the early Masons could not fail to become greatly modified in the course of successive centuries.

This point will again come before us in the third digression, and I shall, at this stage, merely lay down the postulate, that the words "liedgemen to the king of England" must be regarded as an abnormal rendering of a clause or regulation, forming part of a very ancient system of police.

South of the Tees, it must have been wholly unnecessary to describe Athelstan, or any of his successors who ruled over undivided England, as more than "the king," *simpliciter*, but northward, or beyond that boundary, owing to the semi-independence of the Lords of Bamburgh, and the gradual encroachment of the Scots, things stood on quite another footing, and we may reasonably conclude that in this portion of his dominions, the king of England for the time being, was referred to throughout several centuries by his full title.

The Craft Legend must have originated in one of three periods, and of these the reader will obtain a better grasp, by glancing at the three maps which have been drawn with so much care and exactitude by Bro. G. W. Speth, our ever-willing secretary, to illustrate this portion of the *Commentary*.

The first period ranges from the time of Edwin of Northumbria to that of the great Alfred; the second, from the Danish settlement in England to the accession of Edward the Elder; and the third from Edward the Elder down to the date of the Regius MS.

The maps show :—I., the several Teutonic kingdoms into which England was for a long time divided, and is designed to illustrate, as nearly as may be, their territorial limits in the seventh, and early part of the eighth centuries; II., The partition of England, by the "Peace of Wedmore," into Alfred's kingdom and the *Danelagh*; and III., England, both previous to and after the final cession of Lothian to the Scots.

With regard to the first Period, the Saxons, when they arrived, were mere barbarians, and had, of course, no architecture—properly so-called—of their own. But when Christianity and civilization had become firmly established, a good many churches were erected, especially in the North, which in the earliest and best times, was the main seat of Anglo-Saxon genius. But the Northumbrians when they commenced to build were obliged to import workmen, and they also sent abroad when they commenced to restore. Benedict Biscop (629-90), who may be regarded as the first patron of architecture among them, about A.D. 674, went over to France to engage "cementarios," in order that his church at Monk Wearmouth might be built "according to the manner of the Romans, which he had always loved;" and St. Wilfrid, of York (634-709), slightly later, brought over with him eminent builders and artists from Rome, Italy, France, and other countries.‖

From this, indeed, if we allowed ourselves to stray into the region of conjecture, a speculation might be advanced, that the Italian workmen imported by Wilfrid, may have formed Guilds—in imitation of the Collegia, which perhaps still existed in some form in Italy—to perpetuate the art among the natives, and hence the legend of Edwin and the Grand

* *Ante*, 20. † Powell, *Jurisdictions of the Ancient Courts of Leet, or View of Franck-Pledge* (1642), 16-19.
‡ *Ante*, 42. § *Hist. L. of Edin.*, 108.
‖ *Hist.* i., 272, 300; An interesting essay, entitled, "The Legend of the Introduction of Masons into England," by Bro. W. H. Rylands, will be found in the *Masonic Magazine*, April and May, 1882.

Lodge of York. But alas for this hypothesis, Deira, the southern moiety of Northumbria, was the district most completely over-run by the Danes, and also in later years the part of England most effectually ravaged by the Conqueror.

During the era which next ensued, on the deaths of Benedict Biscop and Wilfred, the prosperity of the southern province was at its height, but towards the close of the eighth century, the Danish storm began to rise, and soon its full fury burst on Northumbria.*

After this followed a dreary span of years, until a partial revival took place under the Great Alfred, but by this time the architectural genius of the Anglo-Saxons had disappeared, and the country gradually decayed, awaiting the arrival of a superior race.

The next Period will be almost sufficiently illustrated by the second map. The only character of earlier date, who figures in the Craft Legend, is Edwin, and it is probable that the reputation of this prince, which has come down to us on the authority of Bede, was also preserved for a long while in the memory of the people. Still, with regard to this there is no certainty, nor can we regard such a supposition as being anything more than a plausible conjecture.

Plausible, however, it certainly is, and the great point which Mr. Robertson has established, viz., that while Deira was actually divided and occupied by the Danes, Bernicia still remained occupied by Englishmen, and under the actual government of English rulers, must be regarded as harmonizing with, and perhaps lending colour to the hypothesis.†

The third Period begins with the homage done to Edward the Elder, as over-lord, and then we get to the era of King Athelstan, who may be pronounced to be in every way the central figure in the Legend of the Craft.

It is remarkable that our written traditions, by which I mean the various recitals in the Old Charges or Manuscript Constitutions, are brought to a close with the reign of Athelstan. Also, that in no copy whatever of these ancient documents, is the "History of Masonry," as it is termed, embellished with the record of a later English sovereign.

From this, we may, I think, infer, either that the Craft Legend is inseparably connected with York Minster; or that it had its origin in Anglo-Saxon times, and before the revival of architecture under the Normans at the end of the eleventh century.

We have already seen, that under Athelstan the only part of England that retained the semblance of independence, was Bernicia, then governed by Ealdred, the Lord of Bamburgh, who submitted to him A.D. 926. This infinitesimal kingship, we have likewise seen, was exchanged for the Earldom over both provinces, in 954. But though the power as well as the dignity of the Lords of Bamburgh may have waned under Athelstan and his two brothers, their authority soon revived, as witness the Battle of Carham, A.D. 1018, where unaided, Eadulf Cudel contended (though unsuccessfully) with the army of Malcolm II., King of Scots.

It was after the final cession of Lothian, which followed this Scottish victory, that I consider the injunction "to be liedgemen to the king of England" must have crept into the Masonic Charges. But in getting back to the days of oral recitation, it is impossible to be precise, nor have we any means of accurately determining, the extent to which the legend and the laws of the Craft were popularly rehearsed, before the date—whatever it may be—of their having been committed to writing.

But I must pass lightly over ground that has been already so fully traversed, and with regard to Lothian and Strathclyde (or Cumbria), will merely ask the reader to bear in mind the peculiar relation in which they stood, for a long time, to the crowns of Scotland and England.

After A.D. 1066, when a brilliant inventive nobility, and a cultivated and wealthy clergy took possession of the country, the rude Saxon Churches were superseded by edifices designed by foreign architects in the Norman or late Romanesque style, the distinctive feature of which was its massiveness. One of the most widely-read of our historians, tells us :—

"The century which followed the Conquest witnessed an outburst of architectural energy which covered the land with castles and cathedrals; but castle and cathedral alike owed their existence to the loans of the Jew. His own example gave a new direction to domestic architecture. The buildings which, as at Lincoln and St. Edmonsbury, still retain their title of 'Jews' Houses,' were almost the first houses of stone which superseded the mere hovels of the English burghers. Nor was the influence of the Jews simply industrial. Through their connection with the Jewish schools in Spain and the East they opened a way for the revival of physical science. A Jewish medical school seems to have existed at Oxford. Adelard of Bath brought back a knowledge of mathematics from Cordova; Roger Bacon himself studied under the English Rabbis."‡

* *Ante*, 25. There were three periods of the Danish invasions; the 1st,—of simple plunder, 787-855; the 2nd,—of settlement, 855-97; and the 3rd,—of political conquest, 980-1016.—Freeman, i., 43.

† *Ante*, 26.

‡ Green, *Short Hist. Eng. People*, 83, *ut supra*.

A very large number of Jews took up their abode in York,* whence in common with the rest of their co-religionists in England, they were banished the kingdom in 1290. Their number at this time has been placed as high as 16,500. But this exodus was highly favourable to the circulation of their learning in England. There was a prodigious sale of Hebrew manuscripts, and these treasures were eagerly bought up by English scholars.†

Of the posthumous fame achieved by Saints John of Beverley and Wilfrid of Ripon, we have seen a good deal, but the greater part of it may, without doubt, be referred to the splendid precedent established by Athelstan's successful march against the Scots.

This it was that took captive the imagination of Edward I., who, having commenced his search for legends in 1290, must have been induced thereby to exhibit in 1296, a preference for the standard of St. John over that of St. Wilfrid, as being a talisman of higher efficacy, to be carried before him in the wars.

The Beverley Charter has been described, though somewhat loosely, as "a production of the reign of Edward I., about the year 1300."‡ This invites a comparison. The argument of Mr. Poulson may be convincing or the reverse, but at any rate it is free from Masonic bias, and supplies us therefore with an independent criticism of an ancient writing, between which and the Old Charges in matter, and the Regius MS. in matter and form, there are points of resemblance.

Similar causes produce similar results. *Three* shrines were visited and endowed by Athelstan, and if his grants to *two* of them were embodied in verse about the year 1300, it is at least a reasonable conjecture that the same thing may have occurred with the *third?*

But even if the supposition be entertainable, that the rhyming charters of Ripon and Beverley, are indebted for their existence, to the memory of Athelstan and his expedition, having been stirred up by Edward I., the date of production assigned to them, at least in my judgment, is too early.

There may, indeed, at some time, have been a metrical charter, either written or traditionary, at York, similar to those at Ripon and Beverley, and if so, it may have formed either wholly or in part, the original basis on which the Craft Legend has been erected.

But I am inclined to attach greater importance to the circulation of heroic deeds, and pious benefactions, by means of song and recitation; and if there was a charter at all—in the sense that one formed the groundwork of either the poem or the Old Charges—I think it must have been a charter to a Guild, with which some kind of a metrical history of Masonry or Geometry was incorporated.

The question of such a charter, however, will come in more properly at the close of this digression, as falling more strictly within the province of the previous one.§

An instance has been afforded, on an earlier page, of the Bishop of Winchester having been amused and entertained by the recital of local legends in the cathedral priory of St. Swithin in his diocese.‖

This occurred in the year 1338, and it will not be unreasonable to imagine that the dignified ecclesiastics of the northern primacy were occasionally diverted in the same way, by songs and recitals of an historical or legendary character. At this time they had their own local saint, whose miracles would no doubt be done ample justice to by the minstrels, while the foundation of the Minster Church by St. Edwin, and the victorious march of Athelstan, could not fail to be also sung or related.

Upon these two incidents I have already laid great stress, although, as we are told by a leading authority, "all attempts to rationalize the legends of ancient or modern mythology, to separate a historical nucleus from its fabulous covering, to distil truth from fiction by a process of analytical reasoning, are misleading and mischievous."¶ But while fully admitting how difficult it is to discern the track of real history among the mists of fable, there seems in the present instance hardly any room for doubt that the Edwin and Athelstan of history, are equally the Edwin and Athelstan of fable.

The fable, or legend, is evidently grounded on local tradition, and this it is probable, was recited orally in Northumbria, but first reduced into writing in some other part of the kingdom. The latter impression I derive from the anachronism, which converts Edwin into the son of Athelstan, as transformations of the kind must, from the nature of things, have been very frequent, whenever stories or romances passed out of the localities where they originated, but still continued to be handed down from one generation to another, by song and recitation. Of this, indeed, we have many earlier examples, dating back to the Teutonic settlements in England. Mr. Wright tells us, "As the Saxons became in the course of time more and more firmly settled in, and identified with, Britain, their recollections of their old country became continually less vivid, the traditions connected with it less definite, and they began to forget the meaning of many of the old legends, although they were still punctually

* *Ante*, 14. † *Anglia Judaica*, 244, 245; Blunt, *The Jews in England*, 65. ‡ *Ante*, 31, *q.v.*
§ *Ante*, 17, *q.v.* ‖ *Ibid*, 6. ¶ Lewis, *Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, i., 253.

handed down from father to son." The same writer also states, "*In more than one instance we find the events of some older family romance mixed up with the life of an historical personage.*"*

While allowing therefore a wide latitude, both as regards time and locality, *within* the territorial limits of old Northumbria, for the diffusion of the separate lays out of which the existing Craft Legend appears to have been constructed, I am of opinion that the first appearance of the latter, in written language, took place in some other part of Britain.

According to Hallam, the system or law of Frank Pledge, was unknown in Northumbria.† This may seem to invalidate one of the speculations I have thrown out‡, but without labouring this point, upon which the authorities are at variance, it will be sufficient to say that if workmen were imported from the south, they must have carried with them a recollection of the laws to which they had previously been accustomed; also, that at York in the fourteenth century, there was a duly appointed pledge-day in each year, when the masons and other operatives swore to observe the various orders ordained for their management.§

It is a little singular, that in the Old Charges or Manuscript Constitutions, Masonry and Christianity are made to proceed hand in hand together in Britain. The introduction of the science is carried back to St. Alban's time, while its chief development takes place at the instance of Edwin. Here, perhaps, though at several removes from the original writings, and at still more from the oral recitations upon which these were based, may be dimly traced some teachings of the Colidei, founded upon and illustrated by, the lives and deaths of two famous champions of, and martyrs for the faith.

It has been already shown, that at the close of the eleventh century the Culdees or Colidei, founded at York, a hospital or halting-place for the poor; also, that the custom of entertaining pilgrims and strangers was a usual, or rather an invariable one, in their monasteries.||

In the Culdee hospital at York, therefore, were received the wayfarers. These were, in the first place, buffoons, glee-men, perambulating minstrels, and singers; then messengers, pedlars, and itinerant chapmen; lastly the out-laws, thieves of all kinds, peasants out of bond, or jobbing workmen. To ecclesiastical life belonged preachers, mendicant friars, and pardoners. Lastly there were pilgrims, whose object was religious, but in whose ranks, as in Chaucer's book, clerk and lay were mingled.¶

To the wandering class also belonged the representatives of many other professions, such as scribes, tinkers, cobblers, masons and others.

"The great questions of the age, the social and religious questions, march towards their solution; partly on the high road, and partly by the influence of the wanderer.

