

➤⌘ Ars ⌘➤ Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
 QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.,
 AND LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

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THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the year.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is two guineas, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five shillings respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, and queries, obituary, and other matter.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigraha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well versed in the subjects treated of.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3000 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meeting are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather **associates** of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the *Transactions*.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic, or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

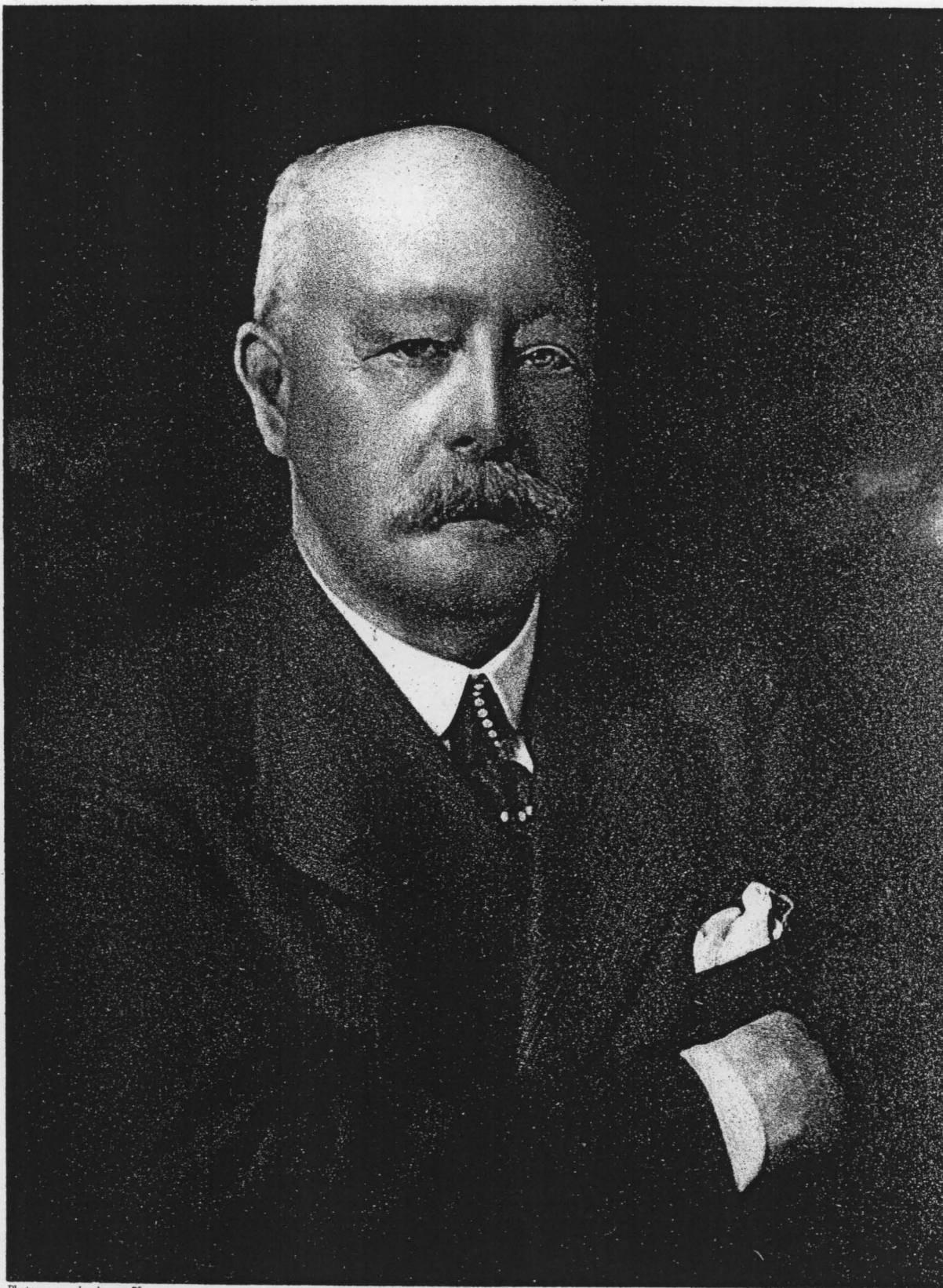
The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that for only a quarter of the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the recent Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

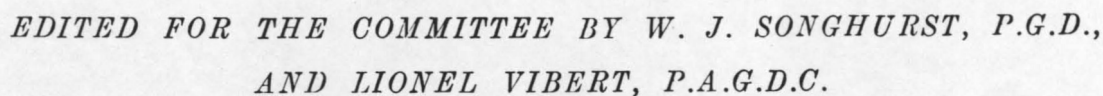
Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.



Photogravure by Amman Glasgow

David Hather

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



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Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,

No. 2076.

VOLUME XLV.

FRIDAY, 1st JANUARY, 1932.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Williams, W.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Supt.Wks., as S.W.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., G.Ch., J.W.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Ch.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; B. Telepneff, S.D.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., J.D.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., as I.G.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; Ivor Grantham; and J. H. McNaughton, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. W. Marson, W. H. Edwards, H. F. Whyman, P.A.G.St.B., T. E. Rees, F. J. Asbury, P.A.G.D.C., A. G. Harper, Geo. W. Bullamore, Jobson Horne, A. Saywell, P.A.G.St.B., Percy Ineson, Col. Cecil Powney, P.G.D., W. T. Dillon, P.A.G.Pt., H. F. Mawbey, Harry Bladon, P.G.St.B., H. Johnson, G. W. Richmond, A. E. Gurney, W. T. J. Gunn, H. G. Bennett, Geo. Simpson, E. Eyles, Rev. J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., James Wallis, A. E. Jackson, Lambert Peterson, G. D. Hindley, F. W. Mead, W. P. Breach, A. H. Edwards, A. Regnaud, L. G. Wearing, Augustus Smith, J. R. Cully, R. E. Stubbington, A. G. T. Smith, D. Pryce Jones, G. A. Crome, Wm. Smalley, W. Brinkworth, J. C. Harvey, and Henry G. Gold.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. Mainwaring, Derby Allcroft Lodge No. 2168; J. H. Jackson, Epworth Lodge No. 3789; G. M. S. Brown, Harpenden Lodge No. 4314; H. E. Middleton, Northern Lodge No. 570; Frank Pickford, Dante Lodge No. 3707; C. H. Hooker, Selsey Lodge No. 3571; N. G. Croker, Whittington Lodge No. 862; Cecil B. Tubbs, Old Haileyburian Lodge No. 3912; and Horace Lane, Chelsea Lodge No. 3098.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.O., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.D., Warwicks.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Supt.W., P.M., D.C.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; and J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.

One Lodge and Twenty-two Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Report of the Audit Committee, as follows, was received, adopted, and ordered to be entered upon the Minutes:—

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, January 1st, 1932.

Present:—Bro. W. J. Williams, in the Chair, with Bros. Gordon P. G. Hills, H. Poole, H. C. de Lafontaine, D. Knoop, G. Elkington, B. Telepneff, W. W. Covey-Crump, W. J. Songhurst, Treasurer, Lionel Vibert, Secretary, and R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his Books, and the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1931.

BRETHREN,

It is with deep regret that we have to report the death, during the year, of five members of the Lodge, of whom one was the Master, Bro. Gilbert William Daynes, who had been installed at the meeting of 7th November, 1930. He passed away suddenly on Friday, 9th January. Bro. Ladislav Aurele de Malczovich, P.G.W., Ireland, also died in January at Budapest; he joined the Lodge in 1894, but had never held office. Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, Past Grand Warden and President of the Board of General Purposes, Master in 1924, died on 10th March. Bro. Arthur. Heiron, L.R., Almoner, died on 11th March. Bro. Frederic Joseph William Crowe, F.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, Master in 1910, died on 9th April. The services rendered to the Lodge and Craft by these brethren are recorded in the *Transactions*. Bros. Douglas Knoop, M.A.; George Elkington, F.R.I.B.A., J.P., Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; William Ivor Grantham; Frederic William Golby, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Sydney James Fenton, Past Provincial Grand Deacon, Warwickshire, have been elected to membership of the Lodge, and the total number is now 26.

The work of the Lodge has been seriously affected by a decrease of 106 in the membership of the Correspondence Circle. On the 30th November, 1930, we had a total of 3,577, but only 186 names were added during the year; on the other hand, 292 were removed from the list, 157 by resignation, 61 by death, and 74 for non-payment of dues. The total number carried forward is therefore 3,471. We are thus even further off than we were from the required membership of 4,000 referred to in our Report of last year, and an increase therein is more than ever essential.

During the year the last two Parts of Volume xlii. were issued, as well as Part 1 of Volume xliii., making three issues during the twelve months. In the accounts presented to the Lodge, £987 5s. 11d. remains in reserve for Parts 2 and 3 of Volumes xliii., and £1,200 for Volume xliv. Subscriptions amounting to £506 1s. 8d. are still owing; but this includes a large amount actually in the hands of our Local Secretaries in Australia, and this could only be remitted at present at serious loss, owing to the rate of exchange. Donations to the Publication Fund amount to £23 15s. The Fund has not been closed; indeed, it will be kept open until the purpose for which it was originally formed has been accomplished.

It has not been found possible during the year to make any addition to the series of minor publications, but Bro. H. Poole's *Six Masonic Songs* still continues to sell, and we hope to issue a second series during the coming year. The sale of the reprint of Bro. Speth's two lectures: *Builders' Rites and Ceremonies*, has been most satisfactory and the edition is almost exhausted.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to our Local Secretaries who continue to do much good work. Bro. G. Blackie has kindly undertaken the work in Lanarkshire, Bro. R. S. Taylor in Stirlingshire, Bro. F. T. Mager in Peterborough, and Bro. George B. Clark in Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, and Wyoming; these are all new districts. Bro. James Rafter has been good enough to take over the Bristol district, to replace the late Bro. T. M. Carter, and Bro. S. T. Bridgman has taken charge of Otago from Bro. D. C. Cameron, who has retired owing to advancing age. Bro. Horatio R. Wood has succeeded Bro. R. E. Labrow in East Lancashire. In Holland, Bro. Elsinga's place has been taken by Bro. C. E. de Haas. The vacancy in Norfolk caused by the death of Bro. Daynes has still to be filled.

For the Committee,

W. J. WILLIAMS

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending 30th November, 1931.

Receipts.			Expenditure.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Cash Balance	238	1 6	By Lodge	30	4 9
„ Lodge	77	14 0	„ Salaries, Rent, Rates and		
„ Joining Fees	95	11 0	„ Taxes	621	12 0
„ Subscriptions—1931 ...	1206	14 9	„ Lighting, Heating, Clean-		
„ 1930	127	15 11	„ ing, Insurance, Telephone,		
„ 1929	35	15 2	„ Carriage and Sundries ...	151	6 1
„ Back	17	5 2	„ Printing, Stationery, etc.	980	11 6
„ Life	18	18 0	„ Medals	32	9 8
„ Cash in Advance	139	4 4	„ Binding	30	0 0
„ Medals	35	10 6	„ Sundry Publications ...	161	16 4
„ Binding	50	11 0	„ Summer Outing	24	8 3
„ Sundry Publications ...	194	12 10	„ Library	31	11 11
„ Summer Outing	23	12 0	„ Postages	210	4 5
„ Interest and Discounts ...	47	4 11	„ Local Expenses	2	11 6
„ Publication Fund	23	15 0	„ Cash in hand	55	9 8
	£2332	6 1		£2332	6 1

The W.M. referred to the photographs which were exhibited of the earliest known printed reference to Freemasonry in the "Pilgrimage of Perfection," 1536 (A.Q.C., xliii., 256-7); and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Williams, who had brought them down to the meeting; and also to Bro. G. W. Richmond, who exhibited a very fine cut-glass goblet.

Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP read the following paper:—

CASTLE BUILDING AT BEAUMARIS AND CAERNARVON IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

A FURTHER STUDY IN OPERATIVE MASONRY.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP, M.A., AND G. P. JONES, M.A.

SUMMARY.

The Castles of North Wales. The Building Accounts here studied. The system of administration: the Chamberlain of North Wales, the Clerk of the Works, the Master Mason or Master of the Works.

Extent of the building operations at Beaumaris and Caernarvon. Organisation of the building operations: (1) Quarries; (2) Transport; (3) Smithies; (4) Lodges; (5) Minor Workers.

Wages of Masons (*cementarii, cubitores, taylatores, batrarii*): (i.) Summer and winter rates; (ii.) Holidays and feast days; (iii.) Variety of rates of pay; (iv.) Changes in rates of wages; (v.) Methods of paying wages; (vi.) Comparison of rates with those paid elsewhere.

Continuity of employment and mobility of labour amongst masons. Masons employed in same occupation at two castles in same year; masons employed in same occupation at two castles in different years; masons employed in different occupations at one or both castles in the same or different years.

Masons' customs. Conclusion: comparisons with Vale Royal.

Appendix I. List of *cementarii* employed at Beaumaris and Caernarvon.

Appendix II. List of *cubitores* employed at Beaumaris and Caernarvon.



THE aim of this paper is to consider the building of the castles of Caernarvon and Beaumaris at certain periods for which we have records in some detail. More particularly, we are concerned with the character of the labour supply, especially of skilled and unskilled workers in stone; with the conditions of labour; with the status and function of the master mason, and with his relation to the administration of these very large works.

Our reasons for choosing these particular operations will, we trust, become sufficiently clear as we proceed. We have, at any rate, in Caernarvon Castle, an example of a great building commenced at the orders of the same king, and supervised by the same master mason, Walter of Hereford, as that which we considered in a previous paper¹—the Cistercian Abbey of Vale Royal. The castles were indeed buildings vastly different in character and purpose, but they were made possible by a triumph of similar skill and organisation, and a study of them can hardly fail to throw additional light on the problems we then discussed.

¹ A.Q.C. xliv.

In order to understand these building operations more clearly it will be well to recall that the castles with which we are dealing were units in a ring of fortresses, the purpose of which was to keep in subjection to the English crown the territory which fell to Edward I. by the death, in December, 1282, of the last native prince, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd. There were in all six castles¹ in this ring: of these, Bere, or Caerbellan, a native stronghold, and Criccieth, the repair of which started in 1283, were less in size and importance than the other four, Caernarvon, Conway, Harlech and Beaumaris, which were all started as completely new erections, the three former in 1283 and the latter in 1295, following a short-lived revolt in the previous year under Madog ap Llywelyn. It is hardly possible, at present, to estimate the cost of these buildings, but it was more than the revenues of North Wales could meet: in one year alone, 1284, the sum of £7,000 was spent on Caernarvon, Conway and Harlech, and more than double that sum in 1291: if it be considered that Caernarvon took thirty-eight years to complete—though there was, of course, much less activity in some years than in others—and that it was only one, though the largest, of four great castles, it will be clear that the whole cost must have exceeded, and perhaps considerably exceeded, £1,000,000 in modern money. The size of the buildings, the great numbers of men employed upon them, and the fact that they were all, in a sense, part of one enterprise, make the history of these castles of the greatest importance for students interested in the administration of royal building in the middle ages and in the status and condition of the craftsmen and labourers whose work, surviving them by more than six hundred years, is still to be seen and admired.

The castles had also great political importance. The constable of the castle, besides being head of its garrison, was also chief magistrate of the borough outside its gate, and an important officer, therefore, in carrying out the policy of extending English influence and commercial prosperity, to promote which the boroughs were formed. Caernarvon, in addition, became the headquarters of government, with an exchequer, and the seat of the Chamberlain of North Wales. In our present enquiry, however, it is the military importance of the castle that matters. The craftsmen of all kinds who were gathered to carry out these vast works were, in one respect, in a very different position from those who built Vale Royal. They also were in the royal service and, probably, though we found no record of it, were in part at least pressed men: but they worked in a peaceful, if remote, part of the country amid a population speaking the same language as themselves, whereas those who built the North Wales castles worked in a strange country, recently in a state of war, and as yet far from peaceful. In 1284, at least, the artisans employed at Caernarvon, Conway and Harlech were almost a part of the army, and it may be as well to bear that in mind when considering the organisation of the building operations. It is possible that some of the men who came to build the English castles remained as burgesses in the English boroughs of North Wales: one at least of the master masons was a burgess of Caernarvon and must have felt an attachment to the town, for he built a chantry chapel on his burghage there.²

THE BUILDING ACCOUNTS.

The records on which this paper is chiefly based may be listed and described briefly as follows:—

(i.) A roll³ of the payments made between Michaelmas, 1304, and Michaelmas, 1305, in wages, purchases of materials and cost of land and water carriage in connection with the building of Caernarvon Castle. The payments were made by Thomas de Esthall, Chamberlain of North Wales, by view and testimony of Master Walter de Hereford, mason and master of the works. This roll is complete in the sense that it gives details of expenditure for each week

¹ For the facts cited here, and for a good account of the importance of the Castles, see E. A. Lewis, *Medieval Boroughs of Snowdonia*, Chapter II.

² See *post*.

³ In the Public Record Office; *Exchequer K.B.*, Bundle 486, No. 1.

throughout the period under various headings: but it is an abridgment in the sense that it omits all the names of masons, except two, and of other workmen to whom wages were paid. The following short extract, in translation, will sufficiently illustrate the nature of this account:—

Payments . . . for the first week, starting on the fourth day of October in the year above mentioned [1304].

To Master Walter abovesaid 7/-: To Henry de Elreton, under-master, 4/-.

Hewers (<i>cementarii</i>):	2 hewers at 2/6— 5/-;
10 hewers at 2/5—24/2;	7 hewers at 2/4—16/4;
3 hewers at 2/2—6/6;	2 hewers at 2/-— 4/-;
1 hewer at 20d.	1 hewer at 15d.;
1 hewer at 13d.	1 hewer at 11½d.
	..... Total £3. 11. 10½.

Layers or Setters (<i>cubitores</i>):	2 setters at 2/2—4/4;
4 setters at 2/1—8/4;	3 setters at 2/0—6/-;
1 setter at 21d.	2 setters at 20d.—3/4.
1 setter at 19d.	2 setters at 18d.—3/-;
2 setters at 17d.—2/10;	4 setters at 16d.—5/4;
1 setter at 15d.	1 setter at 14d.
1 setter at 12d.	2 setters at 8d.—16d.
	..... Total £2. 1. 3.

(ii.) A bundle¹ of *particulæ*, or detailed statements of the kind from which our first record must have been drawn up. Each membrane in the bundle gives the payments made for the week preceding the date at its head to various kinds of workmen, all named. The majority of the membranes relate to Caernarvon Castle for the period between 10th October, 1316, and 1st May, 1317, but the bundle also includes three similar statements relating to Caernarvon Castle for the three weeks between June 23rd and July 15th, 1319, and another three membranes relating to Beaumaris in the same period. On the reverse side of some membranes (for the weeks headed 10th, 17th, 24th and 31st October, 7th, 14th and 21st November, and 19th December, 1316) there are weekly statements relating to the repair of the town quay at Caernarvon, and on the reverse side of the membrane headed May 1st, 1317, a memorandum that between Michaelmas, 1316, and 1st May, 1317, the total sum spent on the Castle building was £267. 14. 1, and on the quay, between Michaelmas and November 21st, 1316, £69. 14. 4½d. The special value of this bundle for our inquiry consists in the completeness with which it records the names, wages and occupations of the workers employed. The names are set out in a column on the narrow membrane, headings being written in the margin, and sometimes a bracket groups together workers employed in the same place or in the same occupation, but it is not always possible to be certain of the category to which some of the workers belong. A short extract from the first membrane is given below:—

Payment made for the works of the Castle of Caernarvon on Sunday the 10th October in the tenth year of King Edward [II.] for the preceding week.

Masons (*cementarii*): Master Henry de Elreton, 14/-; Henry de Carwardin, 22d.; Hugo de Crauene, 2/9; Richard de . . . church, 2/9; Nicholas de Swynemor, 2/6; Walter de Carwardyn, 2/6; Ran . . . de Chesterton, 2/6; William de Sauncey, 2/5; Thomas de Vaureal, 2/5; John de Cotyngwyk, 2/4.

Total £1. 16. 0.

Clerk: William de Shaldeford, 2/7½.

¹ In the Public Record Office; *Erch. K.R.*, Bundle 486, No. 29.

Layers (cubitores): Walter de Karleton, 2/4; John de Ingham, 2/1; Adam de Stone, 2/1; William de Scaldebek, 2/-; Henry de Stoke, 2/-; John de Skeyuok, 21d.; Gilbert de Teruyn, 20d.; Thomas de Lye, 22d.; John de Acton, 18d.; John de Chedd, 16d.; Robert de Stoke, 14d.

Total 19. 9.

(iii.) Similar bundles relating to Beaumaris Castle for the periods (a) October 10th, 1316, to May 1st, 1317¹; (b) October 7th, 1319, to September 28th, 1320; and (c) September 23rd to December 16th, 1330. We have used our transcript of (a) and the printed text of all three in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, *Supplement of Original Documents*, 1877.

(iv.) Similar accounts, printed in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Vol. V. (1854), relating to the building of Llywelyn's Hall and a chapel in Conway Castle at various periods between 1302 and 1306, have been used for comparison.

The people named in these accounts may be divided into two main categories, a small number of high officials and a large number of workers of many grades and of both sexes. Concerning the latter we have, as a rule, no more information than is supplied in these accounts, but the former, being people of greater importance, are mentioned in other records. By using that information it is possible, as a preliminary to describing the operative side of these building enterprises, to give some picture of their administration.