For good or evil it may be said that the wanderers acted as 'microbes' in mediæval history, a numerous, scarcely visible, powerful host."**

To this motley throng, may doubtless be attributed the general circulation of many northern songs and romances, and among them, it is very possible, the stories of St. Edwin —king and martyr—and of Athelstan's famous march against the Scots.

Among the wayfarers, as we have seen, were minstrels, upon the influence of which profession, in the perpetuation of tradition, I have already enlarged, and there were also masons, through whom in preference to the former class, we may reasonably imagine the legend of their own special craft must have first taken root in written language.

These wandering masons, and with them carpenters, are also said to have moved about in bodies, and an old chronicler of the twelfth century speaks of both French and English, skilled in stone and wood-work, travelling in guilds or societies, for the purpose of building, and he likewise tells us that our kings impressed their workmen from these sodalities, when they required them.††

The oldest dated form of the Old Charges—"Grand Lodge" M.S.—speaks as a written document, from 1583, but the legend it embalms is carried back by the evidence of the Masonic Poem, positively to the fifteenth, and presumably (as being based on a still older document), to the fourteenth century. This brings us to the period of social fermentation, so graphically described by the French writer from whose pages some extracts have been given,‡‡ and at this time, if at no earlier date, the floating traditions of the Masonic body were probably welded into the form in which we now possess them.

Having concluded the second, I now revert to the first digression, in accordance with the method of treatment of which an outline has been foreshadowed.§§

It has seemed to me, at least a reasonable supposition, that the Old Charges or Manuscript Constitutions had become fixed or crystallized before the Regius MS. took form as a

* *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, i., 15, 16.
† *Middle Ages*, ii., 293. ‡ *Ante*, 44. § See *post*, 53. || *Ante*, 33.
¶ Jusserand, *Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* (xivth century), translated by Lucy T. Smith, 175-6.
** *Ibid*, 405-6, *ut supra*. †† Herbert, i., 3. ‡‡ Jusserand, *loc. cit.* §§ *Ante*, 17.

writing. From this, however, I do not wish it to be inferred that in my judgment the legendary history and the laws were copied into the latter from the former; such a contention would be altogether foreign to my argument; for though Masonic writings are unequivocally referred to in the poem (*ll.* 2, 143), I have already expressed my belief that all the separate pieces in the Regius MS. came down to us through a rythmical channel.*

But inasmuch as the York Legend is plainly given in the Old Charges, whereas it can only be made out by implication in the Poem, I have thought it best to introduce a short study of that ancient tradition, before dealing with a few remaining points, falling in strictness within the scope of the first digression, and the consideration of which I shall now resume and conclude.

The Regius MS. has been described by a non-Masonic writer, "as nothing more than a metrical version of the rules of an ordinary mediæval Guild, or perhaps a very superior and exemplary sort of trades' union, together with a number of pieces of advice for behaviour at church, and at table, or in the presence of superiors, tacked on at the end." Of the Articles and Points he adds, "They are very simple, and consist chiefly of good advice to Master Masons in the choice of apprentices, and in their behaviour toward their fellows, applicable to any trade as well as Masonry, and, in some cases, to any men, whether of any craft or not."†

That the Masonic Poem was in the possession of a Guild, and that the Guild so possessing it, was not composed of operative masons, are propositions which I think can be established, but before attempting to do this I shall ask the reader to kindly bear a few data in recollection.

The laws of the Frank-Pledge, or Frith-Guild System were codified, and the Statutes of the London Guilds were reduced into writing, under Athelstan,‡ who was, moreover, a great giver of charters.§

It has been observed by an authority of much weight:—"No period of Anglo-Saxon history was more glorious, or is less known, than the reign of Athelstan; a few simple notices in the Saxon Chronicle, and the old poem which Malmesbury somewhat contemptuously follows, alone remaining, *with the exception of the Great King's Laws*, to throw a scanty light upon the events of this epoch.||

But the belief may nevertheless be permissible, that the name of Athelstan, by virtue of his laws and charters, became a favourite one, as a legendary Guild patron.

Next to be remembered, is the fact that Edward I. had the different religious houses twice searched for legends,¶ also that a flood of documentary evidence relating to the various brotherhoods, must have resulted from the legislation of the parliament of Cambridge in 1389.**

It sometimes happened that one Guild after another copied the ordinances of an older Guild, and an instance of this is given by Mr. Smith in his collection.††

Similarly, the Old Charges were copied and multiplied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and doubtless far earlier. Lastly, I must invite special attention to the various Statutes of Labourers,‡‡ and although it is unlikely that any of my readers will be induced thereby to turn to these venerable enactments, the duty is nevertheless incumbent upon me, to point out their importance, not only in the general inquiry, but also in that part of it at which we have now arrived.

I shall now seek to maintain the affirmative of the two propositions before enunciated, or in other words, to show that the Regius MS. points to the existence of a symbolical or speculative Masonry, at the date from which it speaks.

The last hundred lines of the Masonic Poem are almost exactly the same as the poem "Urbanitatis," a facsimile of which is given in the present volume. The latter consists of minute directions for behaviour—in the presence of a lord—at table—and among ladies. The text of "Urbanitatis" has been printed in the "Babees Book"§§ as part of a volume on Manners and Meals in Olden Times, edited by Mr. Furnival, who, in describing it says:—"the persons to whom the first poems of the present collection are addressed, the

> yonge Babees, whome bloode Royalle
> Withe grace, feture, and hyhe habylitie
> Hathe enourmyd,

"the 'Bele Babees' and 'Swete Children,' may be likened to the 'young gentylmen, Henxmen, —VI. Enfauntes, or more, as it shall please the King,'—at Edward the Fourth's Court; and the authors or translators of the Bokes in this volume, somewhat to that Sovereign's Maistyr of Henxmen, whose duty it was,

* *Ante*, 15, 16. † Mr. Richard Sims, in the *Mas. Mag.*, ii., 258.
‡ *Ante*, 20. § *Ibid*, 26, *et seqq*; Kemble *Cod. Dipl. Ævi Sax.* ii., *passim*. || Robertson ii., 397.
¶ *Ante*, 41. ** *Ibid*, 20. †† *Eng. Gilds*, 272. ‡‡ *Proleg.* xiii.
§§ E.E.T.S., xxxii., 13-15.

to shew the schooles [scholars ?] of urbanitie and nourture of England, to lerne them to ryde clenely and surely; to drawe them also to justes; to lerne them were theyre harneys; to haue all curtesy in wordes, dedes, and degrees; dilygently to kepe them in rules of goynges and sittinges, after they be of honour. Moreover to teche them sondry languages, and other lerninges vertuous, to harping, to pype, sing, daunce, and with other honest and temperate behaviour and patience; and to kepe dayly and wekely with these children dew convenity, with corrections in theyre chambres, according to suche gentylmen; and eche of them to be used to that thinge of vertue that he shall be moste apt to lerne, with remembraunce dayly of Goddes servyce accustumed. This maistyr sitteth in the halle, next unto these Henxmen, at the same boarde, to have his respecte unto theyr communication and other formes curiall, after *the booke of urbanitie.*

"That these young Henxmen were *gentlemen*, is expressly stated. Thomas Howard, eldest son of Sir John Howard, Knight, was among these henchmen or pages, 'enfauntes' six or more, of Edward IV's. He was made Duke of Norfolk for his splendid victory over the Scots at Flodden, and Anne Boleyn and Catharine Howard were his granddaughters."*

On a later page of his "Forewords," Mr. Furnival adds—"*Vrbanitatis*, I was glad to find, because of the mention of *the booke of urbanitie* in Edward the Fourth's 'Liber Niger,' as we thus know what the Duke of Norfolk of 'Flodden Field' was taught in his youth as to his demeanings, how mannerly he should eat and drink, and as to his communication and other forms of court. He was not to spit nor snite before his Lord the King, or wipe his nose on the table-cloth."†

The passage referred to will be found in the *facsimile* of Urbanitatis‡ (*ll.* 53, 54), and is thus given in the Regius MS. (*ll.* 743-46)—

Kepe thyn hondes, fayr and wel,
From fowle smogynge of thy towel;
Theron thou schalt not thy nese snyte,
Ny at the mete thy tothe thou pyke;

These rules of decorum read very curiously in the present age, but their inapplicability to the circumstances of the working masons in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, will be at once apparent. They were intended for *gentlemen* of those days, and the instructions for behaviour in the presence of a lord—at table—and in the society of ladies,—would all have been equally out of place, in a code of manners drawn up for the use of a Guild or Craft of artisans.

A similar sense of the incongruity of the text of the Regius MS. with what we feel must have been the actual customs of the building trades, cannot but steal over us when perusing *Articulus Quartus*, where we meet with—*ll.* 143-46— (vide addenda post. p. 59)

By olde tyme wryten y fynde
That the prentes schulde be of gentyl kynde;
And so sumtyme grete lordys blod
Toke thys gemetry, that is ful good.

Upon the foregoing, Mr. Furnival remarks, and the wish to which he gives expression, will, I am sure, be echoed by the readers of this Commentary—"I should like to see the evidence of a lord's son having become a working mason, and dwelling seven years with his master 'hys craft to lurne.'"§

The conclusion therefore, to which, as it seems to me, we are directed by the evidence, is that the persons to whom the text of the Regius MS. was sung or recited, were a Guild or fraternity from whom all but the memory or tradition of its ancient trade had departed.

It is true indeed, that originally the Craft Guilds were composed of persons following special trades, and by the stat. 37 Edward III., c., v. it was ordained, "That all artificers and people of mysteries shall each choose his own mystery before the next Candlemas; and that having chosen it, he shall henceforth use no other; and that justices shall be assigned to inquire by process of *Oyer and Terminer*, and to punish trespassers by six months' imprisonment, or other penalty, according to the offence."

But in the same reign we find two earls and a bishop among the eminent members of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and in that of Richard II.—who himself became a brother in it—four royal dukes, ten earls, ten barons, and five bishops. After this, numerous great persons, both clergy and laity, as well as principal citizens, dazzled with the splendour of such associates, hastened to become enrolled as tradesmen in the fraternities.‖

Of the Merchant Taylors' Company, indeed, its most recent historian tells us:—

"It would appear from the earliest existing record of admissions (1399-1400), that persons with occupations other than those of Merchant Taylors or Linen Armourers were admitted into the Guild. Thus of the thirty-five persons whose names are entered as "confrers" paying 20s. (then a large sum), we find a chevalier, a brewer, a tallow chandler, a vintner, a barbour, esquires, a parson, a sherman, a tavener, a grocer, a dyer, and a chaundler, the followers of which occupations should have been associated with the several Guilds of the same name."¶

* E.E.T.S., xxxii., 2, 3. † *Ibid*, lxviii.
‡ This form of the poem is supposed to have been transcribed about 1460. § E.E.T.S., xxxii., xlviii.
‖ Herbert, i., 29. ¶ Clode, *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, 197, 198.

From some cause or other then, upon which, in the absence of further evidence, we can only speculate without arriving at any definite conclusion—though the materials to exercise our judgment upon are not wholly wanting—it would appear that at the date from which the Regius MS. speaks, there was a guild or fraternity commemorating the science, but without practising the art, of Masonry. There are two further allusions in the poem, which seems to me to bear in the direction, and are possibly a survival of, a very early feature of Guild life. They occur at lines 42, 352, and 361. In the two former, the injunction is to live together,

"As thawgh they were syster and brother,"

and in the latter to make punctual payments

"To mon or to wommon."

These are suggestive of female membership, and among other unsatisfied doubts, to which a minute scrutiny of the poem may give rise, it is possible that by some readers, the passages in question may be held to point rather to the absorption of the Craft Legend by a social guild, than to a gradual transition from operative to speculative or symbolical Masonry, by a craft or fraternity composed in the first instance of members of the building art.

THE ARTICLES AND POINTS.

The Rev. A. F. A. Woodford asks (in the last notes on any Masonic subject that I received from him), 1.—"What is the relation of this poetic legend to the others? As Cooke's MS. is now held to be synchronous with the poem, we can no longer see in the latter a transition from poetry to prose, but must hold that the poetic came from a rythmic and Cooke's from a prose *original*.

2—"Can the Articles and Points in the poem be said to be the germ of the later ones, even including Cooke's, as the *poetic* must have been the precursor of the *prose* form? yes, that is assuredly so.

"If, for instance, you take the poem, and place it side by side with the Dowland, Antiquity, and other MSS., you will find all the *general* charges—and no doubt the particular ones too, previously set out, in almost identical words—in the poem?

"This fact," continues Woodford, "would be realized more fully, if the older and quainter language of the poem be put into more modern verbiage"—which I shall proceed to do, though it may be at once stated that the result will not bear out—at all events in my own judgment, as the readers of this Commentary will be already aware—the somewhat confident prediction of the worthy brother, now deceased. His opinions, however, on all branches of our antiquities, are entitled to so much weight, that I gladly work in the groove he has marked out, with the certainty of thereby deriving great benefit in my task, which if diligently and critically performed, would have been equally welcomed by the scholar and antiquary whose loss we deplore, whether it tended to support or to refute any pre-conceived views of his own.

In the following summaries of the Articles and Points (*ll.* 87-470), by the use of Arabic and Roman numerals respectively, any confusion that might otherwise result from the subsequent references to either, will, it is hoped, be avoided.

The cases where similarities will be found in the German Ordinances, are distinguished by the letters A, B, and C, within parentheses, which denote the codes of 1459, 1462, and 1563 respectively.

FIFTEEN ARTICLES FOR THE MASTER.

1.—He must be steadfast, trusty, and true; pay his fellows truly; take no bribe; and as a "Jugge" stand upright (C).

2.—Every Master (that is a Mason) must be at the general congregation, provided he be told where the Assembly shall be held; except he have a reasonable excuse; is disobedient to the Craft; is with falsehood overtaken; or sickness disable him from attendance.

3.—The Master must take no apprentice, without good assurance he will dwell seven years with him, in order to learn his craft, as within a less period his service might be unprofitable (A, B, C).

3.—The Master must be careful not to make a bondsman his apprentice, or to take him out of covetiousness, as the lord he is bound to may fetch him wheresoever he goes, and if captured in the Lodge* much inconvenience might result, since all the Masons that were there would stand together as companions. For more ease, then, the apprentice taken should

* Mr. Halliwell remarks, "It is curious to observe that the same term, *lodge*, is still in universal use among the Masons. See also the *third Point* for the enjoinment of secrecy at whatever was done at the lodges, which exactly corresponds with the present custom."—*Poem*, 2nd edit., 17.

be of higher degree, and it was in old time written that he should be of gentle birth * (A B.),

5.—The Apprentice must be of lawful blood, and the Master shall for no advantage make one that is not perfect, which means that he must have his limbs whole, for—

> " To the Craft it were great shame,
> To make a halt man and a lame.
> A maimed man he hath no might,
> You may it know long ere night " (A, B).

6.—The Master shall do the lord no prejudice, to take of him for his apprentice as much as for the fellows, who in their Craft are quite perfect, which he is not. But the apprentice shall be informed that his pay may soon increase.

> " And ere his term come to an end,
> His hire may full well amend."†

7.—No Master, out of fear or favour, shall either clothe or feed a thief, neither shall he harbour thieves, nor him that hath killed a man ;

> " Ny thylke that hath a febul name,
> Lest it would turn the Craft to shame " (C).

8.—The Master may change any man of Craft, who is not so perfect as he ought to be, and take in his place a more perfect, that is, skilled man, as the former, through recklessness, might do the craft little honour (C).

9.—The Master ought to be wise and discreet, and should undertake no work that he cannot both perform and complete. Also it should be equally to the profit of the lord and the Craft, while the ground ought to be well taken, so that it may neither " fle " nor crack (A, B, C).

10.—No Master shall supplant another, or any other man that hath taken a work upon him, under a penalty of not less than ten pounds (on being found guilty) to him who first took the work in hand. For no man in Masonry shall supplant another, except the execution be such that it turn the work to naught, in which case only,

> " Then may a Mason that work crave
> To the lord's profit it for to save,"

for the man who begins a work, if " he be a Mason good and sound," has the right to bring it to an end (A, B, C).

11.—The Master shall be both fair and liberal, and must prohibit any Mason from working at night, unless in the pursuit of knowledge, which shall be a sufficient excuse.

12.—No Mason shall deprave his fellow's work, but recommend it with honest words, and assist him in improving it (A, B, C).

13.—If the Master have an apprentice, he must instruct him fully in all points, so that he may have fully learned his craft, whithersoever he may go (B).

14.—A Master shall take no apprentice without making proper provision that he shall learn of him, within his term of servitude, " divers points " (B).

15.—The Master shall take upon himself no false maintenance, nor for any reward maintain his fellows in their sin. Neither must he suffer them to swear any false oaths (C.)

FIFTEEN POINTS FOR THE CRAFTSMEN.

I.—The worthy Craftsman must love well God and the holy Church, the Master he is with, and his fellows also (A, B, C).

II.—The Mason must work truly on the work day, so as to deserve his pay for the holyday.

III.—The apprentice must keep his Master's counsel, and also that of his fellows, closely. The privities (*prevetyse*) of the chamber, he must not lay bare, nor tell to any man, whatsoever he hears, or sees done, in the Lodge. The counsel of hall and likewise of bower he must also keep inviolably (B).

IV.—No man shall be false to his Craft, or maintain any error against it, neither shall he do any act to the prejudice of his Master or fellows. The same injunctions apply to the apprentice, though " under awe " (B, C).

V.—The Mason must take the pay ordered to him weekly, but the Master, before the ninth hour—*i.e.*, 3 p.m.—must warn those for whom he hath no further employment, and to this direction they must submit without strife (A, B, C).

VI.—Love-day shall only be celebrated on a holiday, or when the work-day has come to an end (B, C).

VII.—No man shall lie with his Master's wife, or with the wife or concubine of any of his fellows—

* See *ante*, 49.

† *i.e.*, become larger in amount.

" The penalty thereof let it be sure
That he be prentice full seven year" (A, B, C).

VIII.—The Mason must be faithful to his Master; a true mediator between his Master and his fellows; and to act fairly by both parties (C).

IX.—The Stewards of the Hall are lovingly to serve each one the others; to see that every man is charged alike; to pay for all victuals consumed; and to keep good and full accounts.

X.—If a Mason lead a bad life, and slander his fellows without cause, he shall be cited to appear at the next Assembly, and unless he attend must forswear the Craft, and shall be punished according to the law established in old days (A, B, C).

XI.—A Mason who is well skilled in the Craft, and sees his fellow hewing a stone, which he is in a fair way to spoil, should help him without loss of time, if able so to do, and also instruct him how to do better, so that the whole work be not ruined (A, B, C).

XII.—At the Assembly there shall be, besides the Masters and fellows, many great Lords, the Sheriff of the County, the Mayor of the City, Knights, Squires, and Aldermen. The ordinances then made shall be put into effect by them against any man belonging to the Craft, who, if he dispute the laws so enacted, will be taken into their keeping.

XIII.—Each Mason shall swear not to be a thief, nor to succour anyone in his false craft (C).

XIV.—Each Mason must swear a good true oath to his Master and fellows present at the Assembly. He must also be steadfast and true to all the ordinances; to his liege lord the King; and to all the points herebefore cited. All shall swear the same oath of the Masons, be they willing or unwilling, to these Points that have been ordained by good authority. And if any man be found guilty in either one of them, he is to be sought for and brought before the Assembly (A, B).

XV.—Should those that shall be sworn to observe the ordinances made at the Assembly before the great Lords and Masters before named, be disobedient to the resolutions there passed, and the same be proved openly at the Assembly—except they be willing to make amends for their faults, then must they forsake the craft, refuse to work in it, and swear never more to use it. Nor unless they subsequently make amends will they be allowed to resume their craft; and if they will not do so, the Sheriff shall arrest them and put their bodies into prison, and take their goods and chattels, holding themselves and their property at the King's will (A, B).

The Articles

Of the Fifteen Articles, 1-5 appear to have their analogues in the various Orders and Regulations with which we meet in the Old Charges. Art. 6, however, I do not find in them; 7 is expanded in the Cooke M.S., and also particularly referred to in what Dr. Begemann classifies as the *fourth* (or Spencer) "Family;" 8 is not found in the prose forms; 9 and 10 are substantially given; 11 is not; neither are 12 [see, however, the Hope M.S.]*; 13; 14 [see Antiquity MS.]† or 15.

Art. 2 will be more fully considered under *Punctus duodecimus* (*ll.*, 407-20), in which place I shall deal with all the features of the poem, that are connected either directly or remotely with the problem of the "Assembly." The rule enjoining that apprentices must be free-born (4, 5; *ll.*, 129, 150) was an imperative one, and even after a person was made free of the Guild and the city, if it became known that he was of servile condition, he lost his freedom.‡

Two of the qualifications required in the Master (9; *l.* 194) find a close analogy in the regulations of the Guild of St. Anthony, Lynn, Norfolk, which enjoins that the Alderman must be "*wyse and wittye*, able and konyng to reulen and gouern ye company, to ye worchep of God an holy chirche."§

Articles 11-15 (*ll.*, 225-60), though not incorporated specifically, and indeed only to a very limited extent inferentially, in the Old Charges, are nevertheless amply borne out by usages of the various trades, together with many rules and minutes of the early Lodges, that have escaped the almost general destruction of such documents. Thus, the prohibition against working at night (11; *l.* 227) appears to have been common to all trades, with the solitary exception of the undertakers, who were allowed in France—and doubtless elsewhere—to carry on their dismal calling at all hours.‖

The due instruction of the apprentice by his master (13; *l.* 243), or some competent deputy of the latter, would seem to go without saying, as the phrase is, but the custom is so quaintly expressed in the records of the Craft Guild of the Tailors, at Exeter (*temp.* Edw. IV.), that I shall here introduce the form of oath in which it appears:—"Ye shall swere that ye shall well and trewly behave yo^{r}selfe, in abellyng of this person in alle soche

* O.C. 62, ix. † *Ibid* 68, iv.
‡ *Hist.* ii., 344; Stow, 328; Riley, *Memorials*, 23, 58; and *Eng. Gilds*, cxxxix.
§ *Eng. Gilds*, 46. ‖ *Hist.* i., 191, 198.

connyng as longith to the Crafte of Taylors that cometh to yo[r] mende, and in all soche konnyng as ye fynde hym able to show on-to the Master and Wardens; and that ye schall not lett, for loue, favor, frendsheppe, nor ony other hatered, nother maleyse of no person: so God yow helpe and holydom, and by this boke."*

"Once a use and ever a custom," as the old proverb has it, and of this a good illustration will be found in the practice of the early Scottish Lodges, under which the system of assigning "intenders" to perfect the apprentices for their future trials, was no doubt a survival of the old custom (or law), noticed in the Regius MS. and the Exeter records, that new-comers were to be "abelled," or in other words taught all the skill of the Craft.

The last "Article" (15; *ll.* 251-60), may be usefully compared with the 10th "Order" of the Alnwick Lodge, enacted in 1701.†

The Points.

It is stated by Herbert, of the "Companies of London"—"Their Government was by ordinances or by-laws, framed by common assent amongst themselves, and which were anciently called Pointz. They chiefly regarded the qualifications of members; keeping of their Trade Secrets; the regulation of apprenticeships," etc.‡

Tercius Punctus (*ll.* 275-86).

Of the term "Lodge" (*logge*, *l.* 280, and *ante* Art. 4), Mr. Wyatt Papworth observes:—"In 1200, the words 'tabulatum domicialem,' as the shed in front of St. Alban's Abbey Church, whilst it was being rebuilt, was called, may probably be an early intimation of such a building. If not, the entry, 1321, of 2s. 6d. for *straw* to cover the mason's lodging, at the building of Caernarvon Castle, may perhaps be accepted. In 1330, a man at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, had, amongst his other work, to clean out the Lodge."§ The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, published by Canon Raine for the Surtees Society, show that in 1352—or according to a previous authority, 1355 ||—the following orders were enacted:—"The first and second masons, who are called masters of the same (*principalis et secundarius cementarius, qui vocantur magistri eorumdem*), and the carpenters shall make oath that they cause the ancient customs under-written to be faithfully observed. In summer, they are to begin to work immediately after sunrise until the ringing the bell of the Virgin Mary, then to breakfast in the fabric lodge (*logium fabricae*), then one of the masters shall knock upon the door of the lodge, and forthwith all are to return to work until noon. Between April and August, after dinner, they shall sleep in the lodge, then work until the first bell for vespers. Then sit to drink till the end of the third bell, and return to work so long as they can see by daylight. In winter, they are to begin work at daybreak and continue as before till noon—dine, and return to work till daylight is over. On Vigils and on Saturdays they are to work until noon."¶

These rules continued in force until 1370, when they were superseded by others of a like character, but expressed in the vernacular idiom. The duties to be performed in the "*loge*" remained very much the same as before, and the regulations conclude:—"Ande, alswa, it es ordayned yt na masonn sall be receavyde atte wyrke, to ye werk of ye forsayde kyrke, bot he be firste provede a weke or mare opon his well wyrking; and, aftyr yt he es foundyn souffissant of his werke, be receavyde of ye commune assente of ye mayster and ye kepers of ye werk, ande of ye maystyr masonn, and swere upon ye boke yt he sall trewly ande bysyli at his power, for oute any maner gylyry, fayntys, outher desayte, hald and kepe haly all ye poyntes of yis forsayde ordinance,"** etc.

On the 31st of October, 1370, Master Robert de Patrington, and twelve other masons, came before the chapter, and swore to observe the foregoing rules, in the following terms: "Lordes, if it be your wyles, we grant for to stand at our werkes truly at our power,"†† etc.

We learn from the same Fabric Rolls, that there was a duly appointed pledge-day (*pleghdai*), when the workmen swore to observe the orders which the Chapter had ordained for their management. This they were required to do at least once a year.‡‡

The York Fabric Rolls show clearly enough what the Masons had to do when in Lodge, and it has been well observed, "that the 'orders' supplied to the Masons at work at York Cathedral in 1352-55, give but a poor notion of there being then existing in that city anything like a gild or fellowship claiming authority in virtue of a charter, supposed to have been given to it by Athelstan in 926, not only over that city but over all England."§§

There is nothing, indeed, in the records from which I have quoted, to indicate that the Lodge at York, in the 14th century, was used for any other than strictly trade purposes, by

* *Eng. Gilds*, 319. † *Hist.* ii., 263. ‡ Herbert, i., 45.
§ *Notes on the Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages.*—Trans. R.I.B.A. iii., N.S. 220.
|| Browne, *Hist. of York Cathedral* (1838-47), 134.
¶ *Surtees Soc. Pub.*, xxxv. (1859), 171.
** *Ibid*, 182. †† *Ibid*, 181. ‡‡ *Ibid*, 11. §§ Papworth, 225.

the operative Mason of that period; and as each of our great Cathedrals, in those early times, had a gang of workmen attached to it in regular pay,* the point is not without significance, for if the existence of any form of speculative Masonry can be carried to a greater altitude than the 14th century, the evidence to support it must be looked for among the records and Fabric Rolls of the past—from which alone any light is now likely to be shed upon the inner life of the bodies of skilled workmen, who were banded together for long periods by the tie of common employment in the plastic art.