(i.) *The Chamberlain of North Wales.* It will be remembered that the building of Vale Royal was, in part, paid for out of the issues of the county of Chester and that, to facilitate the work, Leonius son of Leonius, the administrative head of the building operations, was made chamberlain of Chester.² His counterpart, in the operations we are now considering, was, in the early fourteenth century, Master Thomas de Esthall, Chamberlain of North Wales. That official was concerned with many matters besides the building operations: his importance for us is that he received the funds for them, paid out wages, salaries and costs of materials and transport, and was responsible for the accounts relating to them, *i.e.*, was subject to audit by the officials of the royal exchequer. Little is known of his career³; he was styled as Leonius was, king's clerk, and it is known that he failed to satisfy the exchequer officials with regard to his accounts, for he was in the Fleet prison in May, 1312, his release from which was conditional on his giving surety to render his account on the quinzaine of Hilary following.⁴

It was not possible for the chamberlain to make his payments promptly and regularly. The weekly statements before us are statements of what was due every week, but there is ample evidence that they were not necessarily statements of what was paid. Edmund de Dynyeton, chamberlain of North Wales, is ordered in March, 1318, to cause the masons and other workmen employed on the king's castles to be paid weekly⁵—an indication, probably, that he had not done so in the past, and it is evident that his predecessors and successors were in arrears with the wages and fees of various officials.⁶ Instances of delay in payment, throwing some light on the office of master mason, are to be found in the cases of Henry de Ellerton, successor of Walter de Hereford, and Nicholas de Derneford, master mason at Beaumaris. Two orders to the chamberlain, in March, 1318, and October, 1319, to pay Henry de Ellerton his arrears⁷ show that the appointment of a new chamberlain was apt to mean a long postponement of pay day for the master mason. Nicholas de Derneford was appointed master mason in May, 1316: arrears were still owing to him in May, 1320.⁸

¹ In the Public Record Office; *Exch. K.R.*, Bundle 485, No. 24.

² *A.Q.C.* xlv., p. 6.

³ He held some land in Surrey, and perhaps elsewhere; there are several records of debts owing by him and to him. See *Cal. Close R.* 1296-1302, pp. 203, 299; 1307-13, pp. 142, 251.

⁴ *Cal. Close R.* 1307-13, p. 423.

⁵ *Cal. Close R.* 1313-18, p. 530.

⁶ *Cal. Close R.* 1328-27, p. 387.

⁷ *Cal. Close R.* 1313-18, pp. 530-1; 1318-23, p. 160; 1323-27, p. 392.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1318-23, pp. 27, 189, 301.

(ii.) *The Clerk of the Works.* The chamberlain, with many accounts to oversee, could not concern himself with the details of particular operations from week to week. That was the business of the clerk, who, doubtless, drew up the weekly statements on which the chamberlain's general account was based and kept count of stocks of materials and tools. The status and remuneration of the clerk varied according to the size and importance of the works to which he was attached. Nicholas de Radwell, at Beaumaris, received 20d. per week, about two-thirds of the pay of the most skilled mason. William de Shaldeford, at Caernarvon, drew 2/7½.¹ Whether that was his whole salary is not clear, for he was, besides, surveyor of works in the North Wales castles generally and keeper of the counter-roll of the chamberlainship, for which he may have received fees charged to some other account. Possibly the status of the clerk is indicated by the position of his name on the weekly statement: both Radwell and Shaldeford enter themselves between the masons (*cementarii*) and the setters (*cubitores*).

(iii.) *The Master Mason: Master of the Works.* Our Accounts supply us with the names of three men belonging to this category. We can throw little or no light on the avenue by which they entered the royal service, nor can we tell why they, in particular, were promoted to the office in which we find them, but we take the fact that they were all called *cementarii* to indicate that, however responsible their position may have been and however superior they were to masons working with their hands, they had been themselves trained as craftsmen, and had probably worked as such, though that may not have been for long. Of Walter de Hereford we know that he had been in the king's service probably for more than twenty-five years before the date of our first Caernarvon Account. He came to Vale Royal as Master Mason in 1278 and remained in charge there in 1280, perhaps until later. It is said that he was the architect in charge at Caernarvon from 1288 to 1315,² but he cannot have been continuously occupied there, for there is evidence to suggest that in March, 1304, he was at Edinburgh Castle,³ and in 1306 he brought masons to London for "the queen's work."⁴ Henry de Ellerton served as under-master with Walter de Hereford at Caernarvon, and, on his death, succeeded him there in 1315.⁵ It is probable that Ellerton had lived for some years at Caernarvon before his promotion: at any rate, he was undermaster there in 1304, was a burgess of that town, and, in 1307, obtained licence to build a chantry chapel on his burgage, which was set free from dues to the Crown, and to acquire thirty acres of land in order to provide for a priest therein.⁶ Our second record makes it clear that, in addition to his work on the Castle, Ellerton undertook a contract to repair part of the town quay⁷: it is therefore not improbable that he had, during his residence at Caernarvon, made some profit by private contracts in connection with other building there. Of Nicholas de Derneford we have no particulars except those relating to the time of his service at Beaumaris.⁸ He was clearly of lower rank in the king's service than Walter de Hereford and Henry de Ellerton: his pay

¹ Wyatt Papworth, *Notes on the Superintendents, etc.* (reprinted in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, N.S., Vol. XV., No. 5, see p. 68), says (without quoting any authority) that a clerk of the works, not named, at some date not precisely indicated, between 1284 and 1316, at Caernarvon, was paid at the high rate of 8d. per day.

² Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, *James de Sancto Georgio*, in *Transactions Anglesey Antiq. Soc.* 1928, p. 35. Walter of Hereford was certainly Master Mason in 1288-9, and both he and Henry de Ellerton may have been in charge at Caernarvon since the beginning of the castle. See C. R. Peers, *Caernarvon Castle*, in *Cymrodorion Transactions*, 1915-16, p. 7.

³ Dr. W. D. Simpson *op cit.*, pp. 35-6. See *post*.

⁴ See authority cited in *A.Q.C.* xlv., p. 7.

⁵ *Cal. Close R.* 1313-18, pp. 530-1.

⁶ Inspeimus and confirmation of the charter in 1463: see *Cal. Pat. R.* 1461-67, p. 310.

⁷ It was also paid £8. 6. 8 for two wooden bridges (drawbridges) for the castle in 1303-4. *Min. Acc.* 1211/12, quoted by Peers, *Caernarvon Castle*, in *Cymrodorion Trans.*, 1915-16, p. 15 n.

⁸ Unless, which we think improbable, he is to be regarded as identical with a contemporary of the same name, a King's clerk, who was granted a pension out of the revenue of Osney Abbey and a prebend in St. Peter's, York, in 1317. See *Cal. Close R.* 1313-1318, p. 463; *Cal. Pat. R.* 1317-1321, p. 41.

was 1/- per day and theirs 2/-¹; he was paid at the same rate as a captain in the army, and they at the same rate as a knight.²

Walter de Hereford is believed to have been the architect of Caernarvon Castle,³ and, in so far as there was a mediæval equivalent of what we mean by an architect now, we see no reason to doubt his claim. Similarly, Henry de Ellerton was probably the architect of the King's gate and other works erected between 1315 and 1322 from the West of the North East Tower to the East of the Eagle Tower. More doubt must remain as to Nicholas de Derneford and the Beaumaris works of the same year: probably he was subject to the general supervision of Henry de Ellerton. The making of plans, measuring and marking out the lines of a castle, could perhaps have been done by others of the masons whose names are found in our accounts: at any rate, it was not for that alone that Walter de Hereford was paid. What made him and his kind remarkable, in an age of small scale industries, was capacity to control and direct the labour of large numbers of men—sometimes running into hundreds⁴—much as a military leader might direct a mixed force. The workmen gathered by the sheriffs and sent with their tools to Caernarvon⁵ must, one imagines, have varied greatly in skill, and it would be necessary to form them into groups and to assign certain groups and individuals to particular parts of the work, according to their skill: that was most probably done either by the master of the works or in accord with his instructions. The great variety in rates of pay, to which we shall draw attention later, suggests that individual agreements were made with the skilled craftsmen, and we think it probable that the rates were decided, or at any rate sanctioned, by the master of the works. It would be his business also to estimate the numbers of men required, to decide on the amount of building materials necessary, and to organise their supply. In this, as in grading the men, the master of the works—if indeed it was he who did so—would find his training as a *cementarius* useful.

Whether the sums required to pay wages were ever handed over to him to be distributed to the workmen we do not know⁶ but certainly it was to his interest, as the person responsible for seeing that the work was carried on as quickly as possible, that funds should be forthcoming to pay the workmen as regularly as could be arranged. Whoever paid the masons, we think it likely that they regarded the master of the works as their direct employer: he, intervening between them and their ultimate employer, the Crown, exercised immediate authority over them and came into daily contact with them. We incline to see in Walter de Hereford and others of similar rank an early instance of the kind of master implied in some articles of the *Regius Poem*: it was his business to see that in the building of castles the interests of the 'lord' were not prejudiced, and we do not doubt that if, as the eighth article says, he had "any mon of crafte . . . not also perfyte as he auzte," that he would "hym change sone anon. And take for hym a perfyte mon" if he could be got.

It would be incorrect to conceive of the administration of castle building in North Wales as completely systematic at any one time or uniform from one time to another. The financial supervision, for instance, was not always in the

¹ Our first account shows Walter de Hereford as receiving 1/- per day, but another shilling may have been charged on some other account. The rate is definitely stated to have been 2/- in *Cal. Close R.* 1313-18, pp. 530-1. He had received 2/- a day at Vale Royal.

² In 1346. See Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vol. I., p. 30.

³ Dr. Simpson, *Transactions Anglesey Antiq. Soc.* 1928, pp. 32, 35.

⁴ A letter of February, 1296, partly quoted in Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I.*, pp. 263-9, speaks of 400 masons and 1,000 other workmen employed at Beaumaris.

⁵ See *post*, p.

⁶ That was done elsewhere: a sum of £5 was handed over to Nicholas the Mason at Stirling Castle in 1362 *ad persolvendum aliis cementariis circa reparacionem castri*: *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 85. It may be noted that the account of receipts and expenses at the same castle in 1287-1288 was presented by master Richard, *cementarius*. *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 40. In 1259-60 the sum of £410 was delivered to Master John of Gloucester, the King's Mason, for distribution to the workmen at Windsor, whose wages were two years in arrears. (Tighe & Davies, *Annals of Windsor*, Vol. I., p. 79).

hands of the Chamberlain: the Conway accounts of 1302-6 are the accounts of William de Sutton, who was not chamberlain, but Justice of North Wales. Nor was the official directing operations on the spot always a *cementarius*: the Beaumaris building of 1330 was apparently in the charge of William de Shaldeford—by then the lieutenant of Roger Mortimer, Justice of Wales—and the highest paid mason working there received only 2/6 per week. When the main part of a building had been completed, subsequent repairs or small additions would not need the presence of such experts as Walter de Hereford, and could easily be taken in hand by an official like William de Shaldeford, with the assistance of one of the masons on the job. Small building operations were, in fact, very often committed to the charge of officials without special architectural capacity, particularly sheriffs.¹

No very precise statement can be made, on the basis of the records we have used, about the effectiveness of the system of administration, nor could that easily be done even with more information than we possess. It is hardly necessary to say that it was not possible, in the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth century, to develop a system of administration of royal works capable of solving easily and rapidly all the problems raised by the policy and enterprises of Edward I. and his successors, any more than it was possible in our own days to erect anything like a perfect system to supply, with a maximum of effectiveness and a minimum of delay and cost, the goods and services required in the Great War. As was to be expected, funds came in all too slowly for the rapid construction of the castles and the regular payment of workers and officials, and it was possible for funds intended for several enterprises to be diverted to some particular one.² Also, though the Chamberlain might keep a check on particular accounts and was himself audited by the exchequer, losses might be incurred by the Crown. Some cancellations on the membranes of our Beaumaris bundle suggest that an attempt was made to claim pay, without warrant, for some workmen³; and certainly, in or just before 1320, it was necessary to send commissioners to inquire into 'the excesses of the king's ministers there.' Nicholas de Derneford, it may be noted, was convicted before those commissioners of having caused a loss to the king of 28/-, for which he was removed from office.⁴ In January, 1321, Roger Mortimer, Justice of Wales, who certified that he was nevertheless fit to be in charge of the works at Beaumaris, is to fine him and re-instate him. The offence may have been merely technical: in any event, whatever slackness may have existed at particular times and places, the impression produced by a study of the records we have used is one of careful, if necessarily imperfect, administration.

THE EXTENT OF THE BUILDING OPERATIONS AT BEAUMARIS.

Although no very large building operations appear to have been in progress at any of the periods to which our Accounts relate, not unimportant repairs and strengthening of the defences were being carried out. The Chamberlain of Caernarvon, who had neglected a previous order to the same effect, was ordered on August 28th, 1315, to go to Beaumaris to survey its defects.⁵ In 1316 he was ordered to spend 200 marks in repairs before All Saints and 50 marks afterwards;⁶ and on December 7th, 1317, he was ordered to continue the works of the

¹ For numerous instances see *Calendar of Liberate Rolls*, 1240-45, *passim*. The sheriff is told in one instance to go in person to see what repairs are needed (p. 228). In another, he is to take with him a man skilled in mason's work to choose a site for a tower (p. 170). In many instances the repairs which the sheriff is ordered to carry out were extensive.

² See e.g., Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I.*, p. 267.

³ For such a practice at York in 1344-45 see *York Minster Fabric Rolls* (Surtees Soc.), p. 162.

⁴ *Cal. Fine Rolls* 1319-1327, p. 44. Cf. *Cal. Pat. R.* 1318-23, p. 301.

⁵ *Cal. Close R.* 1313-18, p. 245.

⁶ E. Neil Baynes, *Early History of Beaumaris Castle*, in *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society*, 1927, p. 55. During 1316 there were more men than usual at the castle on account of disturbances in Wales (*Cal. Close R.* 1313-18, p. 392). These disturbances perhaps account for the reparation of the castle.

castle of Beaumaris as heretofore, and to hasten the same as much as possible.¹ From 1316 to 1321 the outer curtain was built; the old moat was filled in and a new moat dug outside the outer curtain.² On April 9th, 1321, the Prior of Chirbury and William de Kerkeby, king's clerk, were ordered to report on the state of Beaumaris and other castles, including Caernarvon.³ In the autumn of 1330, John de Wysham was ordered to survey castles in North Wales and to carry out necessary repairs.⁴

The various references to the need for repairs suggest that there was no very large established body of craftsmen attached to the castle, but that workmen were freshly engaged, or transferred from other castles, whenever it was decided to execute repairs or to erect additional works, and that the periods for which we have Accounts were periods of building activity. On no occasion for which we have records, however, were the operations conducted on a very large scale, as will be seen from the following table, which gives the average number of workmen employed at Beaumaris at different dates:—

				1316-17.	July, 1319.	1319-20.	Autumn, 1330.
Hewers (<i>cementarii</i>)	...		10	7	4	5	
Layers (<i>cubitores</i>)	...		6	4	5	4	
Carpenters	...	...	2	—	1	5
Smiths	...	...	2	1	2	2
Foreman	...	...	—	—	—	1
Quarriers	...	...	9	2	6	6
“ Minor Workers ”	...		9	7	5	11	
Sailors and Boatmen	...		6	6	6	8	
Carters	...	...	2	1	2	2
			—	—	—	—	
Total	...		46	28	31	44	

THE EXTENT OF THE BUILDING OPERATIONS AT CAERNARVON.

Unlike the Beaumaris Accounts, the Caernarvon Accounts appear to be concerned not with repairs or additions, but with the erection of the main fabric, as the castle was not completed until 1321 or 1322.⁵ There is no evidence to show what particular part was being erected in 1304, but in 1316-17 the Eagle Tower was probably being finished and the third section of the works joining the Eagle Tower to the N.E. Tower had been commenced, though the numbers employed were barely half those employed ten years previously. By July, 1319, a further substantial reduction in the number of workmen had taken place. The

¹ *Cal. Close R.* 1313-18, p. 285.

² E. Neil Baynes, p. 55, and *Arch. Camb. Original Documents* lxiv., et seq.

³ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1317-21, p. 573.

⁴ E. Neil Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁵ The *total*—as distinct from the average—number of workmen whose names appear on the wage-sheets was as follows:—

	1316-7	1319	1319-20	1330
Hewers	18	7	9	6
Layers	20	4	10	7
Carpenters	6	—	3	13
Smiths	4	1	5	2
Quarriers	26	2	12	8
Minor Workers	19	7	30	19
Sailors & Boatmen	25	?	?	?
Carters	5	1	5	6

⁶ C. H. Hartshorne, *Caernarvon Castle*, in *Archaeological Journal* (1850), Vol. VII., p. 256, and Sir Charles Peers, *Caernarvon Castle* (official guide), pp. 11 and 12.

average number of workmen¹ employed at Caernarvon² at various dates was as follows:—

	Oct., 1304.	1316-17.	July, 1319.
Hewers (<i>cementarii</i>)	32	12	9
Layers (<i>cubitores</i>)	25	12	6
Carpenters	8	5	2
Smiths	5	3	3
Foremen	3	1	—
Quarriers	34	28	—
Minor Workers	61	32	30
Sailors and Boatmen	34 ³	8	4
Carters	12	2	—
Total	214	103	54



ORGANISATION OF THE BUILDING OPERATIONS.

1. *Quarries.* (a) *Beaumaris.* At each period for which we have Accounts, quarriers were employed: in 1316-17, 1319-20, and 1330 payments were being made for the carriage of stone both by land and by sea. As it so happens,

¹ The *total*—as distinct from the average—number of workmen whose names appear on the wage-sheets, was as follows:—

	1316-17	1319
Hewers	21	10
Layers	21	9
Carpenters	19	4
Smiths	6	3
Quarriers	93	—
Minor Workers	119	37

² Employment at the Castle and the Quay in 1316-17 have been treated as one.

³ In the case of three boats, where the size of the crew is not indicated, an average of one sailor and four boatmen per boat has been assumed. The larger boats of which we have information were generally manned by one sailor and five boatmen, and the smaller boats by one sailor and three boatmen.

the only quarry named in the Accounts (for the week ending December 9th, 1319) is described as "Beaumaris quarry," we can feel sure that there was at least one quarry fairly close at hand, which probably did not involve carriage of stone by sea. We assume, therefore, that there was at least one other quarry at a distance which did involve sea transport and possibly land transport in addition. The payments made for carriage by boat was 3d. per "tide" in 1316-17, 13d. per "tide" in 1319-20, and 9d. per "tide" in 1330, although wage rates were practically unchanged. We have therefore to assume either (i.) that there was a very material variation in the size of the boat, or (ii.) that stone was being transported from a different quarry at each date, or (iii.) that whereas 13d. and 9d. were inclusive payments, the original payment of 3d. was not. Actually there is support in the Accounts for this last assumption:—

Nov. 21. 1316. *Carriage by sea.* John Glowe carrying free & big stones from quarry to castle with one batell for 5 *tyd* at 3d. per *tyd* . . . 15d. Rob. de Wych 10d. Griffit ap. Jorwerth 10d. John Marescall 10d. Henry Duy 10d. Jerwerth ap Griffit 10d.
Robert le Engl' carrying big stones from quarry to castle with one batell 4 *tyd* at 3d. . . . 12d.
Adda Gouch 8d. Wm. Crosset 8d. David de Granor 8d.

Nov. 4. 1319. *Sea Carriage.* John ap Tuder 2 *tyd* at 13d. . . . 2s. 2d.

Sep. 23. 1330. *Batell.* David Heyre and his men carrying stone from the quarry to aforesaid castle distant 5 leagues for 8 *tyd* at 9d. . . . 6s.

Thomas Gogh and his men carrying stone etc., for 6 *tid* at 9d. . . . 4s. 6d.

In 1316 the boatmen in charge were paid 3d. per trip and the men employed on the boats appear to have been entered on the wage-sheets; at the later dates the boatmen received inclusive payments and were responsible for the payment of wages to their men. A dual system of payment for sea carriage also prevailed at Caernarvon. Very probably the 13d. represented 1 boatman + 5 men @ 2d. and the 9d. represented 1 boatman + 3 men @ 2d. In support of this assumption, it may be noted that in 1316 Glowe had five men whilst Robert the Englishman had only three. At Caernarvon, too, the number of men per boat varied.

Our conclusion is that there were two quarries in connection with the work at Beaumaris, one at or near Beaumaris, and one some five leagues away, near the sea, very possibly across the strait. So far as the quarry at or near Beaumaris is concerned, we learn from Watson¹ that "the blue-grey rock quarried near Beaumaris is usually known as 'Penmon Marble Stone,' although it is employed as a rule for ordinary building. Owing to the dense and hard nature of this Anglesey rock it is well suited for heavy constructive engineering work." Penmon, as the sketch map shows, is about 4 miles North East of Beaumaris. In view of the fact that Beaumaris is situated near a marsh, it seems probable to us that the "Beaumaris quarry" referred to in the Account of December 9th, 1319, was the Penmon quarry. This would no doubt also be the "quarry in Anglesey" referred to in the Caernarvon Account.² With regard to the second quarry, a league being a varying measure of distance, the statement in the Beaumaris Account that the boatmen carried stone 5 leagues from the quarry to the castle does not enable us definitely to place the quarry, but if the leagues in question were the usual three miles or so, this would indicate the possibility that the quarry was at Town End, Caernarvon.³

¹ *British and Foreign Building Stones.* Cambridge, 1911, p. 121.