In Mr. Smith's collection—among the ordinances—will be found a large number of entries, which impose a penalty for betraying the counsel of the Guild to any strange man or woman.† "The preserving of their trade secrets," says Herbert, "was a primary ordination of all the fraternities, and continued their leading law as long as they remained actual 'working companies,' whence arose the name of 'mysteries,' and 'crafts' by which they were for so many ages, and are still occasionally designated."‡ The grocers' ordinances of 1463 contained a special article against "discovering the secrets of the craft," and art. 16 of the Merchant Tailors' ordinances, 1603, ordains "That no person of the fraternity shall discover or disclose any of the lawfull secrecies concerning the feates of merchandizing."§ There is no reason to suppose that anything more than trade secrets are alluded to in *tercius punctus* of the poem, or that the words "hall" and "bower" (*l.* 283) veil an esoteric meaning, though at a much later date we certainly meet with the former of these two expressions, under circumstances from which a contrary opinion may be inferred.‖

The injunction in Septimus Punctus (*l.* 328) which recognizes the keeping of concubines by apprentices and fellows, is quite *sui generis*, and nothing at all like it is to be found either in the Old Charges, or in the ordinances of the Steinmetzen, though the practice was then a common one in ordinary life, and consistent with the turn of manners at that time prevailing. Line 328 of the poem has been a fruitful source of speculation to those who have written on the manners of our fourteenth and fifteenth century ancestors, but the explanation must be sought, I think, in the actual composition of the Guild or fraternity to whose members the various charges were addressed.¶

END OF PART I. OF COMMENTARY.

[*AD EXPLICATIONEM PERTINENS.*]

L'homme propose et Dieu dispose—during the preparation of the letter-press which I had promised to supply for this volume, the views of the committee on reprints underwent a slight modification with regard to some of the details intrusted by the Lodge to their management. Thus, instead of publishing the Cooke MS. in a second, and the Old Charges (or Manuscript Constitutions) in a third volume, each with a separate introduction, it has been deemed preferable, as the prose versions of the Craft Legend will be given in our next publications, to make the commentary on the poem serve the purpose of a general introduction to the common features by which they are distinguished. In consequence of this resolution the second digression has assumed a wider scope than was originally intended, and in order to divide, if possible, the introductory and explanatory matter for Volumes I. and II. into moieties of fairly equal length, the point we have reached above is deemed the most convenient one at which to make a break in the Commentary, the second part of which —together with the promised Dissertation—will therefore be given in another issue of our Reprints.

In resuming the Commentary, the remaining "Points" in the poem will be considered in a Third Digression, where, *inter alia*, an attempt will be made to explain what the "Assembly" really was at which the Masons were required to be present, and incidentally therewith to suggest a probable solution of the well-known clause in the Old Charges, which renders imperative, at the gathering in question, the presence of all members of the Craft within a prescribed distance.

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum (*ll.* 497-528), as well as the fifth (*ll.* 577-692), and sixth (*ll.* 693-794) divisions of the poem,** will also be examined at some length.

* Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey.*

† *Eng. Gilds*, 65, 67, 69, 76, 81, 92, and 98.

‡ *Companies of London*, i., 45. Madox (*Firma Burgi*) derives the custom of calling the companies "mysteries" from the French, who, he says, using the word "*mestiere*" for a craft, art, or employment, the name came to be used here in a similar sense. In a Venetian Statute (dated 1519) mention is made of the crafts or trades in that city, by the name of *misteri*. The term "mystery," we see, was applied to the trade guilds by the charter of Edw. III., and it certainly continued so for ages afterwards.—*Ibid.*

§ *Ibid*, 46.

‖ *A Mason's Examination*, 1723; and *A Mason's Confession*, 1727.—*Hist.* ii., 357; iii., 488; and *Scots' Mag.*, xvii (1755), 133-37.

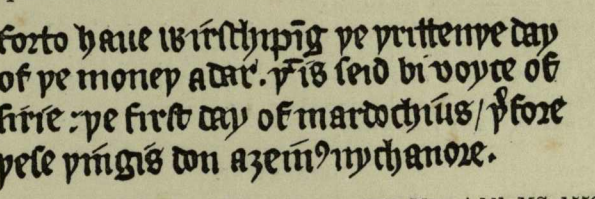
¶ Ante, 49, 50.

** *Ibid*, 1.

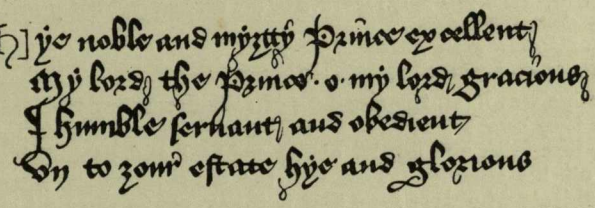
Urbanitatis has already been twice referred to,* and in this place, therefore, it will be sufficient to add that the extract given in the Regius MS. (*ll.* 693-794), and the corresponding verses of which a facsimile appears in the present volume, were believed by Woodford to have had "a common origin, probably some Norman, French, or even Latin poem."† My personal view of this question must, however, be deferred, and I pass to the "Instructions for a Parish Priest," the remaining facsimile, of which a brief description is essential.

This poem has been preserved in at least three manuscripts, and what is deemed the earliest and purest text, was printed in 1868, the date assigned to it by the editor, Mr. Peacock, being the year 1450.‡

The age of the Regius MS. has been variously estimated, some authorities going back to the close of the fourteenth century, while, as we have already seen, a later date has been ascribed to it by Mr. Bond.§ This point, however, like several others, will again come before us, and I shall here merely introduce, for the purposes of comparison, typical facsimiles of handwriting of both periods above referred to.



[From Wycliffe's Bible, late 14th century. Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 15580.]



[From a Poem written about 1411 or 1412. Brit. Mus. Arundel MS. 38.]

I now pass to the DISSERTATION ON THE GORMOGONS, which, as originally contemplated, was to stand in the same relation to the remaining reprints, as the COMMENTARY towards "Urbanitatis" and the "Instructions for a Parish Priest." But as the DISSERTATION must be reserved for a future volume, while the Reprints that fall within its scope will be given in the present one, a few details with regard to these ancient publications may be of assistance to the reader.

1st—The 51st number of the *Plain Dealer*, September 14, 1724, contains an article on the Gormogons, portions of which were reproduced in the *Grand Mystery*, 2nd edit., 1725. 2nd—The original of *An Ode to the Grand Khaibar*, 1726, is in the library of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and if there are other copies in existence, I am quite unable to indicate the custody in which they may be found. 3rd—The publication of *The Defence of Masonry* was announced in the *Daily Journal*, December 16th, 1730, but the earliest known copy of the pamphlet is given in the *Freemason's Pocket Companion* for 1738, from which the present Reprint is an extract. 4th—*Euclid's Letter* appeared in the *New Book of Constitutions*, 1738, and was printed immediately after the *Defence of Masonry*, which also found a place in that publication.

* *Ante*, 1, 48. † *Mas. Mag.*, ii., 163. ‡ *E.E.T.S.*, xxxi. § *Proleg*, ii.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

PROLEGOMENA.

v. line 4, for *second light* read *second sight.*

„ 3rd paragraph up—*distinctly operative stamp.* The opinion here expressed, will be found materially qualified at the close of the second digression, but as each sheet passed through the press, the type was distributed, and therefore in all cases where variances of a similar character are met with, I shall ask the reader to regard the statements or conclusions, *latest in point of actual writing*, and therefore the result of the longest amount of study and reflection, as being presumably the most entitled to his confidence.

vii. 4th paragraph. The charge, *to be liegeman to the King of England*, would have been here inserted had I realized its importance at this early stage of the inquiry.

„ line 11 up, to read *the written traditions.*

viii. The "Calendar" of the "Old Charges," should bear the date 1889; and to the documents mentioned, should be added at the No. 21[a], the T. W. Tew MS.,—*date*, 17th century, —*custody*, West Yorkshire Masonic Library,—*published*, in the Christmas number of the *Freemason*, 1888, and separately, by Hughan.

ix. No. 24, for *Dauntesy*, read *Dauntesey.*

COMMENTARY.

p. 2. line 4, read *Regius and Cooke MSS.*

p. 8. paragraph 5, for *Dulton*, read *Dutton.*

p. 18. line 7, to read, *York was long regarded as the earliest legendary centre of the Building Art.*

„ line 16, for *there* read *these.*

p. 20. line 15, for *Caedom*, read *Caedmon.*

pp. 20, 44, 47. System of Frankpledge.—Sir Francis Palgrave says:—"When the view of Frankpledge was held, the members of each decennary took the oath of allegiance, in which they swore that they would be faithful and true to the king and his heirs, and bear him faith and loyalty of life and limb and worldly honour, and defend him against all his enemies. This was the oath which the Conqueror imposed upon all his subjects who were free, that is to say, not in Theowet or slavery."*

p. 21. line 19 up, for *Edwin of the poem*, read *Edwin of the prose legend.*

p. 23. line 9 up, for *outlapping*, read *overlapping.*

p. 26, *et seqq.* The Ripon and Beverley Charters were taken by me from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus.* About five hundred and eighty six Charters were published in the latter work, but in the *Cartularium Saxonicum* of Mr. Birch, which has only just fallen in my way, there are incorporated with the foregoing, two hundred and sixty eight additional documents, thus making a grand total of eight hundred and fifty-nine Charters, and various forms of those instruments. Fourteen Charters are classified by Mr. Birch as "Metrical or Quasi-Metrical Pieces," but of these only nine are rythmical or alliterative throughout. Nos. 644 and 645 are the two versions of the Beverley Charter, as given in Lansdowne MS. 269; and by Kemble and Thorpe—following Dugdale—respectively: 647, is the Ripon Charter (*ante* 27): 655, a Latin Hymn in praise of king Athelstan's subjugation of Constantine, king of Scots, and the kings of Britain, A.D. 626: 686, an Anglo-Saxon Poem on the Site of Durham, connected with a grant by Athelstan to St. Cuthbert's Cathedral, Durham, *about* A.D. 931: 710, a Poem relating to the presentation of a MS. of the four Gospels by Athelstan to Christ Church, Canterbury, *after* A.D. 936: 751, is a Poetical Grant of Land, partly metrical, partly alliterative, in Latin, by king Edmund, A.D. 940: 815, is a Poetical Grant, also in Latin, by king Edred: and 859—derived from the Duchy of Lancaster Records—is another form of, and almost identical with, the Ripon Charter, No. 647.

It will be seen, therefore, that out of these nine Charters, seven are connected with king Athelstan, and his name also figures far more conspicuously as a grantor of Charters in a general way, than that of any other Anglo-Saxon monarch whose acts of the kind are recorded in the *Cartularium Saxonicum.*

Mr. Birch observes—with regard to the genuineness of certain documents included in his collection:—"Setting aside for the moment those which are glaringly fictitious, there are many which, in their present form, are not true texts of original documents, for these originals have no doubt perished in some of the frequent calamities which are so graphically described in many an ancient chronicle.

* *Eng. Com.* i., 201, citing *Fleta*, iii., 16; and the *Mirror*, 2, 9.

But looking on them with the light that many other genuine deeds of this period afford, we cannot but be led to the conclusion that, although they are not copies, *they are reconstructions of genuine documents*, couched in terms differing for the most part widely from the language of the original. It is not unlikely that these late and spurious forms were set up when necessity arose for the existence and production of the muniments and charters which alone could confer upon the cathedral, the abbey, or the private person, the rights of possession and the privileges long and usefully, as well as legally and unquestionably, enjoyed by such corporation or individuals. Accepting this view, that these apparently false charters are neither originals nor copies of originals, but mere substitutes for originals; not fictitious in the sense of being false representations; nevertheless, recording real transactions, yet not in the terms in which the grants were originally made, we can easily understand how it is that they contain so many errors of language, history, and topography, and are so full of anachronisms."*

A document printed by Mr. Birch affords a good example of the practice of re-writing charters from a recollection of their contents. This deed is dated A.D. 903, and recites that Duke Ethelfrid having lost all his hereditary charters (*libri*) by fire, desires permission of King Edward and the rulers of the Mercians, to prepare other charters, "eodem modo quo et priores scripti erant in quantum eos *memoriter recordari potuisset.*"†

But there was also another class of spurious charters which sprang into existence under somewhat different circumstances.

To use the words of Sir Francis Palgrave:—"Interest may have tempted the monks to commit forgery; and they did not always resist this temptation as resolutely as might be wished for the honour of their order. Yet in extenuation, if not in apology of this offence, it must be remembered that their falsifications were chiefly defensive. Lands which unquestionably belonged to the Church were frequently held merely by prescriptive possession, unaccompanied by deeds and charters. The right was lawful, but there were no lawful means of proving the right. And when the monastery was troubled and impleaded by the Norman Justitiar, or the Soke invaded by the Norman Barons, the Abbot and his brethren would have recourse to the artifice of *inventing a charter* for the purpose of protecting property; which, however lawfully acquired and honestly enjoyed, was like to be wrested from them by the captious niceties of the Norman jurisprudence, or the greedy tyranny of the Norman sword."‡

Some very curious reasons for their being written are recited in certain charters. Thus, in an alleged grant by king Edmund, dated A.D. 940, we meet with the words, "Scripsimus novam cartulam quia antiquam non habebamus";§ and in similar instruments of A.D. 943 and 944, we find, "Scripsimus novam cartulam quia antiquum librum non habebamus."‖ Many instances are given by Mr. Birch of Anglo-Saxon grants, with what are called "companion forms" in Latin and Old English. Sometimes an Anglo-Saxon original was translated into Latin, and *vice versâ*, but the last stage of all appears to have been in most cases the vernacular tongue. Of the Beverley Charter we only possess the Old English form, but of that of Ripon, there exist the English and Latin forms respectively.

The following, of which the Ripon Charter already given (*ante* 27) is described as an "Early English Metrical Version"¶—is the Latin form alluded** to:—

646. *Grant of liberties, customs, and privileges, by king Adelstan to the Church and Chapter of Ripon. About* A.D. 925.

In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis ADELSTANUS rex Dei Gratia regni ✠ Angliae omnibus hominibus suis Eboraci, et per totam Angliam salutem.

Sciatis quod ego confirmo ecclesiae et capitulo RIPONENSI pacem suam, et omnes libertates et consuetudines suas, et concedo eis curiam suam de omnibus quærelis et in omnibus curiis de hominibus S. Wilfridi, pro ipsis et hominibus suis, vel contra ipsos, vel inter se ad invicem, vel quae fieri p [ossint per alios ?] et judicium suum pro *Frodmortell*; et quod homines sint credendi per suum *ya*, et per suum *na*, et omnes suas terras habitas, et habendas, et homines suos ita liberos, quod nec rex Angliae, nec ministu ejus, aliquid faciant vel habeant quod est ad terras suas vel ad socam capituli.

Testibus†† G. archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et P. praeposito Beverlaci.

* *Cart. Sax.*, i., xx. † *Ibid*, ii., 258. ‡ *Eng. Com.*, ii., ccx. § *Cart. Sax.*, ii., 487.
‖ *Ibid*, 529, 537. ¶ *Ibid*, 325. ** *Ante*, 26.

†† Mr. Birch, from whose collection the above is an extract, observes, "The names may represent Geoffrey de Ludham, Archbishop of York, A.D. 1258; and Peter de Chester, Provost of Beverley, A.D. 1222," —*Cart. Sax.*, ii., 325.

It will be observed that the date assigned to the preceding instrument, is A.D. 925, and the same is given to the Beverley Charter, in both cases on the authority of Dugdale, as recorded in his *Monasticon*.

The Ripon Metrical Charter is described in the work last quoted, by the title given in the text (*ante* 27), and then follow the words—"Ex antiquo Registro penes . . . . Lindale, Sub-decanum Ecclesiae Ripponensis 1630."*

pp. 27, 41. The Dunbar miracle.—The possibility of this fabulous exploit having been in the minds of those persons by whom the *laws* as well as the legend of the Craft, were first sung or recited, cannot be wholly excluded from our consideration. It is also worthy of reflection whether the placing by William the Lion, of his spear and shield on the altar of St. Peter at York—where they were for a long time preserved—as symbols of his submission to the English king, (*ante* 39), may not have given the idea or suggestion underlying the alleged miracle a strong local colouring which, together with Edwin's foundation of the Minster and the various incidents connected with Athelstan's famous march against the Scots, have combined to render the old capital of the Deiri the traditionary centre of the *latest* items of Masonic history recited in the (prose) Legend of the Craft?

p. 28. The battle of Brunanburh.—According to Mr. Birch, the term "Brunnan burh" is, "with little doubt, a poetical alliterative synonym for 'Bruninga feld,'" and he considers that the parish of Broomfield, in Somersetshire, satisfies, in many ways, the condition of the description in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.† The site of the great battle was recently the subject of much controversy in the *Athenæum*.‡

p. 32. The grithmen of Beverley.—The employment in the English army of these outlaws, who were accustomed to celebrate the weekly obit of King Athelstan, must have given a wider circulation to the connection, legendary and otherwise, of that monarch with the shrine of St. John of Beverley.

p. 33, line 1, to read *the Cathedral of St. Peter's at York.*

p. 35. The Earldom of Northumberland.—The king's representative in the north, comtinued to be a very powerful personage until much later times. Thus, Mr. Denton tells us:—"Whilst, at the end of the fifteenth century, the Duke of Buckingham was the wealthiest member of the peerage, the Earl of Northumberland was probably the most powerful of the nobility. The court at Alnwick came little behind the court at Windsor, and like others of the chief nobility, the representative of the house of Percy was waited upon 'both day and night,' not only by,

'Knights and squires as menial household men,'

but by barons entertained in fee as ordinary members of his retinue. Among his large possessions were at least five castles in Northumberland, nine in Yorkshire, and six in Cumberland, all surrounded by their attendant parks, chases, and warrens. From his retainers and tenants he was able to summon an army of the most warlike and restless spirits, drilled in constant military exercises by the perpetual strife which raged along the border lands of England and Scotland."§

p. 37. Battle of the Standard.—The banners displayed on this occasion may be described, in effect, as those of two dead bishops, and one living archbishop, of York.

p. 39. The War of Independence.—It may, I think, be affirmed, that if the Legend of Masonry had not penetrated into modern Scotland before the death of Alexander III., their is little probability of its having been introduced into that kingdom during a long period of comparative anarchy which then ensued. This point, I shall hope the following note, which is abridged from the Rev. W. Denton's *England in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 67, *et seqq.*, may assist in making clear to the reader, and also that it may fortify some other contentions which lie scattered in the text, as well as suggest to the reflective student how it came to pass, that the paths of English and Scottish Masonry have diverged.

At the close of the thirteenth century Scotland socially, ecclesiastically, and politically was, so far as the rights and privileges of the people were concerned, a part of England, and Scottish writers of that period speak of their own language as English.

But the victory of Bannockburn drove from Scotland the very elements of its growing civilization and its material wealth. The artizans of North Britain were at that time mostly English. These retired, or were driven from Scotland, and

* *Mon. Angl.*, ii., 133. † *Cart Sax.*, ii., viii. ‡ July-Dec., 1885.
§ *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 267-69.

with them the commercial importance of the Scottish towns was lost.* The estates held by Englishmen in Scotland were confiscated, and the wealth which through the hands of these proprietors had found its way from the southern parts of the kingdom and fertilized the more barren soil of the north, at once ceased.

The civilization of Scotland was not of home growth. The principles of its constitutional law had been implanted by the English, who before or at the time of the Norman Conquest settled in the countries beyond the Tweed. From the Tweed and Solway to the limits of Sutherland almost all the arable land was held by English families. With few and inconsiderable exceptions, every name of note occurring in Scottish history is English.

The settlers from England before the Norman Conquest influenced Scotland in many ways more deeply than even the Anglo-Norman barons settled there after the time of William the Norman, and Scotland retained the old English rule of government, and was less indebted than England to Anglo-Norman legislation. The forms of its early institutions were English, and were introduced into the northern kingdom during the reigns of David I. and the three Alexanders. The rules and practice of the Scottish Parliament were moulded upon those of South Britain; the laws of Scotland were copied from the statute roll of England,

Before the war with England municipal officers in Scotland bore the English names of mayor and aldermen; but these were aftewards exchanged for titles taken from French municipal institutions, and Scottish towns came to be governed by provosts or doyens, deans, and baillies.†

The cathedrals of the northern church were erected by the kings of Scotland avowedly in imitation of the cathedrals of England. In the same way, the great monasteries of Scotland received not only their rule but their first members also from England.

The relations of Scotland with England are evident in other things. The architecture of the cathedrals and monasteries of the north was derived from England, and, when not built by southern architects, was copied by Scottish architects mostly from the models to which the spirituality was indebted for the constitution of the chapter or the rules for the governance of the monastery.‡ No cathedral was built after the reign of David I. in 1153, and almost every monastery was founded before the death of Alexander III. in 1286. All these marks of refined taste and religious zeal, of wealth and public spirit, ceased with the rebellion of Bruce. The Anglo-Norman barons retired to their southern estates. The money necessary for building edifices of such grandeur suddenly failed, and additions made to these buildings after this date betray the influence of French, not of English, architecture.

p. 41. The Legend of Brutus, the Trojan.—It seems probable that the historical researches of Edward I. were conducted after the existing Craft Legend had assumed form and coherency. Otherwise, I think, from the wide circulation given to the fable of Brutus and his descendants, we should find some trace of it in the written traditions of Masonry.

p. 47, paragraph 9, for *scarely*, read *scarcely*.

p. 49. *Articulus Quartus. ll.* 143-46.

Mr. Halliwell observes:—"From *l.* 143, it would appear that the writer, who was a priest,§ had access to some documents concerning the history of 'the Craft.'"‖ But the interpolation of a series of verses having reference to the priestly office, is no more conclusive of the profession or calling of the penman, than the insertion of a poem on "Manners and Meals"—from which it might equally be inferred that the writer was a "Maistyr of Henxmen" (*Ante* 48).

p. 49. That we have here, however, a distinct reference to some written form of the Craft Legend is apparent (*proleg.* vi.) although, as already stated, I do not think any such writing was actually utilised by the penman of the Regius MS. (*ante* 17)

* Berwick ranked next to London for its commerce. It is called by the *Lanercost Chronicle* "a second Alexandria." Its importance was destroyed by the war, and it never recovered. Inverness at the close of the thirteenth century was of greater importance than now.—Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, 232.

† Citing Burton's *History of Scotland*, ii., 180.

‡ The real golden age of Scotland—the time of peace with England—of plenty in the land, of foreign trade, of internal peace, of law and justice, was the period of a full century following the treaty between William the Lion and Richard Cœur de Lion (A.D. 1189), comprehending the reign of William, and the long reigns of the second and third Alexanders. That century is the time when we can ascertain most of our fine and great churches to have been built.—*Innes*, 296.

§ "This appears from l. 629, 'And when the gospel *me* rede schal.'"—Halliwell, 41. ‖ *Ibid.*

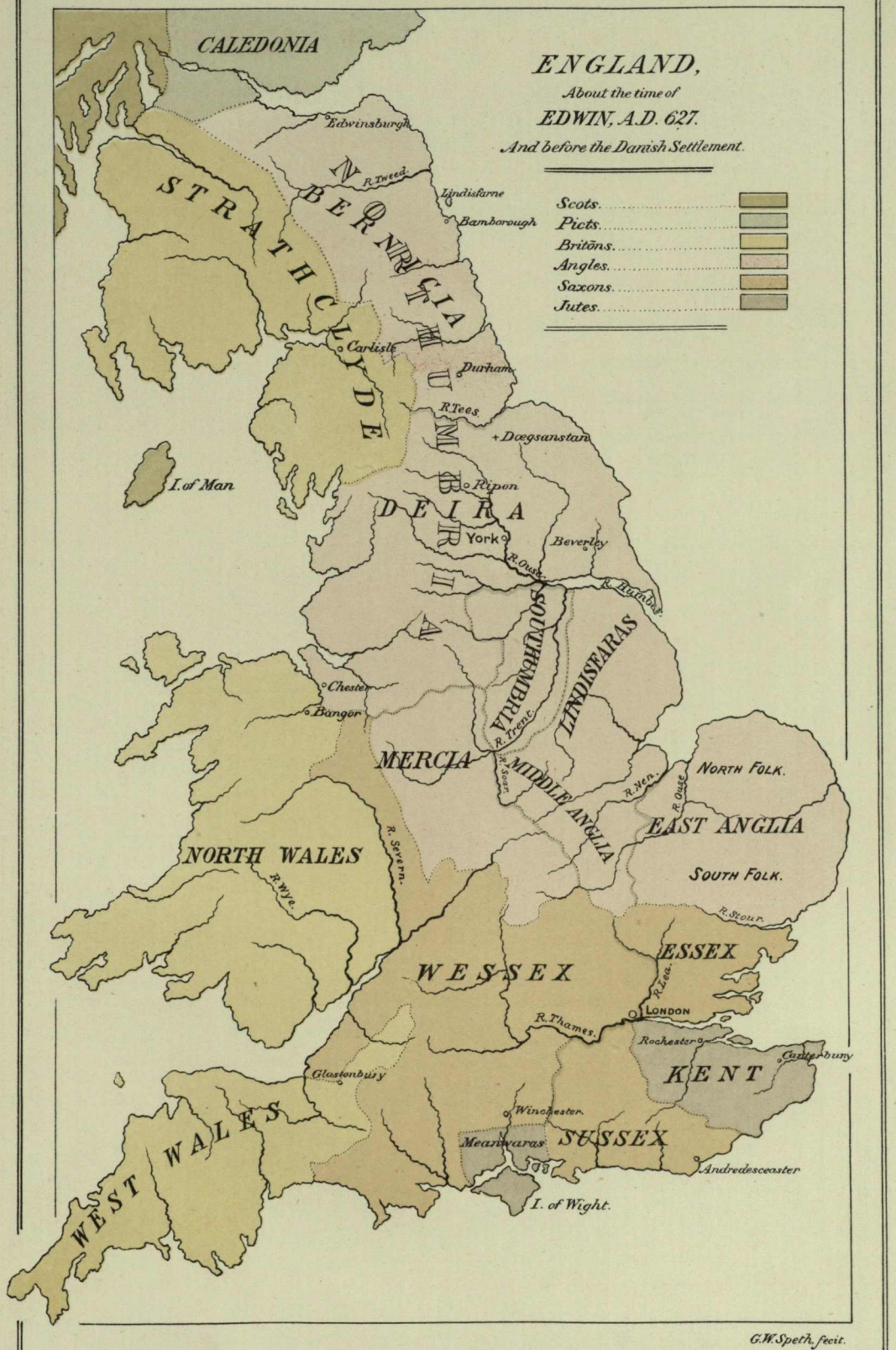
It is worthy of our attention that both Mr. Halliwell and Mr. Furnivall (*ante* 49) were evidently unaware of the passages in the Masonic Poem relating to the duties of a priest, and to behaviour at meals respectively, having been transcribed from any other source. Thus, the remarks of the latter on *Urbanitatis*, betray no knowledge of his having recognised a form of that MS. in the Masonic Poem, and hence the doubts he casts on the alleged custom of young persons of family serving an apprenticeship to working masons, arise as it were spontaneously from the actual lines before him, and without any tinge or bias from the proof he elsewhere affords us, though indirectly, of a large portion of the Regius MS., having been derived from a code of manners drawn up for gentlemen.