² See *post.*

³ See *post.* As building at Beaumaris and building at Caernarvon were under the same general administration, there is no reason why the same quarries should not have been used in connection with both undertakings.

The quarriers were mostly employed at day wages, though there was no great uniformity about the rates of pay: the more skilled men appear to have received 18, 16 or 15 pence per week, and the less skilled men, 12, 10 or 9 pence per week. Occasionally work in the quarries was done at task. For example, on December 9th, 1319, we find the following entry:—

Henry de Elleford for digging and breaking stone¹ at Beaumaris quarry, at task, 60 feet long, 20 feet deep, taking at task by view of master of works 30s.

The name of Henry de Elleford at times appears amongst the layers and at times amongst the quarriers, but in each case he receives 2s. 2d. (22d. in winter) for a full week, which implies that he was a superior type of quarryman. Actually, he was also being paid as a *batrarius*² working at task this particular week, as a *batrarius* at a fixed wage the previous week, and as a quarrier at a daily wage for the five preceding weeks. We therefore assume that he took a contract for digging and breaking at Beaumaris quarry and that the actual work was done by men he employed.

(b) *Caernarvon*. Both in the autumn of 1304 and in the winter of 1316-17, substantial quarrying operations were being undertaken by those responsible for the erection of the castle. In that part of the earlier Account which we have transcribed there is nothing to show the situation of the quarry, or quarries, but the fact that much stone was moved by sea suggests a quarry along the coast or in Anglesey.³

In the Account of 1316-17, four quarries are actually named, viz., quarry at Town End (*ad finem ville*),⁴ quarry at Aberpwl,⁵ quarry at Pont Meney,⁶ and quarry in Anglesey.⁷

In 1304 the bulk of the cost of transport was for water carriage: for the week ending October 4th, we find the following entries:—

Carriage of stone by sea.

1 sailor with own boat holding	20 loads, 5 'tid' @	2s. 6d.	12. 6d.
1 —————	17 — 1 'tid' @	2s. 1½d.	2s. 1½d.
To same	4 'tid' @	21½d.	7s. 1d.
1 sailor —————	12 — 1 'tid' @	18d.	18d.
To same	4 'tid' @	15d.	5s.
Another carrying in prince's ship	4 'tid' @	5d.	20d.
————— boat	4 'tid' @	3d.	12d.
—————	4 'tid' @	2½d.	10d.
—————	5 'tid' @	2½d.	12½d.
Boatmen (<i>batellarii</i>)			
6 boatmen helping sailor in charge of prince's boat			4s. 6d.
3 —————			2s.
3 —————			18d.
3 —————			22½d.

¹ This is printed in *Arch. Camb., Supplement of Original Documents*, as *filigre*. Mr. H. C. Johnson, of the Public Record Office, who very kindly gave us the benefit of his great knowledge on several points of difficulty in this paper, examined the Account and put the reading beyond doubt. It should be *pro fodicione et fractione*.

² See *post*.

³ According to Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, "the walls of the ancient Segontium furnished a portion of the materials; limestone was brought from Anglesey and breccia or gritstone from the vicinity of Vaenol near Bangor."

⁴ This term appears equivalent to *Pen y dre*, as part of the present town is now called; it is outside the wall.

⁵ Aber y Pwll occurs as the name of a hamlet in Bangor maenol (*Record of Caernarvon*, p. 93) though no quarries are mentioned.

⁶ Pont Menai=Menai Bridge, probably named after the bridge of boats built by Edward I. to enable his army to cross over into Anglesey. (*Hartshorné*, p. 253.)

⁷ As indicated above, we think it probable that the "quarry in Anglesey" was at Penmon.

As the sailors owning their boats were sometimes paid 1½d. per load, and sometimes only 1¼d., we assume that there were at least two quarries by the sea, one rather nearer than the other to Caernarvon. Very possibly one was the quarry at Pont Meney, or the quarry at Aberpwl, and the other the quarry in Anglesey mentioned in the 1316-17 Account.

The quarrymen were mostly engaged at daily wages, but the variety of rates paid was very considerable. In the first week of October, 1304, which appears to be a typical week, we find:—

5 quarriers @	16d. per week
3	14d.
4	13d.
3	11d.
4	10d.
3	9d.
9	8d.
1	6d.
2	5d.
1	4d.

In the last week of October, 1316, we find rather less diversity:—

1 quarrier (s) @	17d. per week
4	16d.
4	15d.
1	12d.
20	10d.
2	9d.
1	3d.

The only cases of work in the quarries being paid by the piece appear to be as follows:—

(i.) A dozen *cubitores* who in January and February, 1316-17, worked as *batrarii* at the quarry of Aberpwl.

(ii.) Three *cementarii* who worked as *taglatores* in the quarry at Aberpwl during the week ending April 10th, 1317.

These two cases will be discussed later.

(iii.) John de Wambrug, quarrier, and his fellows worked at task in the quarry during the two weeks ending April 10th and April 17th, 1317, earning 3s. the first week (a broken Easter week) and 7s. 6d. the second week. In the first week the Account names Wambrug's fellows, viz., William de Norton and Walter Prat. The normal weekly rate of Wambrug was 16d., of Norton 14d., and of Prat 15d. These three working half the Easter week, as the other quarriers employed at day rates did, would have earned jointly 22½d. at day rates. Actually they were paid 3s. It is quite possible that they worked more than three days or/and that they had one or more assistants. Judging by the experience of *batrarii* on task work, to which reference is made below, it is very unlikely that piece wages were so fixed for quarries that men on piece wages could earn 50 per cent. more than when employed on time wages. For the second week of task work there is nothing to show how many "fellows" Wambrug had, so that no comparison with estimated earnings at daily wages is possible.

(iv.) Walter de Kanck, quarrier, for digging and breaking stone, each stone in length 2 feet, height 1 foot, breadth 1 foot and a half, 15s. per 100. from Easter to 8th July, 1319, by agreement. £4. 8s. 6d. As this represents a payment of about 7s. 6d. a week whilst Walter's usual weekly wage was 17d., there can be no question that Walter must have had the co-operation of several fellows or/and assistants.

(v.) To William Maeriel for digging and breaking . . . stone in quarry of Aberpwl at task from Easter to 1st July, 1319, by agreement. 39/8d.

William, like Walter, was obviously not working single-handed when he earned this money.

2. *Transport.* (a) *Stone.* Reference has already been made in the last section to the carriage of stone by sea; it played a definite part in the organisation of the building operations both at Caernarvon and at Beaumaris. With the exception of Caernarvon in 1304, when seven boats and 34 men appear to have been employed, either one or two boats sufficed to transport the stone required. At Beaumaris in 1316-17, there was a large boat manned by a boatman and five men and a small boat manned by a boatman and three men; the boatmen received 3d. per 'tide' and the men 2d. per 'tide.' For three weeks in November, 1316, and again for three weeks in March, 1316-17, two boats were in service, whilst for the thirteen intervening weeks only one was employed. Thus in all we have information about 25 'boat-weeks':—

on one occasion	1 boat did	10 'tides' in one week
on occasions	2 boats did	9 'tides' in one week
-----	5 -----	8 -----
-----	5 -----	7 -----
-----	8 -----	6 -----
-----	2 -----	5 -----
-----	2 -----	4 -----

From the analysis it appears that sometimes night trips must have been worked, and when this happened the boatman and his men were paid for the extra 'tides,' so that from time to time they earned good money, though the spells of duty must have been correspondingly long.

With regard to the manning of the boats, it may be noted that there were fairly frequent changes of boatmen and that in two cases boatmen served for a period as men in the boats, one being degraded¹ and the other promoted. Thus John Glowe, who was boatman at 3d. per tide for six weeks ending December 12th, then served as a man on a boat at 2d. per tide for eight weeks out of the next fourteen. On the other hand, Philip Seyth, who served as a man at 2d. per tide during the two weeks ending December 26th, was boatman at 3d. per tide for the six following weeks. During the winter of 1316-17, eight different men were in charge of boats. In all, 25 men served on the boats. Of these, to judge by the names, two appear to have worked as quarriers, two as smiths and one as a carpenter at Beaumaris during the same winter, and four others as 'minor workmen' at Beaumaris during the year 1319-20. Perhaps the Master of the Works or the overseer was trying to discover who had aptitude for boat work; in any case, by degrees changes became less frequent: Philip ap Tudur, who acted as boatman of a small boat for the four weeks ending March 20th, 1316-17, was in charge of a large boat for the three weeks in July, 1319, and for 36 weeks between November, 1319, and September, 1320, when only one boat was in service. As Philip was paid 13d. per tide in 1319 and 1320, the names of no men appear on the wage-sheets, and we are unable to ascertain how many different workers were engaged in sea carriage at these periods. The same thing is true at Beaumaris in the autumn of 1330, when two small boats were manned by David Heyre and his men and Thomas Goch and his men. The position at Caernarvon in 1316-17 was very similar; nearly all the sea carriage was in the hands of Adda ap Cadwgan and John de Harley, to whom inclusive weekly payments varying in the case of the former from 18d. to 13s. 6d. and in the case of the latter from 5d. to 7s. 4d., were made. Adda ap Cadwgan was employed

¹ An analogous case occurred at the building of Kirby Muxlo Castle, where Steynforth was reduced from the rank of Warden at 3s. 4d. per week to freemason at 6d. per day and replaced as Warden by John Lyle. See *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, Vol. XI. (1915-16), p. 255.

25 weeks, earning 7s. 0d. a week on the average, and John de Harley was employed 18 weeks, earning 3s. 9d. on the average. In 1319 the sea carriage at Caernarvon was entrusted to Henry de Dynbegh, who was paid 3s., 4s. 6d. and 3s. in three successive weeks, "carrying stone from diverse quarries in boat."

At Beaumaris, in addition to carriage of stone by sea, there was also carriage of stone by land. In 1316-17, there were always two carters "carrying stone from the sea to the castle": each apparently provided a cart and two horses, and received 8d. per day remuneration. William de Dene carted for 17 weeks, having William de Stretton as his fellow carter for seven weeks before Christmas and Adam de Canck for ten weeks after Christmas. Before Christmas, the names of both William de Stretton and Adam de Canck appear amongst the "minor workmen" in receipt of 10d. per week. If they were the same men as the carters, which is quite likely. William de Stretton, at least, must have done the carting by deputy. In 1319-20, two carters were also employed, generally Galfred le Pistor and Nicholas Cissor: they worked with a cart and one horse each, and were paid 4d. per day. In the autumn of 1330, also, two men at 4d. a day were commonly employed in "carting stone and sand." At Caernarvon in 1316-17, to judge by the expenditure on land carriage, two carters were generally employed, but no names are mentioned in the Accounts.

The general impression we receive from studying the Accounts is that the transportation of stone was a much more specialised business at Beaumaris and Caernarvon than at Vale Royal, where the carters were constantly changing.

(b) *Timber.* In so far as the Master of the Works organised a transport department, it appears to have been concerned primarily with the conveyance of stone, and occasionally with the conveyance of sand. From time to time, however, planks or supplies of timber were purchased, or carpenters were sent into the woods at Rhos, presumably to fell trees, or to prepare planks, beams, etc., and in these cases special arrangements had to be made for land and sea carriage. A few examples may be quoted:—

Beaumaris, Feb. 20th, 1316-17.

For 52 pieces timber for castle, of which each piece 21 ft. long—and each of 20 other pieces 25 ft. long—19 other pieces 11 ft. long, and in carriage of these pieces from wood of *Roos* to water at Llanrwst, 11s. 3d. In wages of 3 carpenters each at 2s. per week, 12s. and in wages of 2 carpenters at 22d. 7s. 4d. . . . In carriage of 52 pieces of timber from Llanrwst by water to Beaumaris 12s. 2d.

Caernarvon, Feb. 6th, 1316-17.

John de Bere, in wood of *Roos*, from October 16th to January 23rd, 30s. 6d. Six carpenters working there 5 weeks and four days 7s. 6d. (? each).

Timber 19s. 10½d. David Da carrying 13s. 4d.

David Da. under the head of "sea carriage," was paid 20s. 8d. "seeking planks etc." on November 7th; 17s. 4d. "with long boat at Llanrwst" on February 27th; and 15s. 5d. (no particulars given) on March 13th.

Beaumaris, 14th September, 1320.

Carriage of Timber by Land: To Master Richard the Engineer of Caernarvon for carriage of 28 big joists (*grossarum gistarum*) from various woods in Nant Conwy to Trefriw by land, whence in King's Caernarvon barges carried to Beaumaris by sea, for a certain tower, 23s. 4d.

Beaumaris, 7th Oct., 1330.

Carpenters in the wood: Hugo de Dynbegh and his men working in Llanrwst wood providing timber for castle works 13s. 0d.

Land carriage: Madoc Guynor and his men carrying timber from Llanrwst to Trefriw	19s. 6d.
Sea carriage: Simon of Cardigan carrying from Trefriw to Beaumaris according to agreement	36s.

Very similar payments to carpenters in the woods, to Madoc Guynor and to Simon of Cardigan for carriage occur three weeks later.

Occasionally there is an entry for wood purchased, without any reference to carriage; for example, at Beaumaris. 20s. were spent on plane board on October 31st, 1316, and 54s. 6d. on thatch board and plane board on November 7th, 1316, whilst on October 14th, 1330, 18d. were spent for "green wood for scaffolds." In these cases we assume that the men who sold the wood were responsible for its delivery.

3. *Smithies.* At Beaumaris, where generally one smith and one assistant (to judge by the wage and by the occasional description "his boy") were employed, there was presumably only one smithy. At Caernarvon, where at one period five "smiths," and at another period three were employed, it is quite possible that there were two smithies. As to the functions of the smiths, the Beaumaris Account for the autumn of 1316 is fairly definite. On October 17th, 1316, the following entry, typical of many succeeding ones, occurs:—

Stephen the smith making 23 pieces of iron and 20 big "gadds" and 16 smaller "gadds" . . . sharpening the instruments of *cementarii*, *cubitores* and quarriers . . . ;

whilst on October 7th, 1319, we find the following:—

Stephen the smith, working at task, 2d. for each iron and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for sharpening a "gadd."

We are disposed to think that the instruments made at the smithies were relatively simple pieces of iron, such as crows, chisels, wedges or spikes, rather than more elaborate tools such as trowels, hoes, hatchets or picks. On the other hand, hatchets would be amongst the tools most frequently sharpened at the smithies.

4. *Lodges.* There are two references in the Accounts to masons' lodges or workplaces, the one at Beaumaris and the other at Caernarvon. The earlier and more explicit reference is that at Caernarvon on 31st October, 1316:—

Land Carriage. Hire of cart and two horses to carry sand (*arenam*) from the lodge of the king's masons (*de logia cementariorum regis*) to the new work of the aforesaid quay, 4 days at 6d.

A supply of sand, which was doubtless required for making mortar, may have been stored close to the lodge. It is just possible that the "sand" referred to in the quotation was accumulated sandstone dust and chippings from the lodge itself.

The reference at Beaumaris (14th September, 1320) is as follows:—

Carriage of Timber by Land. To the same [*i.e.*, Master Richard the Engineer of Caernarvon] for timber by him bought for a tumbledown house in which masons ought to work (*pro una domo ruinosa in qua cementarii debent operari*) within the said castle—to be repaired, with carriage according to agreement with him 41s.

5. "*Minor Workers.*" From the tables on pages 11 and 12 it will be seen that "minor workers" constituted about one-third of the total labour force employed. Although occasionally various categories of workmen were lumped together as "minor workers" (*minutii operarii*),¹ yet in many cases they were divided into several classes.

¹ Corresponding to *menus ouvrier* in a contemporary Norman-French document, quoted by J. E. Morris, p. 268. See p. 20, note 5.

'Limeburners' generally constituted a separate group; at times their numbers were increased by the addition of labourers who were commonly described as "minor workers" or porters of some description. From this same general group, two or three men were from time to time picked out to work as "sawyers." Another definite job which is sometimes singled out in the Accounts is that of "portechache," whose duty, according to the Vale Royal Account, was "carrying irons and hatchets of the masons and other tools back to the smithy to be repaired."¹ He no doubt also carried the quarriers' tools.

A much more numerous class is that of 'bayardores' or 'baiardores.' These are no doubt the same as the 'bairdiores' or 'bairardores' of the Vale Royal Account,² who are described as men "working with handbarrows taking large stones to be carved at the masons' workshop and outside." 'Baiardour'³ is an obsolete word meaning a mason's labourer who helps to carry the baiard or large hand-barrow with six handles on which building stones are carried. As the stones which Walter Kanck, for example, was preparing, in the quarry weighed about a quarter-of-a-ton each,⁴ a six-handled barrow would probably be needed to move them, both to the masons' lodge and later from the lodge to the spot where they were to be used.

Another numerous class was that of *hottarii*. These, we surmise, were men who carried a 'hot' or 'hott.' This word, now obsolete, means a kind of basket or pannier for carrying earth, sand, lime or manure.⁵ In French the word *hotte* still exists, meaning a basket fixed on to the back by means of straps.

Most weeks there were several workers, including women, described as *fauconarii* or *falkonarii*, who were either carriers of mortar or plaster or workers who, by means of a rope or cord over a pulley or system of pulleys, raised heavy stones to the top of a wall in construction.⁶

Another group of workers is included under the heading *cinerarii* or *cinararii*. These Mr. H. C. Johnson, of the Public Record Office, takes to have

¹ *Vale Royal Ledger Book* (*Lancs. & Ches. Record Society*, 1914), p. 222. The word "portemartel" occurs in *Lithygon A/cs. Exd. K.R.* 482/20. The "carrier of hammers" no doubt performed the same functions as the "carrier of hatchets."

² *Ibid.* p. 226.

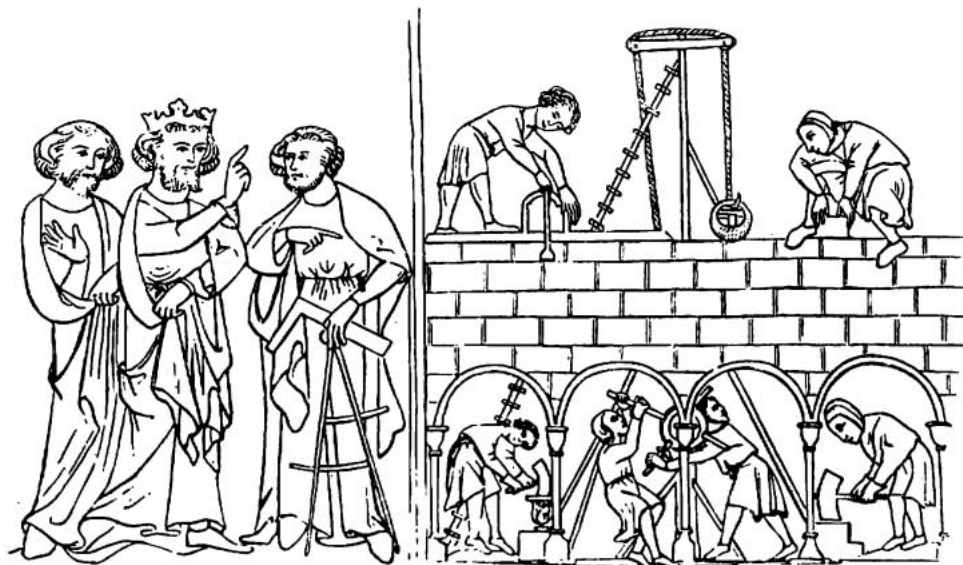
³ *N.E.D.*, *sub. voc.*

⁴ The weight of Penmon stone from the Anglesey quarry is 166 lbs. per cu. ft., that from Llanbedrog quarries Caernarvonshire, 171 lbs. per cu. ft. (*Waston, Building Stones*, pp. 272 and 261.)

⁵ *N.E.D.*, *sub. voc.*

⁶ Mr. H. C. Johnson, of the Public Record Office, informed us that *falconarius* is to be taken as meaning 'hawker' or 'hawk-boy' and referred us to the *N.E.D.* citation of *hawk* as a "small quadrangular tool with a handle, used by a plasterer, on which the stuff required by him is served. He has always a boy attending on him, by whom he is supplied with the material. The boy in question is called a hawk boy." Cf. *Eng. Dialect Dic.*, *s.v.*, *hawk*. Mr. Johnson also points out that our Account includes women and probably boys, who would not ordinarily be employed in lifting, under the heading of *falconarii*. Though very reluctant to differ from so expert an authority and admitting the force of the references cited, we feel some difficulty in accepting the explanation. In the first place, someone must have used a lifting apparatus and been paid for it, and unless the *falconarii* did that work we must conclude our Account to be strangely dumb on the point. Secondly, it may be noted that women were employed to work the crane at the construction of the new haven at Chester in 1567-8, as well as to carry stones. (See Edna Rideout "The Account Book of the New Haven, Chester, 1567-8," reprinted from *Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Ches.*, 1929, pp. 33 *folg.*) What women did at Chester in 1567, women are more likely to have done at Caernarvon 250 years previously. Thirdly, the French word *fauconneau* [*Hatzfeldt & Darmestatter Dict.*] means, among other things, "a piece of wood carrying a pulley at each end and turning horizontally at the top of a machine for raising burdens." This word, like the Eng. *falconet*, is a derivative of late Latin *Falco*, 'hawk.' [For which see Walde, *Lat. etymologisches Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*] It is known, however, that *falco* was also used to mean something bent or curved like a sickle, and also that *falc*, ordinarily meaning a sickle, also meant 'hook': cf. especially *falc muralis*, a hook for pulling down walls in a siege. [Walde, *s.v.*] The mediæval lifting apparatus, of which we give a thirteenth century illustration, was evidently provided with a hook, resembling a hawk's beak or a sickle, at the end of the rope. We think it not impossible that the *falconarii* were so called because they worked with a similar apparatus.

been ash makers; and he concludes that they produced cinders for the manufacture of black cement.