APPENDIX.

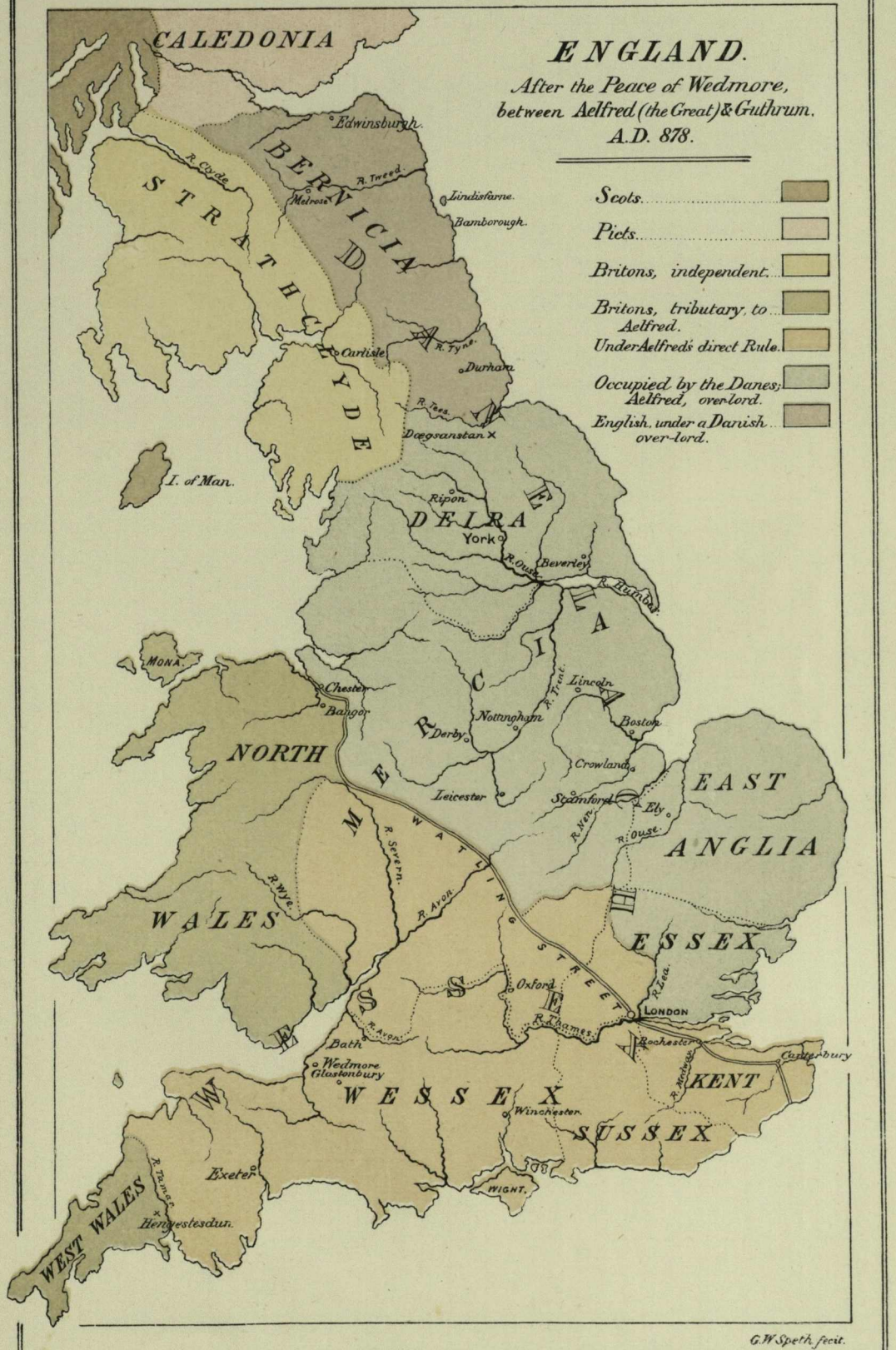
MAPS.

GLOSSARY.

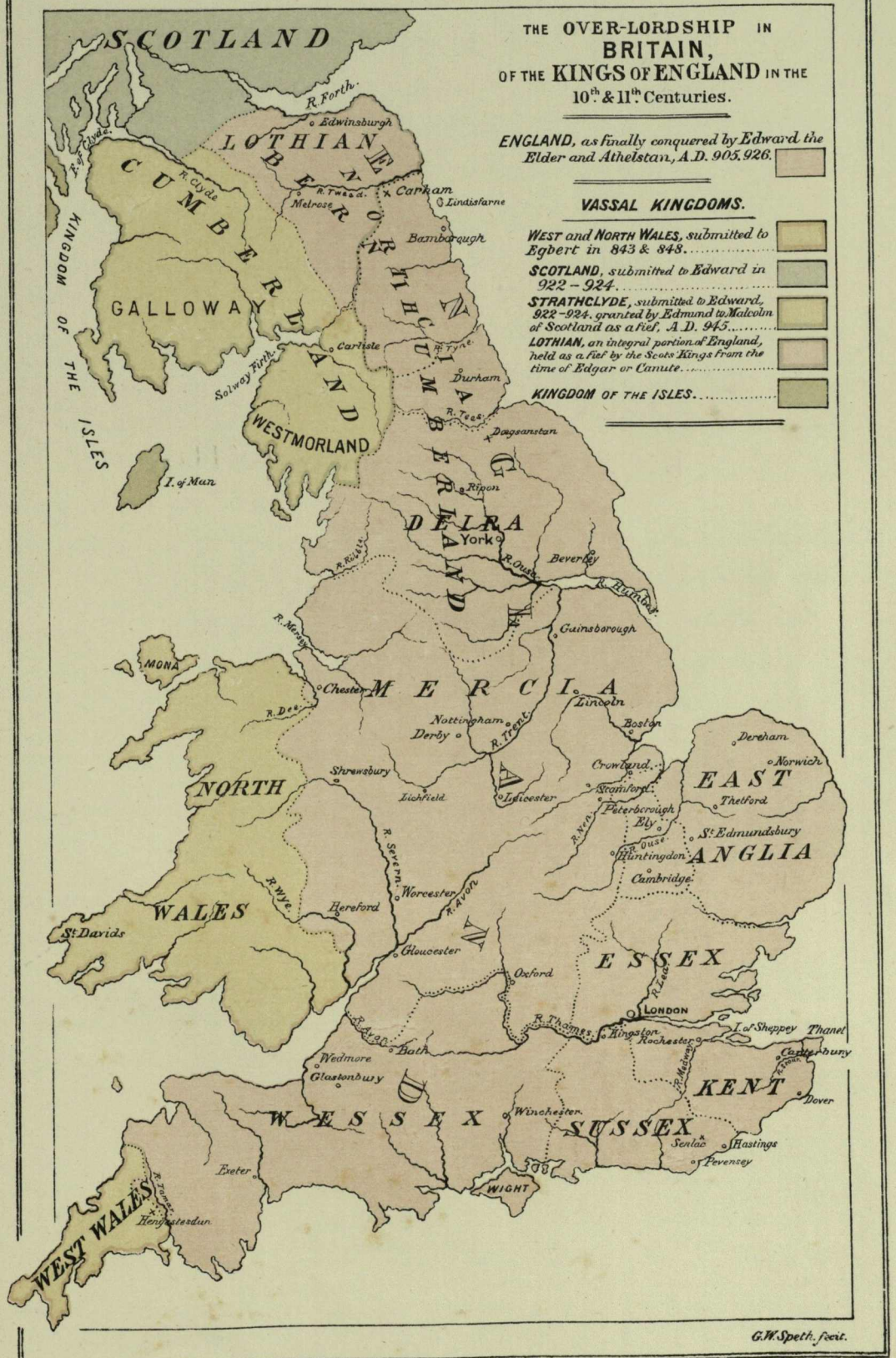
MAP No. 1.


ENGLAND,
About the time of
EDWIN, A.D. 627.
And before the Danish Settlement.
Scots.
Picts.
Britons.
Angles.
Saxons.
Jutes.
CALEDONIA
Edwinsburgh
R. Tweed
Lindisfarne
Bamborough
NORTHUMBRIA
STRATHCLYDE
Carlisle
Durham
R. Tees
Hexham
Ripon
I. of Man
DEIRA
York
Beverley
R. Ouse
R. Humber
SOUTHUMBRIA
LINDISFARAS
Chester
Bangor
R. Trent
MERCIA
R. Severn
MIDDLE ANGLIA
R. Ouse
NORTH FOLK.
EAST ANGLIA
SOUTH FOLK.
R. Stour
NORTH WALES
R. Wye
WESSEX
ESSEX
R. Lea
LONDON
R. Thames
Rochester
Canterbury
KENT
Glastenbury
Winchester
Meanwaras
SUSSEX
Andredesceaster
I. of Wight
WEST WALES
G.W. Speth. fecit.

MAP II.


ENGLAND.
After the Peace of Wedmore, between Aelfred (the Great) & Guthrum. A.D. 878.
Scots.
Picts.
Britons, independent.
Britons, tributary, to Aelfred.
Under Aelfred's direct Rule.
Occupied by the Danes; Aelfred, over-lord.
English, under a Danish over-lord.
CALEDONIA
STRATHCLYDE
BERNICIA
DEIRA
MERCIA
EAST ANGLIA
ESSEX
KENT
SUSSEX
WESSEX
NORTH WALES
WEST WALES
Edwinsburgh.
Melrose
Lindisfarne.
Bamborough.
Carlisle
Durham
Ripon
York
Beverley
Chester
Bangor
MONA.
Lincoln
Nottingham
Derby
Boston
Crowland
Leicester
Stamford
Ely
LONDON
Oxford
Bath
Wedmore (Glastonbury)
Winchester
Rochester
Canterbury
Exeter
Hengestesdun.
WIGHT.
I. of Man.
Dægsanstan
R. Clyde
R. Tweed
R. Tyne
R. Tees
R. Ouse
R. Humber
R. Trent
R. Nen
R. Lea
R. Thames
R. Severn
R. Avon
R. Wye
R. Medway
R. Tamar
WATLING STREET
G. W. Speth fecit.

MAP III.



G.W. Speth. fecit.

A GLOSSARY,

BY

G. W. SPETH.

The character "ȝ" in the Manuscript is derived from the Anglo-Saxon "g" and expresses the sounds of g and y. To facilitate reference I have, in this glossary, treated it as a 27th letter of the alphabet, placing it immediately after z.

The letters p, u, and i, prefixed to numerical figures, refer to lines in the Regius M.S., Urbanitatis, and Instructions for a Parish Priest, respectively.

Abelyche — p 243, *ably*
Abowte — p 350, *in turn about*
Abulle — p 117, *able, sufficient*
Acowntes — p 367, 371, *accounts, reckoning*
Adown — p 634, *down*
Agayn — i 306, *against, towards*
Agone — p 314, *gone, ended*
Algate — p 81, 264, 357, *always, by all means*
Allynge to — p 698, *all into, i.e. entirely*
Alse — p 287, *also*
Also — p 164, 188, 271, & elsewhere *as*
Amende — p 400, *amend, rectify*
Amongus — p 48, *amongst*
A-mysse — p 375, *amiss, improperly*
An — p 66, 522, 671, *and*
And — p 222, 375, 397, *if*
Anone — p 523, *anon, at once*
Apere — p 387, 390, *appear*
Apon — p 93, 254, 270, & elsewhere *upon*
Arewe — p 90, 338, *rue, regret, repent*
Arsmetyk — p 572, *arithmetic*
Artycul — p 87, 105, 119, & elsewhere *article*
Artyculus — p 85, 453, 499, & elsewhere *articles*
Astate — p 82, 263, *estate, dignity, honour*
Aue — i 269, *ave*
Auȝte — p 188, *ought*
Avoydans — p 712, *expulsion*
Avyse — p 786, u 90, *avise, consider*
Ay — p 624, i 277, *aye, always, ever, continually*
Aȝayn — p 462, 545, 634, *again*
Aȝeynus — p 167, 290, 303, & elsewhere *against*

Bakke — u 85, *back*
Barnes — p 77, *barons*
Ben — p 124, 448, &c., *be* (infinitive), p 137, 165, &c., *are* (3rd person plur.), p 438, &c., *be* (subjunctive)
Bere — p 623, 642, i 276 & elsewhere *noise, cry*
Berefe — u 91, *bereave, deprive, cut short*
Berynge — i 307, *bearing*
Be-se — p 128, *besee, observe, bear in mind*
Blod — p 145, 148, 155, & elsewhere *blood*
Bo — p 647, 671, i 294 & elsewhere *both*
Bok — p 530, 590, *book*
Boke — p 2, 566, 707, & elsewhere *book*
Bonde — p 131, *in bondage or villeinage*
Bondemon — p 129, *bondman, villein*
Boo — i 3, *both*
Bordes — p 620, i 267, *jests*
Bost — p 547, *boast*
Bowȝht — p 636, *bought*
Browȝht — p 446, *brought*
Bryȝth — u 73, *bright*
Burges — p 79, *burgesses*
Burthe — p 52, *birth*
But — p 112, 113, 248, 391, *unless, excepting*
Buth — p 481, *be-eth, i.e. are, or shall be*
Bydde — i 266, *bid*
Byden — u 12, *bidden*
By-gonne — i 281, *begun*
Byn — p 298, *be*
Byraft — p 424, *bereft, deprived*
Byref — p 787, *bereave, deprive, shorten*
Bytwyune — p 238, *between*

Carpynge — p 754, *speech* (Shakespeare uses the word for jesting)
Casse — p 169, *case*
Cattelle — p 467, *chattels, goods, property*
Chasted — p 393, *chastised, punished*
Chepyns — p 777, *markets, cheapings*, c.f. Cheapside and East Cheap in the City of London)
Chere — p 346, *chear or cheer, entertainment*
Chulle — p 488, *will, ordain*
Clawynge — p 710, *clawing, touching*

Clept p 35, *called, named*
Com p 60, 61, *came*, p 588, *come*
Commenced p 556, *graduated, took a degree*
Con p 271, 400, 442, 574, *can*, p 397, *know*
Conne p 172, 243, 263, & elsewhere *know*, p 196, 791, and elsewhere, *can*
Connynge p 718, *knowledge, skill*
Consel p 74, *counsel*
Conwsel p 277, 283, *counsel*
Coppe p 747, *cup*
Costage p 353, 356, *cost, expense*
Covetyse p 130, 578, 650, *covetousness*
Cownterfetyd p 23, *counterfeited, imitated*
Cowthe p 7, 75, 230 (*couth*, Saxon, to know), *could, knew*
Crese p 174, *increase*
Criste u 93, *Christ*
Cristus p 526, *Christ's*
Cryst p 789, *Christ*
Crystes p 511, *Christ's*
Crystus p 510, *Christ's*
Curys p 248, *cares*
Curysly p 28, *curiously, i.e. carefully, nicely*
Curysté p 32, *curiosity, i.e. nicety, accuracy, skill*
Curyus p 205, *curious, i.e. nice, ingenious*
Cuthe p 51, *friendship* (*cuth* in Saxon, *known*)

Dawe p 394, 509, 515, *day, days*
Dede p 26, 32, 236 & elsewhere, *did*
Dede p 275, 771, *deed*
Dedely p 334, *deadly*
Defautes p 473, *defects*
Defautys p 73, *defects*
Defawtys p 69, *defects*
Del p 68, *part, portion*, (akin to *deal* and *dole*)
Delayme p 385, *delay, i.e. hinder in his work*
Delle p 468, *part*, (see Del)
Dep p 524, *deep*
Deperte p 574, *depart, separate*
Deserven p 94, *deserve* (plur.)
Desese p 10, 134, *dis-ease, uneasiness, trouble*
Desesys p 140, *troubles*
Deuocyone i 308, *devotion*
Do p 701, *done*
Don p 164, 168, 246, & elsewhere *do*
Don p 784, u 88, *done*
Dowte p 562, u 7, *doubt*
Drede p 97, 179, 258, & elsewhere *dread, fear*
Duppe p 465, *deep*
Dyche i 3, *ditch*
Dyscryeth p 323, *decrieth, forbids*
Dyskeuere u 79, *discover, made known*
Dyskever p 771, *discover, made known*

Eft i 283, *after*
Eghte p 185, 335, *eighth*
Eke p 3, 64, 306, & elsewhere, *also*
Ellus p 115, 589, *else*
Enforme p 174, *inform, i.e. instruct, teach*
Enquere p 441, *inquire*
Enterlyche p 241, *entirely, completely, fully*
Enyn p 749, *eyes*
Er i 295, *ere, before*
Eres p 551, *years*
Erlys p 77, *earls*
Erys p 59, *years*
Esely p 403, *easily*
Ete p 732, u 40, 44, *eat*
Euelle u 70, *evil*
Euur u 31, *ever*
Everychon p 157, 485, *everyone*
Eyen u 57, *eyes*
Eyght p 534, *eighth*

Fabulle p 118, *fable* (in the sense of falsehood)
Fache p 132, *fetch*
Fader p 723, *father*
Fadrys p 29, *fathers'*
Fadyr u 31, *father*
Falle p 74, 219, *befall, happen*
Fare p 595, i 265, *go*
Fautes p 481, *faults, defects*
Fay p 93, 521, *faith*
Fayr p 226, 418, 640, & elsewhere *fair, fairly, well*
Fayre p 608, 628, 631, & elsewhere *fairly*
Fe p 100, *fee* (in the sense of a bribe)
Febul p 183, *feeble, week, poor*
Felde p 6, *field, plain*
Felle p 194, 713, 785, & elsewhere *strong, stern, discreet*
Felust p 601, *feelest*
Fest p 533, *feast, festival*
Feste u 71, *fist*
Feyre i 280, 289, *fairly*
Fle p 200, *fly, flaw*
Flette i 273, *flat, flagstone*
Fonde p 69, 473, *found, discovered*
Fonde p 56, *founded, established*
For p 784, *forth*
Forfete p 331, *forfeit, offend, beguilty*
Forlor i 299, *forlorn, forsaken, lost*
Forther p 781, *formost*
For-ȝeuth i 321, *forgiveth*
Fot p 709, *foot*
Fote p 677, i 326, *foot*
Fowle p 620, *foul, lewd*, p 744, *dirty*
Fowre p 501, *four*
Fowrtethe p 427, *fourteenth*
Fowrthe p 127, 287, *fourth*
Fre p 226, 340, 355, & elsewhere *free*
Fro p 630, 764, u 52, & elsewhere, *from*

Fryte p 568, *fruit*
Fryth, Frythe p 6, 266, *an enclosed wood*
Fylde p 266, *field*
Fyftethe p 447, *fifteenth*
Fylynge u 52, *defiling, soiling, dirtying*
Fynde p 5, *find, provide for*
Fynden p 684, *find* (plur.)
Gedur p 591, *gather, assemble*
Gemetry p 19, 24, 27, & elsewhere, *geometry*
Gentul p 347, *gentle, well-born*
Gentyl p 144, *gentle*
Gete u 48, *get, gettest*
Gnede p 670, i 319, *wanting, lacking*
God p 373, *good*
Goddus p 516, 667, *God's*
Gode p 14, 503, 726, & elsewhere *good*
Godes p 368, *goods*
Gon p 111, 290, 528, *go*
Gost p 103, 677, 779, & elsewhere *goest*
Goth p 92, *go*
Grake p 200, *crack*
Gravers p 504, *engravers*
Grawnte i 301, *grant*
Grete p 3, 13, & elsewhere, *great*
Greve p 136, *grieve, offend*
Gronde p 199, 221, 628, *ground, foundation*
Gultes p 457, *guilt, faults*

Had-y-wyste p 764, } *Had I known*, an expression of unavailing regret
Hadde-y-wyste u 72, }
Halwen p 534, *Hallow e'en, All Saints'*
Han p 576, *to have*
Hed p 754, } *heed, attention*
Hede u 62, }
Hem p 5, 7, 14, and elsewhere, *them*
Hende p 564, 716, u 24, *courteous, civil, gentle*
Hennes i 295, 300, } *hence*
Hennus p 648, 653, }
Her p 95, *their*
Herberon p 181, *harbour, protect*
Here p 9, 12, 17, and elsewhere, *their*
Here p 535, 616, u 2, & elsewhere *hear*
Heres p 770, u 78, *hearest*
Herre p 38, 142, *higher*
Heryst p 281, *hearest*
Hewen p 398, *to hew*
Heȝghte p 542, *height*
Hit u 9, 12, *it*
Hod p 697, 703, 776, } *hood*
Hode p 603, }
Hol p 138, 416, *all*
Holde p 110, 475, 488, *holden, held*
Hole p 152, *whole*
Holle p 776, } *hold, keep*
Holte p 783, }
Hond p 468, 709, } *hand*
Honde p 212, 640, 763, }
Honden p 733, } *hands*
Hondys u 51, }
Honowre p 64, *honour*
Hosel p 647, } *the Eucharist, Lord's Supper*
Howsele i 294, }
Hure p 95, 168, 175, &c. } *hire, pay, wages*
Huyre p 272, }
Hye p 64, 202, 231, & elsewhere *high*
Hyr p 106, & elsewhere, *hear*
Hyr p 435, 439, 487, &c., *here*
Hyse p 163, 604, 636, *his*
Hyt p 25, 36, 55, &c., } *it*
Hytte p 84, 230, 586, &c., }
Hyȝ u 25, 26, *high*

I-bore i 298, *born*
Idele i 320, *idle*
I-done i 282, *done*
I-red i 278, *read*

Jugge p 101, *judge*
Juggythe p 170, *judgeth, adjudgeth, decrees*

Kachone p 380, *catch, acquire*
Karpynge u 62, *speech*
Kenne p 582, *know*
Kette p 735, *cut*
Knelust p 658, *kneelest*
Knen p 608, 635, } *knees*
Kneus i 272 }
Knylle p 689, *knell, toll, ring*
Knyȝtes p 413, } *knights*
Knyȝthys p 78, }
Kunnyng u 26, *cunning, i.e. knowledge, skill*
Kynde p 144, *kin, lineage*
Labrun p 273, *to labour, work*
Lacke p 782, *lack, blame*
Ladyysse p 3, *ladies*
Lakke u 86, *lack, stint, blame*
Lame p 378, *often*
Lasse p 34, 124, 170, 210, *less*
Latte p 318, 626, *let, hinder*
Lawe p 510, 516, *law*
Lawȝe p 767, u 75, *laugh*
Lay p 511, 522, *law*
Lede p 9, *lead*
Lef p 619, *leave, desist from*
Lege p 470, *liege*
Lende p 404, *lent, given*
Lene p 322, *lend, grant*
Lere p 253, u 1, *learn, teach*
Lernede p 31, *learnt*
Lese p 676, i 325, *lose*
Lete p 469, *let*
Leyser p 316, *leisure*
Leven p 578, *leave, abandon*
Levyn p 519, *believe*
Logge p 133, 280, *lodge*
Loght p 438, *loath*
Loke p 1, 357, 540, &c., *look*
Londe p 56, 58, 60, & elsewhere, *land, country*
Longuth p 206, 418, 484, *belongeth, beseemeth*

Loveday p 313, 316, *a day set apart for the friendly adjustment of differences*
Lovelyche p 351, 706, *lovely, amiably*
Lowte p 700, u 86, *bow*
Luf p 421, 438, *lief, dear, willing*
Luste p 506, *liking*
Lyche p 355, *like, alike, equally*
Lyf p 373, 383, *life*
Lyge p 433, 492, *liege*
Lymes p 152, *limbs*
Lytul p 156, *little*
Lyven p 374, *to live*

Maken p 415, 726, *make* (plur.)
Manere p 21, *manner*
Mantenans p 254, *maintenance*
Mare p 596, i 264, *more*
Masonus p 438, 454, 459, & elsewhere *mason's*
Maters p 172, *matters*
Mawmetys p 509, 517, 519, *idols* (this word is corrupted from Mahomet)
May i 298, *maid*
Mayde p 651, *maid*
Maynte p 416, } *maintain*
Maynteine p 255, 289, 383, }
Mayster p 44, 88, 107, & elsewhere *master*
Maystres p 324, *master's*, p 450, *masters*
Maystrys p 262, 409, *masters*
Meche p 665, } *much*
Mechul p 260, }
Mede p 98, 274, 772, & elsewhere *reward, bribe*
Medul p 220, *meddle*
Medys p 684, *rewards, benefits*
Meke p 564, *meek, lowly*
Mekele p 333, *mickle, much*
Mekely p 298, *meekly, i.e. without complaint*
Mene p 151, 321, *mean, signify, say*
Mendys p 457, 461, *amends*
Merthe p 772, *mirth*
Meserable p 242, *measurable*
Metryth p 569, *measureth*
Metyst p 775, *meetest*
Meyr p 412, *mayor*
Mo p 78, 261, 410, & elsewhere *more*
Moder p 498, 723, *mother*
Modrys p 29, *mother's*
Modyr u 31, *mother*
Mon p 154, 155, 158, & elsewhere *man*
Monus p 554, *man's*
Mony p 59, 78, 410, & elsewhere *many*
Moot u 97, *mote, might, let*
Mossel p 741, *morsel*
Most p 11, *mostly, chiefly*
Most p 108, 111, 264, & elsewhere } *must*
Moste p 88, 127, 347, & elsewhere }
Mot p 655, 793, *mote, might, let*
Mow p 535, } *may*
Mowe p 96, 106, &c. }
Mowȝh p 508, *might*
My p 49, *but* (compare *mais*, French; *ma*, Italian)
Mykyle i 314, *much*
Mysse p 161, *miss, evade*
Mytȝth p 74, } *might*
Myȝght p 747, }
Myȝth p 9, 17, &c. }
Myȝthyn p 84, *might* (plur.)