MASONS' WAGES.

Both at Beaumaris and at Caernarvon the masons are divided in the Accounts into two classes:—

cementarii,

cubitores.

Cementarii is the word used in Latin documents to indicate masons, prior to the word *lathomus* being introduced in the fourteenth century. Thus the word *cementarii* is used in the London Assize of Wages in 1212¹ apparently to describe all masons other than carvers or hewers of freestone (*sculptores lapidum liberorum*), who are classed separately. It would therefore normally include both hewers and layers or setters. In all the Beaumaris and Caernarvon Accounts it appears to be given a narrower meaning and to be restricted to "hewers" or possibly hewers and carvers of freestone, who are not mentioned separately, for there can be little doubt that the word *cubitores* means layers or setters, being connected with the Latin word *cubāre*, to lay down. Incidentally, there is an obsolete English word cubiture, meaning "a lying down."² *Cubitor*, unknown apparently to Papworth or Gould, is a word of comparatively rare occurrence. It is to be found, however, in the Vale Royal Building Account³ and in the Westminster Fabric Roll of 1253.⁴ The corresponding Norman-French word *couchour* occurs in a letter written by the responsible officials at Beaumaris to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer in 1296.⁵ In the same Norman-French document hewers are referred to as *tailleurs*, corresponding to the Mediæval Latin *taylatores*, which we find in the Caernarvon Account, as indicated below.

In the York Fabric Rolls⁶ setters are referred to as *cementarii vocati* 'setters' to distinguish them from *cementarii*, and in a licence to the Archbishop

¹ Printed in T. Hudson Turner, *Domestic Architecture in England*, Oxford, 1851, p. 281.

² *N.E.D.*, *sub. voc.*

³ *Lancs. and Ches. Record Soc.*, 1914, p. 196.

⁴ G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, 2nd Ed., p. 240.

⁵ The phrase "*quatre centz macheons quei tailleurs quei couchours*" occurs in the letter, a copy of which is contained in part of *Exch. Acc.*, 5/18, quoted in J. E. Morris, *Welsh Wars of K. Ed. I.*, p. 268. Another word for layers is *positores*, occurring, e.g., in the Account Books of Wm. Mulsho, clerk of the Works at Windsor, for 35 Edward III.

⁶ *Surtees Society*, vol. 35, pp. 25, 50.

of Canterbury to impress masons in 1396, setters or layers are referred to as *lathomos vocatos ligiers* to distinguish them from *lathomos vocatos ffree maceons*.¹ In the Eton College Building Account of 1442-3, the distinction is made between 'freemasons' and 'rowmasons', and a third category described as 'hard hewers';² a similar distinction between 'freemasons' and 'roughmasons' is made in the Kirby Muxloe Castle Building Account of 1480-84.³

In the Caernarvon Account for 1316-17, we have two further words applying to masons, namely:—

taglatores,

batrarii.

The word *taglatores* occurs only once on April 10th, 1317, when three of the lower-paid *ementarii* worked at task as *taglatores* and prepared 7 score and 19 ft. of "coynes et asssheler" from the quarry of Aberpwl, at 3 ft. for 1d. There can be no question that the *taglatores*⁴ were stone-cutters. It may be noted in passing that one of the roughmasons at Kirby Muxloe had the surname Taillour.

The word *batrarii* occurs for several weeks in succession during January and February, 1316-17, when all the *cubitores* were engaged as *batrarii* at task; they worked in the quarry at Aberpwl and were paid at the rate of 6 ft. for 1d. There can be no doubt that the word is connected with the Mediæval Latin *battare*, to beat, to thrash, to batter; we assume that these workers were engaged in battering or striking repeatedly (presumably with a scappling hammer) pieces of stone so as to rough-hew them to the required shape.

(i.) *Summer and winter rates.* With the exception of the Masters, all masons at Beaumaris and Caernarvon appear to have been subject to a reduction in rates during the three winter months of November, December and January, presumably on account of the shorter working day. This was the same period during which winter rates applied at Vale Royal in 1278-80 and at Adderbury in 1408-18. At both Beaumaris and Caernarvon wages of 2s. 9d. a week were reduced to 2s. 3½d. in winter; 2s. 7d. to 2s. 2d.; 2s. 6d. to 2s. 1d.; 2s. 5d. to 2s. 0½d.; 2s. 4d. to 2s. 3½d.; 2s. 1d. to 2d.; 2s. 0d. to 20d.; 22d. to 19d.; 20d. to 17d.; 16d. to 15d.; 14d. to 13d. It may be noted that the senior masons under the master, whether wardens or overseers receiving 2s. 9d. or 2s. 7d. as the case might be, were reduced in winter like the rest, whereas the corresponding mason at Vale Royal in receipt of 2s. 10d. or 2s. 8d. was not so reduced. Apart from odd cases at Caernarvon in October, 1304, we have no records of masons in receipt of a lower summer wage than 14d., and consequently we cannot say whether in the case of masons at 12d. a week and under, the winter rates would have been the same as the summer rates, as was the practice at Vale Royal.

In the case of quarriers at Beaumaris and Caernarvon, the winter reductions were more severe than in the case of masons; thus a weekly wage of 16d. was reduced to 13½d. in winter; 15d. to 12½d.; and 10d. to 9d. At Vale Royal, quarriers at 16d. were reduced only to 15d. in winter, and quarriers at 15d. to 14d. On the other hand, in what concerns masons, the winter reductions at Beaumaris and Caernarvon correspond very closely to those made at Vale Royal.

(ii.) *Holidays and feast days.* Whereas the Vale Royal Account indicated the holiday or feast day in respect of which a short week was worked and paid for, the Beaumaris and Caernarvon Accounts merely show that less wages or no wages were paid in particular weeks, and leave us to surmise the reason.

¹ Sloane MSS. No. 4595, p. 50, printed by W. H. Rylands in *The Masonic Magazine*, vol. ix., p. 341.

² Summarised in G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, p. 533.

³ A. H. Thompson, *Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. xi., 1915, p. 276.

⁴ From the mediæval Latin *taillare*, to cut. *Taillator*, 'cutter' is found with various meanings since 'cutting' is necessary in several trades. Ducange records *taillator lapidum*, 'tailleur de pierres.' Cf. French *taille*, cutting according to a pattern. (Hatzfeld and Darmestetter.) Also Engl. *intailer* or *intayler* used in the York Fabric Rolls and in the King's College, Cambridge Accounts of early 16th century.

At Caernarvon from October 10th, 1316, to May 1st, 1317, there was no pay:—

for one day in week ending	Nov. 7	? All Saints (Nov. 1) or All Souls * (Nov. 2)
— one —————	Dec. 26	Christmas Day.*
— six —————	Jan. 2	Christmas week.*
— one —————	Feb. 27	? St. Matthias the Apostle * (Feb. 24)
— three —————	Apr. 10	Easter week.*

At Beaumaris from October 10th, 1316, to May 1st, 1317, there was no pay:—

for three days in week ending	Nov. 7	? All Saints (Nov. 1) and All Souls * (Nov. 2)
— one day —————	Nov. 28	? St. Cecilia (Nov. 22) or Clemens Pope & Martyr (Nov. 23)
		or Catharina (Nov. 25)
		or Ss. Agricola & Vitalis (Nov. 27)
— one day —————	Dec. 26	Christmas Day.*
— six days —————	Jan. 2nd	Christmas week.*
— one day —————	Feb. 27th	? St. Matthias * (Feb. 24)
— three days —————	Apr. 10	Easter week.*

* Observed at Vale Royal. See *A.Q.C.* xliv. p. 19.

With regard to the three days at the beginning of November, it may be noted that the smiths and "minor workers" had only one day off, and that the quarriers had no holiday at all.

At Beaumaris from October 7th, 1319, to September 28th, 1320, there was no pay:—

for one day in week ending	Nov. 4	? All Saints (Nov. 1). or All Souls * (Nov. 2)
— six days —————	Dec. 30	Christmas week.*
— one day —————	Mar. 2	? St. Matthias * (Feb. 24) or St. David (Mar. 1)
— six days —————	Apr. 6	Easter week.*
— one day —————	May 4	? St. Philip & St. James * (May 1)
— three days —————	May 25	Whitsuntide.*
— one day —————	July 27	? St. Margaret the Virgin * (July 20) or St. James (July 25) or St. Anne, Mother of B.V.M. (July 26)
— one day —————	Sep. 14	? Nativity of B.V.M. (Sept. 8)

* Observed at Vale Royal. See *A.Q.C.* xliv. p. 19.

The Master and the clerk, both at Beaumaris and at Caernarvon, suffered no reduction of wages, in respect of holidays, nor did the foreman (*vintenarius*)¹ at Caernarvon, although his summer rate of 18d. a week was reduced to 15d. in winter.

(iii.) *Variety of Rates of Pay.* At Vale Royal we were concerned with eighteen summer rates of pay, varying from 3s. 0d. a week received by the undermaster to 8d. received by the junior mason.² Taking Beaumaris and Caernarvon together, and omitting ten wage payments which appear to represent fractions of a week, we are concerned with twenty-two different summer rates of pay, varying from 4s. 0d. a week received by the undermaster at Caernarvon in 1304, to 8d. received by the junior layer at Caernarvon in 1304. Although the top rates were all paid to hewers (*cementarii*) and the bottom rates to layers (*cubitores*), there was a very big overlap, as the following table shows:—

Weekly rates of pay
of hewers (*cementarii*) at
Beaumaris and Caernarvon.

4s. 0d.

3s. 0d.

2s. 9d.

2s. 8d.

2s. 7d.

2s. 6d.

2s. 5d.

2s. 4d.

2s. 3d.

2s. 2d.

2s. 0d.

22d.

21d.

20d.

19d.

18d.

17d.

15d.

Weekly rates of pay
of layers (*cubitores*) at
Beaumaris and Caernarvon.

2s. 5d.

2s. 4d.

2s. 3d.

2s. 2d.

2s. 1d.

2s. 0d.

22d.

21d.

20d.

19d.

18d.

17d.

16d.

15d.

14d.

12d.

8d.

To show what rates were actually paid at different dates at the two castles, we have chosen typical weeks from the various Accounts and have embodied them in two tables, one relating to Beaumaris and one to Caernarvon. It will be noted from the Caernarvon table that in 1319 there were as many wage-rates as there were layers, namely, five of each; the same table shows that in 1304 there were ten different wage-rates paid to thirty hewers. These represent the extreme cases; other examples show approximately two wage-rates for three men, or two wage-rates for four men, or two wage-rates for five men. In view of the great diversity we hesitate to speak of predominant rates of remuneration, but for hewers some generalisation can perhaps be made:—

¹ Cf. O.Fr. *vintener*, one who commands twenty men (Godefroy, *Dictionnaire*), also Eng. *vintenary*, circa 1450, military officer in command of 20 men (*N.E.D.*) In the Vale Royal Account the word for foreman of the diggers and other common workmen is *vingintarius* (Vale Royal Ledger Book, p. 227.).

² A.Q.C. xliv., p. 20.

Beaumaris.

In Oct.	1316	67 % of the hewers (<i>cementarii</i>) were in receipt of 2s. 5d. per week
Feb.	1316/17	67 % 2s. 5d.
July	1319	60 % 2s. 5d.
Mar.	1319/20	75 % 2s. 5d.
Oct.	1330	67 % 2s. 4d. or 2s. 5d.

Caernarvon.

In Oct.	1304	60 % of the hewers (<i>cementarii</i>) were in receipt of 2s. 4d. or 2s. 5d. per week
Oct.	1316	58 % 2s. 5d. or 2s. 6d.
Mar.	1316/17	67 % 2s. 5d. or 2s. 6d.
July	1319	67 % 2s. 5d. or 2s. 6d.

As will be seen from the tables, these predominant rates for hewers correspond very closely to the average rates.

Table showing number and rates of pay of Masons employed at various dates at Beaumaris Castle.

Weekly Rates of Pay	Week ending '7 October, 1316		Week ending 20 February, 1316-17		Week ending 1 July, 1319		Week ending 16 March, 1320-21		Week ending 28 October, 1330	
	HEWERS	LAYERS	HEWERS	LAYERS	HEWERS	LAYERS	HEWERS	LAYERS	HEWERS	LAYERS
2s. 9d.	1									
2s. 7d.	1		1		1		1			
2s. 6d.	1								1	
2s. 5d.	8	2	6	1	3		3		1	
2s. 4d.		1	1			3		2	3	2
2s. 3d.		1								
2s. 2d.								1		
2s. 1d.		6		4						
2s. 0d.					1					1
20d.	1		1			1				
19d.								1		
18d.								1		1
15d.									1	
TOTAL	12	10	9	5	5	4	4	5	6	4
Average Weekly Rate of pay	28'8d.	26'3d.	28'1d.	25'8d.	28'4d.	26d.	29'5d.	23'8d.	28'3d.	24'5d.

Table showing number and rates of pay of Masons employed at various dates at Caernarvon Castle.

Weekly Rates of Pay	Week ending 18 October, 1304.		Week ending 17 October, 1316		Week ending 27 March, 1316-17		Week ending 15 July, 1319	
	HEWERS	LAYERS	HEWERS	LAYERS	HEWERS	LAYERS	HEWERS	LAYERS
4s. 0d.	1							
2s. 9d.			2		2		2	
2s. 6d.	2		4		6		4	
2s. 5d.	11		3		2		2	
2s. 4d.	7		1	2	1	3		
2s. 5d.			2					
2s. 2d.	3	3					1	
2s. 1d.		3		3		2		1
2s. 0d.	2	4		2		1		1
22d.	1			1				
21d.		1		1		1		1
20d.		2		1		1		
19d.	1	1						
18d.	1	2				1		1
17d.	1							
16d.		3		1				1
15d.					1	2		
14d.		1		1				
12d.		1						
8d.		2						
TOTAL	30	23	12	12	12	11	9	5
Average Weekly Rate of Pay.	27·6d.	19·8d.	29·6d.	22·7d.	28·9d.	22·5d.	30d.	20·5d.

In the case of layers (*cubitores*) all that can be said is that 2s. 1d. was the predominant rate at Beaumaris in October, 1316, and in February, 1316-17. In all other cases the rates are so scattered as to make it impossible to specify

predominant figures. The average rates of remuneration are indicated at the bottom of the tables. On the average, layers (*cubitores*) received from 3d. to 9d. per week less than hewers (*cementarii*).

We discussed in our paper on Vale Royal how the many different rates of wages for masons might be accounted for,¹ and it is not necessary to repeat the discussion here: our surmise there that there could not have been much, if any, difference in the rates of wages paid to dressers of stone on the one hand and setters and layers on the other, appears to be borne out to some extent by the facts at Beaumaris and Caernarvon. The higher-paid layers frequently received as much as, or in some cases even more than, the lower-paid hewers.

(iv.) *Changes in rates of wages.* The only general change, if any, which the Accounts suggest, is the rise of one penny a week in the predominant rate for skilled hewers between 1304 and 1316, from 2s. 4d. or 2s. 5d. to 2s. 5d. or 2s. 6d., as was shown in the previous section. In what concerns individuals, attention may be drawn to several cases:—

Master Henry de Ellerton, as Undermaster at Caernarvon in 1304 received 4s. 0d. per week; as Master at Caernarvon in 1316-17 and 1319, received 14s. per week.

Richard de Beche, *cementarius*, received 2s. 5d. per week at Caernarvon in 1319, 2s. 5d. at Beaumaris in 1320 and 2s. 6d. at Beaumaris in 1330.

William de Rosse, *cementarius*, received 2s. 4d. per week at Beaumaris in 1317, 2s. 5d. at Beaumaris in 1319 and 2s. 4d. at Beaumaris in 1330.

John de Cotyngwyk, *cementarius*, received 2s. 4d. per week at Caernarvon in 1317 and 2s. 5d. at Caernarvon in 1319.

Robert de Grene, *cubitor*, received 2s. 1d. per week at Caernarvon in 1317 and 1319, 2s. 3d. at Beaumaris in 1320 and 2s. 4d. at Beaumaris in 1330.

Adam de Conway, *cementarius*, received 20d. per week at Beaumaris in 1317 and 2s. 0d. at Beaumaris in 1319.

Nicholas de Felmyssam, *cubitor*, received 16d. per week at Beaumaris in 1317, 20d. at Beaumaris in 1319 and 21d. at Beaumaris in the spring of 1320.

Robert de Stoke, *cubitor*, received 14d. per week at Caernarvon in the autumn of 1316 and 15d. at Caernarvon in the spring of 1317.

John de Chedd [?worth], *cubitor*, received 16d. per week at Caernarvon in October, 1316, and 18d. at Caernarvon in April, 1317.

Henry de Elford, *cubitor*, received 2s. 1d. per week at Beaumaris in 1317 and 2s. 2d. at Beaumaris in 1320.

So far as we can tell, the general rates of pay did not increase whilst the particular hewers and layers mentioned above received the advances indicated, and we have no option, therefore, but to assume that the advances were due either to promotion to more responsible positions or to recognition of increasing experience and skill.

(v.) *Methods of paying wages.* As a general rule, hewers and layers were paid time rates, but occasionally they were employed at task or piece-rate. Reference has already been made to three Caernarvon hewers (*cementarii*), Robert de Walden, William de Hayforde and John de Walyngford, who for one week worked at task as *tagliatores* and prepared 7 score and 19 ft. of "coynes et asshele" at 3 ft. for 1d. Reference has also been made to the dozen Caernarvon

¹ A.Q.C. xlv., p. 22.

layers (*cubitores*) who worked at task as *batrarii* in the quarry of Aberpwl in January and February, 1316-17. In December, 1316, four or five Beaumaris layers (*cubitores*) were employed as *batrarii* at task, though the Account does not say where the work was done. In July, 1319, and at various dates from December, 1319, to July, 1320, there appears in the Beaumaris Accounts the name of Adam de Brestowe, worker at task, "on windows." His weekly earnings were as follows:—

Week ending	July	15th	1319	2s.	0d.
	Dec.	9th	1319		12d.
	Jan.	13th			15d.
	Mar.	2nd		2s.	0d.
	Mar.	16th			12d.
	Mar.	23rd			10d.
	Apr.	13th	1320	2s.	3d.
	June	8th			15d.
	June	15th			12d.
	June	22nd			10½d.
	June	29th			6d.
	July	6th			16½d.

For the five weeks from June 8th to July 6th, when he was paid each week, his total earnings charged to the Account were 5s. 0d., or 12d. per week on the average, a very low rate for a skilled hewer, which makes us surmise that he was in receipt of payments from other sources at the same time, though we have not been able to trace them.

In two cases, namely, those of the four or five layers (*cubitores*) at Beaumaris and the dozen layers (*cubitores*) at Caernarvon working as *batrarii*, the workers' time rates in previous and succeeding weeks are known, so that we can calculate what these piece-workers collectively would have earned, had they been employed at their usual time-rates, instead of working at task. In both cases the result is practically the same: the piece-rates appear to have been so calculated as to yield the time-rates:—

			Actual earnings as <i>batrarii</i> at task	Estimated earnings as <i>cubitores</i> ¹ at day rates
4 Beaumaris layers (<i>cubitores</i>)				
	Dec.	9th 1319	6s. 11d.	6s. 11½d.
5	Dec.	16th	8s. 10d.	8s. 10d.
4	Dec.	23rd	6s. 4½d.	7s. 0d.
			Actual earnings as <i>batrarii</i> at task	Estimated earnings as <i>cubitores</i> at day rates
11 Caernarvon layers (<i>cubitores</i>)				
	Jan.	9th 1316-17	17s. 10d.	17s. 10d.
12	Jan.	16th	20s. 4d.	19s. 9½d.
12	Jan.	23rd	19s. 9d.	19s. 9½d.
13	Jan.	30th	21s. 6d.	21s. 6½d.
13	Feb.	6th	25s. 8d.	25s. 3d.*
13	Feb.	13th	27s. 9d.	25s. 3d.*
12	Feb.	20th	24s. 6d.	23s. 2d.*
9	Feb.	27th	18s. 2d.	18s. 10d.*
4	Mar.	6th	8s. 1d.	8s. 1d.*
2	Mar.	20th	4s. 0d.	4s. 1d.*

* Summer rates.

¹ On the assumption that Felmyssam's December rate was 15d., which was the amount he received in January. In November he had 18d., corresponding to 20d. in October.

The extraordinary close correspondence between earnings at task and normal earnings at weekly wages suggests to us, as a strong possibility, a scheme by which only a definite amount of work was available each day or each week, an amount which, in the opinion of the Master or Overseer, could be completed without the quality suffering, at a task rate which would permit the layers (*cubitores*) to earn their normal weekly remuneration. If this was the case, the only advantage which the layers (*cubitores*) would gain from working at task would be that as soon as they had finished their task they could knock off work. Occasionally, if our suggestion is correct, the amount of work available permitted a slight addition to their earnings to be secured.