Name p 183, *repute, reputation*
Ne u 28, 76, 78, i 4, *nor*
Nede p 111, 339, 392, & elsewhere *needs, of necessity*
Nere u 26, 92, *nor*
Nese p 745, *nose*
Nethur u 27, *nor*
Neuur u 50, *never*
Neythur u 28, *neither*
Noees p 537, *Noah's*
Noghte u 310, *naught, nought*
Nolde p 520, 521, *would not*
Nome p 546, 600, *take*
Non p 207, 626, 670, *no, none*
None p 300, *nones, the 9th hour of the day, 3 p.m.*
Noresche p 406, *nourish*
Norter p 580, 707, 782, & elsewhere *nurture*
Norther p 720, *nurture*
Nother p 527, *other* (with the negative participle)
Nothur u 27, 54, 92, } *neither*
Nowther p 6, 97, 98, &c. }
Noȝth p 216, *nought*
Nul p 463, } *will* (used negatively with no or
Nulle p 301, } not)
Nurtur u 1, 15, 30, and elsewhere, *nurture*
Ny p 6, 49, 97, & elsewhere, *nor*
Nyce i 267, } *nice, foppish, vain,*
Nyse p 19, } *trifling*
Nyȝth p 65, 228, 597, *night*

Of p 697, 703, u 5, 11, *off*
Ogth p 437, *oath*
Okepye p 301, *occupy*
On u 46, 84, *one*
Ones i 313, *once*
Onest p 20, 30, 40, } *honest,*
Oneste p 25, } *honourable*
Onesté p 31, *honesty*
Onestlyche p 18, 732, *honestly*
Onus p 660, *once*
Ordent p 471, } *ordained*
Ordeydnt p 496, }
Ordeynt p 21, 37, 43, &c. }
Ordyr p 303, *order, ordinance*
Orne p 569, *ornate, adorned*
O-rowe p 348, 729, *in a row, in turn, one after the other*
Othe p 429, i 320, *oath*
Other p 756, i 302, *or*
Ous p 587, *us*

Oute — p 378, *without*
Outrage — p 150, *deformed*
Over — p 434, *above*
Over-raft — p 114, *over-reft, over-taken, convicted*
Owen — u 68, 79, *own*
Owte, Owten — i 289, u 86, i 301, } *out*

Parfytte — p 40, *perfect*
Passud — p 32, *passed, surpassed, excelled*
Penest — p 525, *punished, pained*
Pepul — p 510, 591, *people*
Pere — p 391, *appear*
Perfyt — p 50, 165, 171, & elsewhere *perfect, skilled*
Perfytur — p 190, *perfecter, more skilled*
Peyne — p 209, 329, *pain, penalty*
Peyseth — p 210, *weigheth*, (French *peser*, to weigh)
Pley — u 77, *play, gamble*
Plyht, Plyȝte — p 675, i 324, } *plight, promise*
Ponge — p 210, *pound*
Poyntys — p 86, *points*
Prece — u 25, *press*
Pregedysse — p 162, 291, *prejudice, injury*
Prentes, Prentys, Prentyse, Prentysse — p 132, 142, &c., p 129, p 163, p 120, } *prentice, apprentice*
Presone — p 524, *prison*
Prevetyse — p 270, *privities, private matters, secrets*
Pyler — i 271, *pillar*
Pyke — p 746, u 54, *pick*

Qwenchet — p 602, *quenches*
Qwyte — p 172, *requite*

Rage — u 76, *break bounds, riot*
Ragynge — p 768, *lewd sport*, (Chaucer employs *Ragery* for wantonness)
Reche — p 242, 550, *tell*, from Sax., *reccan*, to say, tell, narrate, allied to reek, reckon, & reach)
Reeche — p 740, *reach*
Rechelaschepe — p 191, *recklessness*
Rentys — p 5, *income*
Repreue — u 67, *reprove*
Resenabul — p 112, *reasonable*
Resowne — p 126, *reason*
Rode — p 604, 607, *the Rood, Cross*
Rote — p 565, 568, *root*
Rybawdry, Rybody — u 68, p 768, } *ribaldry*
Rygolté — p 489, *royalty*
Ryht — p 666, *right*
Ryolté — p 407, *royalty*
Ryȝt, Ryȝth — i 315, p 102, 342, &c. } *right*

Sakerynge — p 638, 658, i 285, 303, *Sacrament*
Sarre — p 525, *more sorely*
Say — p 269, 560, *tell*
Schadweth — p 542, *shadoweth*
Schal, Schale, Schalle — p 90, 104, 110, &c., i 295, 300, i 278 } *shall*
Schame — p 259, 286, &c., *shame*
Schelde — i 293, *shield*
Scheref — p 411, 464, *sheriff*
Schert — p 192, *short, scant*
Schewet — p 185, 193, *showeth*
Schryff, Schryfte — p 647, i 294, } *shrift, confession*
Schul — p 313, 385, 389, &c., *shall*
Schulde — p 39, 44, 47, &c., *should*
Schulde — p 646, *shield*
Schulder — p 781, *shoulder*
Schule, Schulle — i 272, 328, p 41, } *shall*
Schullen — p 386, 483, *shall* (plural)
Sckylle — p 710, *skill*
Sclawnder — p 379, *slander*
Sclawndren — p 378, *to slander, disgrace*
Sculde — p 46, *should*
Sculle — p 51, *shall*
Se — p 414, 644, i 213, u 66, &c., *see*
Sece — u 63, *cease*
Securly — p 88, 214, and elsewhere, *securely, surely*
Sekenes — p 115, *sickness*
Selven — p 738, 774, *self*
Semble — p 478, *assemble*
Semblé — p 75, 110, 111, &c., *assembly*
Sen — p 166, 480, i 4, & elsewhere *to see, they see*
Sende — p 70, *sent*
Sene — i 306, 327, *to see*
Ser — p 329, 602, *sure*
Servand — p 49, *servant*
Serven — p 351, *serve, wait upon*
Serves — p 514, *service*
Sese — p 755, *cease*
Sest — u 61, *seest*
Seuerans — p 121, *assurance, security*
Sewe — p 781, *follow*, (French, *suivre*)
Sey — p 784, *say*
Seynt — p 666, i 315, *saint*
Seyth — i 1, *saith, says*
Sholde — u 70, *should*
Sholdur — u 85, *shoulder*
Skewsasyon — p 377, *excuse*
Skwsacyon — p 112, 117, *excuse*
Smogynge — p 744, *smudging, soiling*
Snetyng — u 19, *sniffling, snuffling, wiping your nose with your fingers*
Sniftynge — p 711, }
Snowte — p 561, *snout, nose*
Snyte — p 745, *to blow the nose*
So — p 148, probably a mistake for *se*
Soden — i 322, *sudden*
Sofere, Soffere, Sofre — i 298, i 276, p 257, 652, 739, } *suffer, permit*
Soget — p 49, *subject*

Soker p 423, *succour*
Som p 205, *some, all and some*, i.e. *one and all*
Sonde p 222, *sound*
Sone p 189, 464, 755, & elsewhere *som*
Sothe p 119, 221, *sooth, truth*
Sowles p 258, *soul's*
Sowȝht p 445, *sought*
Sowȝton p 83, 85, *sought* (plural)
Spare p 97, *forbear*
Spende p 766, u 74, *use, employ*
Spettyng u 19, *spitting*
Sportyn p 65, *to disport*
Spradde p 36, *spread*
Spylle p 774, 399, *spoil*
Sqwyers p 78, 413, *squires*
Steven p 613, *voice*, (Sax. *Stefnian* to call)
Stonde p 101, 138, and elsewhere, *stand*
Straȝfte p 72, *straight, directly*
Strenthyn p 68, *strengthen*
Stwarde p 344, *steward*
Stewardus p 348, 350, *stewards*
Style u 87, *still, silent*
Sum p 16, i 302, } *some*
Summe p 136, 308, }
Sumtyme p 145, *sometime*
Suwe u 83, *follow*, (see sewe)
Sware p 257, *oath*
Swythe p 147, *very*
Sycurly p 18, 223, i 317, *securely, surely*
Sye p 527, *saw*
Syens p 556, 557, 573, & elsewhere *science, sciences*
Syht p 665, 676, 678, *sight*
Symplyst p 39, *simplest*
Syn p 425, *see*
Syst p 667, 753, 758, } *seest*
Syste p 281, }
Syté p 79, 412, *city*
Syxte p 161, 305, *sixth*
Syȝt i 314, 327, }
Syȝte i 335, } *sight*
Syȝth u 74, }
Syȝth p 398, *sees*

Take p 420, *taken*
Tawȝhte p 57, } *taught*
Taȝghte p 552, }
Techyn p 14, 41, *to teach*
Tellus p 590, *tells, says*
Thagh p 748, }
Thaght p 742, }
Thawgh p 352, }
Thawȝ p 520, } *though*
Thaȝgh p 545, }
Thaȝht p 50, }
Thaȝth p 293, }
The p 359, 406, 585, & elsewhere *thee*
The p 724. u 32, *to thee, thrive, prosper*
Thef p 180, 422, *thief*

Then p 738, 780, u 46, &c., } *than*
Thenne p 210, 584, }
Thenne p 171, 241, 319, & elsewhere *then*
Thenthe p 201, *tenth*
Ther p 302, 353, *there*
Tho p 63, *then*, (Sax. *thonne*)
Tho u 5, *do, put*
Thowȝ u 50, 56, *though*
Thoȝght p 517, *thought*
Threnteth p 421, } *thirteenth*
Threttene p 239, }
Throwȝ p 377, 379, }
Throȝ p 53, }
Throȝe p 191, } *through*
Throȝgh p 19, 29, 555, }
Throȝh p 488, }
Thrydde p 119, 275, and elsewhere, *third*
Thylke p 183, 451, *the same, he that, they that*, (Sax. *thile* or *thillice*)
To p 717, *too*
Toke p 146, 212, *took*
Torne p 285, *turn*
Toth u 54, } *tooth*
Tothe p 746, }
Towel p 744, } the Italian *tovaglia* signifies *a table-cloth*, which is evidently the sense here intended.
Towelle u 52, }
Towche u 47, } *touch*, i.e. *help himself*
Toyche p 739, }
Trewthe p 574, *truth*
Trw p 521, } *true*
Trwe p 89, 337, &c., }
Trwly p 93, 103, &c., *truly*

Uche p 475, 677, 686, *each*
Uchon p 41, 51, 81, and elsewhere *each one*
Unbuxom p 113, 451, *disobedient*
Unperfyt p 155, *imperfect*
Upryȝth p 101, *upright*

Vantage p 149, 354, *advantage, profit*
Voydance u 20, *expulsion*
Vyse p 164, *wise, way*, i.e. *in any wise*
Vytayles p 358, } *victuals*
Vytaylys p 92, }

Walken i 305, *walk*, (plural)
Warde p 420, *ward, custody*
Wattryn p 749, *to water*
Wende p 715, u 23, i 300, *wend, go*
Weren p 514, *were* (plural)
Werkys p 14, *works*
Wes p 35, 449, &c., *was*
Whad p 445, *who*, (cf. Scot. *wha*)
Whar p 388, *where*
Wheche p 28, *which*
Where p 473, *were*
Whether p 99, 361, *whoever*
Wod p 520, *mad, furious*
Wol p 1, 138, 178, &c., *will*

Wold, Wolde — p 428, p 158, 184, 259, &c., *would*
Woldest — p 328, *wouldst*
Wolen, Wollen — p 388, p 372, *will* (plural)
Wolt — p 625, 760, *wilt*
Won — p 47, 139, 181, &c., *one*
Worche — p 228, 270, 609, &c., *work*
Wordyer — u 83, *worthier*
Worschepe, Worsché — p 34, 66, 192, p 489, *worship, honour*
Worththyur — p 737, *worthier*
Woste — p 92, *knoweth*, (abb. of *wotest*)
Wroghte — i 311, *wrought*
Wroȝton — p 86, *wrought*, (plural)
Wryte, Wryten — p 2, p 143, i 1, *written*
Wyl — p 442, *well*
Wyl — p 566, 748, *will*
Wylned — p 507, *willed, desired*
Wyn — p 756, 788, *wine*
Wynne — p 256, *win, gain*
Wyse — p 55, *wise, manner*
Wyste — p 550, *knew*
Wyten — p 583, *to know* (Sax. *witan*)
Wytte — p 29, 53, 83, *wit*, i.e. *knowledge*

Y — p 516, and elsewhere, *I*
Y-bore — p 651, *born*
Y-bowȝht — p 358, *bought*
Y-broke — p 482, *broken*
Y-callud — p 44, *called*
Y-chasted — p 332, *chastised*
Y-clepede — p 46, *called, named, yclept*
Y-cownterfetyd — p 22, *counterfeited, imitated*
Ydel — i 267, *idle, vain, senseless*
Y-done — p 302, 466, 633, *done*
Y-dul — p 671, *idle, vain, senseless*
Ye — i 325, *eye*
Y-ete — p 736, *eaten*
Y-fere — p 4, 12, &c., *together*
Y-fonde, Y-fownde — p 211, 487, p 443, *found*
Y-fownded — p 394, *founded*
Y-holde — p 408, 471, *holden, held*
Ylke — p 673, i 322, *ilk, same*
Y-lost, Y-lore — p 548, p 652, *lost*
Y-mad — p 359, 389, *made*
Y-meved — p 453, *moved*
Y-nowȝgh — p 316, *enough*
Y-ordent, Y-ordeynt — p 297, p 261, 486, *ordained*
Yoye — p 526, *joy*
Y-preved — p 455, *proved*
Y-quelludo — p 182, *killed*
Y-ronne — p 537, *run*
Y-schende — p 402, *spoiled, ruined*
Yse — p 692, *is*
Y-sette — p 731, *set down*
Y-spoke — p 481, *spoken*
Ysse — p 119, 452, 573, *is*
Y-swore — p 436, 448, 483, *sworn*
Y-take, Y-taken — p 133, 199, 298, &c., p 336, *taken*
Y-tolde — p 109, *told*
Y-wisse — p 4, 376, 451, &c., *I know*, i.e. *certainly*
Y-worschepede — p 45, *reverenced*
Y-wryten — p 584, *written*

ȝaf — p 24, 612, *gave*
ȝe — p 105, 126, 140, &c., *ye*
ȝef — p 33, 74, 133, &c., *if*
ȝef — p 305, *given*
ȝeke — p 283, *eke, also*
ȝer — p 60, 160, 175, & elsewhere *ere, before*
ȝer — p 122, 330, 472, 475, & elsewhere *year*
ȝeres — p 536, *years*
ȝese — p 141, *ease*
ȝet — p 37, 43, 529, *yet*
ȝeue, ȝeve — u 94, i 275, p 691, 790, *give*
ȝevery — p 232, *every*
ȝonge — i 286, *young*
ȝor — p 640, *your*
ȝow — p 61, 122, 178, *you*
ȝowre — p 492, 577, 694, *your*
ȝurne — p 174, *soon*, (*yrnan*, Sax. to run. *As yerne*, immediately; Chaucer.)
ȝyf — u 38, 68, 83, *if*
ȝyndynge — p 12, *ending, death*
ȝynge — p 639, *young*