(vi.) *Comparison of rates with those paid elsewhere.* Having compared wage-rates at Vale Royal with those paid in London and elsewhere, it will suffice here to compare rates at Beaumaris and Caernarvon with those at Vale Royal. As the masons in the Vale Royal Account were not divided into hewers and layers, we have merged hewers and layers together at Beaumaris and at Caernarvon. For purposes of comparison we have taken October, 1280, at Vale Royal, October, 1304, and October, 1316, at Caernarvon, and October, 1316, at Beaumaris. Details are given in the table which follows, which may be summarized by saying that in 1304 the average wages of masons were slightly lower at Caernarvon than at Vale Royal in 1280, whilst in 1316 they were slightly higher, both at Caernarvon and Beaumaris, than at Vale Royal in 1280.

Our general conclusion is that the wage-rates received by skilled masons at Beaumaris and Caernarvon were as high as those received by similar craftsmen in London or any other part of the country.

Table showing numbers of masons employed at various rates.

Weekly wage in pence.	Vale Royal Oct., 1280.	Caernarvon Oct., 1304.	Caernarvon Oct., 1316.	Beaumaris Oct., 1316.
48	—	1	—	—
36	1	—	—	—
34	1	—	—	—
33	—	—	2	1
31	—	—	—	1
30	2	2	4	1
29	1	11	3	10
28	10	7	3	1
27	10	—	2	1
26	6	6	—	—
25	—	3	3	6
24	10	6	2	—
22	—	1	1	—
21	—	1	1	—
20	1	2	1	1
19	—	2	—	—
18	2	3	—	—
17	—	1	—	—
16	3	3	1	—
15	3	—	—	—
14	—	1	1	—
12	1	1	—	—
8	—	2	—	—
TOTAL	51	53	24	22
Average weekly wage:	24.8d.	22.6d.	26.1d.	27.7d.

CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT AMONGST MASONS.

In the first place we may consider each Account separately. As averaging hides the fact that some masons worked almost continuously, whilst others worked for short periods only, it is necessary to set out the details:—

Caernarvon, 30 weeks in 1316-17.¹

Hewers (<i>cementarii</i>).		Layers (<i>cubitores</i>).	
1 hewer(s) worked	30 weeks	5 layer(s) worked	29 weeks
2 —————	29 ———	4 —————	28 ———
2 —————	28 ———	1 —————	21 ———
1 —————	27 ———	1 —————	15 ———
1 —————	25 ———	1 —————	14 ———
1 —————	24 ———	1 —————	13 ———
2 —————	23 ———	1 —————	7 ———
1 —————	19 ———	1 —————	5 ———
1 —————	16 ———	1 —————	4 ———
1 —————	14 ———	1 —————	3 ———
1 —————	10 ———	1 —————	2 ———
1 —————	8 ———	3 —————	1 ———
1 —————	6 ———	—	—
1 —————	5 ———	21 layers worked	16.4 weeks
2 —————	2 ———	on the average out of a	
2 —————	1 ———	possible 30.	
21 hewers worked	16.7 weeks		
on the average out of a			
possible 30.			

Beaumaris, 24 weeks in 1316-17.

Hewers (<i>cementarii</i>).		Layers (<i>cubitores</i>).	
1 hewer(s) worked	24 weeks	3 layer(s) worked	21 weeks
4 —————	23 ———	1 —————	18 ———
3 —————	22 ———	1 —————	15 ———
1 —————	15 ———	1 —————	7 ———
1 —————	13 ———	2 —————	3 ———
2 —————	12 ———	3 —————	2 ———
1 —————	8 ———	7 —————	1 ———
1 —————	4 ———	—	—
3 —————	2 ———	18 ² layers worked	8.8 weeks
1 —————	1 ———	on the average out of a	
18 hewers worked	14.1 weeks	possible 24.	
on the average out of a			
possible 24.			

¹ Work on the Castle and work on the Quay have been treated as one and merged for the purpose of this table.

² This is two fewer than the number given in the footnote to the table of average number of workmen at Beaumaris given previously, because (a) John de Lenton's weeks as layer have been added to his weeks as hewer, which has been deemed to be his occupation for the purpose of this table, and (b) de Leye only worked in April, 1317, which month is excluded from this table though included in the previous one.

Beaumaris, 50 weeks in 1319-20.

Hewers (<i>cementarii</i>).		Layers (<i>cubitores</i>).	
2 hewer(s) worked	45 weeks	1 layer(s) worked	48 weeks
1 _____	43 _____	1 _____	42 _____
1 _____	42 _____	1 _____	36 _____
1 _____	35 _____	1 _____	17 _____
1 _____	12 _____	3 _____	16 _____
1 _____	4 _____	1 _____	15 _____
2 _____	1 _____	1 _____	8 _____
<hr/>		<hr/>	
9 hewers worked	25.3 weeks	9 ¹ layers worked	23.7 weeks
on the average out of a possible 50		on the average out of a possible 50.	

Beaumaris, 13 weeks in 1330.

Hewers (<i>cementarii</i>).		Layers (<i>cubitores</i>).	
2 hewers worked	13 weeks	2 layers worked	13 weeks
2 _____	11 _____	2 _____	10 _____
2 _____	10 _____	3 _____	3 _____
<hr/>		<hr/>	
6 hewers worked	11.3 weeks	7 layers worked	7.9 weeks
on the average out of a possible 13.		on the average out of a possible 13.	

The detailed sets of figures show that there was a substantial nucleus of masons, more especially of hewers, who remained more or less continuously in employment on a particular job. As there were several royal castles under construction or repair in North Wales at this period, there is always a possibility that some of the men working for a few weeks only on one particular job, were in fact transferred to another royal job, and may therefore have been in royal employment all the time. This problem of transference between royal castles, so far as Beaumaris and Caernarvon in 1316-17 were concerned, will be discussed shortly in connection with the problem of mobility of labour.

The fact that we have detailed Accounts for Beaumaris at four periods and for Caernarvon at two periods, makes it possible to endeavour to trace continuity of employment over longer periods, though the mere fact that A.B. worked at Beaumaris in 1317 and 1320, for example, is no proof that he worked there continuously. It is not improbable that each Account we have for Beaumaris represents a period of building activity, and that there may have been few, if any, workmen employed there at intervening dates. The recurrence of the same name at different dates should be regarded, therefore, rather as a possible indication of continuity of employment in the royal service than as a probable indication of continuity of employment at a particular castle.

A further caution, however, is necessary. The A.B. of 1317 may not be the same as the A.B. of 1320. In no single case, of course, can we definitely prove identity. For example, the Henry of Carwardin who received 2s. 9d. a week at Caernarvon in October, 1316, may not be the same as the Henry of Carwardin who received 2s. 9d. a week at Caernarvon in April, 1317, but the fact that this particular name occurs in the Account every week between those dates and always at the summer rate of 2s. 9d., or the corresponding winter rate of 2s. 3½d., makes it highly probable that there was only one Henry of

¹ This is one fewer than the number given in the footnote just referred to, because John de Stennton's service as layer has been added to his service as hewer, which has been deemed to be his occupation for the purpose of this table.

Carwardin.¹ On the other hand, where a particular name occurs only from time to time in different Accounts and at different rates, the chances are that more than one man is in question. For example, a William Browne worked as a *cubitor* at Caernarvon Quay for one week at the commencement of November, 1316, and received 16d. Judging by the Caernarvon Castle Account, this particular week was a short week owing to All Souls Day occurring in it, and we may assume that Browne would have received 20d. for a full week in November. The corresponding summer rate would have been 2s. 0d. The next mention of a William Broun, *cubitor*, is at Caernarvon Castle in July, 1319. In the broken week ending July 8th he received 12½d., and in the full week ending July 15th he received 2s. 0d. In August and September, 1320, a William Browne, *cubitor*, was in receipt of 2s. 0d. a week at Beaumaris. Finally, in the autumn of 1330 a William Brown was working at Beaumaris as *cementarius* at 15d. a week. Whilst it is quite likely that the William Brown (however spelt) who worked at Caernarvon Quay in 1317, at Caernarvon Castle in 1319, and at Beaumaris Castle in 1320, was one and the same man, we think it highly improbable that the William Brown who was *cementarius* at Beaumaris in 1330 was the same. We should be more disposed to think that William Brown, the *cubitor* of 1317, 1319 and 1320, had succeeded in placing his son in the higher section of the craft where he was working at Beaumaris in 1330 as learner *cementarius*, or possibly apprentice *cementarius*, at a wage of 15d. a week, or approximately half the rate received by a well-qualified *cementarius*.²

Bearing these considerations in mind, the following statements may be ventured upon with regard to Beaumaris:—

Of the 7 *cementarii* working in July, 1319, 4 were employed there in 1316-17.

Of the 9 *cementarii* working in 1319-20, 5 were employed there in 1316-17 and 3 in July, 1319.

Of the 4 *cubitores* working in July, 1319, 1 was employed there in 1316-17.

Of the 10 *cubitores* working in 1319-20, 4 were employed there in 1316-17 and 1 in July, 1319.

At Caernarvon, where building operations were being conducted continuously between 1316 and 1319, continuity of employment was not unnaturally greater:—

Of the 10 *cementarii* working in July, 1319, 7 were employed there in 1316-17.

Of the 9 *cubitores* working in July, 1319, 8 were employed there in 1316-17.³

The case of continuity over long periods at one particular castle cannot be isolated from cases of continuous periods of employment dovetailed together at two castles and occasionally from cases of different occupations dovetailed together

¹ Whether this Henry de Carwardin of the Caernarvon Account of 1316-17 is the same as the Henry de Kerwardyn, vallet of Master Walter of Hereford, Mason, who handed over certain picks, axes, etc., to Richard of Wardington, at Edinburgh Castle in March, 32 Ed. I. [1303-4] (*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Vol. II., 1272-1307, p. 399) and received tools from him in May, 1304, it is impossible to say, but we think it not improbable, in view of Walter of Hereford's association with both Castles.

² The carpenter's apprentice at Conway Castle, in 1304, to whom reference is made later, received half the carpenter's rate of pay.

³ Of the eight, six worked in 1316-17 as *cubitores*, and two as quarriers, a matter to which fuller reference will be made shortly.

at one or both castles. These wider problems of transference or mobility may now be considered.

MOBILITY OF LABOUR AMONGST MASONS.

(a) *Masons employed in the same occupation at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in the same year.*

We find three examples of this kind of dovetailing:—

Richard de Christchurch

cementarius at Caernarvon at 2s. 9d. per week for the week ending Oct. 10th, 1316.

cementarius at Beaumaris at 2s. 9d. per week from Oct. 11th to Jan. 16th, 1316-17.

John Grene

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 4d. per week for week ending Oct. 17th, 1316.

cubitor at Caernarvon at 2s. 4d. per week from Nov. 15th to Mar. 6th, 1316-17.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 4d. per week for week ending Mar. 13th, 1316-17.

Richard Franceys¹

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 1d. per week (21d. winter rate) from Oct. 18th to Nov. 21st, 1316.

cubitor at Caernarvon at a winter rate of 17½d. per week (corresponding to 21d. summer rate) from Nov. 22nd to Dec. 12th, 1316.

(b) *Masons employed in the same occupation at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in different years.*

There are several examples of this kind of dovetailing. The case of William Brown, who worked as a *cubitor* at Caernarvon in 1316 and 1319 and at Beaumaris in 1320, has already been referred to. Other examples may now be quoted:—

Ran. de Chesterton

cementarius at Caernarvon at 2s. 6d. per week
for 23 weeks in 1316-17.
for 3 weeks in July 1319.

cementarius at Beaumaris at 2s. 6d. per week
for 1 week in 1320.

Ric. de Beche

cementarius at Caernarvon at 2s. 5d. per week
for 3 weeks in July, 1319.

cementarius at Beaumaris at 2s. 5d. per week
for 45 weeks in 1319-20.

Walter de Carlton

cubitor at Caernarvon at 2s. 4d. per week
for 29 weeks in 1316-17.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 4d. per week
for 36 weeks in 1319-20.

¹ In view of the decline in the rate paid, we feel a little doubtful about whether it was the same man at Beaumaris and Caernarvon; the fact, however, that the dates dovetail perfectly together inclines us to the view that we are concerned with one man.

John de Ingham

cubitor at Caernarvon at 2s. 1d. per week
for 28 weeks in 1316-17.
for 2 weeks in 1319.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 0d. per week
for 3 weeks in 1320.

Roger de Neth

cubitor at Caernarvon at 2s. 4d. per week
for 28 weeks in 1316-17.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 4d. per week
for 16 weeks in 1319-20.

Rob. del Grene

cubitor at Caernarvon at 2s. 1d. per week
for 29 weeks in 1316-17.
for 2 weeks in July, 1319.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 3d. per week
for 16 weeks in 1319-20.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 4d. per week
for 10 weeks in 1330.

(c) *Masons employed in different occupations at one or both castles in the same or in different years.*

The first four examples appear to bear out our previous suggestion that the distinction between hewers and layers was not very hard and fast.¹ In two of the cases, the man in question worked for one week as layer (*cubitor*) as if by way of trial, before being given a job as hewer (*cementarius*). In the third case, a hewer of long standing was ranked as layer for a period, and was then once more grouped with the hewers. In the last case, a man worked twelve weeks as layer and then twelve weeks as hewer:—

Robert de Waldene

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 1d. per week
for the week ending Oct. 17th, 1316.

cementarius at Caernarvon at 21d. per week
(corresponding to a summer rate of 2s. 1d.)
from about October 20th to December 12th, 1316.

In this particular case, either the winter rate was paid in October, or both the October weeks were broken weeks. The fact that William Hayford, another *cementarius* working on the Quay, normally in receipt of 2s. 3d., also received 21d. in the week ending October 31st, whilst two other *cementarii* received summer rates, inclines us to the view that the last week in October was a broken week for Waldene. For the week ending October 24th, when he received only 12d., we feel no doubt that this was a broken week. He left Caernarvon in December, 1316, but reappears there as a *cementarius* in April, 1317, for a couple of weeks. In the first of these weeks he worked at task, for the second he received 22d. Again, on the strength of Hayford's experience in this particular week, we are inclined to regard it as a broken week for Waldene and not as a reduction in his rate of pay.

John de Ramesbury

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 0d. per week
for the week ending Feb. 27th, 1316-17.

cementarius at Beaumaris at 2s. 4d. per week
from Feb. 28th to May 1st, 1316-17.

¹ A.Q.C. xlv., p. 22.

John de Stenton

cementarius at Beaumaris at 2s. 5d. per week
for 27 weeks in 1316-17.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 5d. per week
for 7 weeks ending Nov. 25th, 1319.

cementarius at Beaumaris at 2s. 5d. per week
for 38 weeks commencing Nov. 26th, 1319.

John de Lenton

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 5d. per week
for 12 weeks ending Jan. 9th, 1316-17.

cementarius at Beaumaris at 2s. 5d. per week
for 12 weeks commencing Jan. 10th, 1316-17.

The next three examples show the connection between quarrier and *cubitor*; in two of these cases there appears to be a direct promotion, in one an interchange between the two occupations:—

Galfrid de Carlel

quarrier at Caernarvon at 16d. per week
for 28 weeks in 1316-17.

cubitor at Caernarvon at 18d. per week
for 3 weeks in July, 1319.

Madoc ap Jor [werth]

quarrier at Caernarvon at 10d. per week
for 5 weeks in 1316-17.

cubitor at Caernarvon at 16d. per week
for 3 weeks in July, 1319.

Henry de Elleford

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 1d. per week
for 20 weeks in 1316-17.

quarrier at Beaumaris at 2s. 2d. per week
for 3 weeks in July, 1319.
for 5 weeks ending Nov. 25th, 1319.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 2s. 2d. per week
for 17 weeks commencing Nov. 26th, 1319.

Our last two examples show three changes of occupation in each case, the one from "bayardor" to *cubitor* by way of quarrier, the other from "portehache" to *cubitor* by way of *falconarius*:—

Nich. de Felmsm (or Felmyssam)

"bayardor" at Caernarvon at 12d. per week
from Oct. 4th—Nov. 14th, 1316.

quarrier at Beaumaris at 16d. per week
from Nov. 22nd to Feb. 20th, 1316-17.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 16d. per week
from Feb. 21st to April 17th, 1316-17.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 20d. per week.
from June 25th to July 15th, 1319.

cubitor at Beaumaris, first at 20d., and then at 21d. per week
for 48 weeks in 1319-20.

Adam le Bedel

"portehache" at Beaumaris at 7d. per week
in November and December, 1316.

falkonarius at Beaumaris at 9d. per week
for week ending June 8th, 1320.

cubitor at Beaumaris at 12d. per week
from June 9th to Sept. 28th, 1320.

In the Accounts for Beaumaris in 1316-17, July 1319, 1319-20 and 1330, and in the Accounts for Caernarvon in 1316-17 and 1319, we have the names of 51 layers (*cubitores*) and 49 hewers (*cementarii*), or 47 excluding two Master Masons. Of the 51 layers (*cubitores*) we know that at least three rose from being quarriers, viz., Nich. de Felmyssam, Galfr. de Carlel and Madoc ap Jor', and that a fourth, viz., Henry de Elleford, worked for two periods as a quarrier, although he worked as a layer (*cubitor*) both previously and subsequently. Of the 47 hewers (*cementarii*), we know that at least four, viz., Rob. de Waldene, John de Ramesbury, John de Stenton and John de Lenton, worked for one or more weeks as layers (*cubitores*).

This definite evidence of progression from quarrying to laying and from laying to hewing, tends to bear out a working hypothesis which we formulated whilst we were studying the Vale Royal Building Account, but which we did not venture to advance in our Vale Royal paper for want of confirmatory evidence. We noted that several of the masons bore the names of places where building stones were quarried, e.g., Hereford, Leckhampton, Mount Sorrel, Norton (near Yeovil), Shipton (? Shepton Mallet) and Stoke.¹ Here at Beaumaris and Caernarvon the names Hereford, Norton and Stoke again occur amongst the masons, and incidentally also amongst the quarriers, and in addition we have the names of more quarrying districts amongst the masons in the names of Ross, Dorset (i.e., Purbeck), Luston, Hope (i.e., Hope Bowdler), Denbigh and Stennton (Stanton). One other indication of the connection between quarrier and mason occurs in the early fourteenth century account relating to the building of Llywelyn's Hall in Conway Castle, where John de Canterbury, quarrier, works with the masons on one occasion.²

From some quarries, stone had to be transported considerable distances to the sites of building operations, and it is certain that in many cases the stones were roughly shaped at the quarries so as to reduce the cost and the labour of carriage. The Westminster Abbey Building Account for 1253 showed that a considerable amount of prepared stone arrived at Westminster by water from the quarries.³ The Accounts with which we are here concerned provide examples of *cementarii* working in the quarry as *tagliatores* preparing "coynes et asshekar"; of *cubitores* working in the quarry as *batrarii*, and of a quarrier digging and breaking stone, each stone in length 2 feet, height 1 ft., breadth 1½ feet, at a price of 15/- per 100. The difference between a *cubitor*, or layer, working as a *batrarius*, or rough-mason, engaged in "scappling" or rough-hewing stone, and a quarrier "breaking" stone, each stone in length 2 ft., height 1 ft., breadth 1½ ft., would not seem to have been very great, and we feel that the transformation of a skilled quarrier into a rough-mason cannot have been uncommon in the days before guilds (if they ever existed in country districts) with their definite ideas of industrial demarcation, were strongly developed. We suggest, therefore, that one way of becoming a rough-mason or setter was by having acquired experience of working stone in a quarry, both with an axe and with a hammer, two tools with which the rough-mason prepared ashlar.

Although there was no doubt a very clear distinction between preparing straight moulded work or ordinary square ashlar with a chisel on the one hand,

¹ John Watson, *British and Foreign Building Stones*, Cambridge, 1911.

² *Arch. Camb.*, New Series, Vol. V., 1854, p. 7.

³ G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, 2nd Ed., pp. 239 *folg.*

and rough-hewing stone with an axe or hatchet, or with a scappling hammer on the other, yet the skilled hewer must have been well acquainted with the use of the axe and the scappling hammer, two tools required in the preparatory stages of his work. He must also have been skilled in setting or laying, as the more elaborate the tracery or the arch moulds he cut, the more essential the correct setting of the separate stones would be. It is highly probable, therefore, that he would not merely closely supervise the setting, but would do the work himself when necessary. We suggest, therefore, that the hewers were recruited, to some extent at least, from amongst the ranks of the more skilled rough-masons or setters. The very slight difference, if any, in the wages paid to leading layers on the one hand and to skilled hewers on the other, helps to support this suggestion. The fact, however, that some hewers were receiving considerably lower wages than many of the setters makes it highly probable that there was at least one other method of recruiting hewers, which fits in with our tentative suggestion of a system of learnership which we advanced at the end of our Vale Royal paper.

Reference has already been made to the places of origin of some of the masons at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in connection with the suggestion that some masons were recruited from quarrying areas. Others bear names which suggest churches or abbeys, for example, Christchurch (? Canterbury), York, Salisbury, Ellerton, Carlisle, Boston, Neath, Hereford (alternatively a quarry area), C——sand (? Cockersand), and possibly Vaureal (? Vale Royal). Some of the names can clearly be associated with castles, for example, Conway, Rothelan (= Rhuddlan), Eccleshall, Northampton, and perhaps Wynde (? sor). Taking the masons as a whole, hewers and setters, whose names are enumerated in the Accounts, we are disposed to the view that not more than 5 to 10 per cent. were of Welsh origin. As to how masons from England came to be working in such distant places as Beaumaris and Caernarvon, there can be little question that the explanation lies in the method of impressment adopted. In this instance, it was not a case of issuing a patent to the master of the works or the clerk of the works authorising them to "press" men, but of orders issued to sheriffs of English counties to send batches of craftsmen to Wales. Thus on May 25th. 1282, an order was issued to the Sheriff of Gloucester "immediately upon sight of these letters, and laying aside all other matters," to choose 15 good masons, to be conducted to Bristol, with their tools on the morrow of midsummer next—ready to set out to Llanbadarn; to have their wages from the day of commencing their journey. A like order was sent to the Sheriff of Somerset to impress 15 masons.¹ In 1283 there is an allowance to the Sheriff of Shropshire for the expenses of 40 carpenters sent to Caernarvon.² The Sheriff of Nottingham sent an equal number of workmen to Caernarvon that year,³ whilst in the previous year the Sheriff of Rutland sent 20 masons and their foreman to Conway.⁴ On June 11th, 1295, we find an order to the Justice of Chester to cause to be chosen in the town of Chester and other parts of his bailiwick 100 masons experienced in such work as the king has in hand at Caernarvon, to be sent with their tools to Caernarvon and to have their expenses from Chester to Caernarvon.⁵ In the same year there was issued a mandate to cause to be taken by letters of great seal or otherwise, 6 good master smiths, each with 5 or 6 good yeomen, in the counties of Chester or Stafford, so that there shall be 30 or 40 in all, and to send them to Caernarvon to Master Walter of Hereford, Keeper of the Works there.⁶

In an Appendix to this paper we set out the names of all masons which occur in the different Accounts, together with their standard rates of pay and the number of weeks they were employed in respect of each Account, so that any

¹ *Cal. Welsh Rolls, 1277-1294* (In *Chancery Rolls, Various, 1277-1326*). p. 250.

² *Liberate Roll, 12 Edw. I., m. 1*, quoted by Hartshorne.

³ *Liberate Roll, 12 Edw. I., m. 4*, quoted by Hartshorne.

⁴ *Liberate Roll, 11 Edw. I., m. 2*, quoted by Hartshorne.

⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1288-96*, p. 413.

⁶ *Cal. Chancery Warrants*, p. 63.

reader who chooses can examine problems of continuity of employment and mobility of labour for himself. In the Caernarvon Account of 1304 there are unfortunately no names except those of the Master, Walter de Hereford, and the Undermaster, Henry de Ellerton. The Account relating to the re-erection of Llywelyn's Hall in Conway Castle from 1302 to 1306,¹ contains the names of a dozen masons, none of whom appear in the detailed Beaumaris or Caernarvon Accounts which we have had under review. We give them in a footnote, together with their rates of pay. Of the thirteen mentioned in the Account, one is certainly Welsh and probably two are; the rest are probably English.²

MASONS' CUSTOMS.

There is very little that can be added to what has already been discussed in the earlier parts of this paper. So far as tools were concerned, the smiths certainly made tools for the masons, the cost of which was charged to the building fund: on the other hand, the orders to the Sheriff of Gloucester and the Justice of Chester instructed them to send masons and their tools to Wales. There is nothing in the Accounts to show that where masons arrived with their tools, these tools were bought, as was the custom at Vale Royal³; but it must not be overlooked that during the relatively late periods of construction with which we are here concerned, there may have been no new arrivals of masons with their tools from England.

With regard to lodges, the reference to the lodge at Caernarvon tells us nothing about the purpose for which the lodge was used; at Beaumaris, wood was purchased for the repair of a tumbledown house "in which the masons ought to work."

There are several cases of masons who figure only for a single week in the Accounts, but if such names occur at the beginning or at the end of an Account we cannot feel sure that they were not at work on the job in question immediately before the particular Account begins, or immediately after the particular Account ends. Eliminating those cases as well as others where we know that the masons in question were transferred to the other castle, there remain five cases in 1316-17 where masons worked for a very short period, which may be accounted for either by their being given a few days work to provide them with the means of travelling further afield,⁴ or by their being tested for a week before being definitely engaged (and presumably being found wanting), as required by the Masons' Regulations at York Minster.⁵

Caernarvon Accounts, 1316-17.

Peter de Her'ford, *cementarius*, appears once earning 10d. in the week ending Jan. 30th.

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, New Series, Vol. V., 1854.

² Randolph de Golston, *cementarius*, 4d. a day
 (3d. in winter)
 Edward Cementarius 2d. per day
 Hugo de Derby 2s. 2d. per week
 Hugo Gernous 2s. 3d.
 Thomas de Stafford 2s. 3d.
 Robert de Chester 20d.
 John de Bangor 2s. 0d.
 Peter de Lincoln 2d. per day
 Ithel de Bangor 2s. 0d. per week
 Elia de Burton 2s. 5d.
 Robert de Elstowe 2s. 5d.
 Richard de Bedford 2s. 5d.
 William de Walton 2s. 3d.

³ See *A.Q.C.* xliv., p. 30. The custom in this matter in the sixteenth century is perhaps to be gathered from an item in the building account of Sir Wm. More, of Loseley in Surrey:—"To the smythe making of all the masons' tools that servyd me by the yere." (*Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., pt. II., p. 303.)

⁴ Cf. *A.Q.C.* xlii., p. 270.

⁵ York Fabric Roll (Surtees Society), p. 182.

John de Walyngford, *cementarius*, appears twice, on task work in the week ending April 10th and in receipt of 22d. in the week ending April 17th.

John de Hope, *cubitor*, appears once, being employed at task in the week ending Mar. 13th.

Richard de Stoke, *cubitor*, appears once, being employed at task in the week ending Mar. 20th.

Beaumaris Account, 1316-17.

Nich. de Ront^h, *cubitor*, appears once, earning 21d. in the week ending Jan. 30th.

Unlike certain masons at Vale Royal, no mason at Beaumaris or Caernarvon can be traced as having supplemented his income by carting stone, but in the Caernarvon Account for 1316-17, under "land carriage," for the week ending February 20th, there appears the following entry:—

Cart of Henry de Carward[in] hired,	3s. 0d.
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We surmise that this was Henry de Carwardin, *cementarius*, one of the two masons then working at Caernarvon at 2s. 9d. per week. In the Caernarvon Account of 1304, the name of Philip the Carpenter, "hire of cart and two horses," appears under "land carriage" on October 4th, whilst under the same heading on November 1st his name appears again and also those of Richard the Carpenter and Elye the Smith. At Beaumaris for the weeks ending November 25th, December 2nd and December 16th, 1330, we find under the heading "carting," Adam de Laurence, keeper of the king's barge, receiving 17d. or 18d. In view of the fact that transport at Beaumaris and Caernarvon was a much more specialised business than at Vale Royal, as was pointed out in an earlier section of this paper, it was not to be expected that many craftsmen would be found supplementing their incomes by carting, but there appear to be sufficient entries in the Accounts to show that the practice was not entirely unknown.

With regard to masons working in the quarries, though the system was far from common, it appears to have occurred rather more frequently at Beaumaris and Caernarvon, than it did at Vale Royal.

The Beaumaris and Caernarvon Building Accounts which we have examined throw no light whatever on the subject of apprenticeship, though the contemporary account relating to the building of Llywelyn's Hall in Conway Castle in 1302-6 mentions amongst the carpenters "Richard le prentiz" who appeared to be in receipt of half the money wages paid to a qualified carpenter. On another occasion we find:

Robert, carpenter, 3 weeks	6s. 0d.
His son, carpenter, 3 weeks	3s. 0d.

and it seems not improbable that this son was "Richard le prentiz," who was very likely apprenticed to his father.¹ This odd reference to apprenticeship is interesting as showing, firstly, that apprenticeship was not unknown in one section of the building trade as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, and, secondly, that the apprentice was listed separately in the wage-sheets and not jointly with his master, as was usually the case at Adderbury in the early fifteenth century.²

The fact that there is no reference to apprenticeship at the much larger operations at Beaumaris and Caernarvon confirms the feeling which a similar silence in the Vale Royal Building Account caused us to express, namely, that it is difficult to believe that there was any properly developed system of apprenticeship amongst masons at this early period. The position in London at this period supports this view. The *Chamberlain's Register for 1309-12* is preserved and

¹ Arch. Cam., New Series, Vol. V., 1854, pp. 6 and 7.

² *Adderbury Rectoria* (Oxfordshire Record Society), 1926, p. 13.

shows that 909 persons were admitted to freedom in this period, but that only 253 of these admittances were by apprenticeship,¹ the others being by redemption. Of these 909, three were masons, but none of them was admitted by apprenticeship.² Further, during the same period there were 294 enrolments of apprentices' indentures,¹ but not one of these apprentices was bound to a mason.²

In our Vale Royal paper we studied the economic conditions prevailing in the early stages of the erection of a large ecclesiastical building in the last quarter of the thirteenth century; in this paper we have studied the economic conditions prevailing in the first quarter of the fourteenth century in the closing stages of the erection of one large castle and one very large castle. Each was a royal undertaking, and both at Vale Royal and at Caernarvon Master Walter de Hereford was at one time Master of the Works. Our general conclusion is that the two studies reveal no very striking differences in conditions. The scale on which operations were conducted at Vale Royal and at Caernarvon was very similar; the same system of obtaining stone by working their own quarries prevailed in each case; smithies were to be found at Vale Royal, Beaumaris and Caernarvon, and likewise masons' lodges. Whereas at Vale Royal the general labourers were primarily concerned with digging, at Beaumaris and Caernarvon they were primarily concerned with carrying, but that would readily be accounted for by the entirely different stages of the building operations in Cheshire on the one hand and in North Wales on the other. In what concerns masons' wages, a system of reduced winter rates in November, December and January prevailed at each place; very similar feast days and holidays were observed; the great variety of rates of pay which characterised Vale Royal was also to be found at Beaumaris and Caernarvon. Just as there were increases in the rates of pay of particular individuals at Vale Royal, so can similar increases be traced at Beaumaris and Caernarvon. Finally, the methods of paying wages and the rates of pay were very similar at each place. So far as continuity of employment and mobility of labour were concerned, no very marked differences appear to have existed. At each centre there were indications that some masons originated from quarrying areas and that others were drawn from places with which cathedrals or abbeys were associated. On the other hand, at Beaumaris and Caernarvon a few of the masons bear names associated with castles. At Beaumaris and Caernarvon, as at Vale Royal, not more than 5 or 10 per cent. of the masons appear to have been of local origin.

Whether the same striking similarity of conditions would have been revealed had one of the building operations been a private undertaking, instead of all being royal undertakings, it is impossible to say. The only method of even attempting a satisfactory answer to the question would be to study the detailed building accounts of one or two fairly substantial contemporary buildings erected by an ecclesiastical body, by a municipality or by a private individual or corporate body. Unfortunately, we have not been able to find such a Building Account for the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; consequently, for the time being, we can regard the economic conditions which we have described at Vale Royal, Beaumaris and Caernarvon, as applicable only to royal building operations, though it must not be overlooked that the Crown was probably the biggest builder in that period. The records we have been studying may be compared to the ruins of a castle in that they are isolated representatives of a great pile of similar documents now perished; regarded as such, they, like the perdurable towers and battlements of Caernarvon, point to a combination of operative skill and administrative efficiency as remarkable as any in mediæval history.

¹ A. H. Thomas, *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London*, p. xxxii.

² Information kindly supplied by Mr. A. H. Thomas, Deputy Keeper of the City Records.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. Geo. Elkington: Comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. H. Poole, W. W. Covey-Crump, Geo. W. Bullamore, H. G. Gold, J. L. E. Hoopell, and Lionel Vibert.

Bro. Rev. H. POOLE said:—

I propose to be somewhat critical in one respect; before I take this line, may I first say how much I consider we owe to Bro. Knoop for his careful analysis of what I imagine must be very tiresome material, and for the very exhaustive way in which he has summarised his results. Nothing but good can come from the placing on record of such work.

I suppose it would not be unfair to say that on no single point has Bro. Knoop been able to establish a positive conclusion; but it is only on the cumulative evidence of patient research work such as this that positive conclusions can be based, and Bro. Knoop has laid good foundations and set a fine example in the two papers which he has given us. It is much to be hoped that before long he may have the opportunity of analysing the building accounts of some enterprise which was not under Royal authority. A number of differences in practice may very probably have existed when some private person or body was the employer: the employment of apprentices may well have been on a different footing, and probably very different conditions as to continuity of employment prevailed. Above all, I think we want information as to the extent to which Masons travelled in groups: all the evidence of such accounts as these tends to suggest that the Mason was dealt with simply as an individual.

My criticism is that, in my opinion, Bro. Knoop has related these accounts too little to the buildings themselves. I can see no evidence in this paper that he has ever seen either of the Castles with which he deals; and I have a strong feeling that a careful scrutiny of the fabric might add considerably to our understanding of the accounts.

For example, I would venture to draw a totally different conclusion as to the rise of about 1d. per week in the Hewers' pay at Caernarvon between 1304 and 1316. Although there were more than twice as many Masons of both classes at the earlier date than at the later, yet there is little evidence of any big building operation at the Castle, of which the southern portion was completed (more or less) soon after 1300, while the north side seems not to have been commenced until 1316. It seems to me extremely probable that the bulk of the work done in the earlier period must have been on the town wall. This was some 800 yards in circuit, about half the height of the Castle walls, and in places more than half as thick. There was therefore a great quantity of comparatively simple work to be done; and accordingly a number of both classes of Masons were taken on at rates considerably below those prevailing at the later date; while the work was left in charge of the Under-Master at 4s. a week. By the way, the difference in the average rate of pay is nearer 2d. than 1d. if Henry de Ellerton's 4s. is excluded from the sum, as I think it should be. If we now turn to the later period of building, we find the north wall of the Castle in progress—in some respects the most elaborate part of the whole. There is not anywhere the same complexity of detail as is to be found in the Eagle Tower; but the main gateway is an altogether more ambitious piece of work; while the very intricate system of triple loopholes in the eastern part of the work must have required experienced craftsmen.

I cannot think that Bro. Knoop is right in his suggestion that Henry de Ellerton was in any sense the 'architect' of the Eagle Tower: there can have been very little fresh building to do then—it was damaged in the raid of 1294,

and the foundations suffered from the sea in the early fourteenth century; but it must have been substantially as we have it in 1291. But this brings me to two sources of information which may be available in the fabric itself. The first is the Mason's Mark. I have a recollection that marks appear in parts of the Castle or town wall, but my memory may be at fault. But if any are to be found, it might be possible to settle the point as to what work, besides the north wall and King's Gate, was carried out in 1316-9. The other source of information which may be available is the nature of the stone used. Bro. Knoop has done a very useful service in tracing the quarries used: I am inclined to think that still more might be done by an examination of the stonework. But I must admit that this would throw more light on the history of the building than on that of Operative Masonry, and Bro. Knoop may very well refuse to regard this as a legitimate part of the task which he has set himself.

The rates of pay at Beaumaris are very similar to those of the second period at Caernarvon; and the work done must have been of a similar character. To this period, besides minor additions and repairs to the Castle proper, belongs the building of the outer curtain, with its turrets and loopholes, and with one distinctly elaborate gatehouse. It is interesting to observe that the size of the stones used was considerably larger here than at Caernarvon; and I think that there can be little doubt that the stones hewn by Walter de Kenck at 15s. a hundred in 1319 must have been for the outer curtain at Beaumaris.

Bro. Knoop has put on record some interesting cases of change of employment, such as I believe have not been noticed elsewhere. The whole series certainly seems to point to a system of promotion; and doubtless in emergency any man was capable of doing a job inferior in status to his own. But we are dealing with 'pressed' men, and, here again, we have no means of knowing whether the conditions were normal. It is particularly interesting to see that the Mason usually lost no pay even though employed in an inferior capacity.

Lastly, we must be grateful to Bro. Knoop for what is practically a new addition to our vocabulary, in the word 'cubitor.' I cannot help thinking that perhaps it represents an attempt to coin a Latin equivalent for 'layer,' and may be the later of the two.

BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

I have been greatly interested in this early account of building, but the facts as explained do not fit my conception of the early builders. I therefore suggest interpretations that will adapt the matter to my own hypothesis, in preference to altering the hypothesis itself. The relationship of the various classes of workmen I believe to have been as follows. The quarriers dug and broke the stone for the *cubitores*, who were not layers but bedders. (Latin *cubitus*, a bed.) The bed or bedding of a stone was the upper and lower surfaces, and the bedder prepared the surfaces of the stones which came into contact with the mortar. The bedding was so worked that the stone, when finally fitted into its place in the building, was in the same position with regard to its upper and lower surfaces as it had occupied in the quarry before being dug. The stones when bedded were ready for the builders' use and were transported to the works by the boatmen and carters. They were next distributed to the *cementarii*, the setters and layers at work on the walls. This may have been the duty of the *bayardours* under the supervision of a *cementarius*. The setters and layers were two distinct grades of *cementarii*, and as at least two men were required to put a stone in place, I imagine that the layer worked on the inside of the wall and attended to the spreading of the mortar, while the setter, on the outside, attended to the perfect alignment of the stone, making the more delicate adjustments with blows of the setting maul. A bricklayer of the present day, when setting a brick,

usually taps it with the handle of the trowel. It may be noted that to set a plank in shipbuilding is to adjust it perfectly to another plank.

Although the word *hotte* is extinct, its derivative "*hod*" still survives as the wooden tray which rests on the shoulder and is used for carrying mortar up a ladder. It is possible, therefore, that the *hottarii* were *hod*-carriers whose duty it was to keep the layers supplied with mortar.

As the work progressed, it would be necessary to go over the front of the wall to fill in the joints with mortar as a finish. The layer would hold the trowel in the one hand while the other supported the hawk, a mortar board ten inches or a foot square. He would support this for hours at a stretch, and it would be constantly replenished with mortar by his hawk or hawkboy, and I think it probable that these hawk attendants were the *falkonarii*. It is very likely that some simple machine similar to the *fauconneau* described by Bros. Knoop and Jones was used for raising heavy stones and swinging them into position, but this would demand some strength and skill and would be within the duties of the setters and layers. I cannot think, therefore, that its management would be relegated to women or boys, who, however, could well attend to the layers' hawks.

A curtain or castle wall, built for strength, would no doubt consist of two walls built parallel and several feet apart, the space between being afterwards filled up solid with a mixture of broken stone and mortar. Enormous quantities of this material would be required, and I think that the *battrarii* had nothing to do with the preparation of ashlers, but were stone-breakers engaged in pounding up the waste stone of the quarries for use in the filling mixture.

Because I am unable to realise cinder-making as a mediæval mystery, the defining of *cinerarius* as an ash-maker does not carry conviction to me. An alternative is that when the *porte-hache* brought in the worn irons, the *cinerarius* either heated them in the glowing ashes of the furnace in readiness for the smith to hammer out the edges, or else he dealt with them after this beating out and heated them to the critical temperature for re-tempering. In Rome, the duty of the *cinerarius* was to heat irons in the ashes. As he derived his name from the ashes, the purpose of the irons, viz., to curl the hair, does not affect the suitability of the term.

Other than the *tagliatores*, who are to be regarded as hard hewers and not Freemasons, I do not believe that there was any body of hewers engaged on this work. The "*Coynes et assheles*" prepared by the three *tagliatores* would be carefully finished stones used at the angles of their work by the rough masons. In much the same way, church builders who used flint, finished their work with quoins and ashlers of freestone.

Payment by task appears to have been used for work which was not the customary occupation of those engaged. Payment based on an average output was not likely to be exceeded by the occasional worker, and where several were engaged the gild spirit would no doubt lead to the pooling of their output. As a consequence, the usual day's pay would be earned by all of them.

Unless I adopt some of the foregoing amendments, I find myself in difficulties. In a general way the *cementarii* included all builders in stone. As the setters and layers were builders in stone, the use of the term to exclude these operatives is inexplicable. If the *cubitores* were layers their rarity in London needs some explanation. If they were bedders they would only find work there when, owing to rebuilding, a certain amount of old material required re-bedding. This question of the meanings of terms is of considerable importance when we try to formulate a theory of mediæval operative masonry and its relationship to modern Freemasonry. Brethren high up in Masonic research still write of light masons, although light masons never existed, their error being due

to the fact that half-a-century ago the term was used in a translation instead of layer masons. If this paper helps us to give a clear meaning to some of the terms we use, the authors will have done good work for research students.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

To our meed of appreciation of Bro. Knoop's interesting and valuable contribution may I add two brief comments?

Valuable as his paper undoubtedly is, we must not overlook the fact that its sole concern is with the erection of castles, and that by labourers impressed under royal authority. Even if it could be proved that the workmen (or, at all events, some of them) belonged to that same church-building sodality from which Freemasonry claims descent, we must not hastily assume that the conditions of their employment were identical—or even closely analogous—with those prevailing then in their more free and proper avocation. It is with the latter that our Masonic research is chiefly concerned.

The workmen at Caernarvon and Beaumaris obviously had been drafted (more or less compulsorily) by sheriffs of certain counties, under the royal mandate; and a careful analysis of their (*i.e.* the workmen's) place-names—corresponding to what in modern parlance would be surnames, but with a more reliable connection—seems to show that the majority of them came from the counties of Somerset, Wilts and Dorset, all adjacent in the south-west of England. If, by-and-bye, similar details should be forthcoming of other royal buildings during that same period, we may find that other sheriffs were drafting men to other distant places; and that the selection of these respective destinations was governed by important political considerations. But these, again, have little or no bearing on the contemporary customs of free-masons.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN writes:—

In this paper, as in the one preceding it on the building of Vale Royal Abbey, Bro. Knoop has made notable additions to our knowledge of the working conditions of the Mason's Craft in the Middle Ages, and we must all hope that we may have further illumination from him of this kind.

The question of Apprenticeship, whether it existed among the building crafts at the period in question, is one that naturally interests us as Speculative Masons, for it has, or at least seems to have, a bearing on the antiquity of our ritual. There is an inevitable bias towards assuming that Masonic admission ceremonies must have always begun with the apprentice *at the time he was bound* to his master. And the influence of a number of the great Masonic scholars of a past generation, who held that the admission of the apprentice was originally the only ceremony, has not wholly passed, or rather, certain presuppositions, based upon this hypothesis ultimately, are still more or less active at the back of the minds of most of us.

Thus, if there was no apprenticeship there could have been no ceremony, and if no ceremony, then no fraternity. The argument, if such it may be called, is obviously a *non sequitur* when thus baldly stated. The Fraternity may quite as well have existed before the introduction of Craft Gilds as it has existed since their decay and extinction. The ceremony of admission might just as well have come, originally, at the end of the apprenticeship as at its beginning, and thus have been a veritable *rite de passage*, to use a term first coined by the eminent French writer, M. Gaidoz, and from him adopted by anthropologists and students of folklore.

From the purely historical point of view it would seem to me that apprenticeship in some form, whatever called and however arranged, must have existed always wherever the level of culture was high enough to exhibit specialised occupations. But perhaps this is a question of terminology; if it is the name, as applied to a definite regularised form, then it is obvious that we cannot postulate its existence prior to the first unequivocal mention of it in historical documents. But even so, laws do not create social conditions, they only regulate them, which implies that they are already in being. Bro. Knoop's suggestion seems quite acceptable, that in undertakings of the magnitude of those he deals with in the present paper, and at Vale Royal, young men, employed at first as unskilled workers, may have shown special aptitudes which led to their being promoted to the ranks of skilled craftsmen. But this, to my mind, does not lessen the probability that, normally, Masons learned their art by apprenticeship to a master, apprenticeship in effect, that is, whether so called or not, and whether a matter of civic regulation, or merely a private arrangement between the master craftsman and the youth or his parents.

That no apprentices were employed on these three buildings is quite possibly explained by the conditions, as Bro. Knoop himself shows them to us. The men impressed, or otherwise recruited by the officials charged with that duty, would naturally be, so far as possible, skilled men of some experience; "good Masons," as the order to the Sheriff of Gloucester expressed it; that is, fully qualified men. It is quite an incorrect picture to suppose that every skilled mason, or carpenter or smith, necessarily had an apprentice. Apprentices are always few in number in comparison to the numbers of men in a trade. Only men who were in some degree settled and established would have been likely to have them. And I should imagine that such men would in general have been the last to be impressed for work elsewhere, for mediæval Englishmen were, one supposes, possessed of as good sense as their present-day descendants.

The suggestion that many masons came from quarries, or quarry districts, commends itself at once as being highly probable in the nature of things. Quarry work, after all, is only a specialisation of the whole art of building in stone. I am not in a position to look up the references at the moment, but it is my recollection that at the building of Baal's bridge in Ireland, the masons imported from England to do the work did their own quarrying. And even to-day the connection is not a remote one, at least on this side of the Atlantic. At one large granite quarry the superintendent was, till recently, a mason who had been regularly apprenticed to his trade in Scotland.

It has occurred to me that, in Northern Europe, apprenticeship may possibly have developed out of the ancient Teutonic custom of fostering children. I have never seen this suggested anywhere, but some one may have done so. Nor would I like to say offhand how much evidence might be collected to support such a hypothesis. But viewed in itself, and apart from the accidents of mediæval regulation, an apprentice was, in the family of his master, very much what the foster son, or foster daughter, was in the family of his or her foster parents. And there is no doubt that this custom amounted to sending a child to school.

On one minor point I am inclined to take issue with Bro. Knoop. He does not give any grounds for the opinion, but (on page eight of the proof) he says that it seems probable the blacksmiths employed attended only to "relatively simple pieces of iron, such as crows, chisels, wedges or spikes, rather than more elaborate tools, such as trowels, hoes, hatchets or picks." Having had to do with blacksmith work at various times, I find it hard to believe that a smith of sufficient competence to do any work at the forge at all would find the least difficulty in making or mending any of the tools mentioned in the second list. As a matter of fact, trowels and hoes very seldom need attention. A good

trowel will last practically for a lifetime. But picks and axes (still used for working the softer kinds of stone, I believe, in southern and south-eastern Europe) need sharpening as often as chisels and drills, and much more frequently than gads (the wedges used for splitting stones) and crowbars.

The method of sharpening such tools is quite simple, and easily learned. The tool is heated, and hammered out a little, to keep the working edge from becoming too thick. The edge is then filed sharp while the metal is still hot. Then the tool is heated again, and quenched and tempered. That the smiths did sharpen the axes would seem to be indicated by the term "portehache" alone. For one could hardly imagine the boy or laborer thus employed to be called after a tool he did *not* carry to and from the smithy.

Incidentally, I suppose that the use of the word 'iron' instead of 'steel' is a mere slip. Iron would not stand up very well even for crowbars and gads, and would be quite useless for any cutting tools. But Bro. Knoop, I notice, uses the word 'irons' several times as equivalent to "tools," and, being interested in technical terminology, I would like to know if the word is used in this sense among masons at the present time in Great Britain.

Bro. VIBERT said:—

I wish I could have devoted more time to preparing comments on this very important paper, another valuable contribution by Bro. Knoop and his colleague to a subject that they have made peculiarly their own. But I have made a few notes. With regard to the tools, Bro. W. J. Williams has drawn our attention to various cases in which Master Masons leave their tools by will, indicating that they must have been of definite value. But I imagine that the usual practice, at least so far as the simpler tools were concerned, would be to make them as required, their cost being charged to the building fund, which is what we find in the present case. When the operations were completed, the tools would not be worth much and would no doubt be scrapped. It would therefore be unusual for the individual mason to possess any stock of tools; he would expect them to be provided.

It is interesting to find cases of masons who are only employed for a week. As Bro. Knoop points out, this reminds us of the rule we find at York, which also occurs at Edinburgh, that a strange mason is to be tested of his work for a week, and if found "sufficient" to be then taken on the strength, or else refreshed to the next (*i.e.*, the nearest) Lodge. But what happened when he was not found sufficient the rules do not disclose. No doubt he was sent on his way, but probably without assistance from Lodge funds.

The want of reference to apprenticeship has a possible bearing on our ceremonies. Some of us have been inclined to think that the great day in the career of a mason, the one occasion when we might expect some sort of ceremony to be traditional, was the day when he was freed of his indentures, when he would also be given signs of recognition to help him on his travels, and assigned a mark. But if apprenticeship was in fact so unusual an incident, these ideas will need revision, unless they are applicable to a later period.

The fact that the masters were brought from such enormous distances suggests that the actual number of skilled master masons in the whole country was very limited. Beaumaris and Caernarvon are not exceptional in this respect; it seems to have been the case generally. This opens up an interesting possibility of research as to what the actual number of members of the Fraternity would be in the fourteenth century, and how many were in fact skilled masters. If the Fraternity, while wide-spread, was actually a very small body numerically, not only at this period, but to a much later date, it becomes easier to understand

how the Charges General and Special came to be of universal application, as they certainly appear to have been. It is not easy to understand otherwise their general acceptance, with no indications of local variations of any importance, until we come to the New Articles and the Apprentice Charges which bring us well into the seventeenth century.

Dr. EDWARD GREENLY, of Bangor, the leading authority on the geology of the district, who re-visited Caernarvon and Beaumaris Castles on receipt of this paper, writes:—

The two castles are composed principally of limestone and sandstone of the Carboniferous system, limestone predominating at Caernarvon and sandstone at Beaumaris.

Caernarvon. The variety of limestone used can be matched in all the Carboniferous districts of North Wales, so that certainty as to the location of the quarries is not to be had, but it is unlikely that the stone could have been quarried on the vast scale needed anywhere along the Strait, and it probably came from Penmon.

The light brown, pebbly sandstone could also have come from Penmon, or from a good many places along the Strait, *e.g.*, on the Caernarvonshire side, between the Bridge and Vaynol Park.

Among the subordinate materials used is gray Ordovician grit, similar in character to that found in the quarry at Twthill Bach, on the North Eastern outskirt of the town of Caernarvon. This may well have been called the "Town End Quarry." Another subordinate material is Irish Granite, probably from the vicinity of Newry, such as in the eighteenth century used to be brought to Bangor as ballast in returning slate schooners.

Beaumaris. The sandstone, to judge from the pebble content, did not come from Vaynol or the Strait between the Bridges, but might easily have come from Penmon. The limestone is not the same as that used at Caernarvon, but a laminated and rather shaley variety. Alternatively, it may have been obtained from the cliffs on the east coast of Anglesey north of Benllech, an objection being, however, that work could not be carried on there at high tide. This position would be about twelve miles away from the Castle, and might thus be the quarry "five leagues distant" near the sea. The quarry "five leagues distant" could certainly not have been at Town End, Caernarvon, assuming that was Twthill Bach with its Ordovician grit. On the other hand, it is possible that the quarry "five leagues distant" was on the Great or Little Orme, though there is no definite reason for suspecting Great Orme limestone at Beaumaris.

The most important of the subordinate materials used at Beaumaris are green schists and a limestone of the Mona Complex. Their source may be fixed with certainty at a quarry just north of Pen-y-Parc, about a mile and a half from the Castle, which might be described as the Beaumaris Quarry. As the stone was used, however, to construct the lower part of the inner wall, it is likely that it had been quarried before the period to which the Building Account relates.

Bro. KNOOP, in reply, writes:—

On behalf of my colleague and myself I have to thank the various Brethren for their comments on our paper. In the two and a half years which have elapsed since this paper was read we have collected much more evidence on the subject of operative masonry and have embodied it in papers subsequently communicated to the Lodge, in articles on Apprenticeship and on Wages and

latterly in our book, *The Mediæval Mason*. Having thus amplified and developed several matters referred to in the comments, e.g., the problems of apprenticeship and tools, raised by Bro. Vibert and Bro. Meekren, the meaning of various mediæval Latin words, discussed by Bro. Bullamore, and the theory (which we are unable to accept) mentioned by Bro. Covey-Crump, that church-building masons were almost completely distinct from castle-building masons, we do not feel it necessary to go over the whole ground again here. We may say, however, in reply to Bro. Meekren, that we have used 'iron' to translate the *ferrum* of our sources: wherever early building accounts show purchases of metals it was iron and not steel (*chalybs*) that was principally bought; sometimes smiths are described as "steeling" axes and other masons' tools, which suggests that the cutting edges were hardened; there can be little doubt that steel was too expensive for general use at this period. The reason we ventured the opinion that the 'irons' made by the smiths were crows, chisels, etc., rather than hatchets or picks, was that the price mentioned, 2d. each, was less than half the price paid at Vale Royal a few years earlier, when hatchets and picks were purchased. There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the smiths sharpened the masons' axes and hatchets. At Kirby Muxloe, we calculated, sharpening was necessary at the rate of one axe per mason per day,¹ which suggests that they were of iron rather than of steel.

We agree entirely with Bro. Vibert's suggestion of the desirability of inquiry into the number of masons in the fourteenth century and believe that materials for an answer exist, for at least one point in that century, in the long lists of masons in William Mulsho's accounts relating to Windsor Castle in 1361-1362 (P.R.O. *Exch. K.R.* 493/10), about the period when, it has been said, William of Wykeham gathered so many masons there that hardly any were left elsewhere.

Bro. Poole's suggestion, that the large number of masons employed at Caernarvon in 1304 were at work on the town wall, is quite possible. Sir Charles Peers, late Inspector of Ancient Monuments, certainly attributed none of the principal works of the Castle to the years 1301-1315,² though the Account of 1304 shows that very large quantities of stone were being quarried and used. The explanation may very well be, as Bro. Poole thinks, that the stone was for the wall. He is also right in assuming that we made no examination of the fabrics of the Castles especially for this paper, though one of us has an acquaintance with Caernarvon extending over many years; we are neither geologists nor archæologists; but we are grateful to Dr. Edward Greenly, the leading authority on the geology of the district, for so kindly re-visiting the Castles and summarising his conclusions. The reader will see that our speculation as to the Town End Quarry, Caernarvon, being the one "five leagues distant" from Beaumaris was mistaken. Finally, we would say to Bro. Poole that no body can be more conscious than ourselves of the desirability of examining building accounts relating to non-royal works. Our paper on *London Bridge and its Builders*, read in Lodge last January, was an attempt to study the municipal employment of masons mainly in the fifteenth century, and our recent article on *The Carreglwyd Building Account, 1636*,³ is concerned with a purely private building venture, though at a somewhat late period. We have no preference for royal works as such; the difficulty is the scarcity of accounts relating to private building. We discuss the problem briefly in *Masons' Wages in Mediæval England*,⁴ and have nothing to add at the moment here.

¹ See *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 64, 65.

² See the *Official Guide to Carnarvon Castle*, H.M. Stationery Office, 1932.

³ *Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club*, 1934.

⁴ *Economic History*, January, 1933, pp. 496, 497.

SOME BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF JOHN, LORD COBHAM.

BY D. KNOOP, G. P. JONES AND N. B. LEWIS.



JOHN, Lord Cobham, whose building activities form the subject of the documents printed below, was a member of an old-established Kentish family of many branches dating back at any rate to the thirteenth century.¹ The branch to which John, Lord Cobham, belonged (that established at Cobham and Cowling) was brought into prominence by his grandfather, Henry de Cobham, who was a baron of the Exchequer in the reign of Edward II. and at one time or another was Constable of the castles of Rochester and Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports. His grandson, John, succeeding to the family estates in 1355, achieved even greater prominence both locally and nationally, and was far and away the most distinguished member of this branch of the family. His local possessions at the time of his death included the lordship of some eight or nine Kentish manors as well as other scattered lands in that and the adjoining counties and a house in London, and his position as a county magnate was no doubt enhanced by his erection of the castle at Cowling and the foundation of his college at Cobham. The main preoccupation of his long life (which stretched from the early years of Edward III. to the beginning of the reign of Henry IV.) was, however, in national politics. He served Edward III. frequently on his French campaigns and on diplomatic missions, and regularly exercised official functions in parliament. At the beginning of Richard II.'s reign he was a member of the continual council appointed to carry on the government during the king's minority, and for a few months in 1379 and 1380 was officially appointed the king's personal guardian.² But on the outbreak of opposition to the king in 1386 he sided with the baronial party and was a member of the council appointed in parliament to control the king's actions, and for this opposition he was condemned ten years later and exiled to the island of Jersey. On the accession of Henry IV., however, he was released, and in spite of his great age, continued his active participation in politics till his death in 1408.

The six documents of which the text is given below have not, so far as we know, been previously printed. In order to place them in their setting, so that their significance may be better understood and that a more complete picture of John, Lord Cobham's building activities may be presented, we preface our introductory note with a brief calendar in which these six documents, together with ten others previously printed, are arranged chronologically:—

CALENDAR OF COBHAM BUILDING DOCUMENTS.

1. Receipt, dated Cowling 10th October 1374, of William Roberts, plumber, of London, for 48s. 10d. from John, Lord Cobham. [Printed in *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 95.]

2. Receipt, dated London 11th May 1379, of Thomas Wrek, mason, of London, for 60s., in part payment of £14-6-8, from John, Lord Cobham. [Printed in *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 96.]

¹ See also paper on Cobham Church by Bro. W. M. Bywater, *A.Q.C.* iv., 194.

² Issue Roll 475 mm., 8 and 16.

3. Patent, dated 10th February 1380-1381, authorizing John, Lord Cobham to crenellate Cowling Castle. [Patent Roll 4, Richard II., m. 24; printed in *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 97.]
4. Receipt, dated Cowling 24th September 1381, of Thomas Crumpe, mason, for £10 from John, Lord Cobham, in part payment of £30 for building *machecolynge*s. [*Harl. Chart.*, 48 E. 41: printed below.]
5. Obligation, dated 25th September 1381, of Thomas Crump, mason, to John, Lord Cobham, in £60 to be paid at his house in Tower Street, London on Christmas day next ensuing, the obligation to be void if certain contracts for building *machecolynge*s be truly performed by Thomas Crump. [*Harl. Chart.*, 48 E. 42: printed below.]
6. Indenture, dated Cowling 26th September 1381, between John, Lord Cobham, and Thomas Crump, mason, of Maidstone, relating to prices for building the great gateway at Cowling. There are two indorsements, of which the second refers to subsequent measurements made by Henry Yevele on May 15th, 1382. [*Harl. Chart.*, 48 E. 44: printed below.]
7. Receipt, dated Cowling 29th September 1381, of Henry Yevele, on behalf of Thomas Wrek, mason, for £20 from John, Lord Cobham. [Printed in *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 97.]
8. Indenture, dated London 18th October 1381, between John, Lord Cobham, and Thomas Crompe, mason, relating to the supply of various kinds of stone, for the workmanship and transport of which to Maidstone Crump is to be responsible. [*Harl. Chart.*, 48 E. 37: printed below.]
9. Receipt, dated 13th December 1381, of William Sharnhale, mason, for £10 from John, Lord Cobham, in part payment for work done at Cowling. [*Harl. Chart.*, 48 E. 39: printed below.]
10. Indenture, dated London 24th December 1381, between John, Lord Cobham, and Nicholas Typerton, mason, whereby the latter agrees, for 25 marks, to complete the foundation of the south aisle of St. Dunstan's church in Tower Street, London, with the porch, buttresses and water table, according to the design of Henry Ivelegh. [*Harl. Chart.*, 48 E. 43: printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii., p. 111.]
11. Indenture, dated 23rd July 1382, between John, Lord Cobham, and William Sharnhale, by which the latter acknowledges receipt of £270-10-4, in part payment of £456, for work done at Cowling as certified by Henry Yevele, mason. [Printed in *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 98.]
12. Receipt, dated Cowling 25th November 1382, of Thomas Crompe, mason, for £8 from John, Lord Cobham, for work done by him and Lawrence atte Wode on the great gate of Cowling. [Printed in *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 99.]
13. Receipt, dated 25th January 1383, of Robert at Pette, mason, of Lodisdon for 42s. 6d., from John, Lord Cobham, for work at the College and schoolhouse of Cobham. [*Harl. Chart.*, 48 E. 46: printed below.]
14. Receipt, dated Cowling 29th September 1384, of Thomas Crump and William Sharnhale, masons, for 78s. from John, Lord Cobham, in respect of lime burnt for the use of the works at Cowling. [Printed in *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 99.]
15. Receipt, dated London 16th October 1384, of William Bestcherche, mason, for 60s. from John, Lord Cobham, for masonry work at Cowling Castle. [Printed in *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 100.]
16. Receipt, dated 29th September 1385, of Thomas Crompe, mason, for ten marks from John, Lord Cobham, in part payment for work at Cowling Castle. [Translation printed in *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 100.]

In the volume of the Kent Archæological Society in which nine of the documents listed above are printed, it is stated that these vouchers and receipts were for money spent in erecting Cowling Castle. Documents No. 1 and No. 7 were indeed dated at Cowling but otherwise contain nothing to suggest that they relate to work done there, and document No. 2, dated at London, does not mention Cowling at all. It may therefore be questioned whether these three receipts do relate to work at Cowling Castle. In the first place, there is a doubt whether the erection of the castle commenced in the spring of 1379: certainly permission to furnish it with battlements was not granted until February, 1381 (No. 3). In the second place, the documents, supplemented with other available evidence, suggest strongly that the chief contractors were local masons, Sharnhale and Crump, and it seems unlikely that so prominent a London mason as Thomas Wrek¹ should have been brought down to Kent on two occasions to undertake what could only have been relatively small preliminary or supplementary jobs in connection with the castle. In the third place, it is clear from document No. 5 that John, Lord Cobham, had a house in Tower Street, London, and we think it not improbable that Roberts and Wrek worked for him there. His possession of the house no doubt explains the contract with Typerton (No. 10) to erect the south aisle of St. Dunstan's in the same street.

One of the new documents, the receipt (No. 13) of Robert at Pette of Lodisdon, *i.e.*, Luddesdown, two miles south of Cobham, does not relate to Cowling, but specifies that the work was done at the College and schoolhouse of Cobham, which is four miles west of Rochester. The College is said to have been erected in 1362,² so that the document probably relates only to a small repair job by a local mason. Fifteen years earlier a small quantity of stone, value 13s. 4d., had been bought for repairs at Rochester Castle from Thomas at Pette,³ probably a small local quarry owner. Robert at Pette may well have belonged to the same family.

All the remaining documents, new and old, probably relate to works at Cowling Castle between 1381 and 1385. The new documents show in particular that Thomas Crump,⁴ who, we learn, was a mason of Maidstone (No. 6), was responsible for considerably more work at Cowling than the old documents suggested. He built the great gateway (No. 6 and No. 12) and probably the machicolations (No. 4 and No. 5) and supplied newels, corbels and other hard stones (No. 8) needed for both. The contract does not indicate where the stones were to be used, but the endorsement probably implies that the newels were for Cowling. The other documents do not show where the machicolations were to be erected, but we feel little doubt that it was at Cowling and that all the hard stones were for use there. Thomas Crump, who supplied them, was in all probability related to the Ralph Crompe who in 1368 supplied large quantities of Boughton stone for the repairs at Rochester Castle,⁵ including 'newel' (stones round which the steps of a winding staircase turn), 'crest' (coping stones for the tops of walls and battlements), 'spaces' (coping stones for the intervals between battlements) and other varieties of dressed stone to the very

¹ He was the first named of the four masons representing the craft on the common council of the City in 1376. See *Cal. Letter-Book H.*, p. 43.

² See Canon Scott Robertson, *Chimney piece in Cobham College Hall*, *Arch. Cant.*, xviii., p. 447.

³ *Fabric Roll of Rochester Castle*, 1368, *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 115.

⁴ Perhaps the same as Thomas Crompe, who, together with William Okeangre and Geoffrey atte Doune, was commissioned to take masons and other workmen for repairs at Leeds Castle in May, 1386. (*Cal. Pat. R.*, 1385-89, p. 180.) On the other hand, this may have been Thomas Crompe of Otteham, who, together with Roger Crompe of Maidstone, Geoffrey de Doune, Lawrence atte Wode and several others, in August, 1387, recognise a debt of £360 to a group including Sir John Cobham, Henry Yvele and John Clifford, mason and citizen of London. (*Cal. Close R.*, 1385-89, p. 430.) It is probable that Thomas Crompe of Maidstone and Thomas Crompe of Otteham, if not the same, were relatives.

⁵ *Arch. Cant.*, ii., pp. 112-114.

substantial value of £119 12s. 3½d. Thomas Crump agrees to supply similar dressed stones, which may well have come from the same quarries at Boughton (four miles from Maidstone) that supplied Rochester Castle. Crump was to pay for their carriage from the quarries to Maidstone, whence doubtless Lord Cobham would have them transported to Cowling.

The principal mason-contractor at Cowling was almost certainly William Sharnhale. Document No. 9 shows that he received £10, in part payment for work done at Cowling, in 1381, but the chief ground for regarding him as the principal contractor is document No. 11, acknowledging receipt of £270-10-4, in part payment of £456, for work done at Cowling. He was probably the same as the William Sharnhale who worked at Rochester Castle in 1368, where he set a vault by task work and was also employed as a setter at day wages.¹

If our surmises concerning the Thomas Crump and William Sharnhale of the Cobham documents are correct, they help to explain the association of two mason-contractors with the building of Cowling Castle. Sharnhale would be responsible for the general masonry and the erection of the main body of the fabric. Crump undertook those parts of the work into which the hard stone of Boughton entered very largely. In the dressing and handling of such stone, it may be inferred from his family connection with the Boughton quarries, he was an expert. The new documents throw little additional light on the career of Henry Yevele. The one reference to him (No. 6) shows that he measured Crump's work as, according to the old documents (No. 11) he had measured that of Sharnhale. He probably measured Wrék's work also (No. 7) and certainly designed Cobham's building operations at St. Dunstan's (No. 10). He and Cobham were also associated at this time on the commission for rebuilding Rochester Bridge.² Yevele can unquestionably be regarded as Cobham's architectural adviser, but whether he planned and designed Cowling Castle these documents do not show.

SIX COBHAM DOCUMENTS.³

4.—Sachent touz genz moy Thomas Crump masoun avoir resceu de monsieur Johan de Cobeham Seigneur de Cobeham diz liueres esterlinges en partie de paiement de trent liueres desterlinges a moy dewes por certainz couenauntz parentre nous faitz. Des queux diz liueres esterlinges en partie de paiement come auant est dit moy reconusse estre perpaie, et lauantdit mons. Johan sez heirs et excecuteurs estre quites par cestis presentz as tous iours. En tesmoignance de quelle chose a yceste acquittance ay mys mon seal. Donne a Coulyng le xxiiij iour de Septembre lan du regne le Roy Richard seccoude puis le conquest quinte.

Endorsed: (1) Acquitauce Thomas Crump de x li. en partie de paiement de xxx li. pur machecolynges.

(2) Item paye a Adam Colind irmonger puis cest acquitaunce le iour seynt Nicholas pur Crompt Ds.

5.—Pateat vniuersis per presentes me Thomas Crump masoun teneri et per presentes firmiter obligari domino Johanni de Cobeham domino de Cobeham in sexaginta libris sterlingorum bone et vsualis monete soluende eidem domino Johanni de Cobeham domino de Cobeham vel suo certo attornato presens scriptum ostendenti in festo Natali domini proximo futuro post datam presencium in hospicio suo de Tourstrete London. Ad quam quidem solucionem dicto die et loco fideliter soluendam et implendam obligo me heredes et excecutores meos et omnia bona mea per presentes. In cuius re [sic] testimonium huic presenti

¹ *Arch. Cant.*, ii., p. 123.

² *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1381-1385, p. 221; M. J. Becker, *Rochester Bridge*, pp. 5 seq.

³ The numbers are those in the Calendar above.

scripto obligatorio sigillum meum apposui. Datum vicesimo quinto die mensis Septembris anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum quinto.

Endorsed: (1) Obligacioun Thomas Crump masoun de lx li. touchant machecolynges.

- (2) Ceste obligacioun est fet sur tele condicioun que si lauaunt dit Thomas Crump bien et loialement perfourne touz lez couenantz touchant certaine machecolynges come compris est en endenture parentre monsieur Johan Seigneur de Cobeham et lui de ceo faitz qadonque yceste obligacioun de cessautes liurez perde sa force. Autrement esteise en sa force et virtue.

6.—Ceste endenture tesmoigne qe le xxvi^{me} iour de Septembre lan Roi Richard scecounde [*sic*] puis le conqueste quinte monsieur Johan de Cobeham seigneur de Cobeham ad acompte oue Thomas Crump masoun de Maydestan por la graunde porte de Coulyng. Cestassauer solonc son acompte lun tour contient sept perches et demi et tres quarts dune perche lautre tour contient sept perches et demi et vn quart dune perche. Et vne perche est par soun acompte parentre les deux toures. La somme des perches amounte en tout diz et sept perches. Et prendra le dit Thomas por le perche xl s. come compt est en sez viels endentures. Et ad le dit Thomas de ceo resseu deuant le iour de fesance du [*sic*] cestis qaraunte siz liures seze south et oept deniers, issint qe le dit Thomas ad deservi oue lez diz liures resseu por fraunche pierre qaraunte et quatre liurez. Et si doit le dit Thomas alauant dit monsieur Johan le iour de fesance du [*sic*] cestis par son acompte propre cinquante siz south oept deniers. Et outre ce le dit Thomas paiera por tout le coyn qest en la dite porte et tour come apiert par sez endentures auant dit. En tesmoignance de quelle chose a ycestes endentures lez parties auant dit entrechangeablement out mys lour seals. Donne a Coulyng le iour et an susditz.

Note at foot: Md. que le dit Crompe deyt al Seigneur outre les parcelles susdictes cccxvi pees de coyn pris le pee vd. Item il deyt al Seigneur vune pasterne par soun primer endenture.

Endorsed: (1) Lendenture Thomas Crump masoun dil mesur et acompt dil graunde porte a Coulyng.

- (2) Fayt a remembrer que Crompe ad acompte plus que il ne doyt ij perches et demi pee et quart que amounte Cs. que il est tenuz a restorer al Seigneur solom la compte mestre. Henry Yeuele fayt a Coulyng deuant le assencion Anno Regis Ricardi quinto.

8.—Ceste endenture faite parentre monsieur Johan de Cobeham Seigneur de Cobeham dune parte et Thomas Crompe mason dautre parte tesmoigne que le dit Thomas ad emprise dit monsieur Johan a faire cestassauer, x arketholes de iij peez de longour en tout et saunz croys oue le paraile deinz et de hors, vij petitiz huis chescun de ij peez et demi de largesse oue le hautesse de les ditz huis come affiert ove laparaile deinz et dehors et liiij nowalles chescun de iij peez et demi de longour et de hautesse vij pous et xxx autres nouvelles chescun de iij peez de longour et de vij pous dautesse et liii corbelx j pee squarr et de bone et couenable longour pur macherolle et xliij peres por demi achis les quex archis et corbelx serront nettement chauffreiez. Et auera le dit Thomas pur toutz les peres et por toute loueraïne et cariage tanque a Maidstane et pur assier les ditz peres en la dite oueraïne en sesonable prochein sesoune xx li. les queux luy serront paieez comme il fait son oueraïne. As queulx couenantes bien et loialment faire les ditz parties soy obligeont par cestes endentures. En tesmoignance de quele chose entrechangeablement ils out mys lour seals. Donne a Loundres le iour de

Seint Luke Levangeliste lan nostre Seignur le Roi Richard second puis la conquest quint.

Endorsed: (1) La darreine endenture Thomas Crompe.

(2) Soynt examine sy le dit Thomas ad amene touz ses nowels solom le purport de soun endenture a Coulyng ou nemye.

9.—Sachount toutez genz moy William Scharnhale masoun avoyr ressu de monsieur Johan de Cobeham seignur de Cobeham dys li. esterlyngs en partye de payment dil ouerayne que a[i ?] empris afayre a Coulyng por le procheyn seson ensuant apres la date de cestez commeseaunt en le prochein moys de March apres la dite date de cestis, des queux dys li. moy avaundit William conuz estre paye devaunte les meyns et lavaundit monsieur Johan ses heyrz et executors quitez a tous iours. En tesmeynaunce de quele chose a ceste lettre daquitaunce moy avaundit William Scharnhale ay mys mon seal. Done le iour seynste Lucie [Virgine ?] lan du reigne le roy Richard secunde puis le conquest quint.

Endorsed: Aquitaunce W. Scharnhale de x li. pur le prochein sesoun . . . [four words illegible].

13.—Sachaunt toutez gentz moy Roberd atte Pette mason dil paroche de Lodisdon auoyr ressu de monsieur Johan de Cobeham seignur de Cobeham quaraunte et deux south sys deniers desterlynges en perpayment de toute le ouerayne que iay fet en le colegue et skolehous de Cobeham des queux xliis. vjd. en perpayment de toutez maners dettez come auaunt est dit moy auaundit Roberd reconuz estre perpayses et lauandit monsieur Johan ses heyrz et executors quitez a touz iours par ceste presentes. En tesmoynaunce de quele chose a ceste lettre daquitaunce moy auandit Roberd atte Pette ay mys mon seal. Donne le iour dil couersioun de Seynt Paul lan du reigne le Roy Richard secunde puis le conqueste sysme.

Endorsed: Aquitaunce Roberd atte Pette de perpaement Anno . . . [three words illegible].



THE OLD CHARGES AND THEIR TRANSCRIPTS.

BY BRO. F. R. WORTS, M.A.



OLUTIONS of the chief problems raised by the body of manuscripts known as the OLD CHARGES of MASONS still elude both ingenious and patient scholarship. The true text of the parent document is not yet fixed: the date and authorship of most of the documents are either unknown or not agreed: the history of the MSS. in far too many cases has not been traced: the kinship of nearly all of these original records is so far hypothetical rather than positive: and the principles of classifying them do not seem to have been exhausted.¹

Students of these 'Title Deeds' of Masonry may be discouraged when so little progress can be registered after a century of lively interest. Mr. Halliwell's exposure of the *Regius* MS. in April, 1839, may perhaps be taken as a starting point for modern interest in these records, although we know that our eighteenth century Brethren valued the OLD CHARGES and used them.² If 1839 is too early, then the era of criticism of these historical Masonic memorials must certainly be allowed to be at least seventy years old, for in 1864 Hughan began his remarkable labours.

Reviewing the rich fund of zeal and ability devoted to this task of studying and appreciating the OLD CHARGES by so many learned Brethren, it may perhaps be considered illiberal to direct attention to the meagre results of their work in respect of the basic critical problems, historical and textual. I venture to do so only because I think that better results will *never* be gained until scholars are offered a safe access to, and a satisfactory control of, the complete library or *corpus* of these MSS., or, at least, can possess a complete library of *copies* of these MSS., which are *faithful* copies.

The MSS. alone can yield the right answers to the problems they themselves raise. So far scholars have neither possessed the MSS. in a complete collection by being able to borrow them all at once, nor have they had easy and convenient access to them as units or groups of documents. Bro. H. Poole tells us there are now 99 of these records.³ So numerous a collection strongly suggests that there is an amplitude of original material for the purpose of critical scholarship. I would dare to suggest that there is a sufficiency to elucidate the problems under review, for possibly in this collection all the types of OLD CHARGES are well represented. But the problems will always remain defiant, despite the slow increase of material for their solution, if scholars and students are obstructed in their work by inability to get hold of the MSS. themselves.

¹ Cf. A.Q.C., vols 1, 6 and 7, also vol. 33, pp. 5-39; on p. 34, Bro. Baxter says, "We have, now before us at least four different methods of classifying our Old Charges." Also, vol. 34, for the important *Inaugural Address* by Bro. Lionel Vibert. See also Bro. H. Poole's brilliant contribution to the problem of Classification in *The Old Charges of Yorkshire* (1934): edit. by Poole and Worts.

² See, Bro. H. Poole, The Prestonian Lecture for 1933: *The Old Charges in Eighteenth Century Masonry*. Q.C. Pamphlet No. 3 (1934).

³ See, Bro. H. Poole, *ibid*: His discovery of the *Fortitude* MS. in January, 1934, brought the number to 99. He printed his transcription of this MS. as an Appendix to his Prestonian Lecture, 1933.

There are only three ways of providing scholars with this *corpus* of material:—

- (a) By collecting all the MSS. in *one* library: they are the *primary* sources.
- (b) By publishing photographic facsimiles of each document so that the scholar may have in his own library a complete set of these *secondary* sources.
- (c) By publishing transcripts or transliterations of each document which shall be absolutely *faithful* to their originals for the same reason: these are the *tertiary* sources.

A. *MANUSCRIPTS*. The critic needs to have all the original MSS. within hand-reach, if his investigations and collations are to be both possible and effective.¹ The kinship of these documents necessitates this method of unitary treatment. Unfortunately, this elementary principle of approaching this task of criticism does not seem to be understood except by scholars themselves.

At present, these MSS. are widely scattered in many locations. Grand Lodge has 6: Q.C. has 5: the British Museum has 8: the Provincial Grand Lodge of West Yorks (Library at Leeds) has 10: York Lodge, No. 236, has 5: Worcester has 3: the remainder of the *corpus* of 99 MSS. is scattered in single documents or small-group units of documents in many different places in this land and abroad. Even if the student has time and money to visit these distant libraries, he has to depend on his memory and notes, which at the best are poor aids in dealing with manuscript; for, in this matter the comparison and examination of *script*, and especially the *minutiae* of script, is, in my judgment and experience, one of the most profitable methods of research—a method which so far has not been seriously attempted except possibly by Begemann, who laboured under the disadvantages already defined. Certainly, this method is impossible if pursued in occasional visitations to libraries and sporadic inspections of MSS.²

There are other important reasons why these MSS. ought to be housed in one library. I will state them later.

B. *FACSIMILES*. I do not know how many MSS. have been photographed and published in facsimile form: I am acquainted with those in *Q.C.A.*, as well as the MSS. of Grand Lodge published in Roll form by Q.C., *e.g.*, *Grand Lodge MS. No. I.*, the *Buchanan MS.*, etc. These publications are artistic models of this type of work, but, unfortunately, exceptionally difficult to obtain: editions in each case, I believe, were severely limited to 50 or 100 copies. It would appear to be almost impossible for a young Mason ever to possess such excellent secondary sources of the OLD CHARGES.

Specimens of MS. text in facsimile have also been published in the pages of *A.Q.C.* and in other volumes: *e.g.*, in *A.Q.C.* the *Colne MSS.*, the *Levander-York MS.* may be cited: in Todd and Whytehead's *Ancient York Masonic Rolls* examples of the texts of the *York MSS.* are printed: and lastly, in the widely circulated "Reprint" of any MS. there is usually to be seen a page of photographed text. In regard to the last two kinds of specimens I wish to submit the following observation: that while they are interesting and within

¹ "It is no use whatever quoting from mere copyists; we must get back to original sources . . ." Bro. Songhurst. See *A.Q.C.*, vol. 33, p. 37.

² In my own work in this very field of studying the texts and script of the OLD CHARGES I have encountered these difficulties. Bro. A. R. Wilson kindly sent me his *Bain MS.* I examined and noted the script: later, I got hold of the *Phillips MSS.* in facsimile in *Q.C.A.*: again the script was my chief study. But I had already returned the *Bain MS.*, and found it difficult from my notes and memory to establish the hoped for identities of script. Later, Bro. H. Poole wrote asking me if the writing was the same. Regretfully I had to tell him that I could not be sure, despite all my care and trouble. Had the *Bain MS.* been side by side with the *Phillips'* facsimiles, the question could, I think, have been answered positively.

limits of some service, they are almost entirely devoid of value for critical purposes.

What is needed is a complete collection of facsimiles of these MSS. Such a collection does not exist: therefore, the secondary sources for this study do not exist. The exceptional difficulties which hinder and generally prevent students from consulting the original documents justify the plea that this provision of facsimiles be made.

A word of monition, however, is necessary. *Facsimiles must be true to their originals.* This will sound trite and almost absurd: but I shall point out later that doubt can be sometimes thrown on published photographs of original Masonic texts—photographs which claim to be true, that is, facsimiles.¹

C. REPRINTS or TRANSCRIPTS. These humble aids are familiar to every Mason interested in this subject. In pamphlet form these transcriptions have found their way into every Lodge and every scholar's library. And it is these tertiary sources I particularly wish to discuss in this paper. It has been necessary to introduce the subject logically by considering the MSS. of the OLD CHARGES themselves and the facsimiles of them. But, as these two sources are prohibitive in their exclusive possession of the few, clearly the many must be satisfied with the Reprints or Transliterations of the MSS., and attempt to do their work with whatever aid such pamphlets can offer them. I have attempted to work with these tertiary sources: I confess that I have found them *almost valueless* for the particular purpose I had in view, namely, searching for *script* identities and *form* identities. The loss of value in this respect was due to the Reprints being *unfaithful* copies of the originals they claimed to represent literally.

I understand that every MS. of the OLD CHARGES has at some time or other been transcribed and published. If procurable, therefore, these transliterations should enable the young Mason to have a collection of tertiary sources for customary studies: but, as a matter of fact, even these Reprints are hard to get hold of, many being out of print. One of the latest discoveries was the *Boydén* MS.: unless a student possesses a copy of *The New Age Magazine*, the official organ of The Supreme Council A. & A. S.R. Freemasonry S.J., U.S.A., published in Washington, D.C. (February, 1926), he will be lacking a copy of the document. This difficulty of access and possession is a most serious obstacle to study: it means that only a few exceptionally fortunate students can ever possess the complete unit of these least valuable sources.²

It must be pointed out, however, that if such a complete collection were easily possible, its value would *not* be so high as is commonly supposed. All the transcripts I have studied (except a few mentioned below, and in particular those edited by Bro. H. Poole), are *defective*, if critically assessed as 'Exact' transcripts: they, therefore, obstruct rather than assist the finer phases of criticism.

The purpose of this paper is to justify this last damaging statement. Unfortunately, many examples could be cited to illustrate the poor craftsmanship of those who transcribed and published these copies, transliterations, literal versions, etc., as Reprints of the OLD CHARGES; and, if all the examples could be added together their cumulative testimony would be conclusive.

¹ See, A.Q.C., vol. 31, p. 42. for Bibliography of Reprints of the O.C.'s.

² The Leeds Installed Masters Association (1933), aware of this need, decided to publish in one volume the Old Charges whose original home was in Yorkshire: some twenty-five texts. This book is now being edited by Bro. H. Poole and myself. The *Boydén* MS. now in Washington, U.S.A., will be included, permission having been obtained from Bro. W. L. Boydén, the owner. If all the O.C.'s could be thus collected and properly edited in four or five volumes, what a boon it would be to Masonic scholars.

I do not know all these Reprints, the number of which must be 99. I know a great number of them, and, particularly, I have studied those representing the MSS. associated with Yorkshire and Lancashire: moreover, I have to the best of my ability collated all the Yorkshire MSS. and some of the Lancashire MSS. with the transcripts extant of them. Regretfully, I have to submit, that in no case have I found the *Literal* or *Exact* transcripts—to use the adjectives their authors chose to describe their work—completely faithful to their original texts.¹

I consider the best work in transcribing a MS. has been done by Bro. A. R. Wilson, owner of the *Bain* MS.: but even in his version there are, as I ventured to point out to him, some errors. In 1894 Todd and Whytehead of York transcribed the York MSS. Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, and the *Scarborough* MS.: their volume containing these records, *Ancient York Masonic Rolls*, is well known and highly valued; but its quality is uneven: York MSS. Nos. 4, 5 and 6, are well done, and, although not flawless by any means, attain an incomparably higher standard than the "Exact Reproductions" of York MSS. Nos. 1 and 2. Their transcript of the *Scarborough* MS. was, however, their best effort, and compares very favourably with the excellent work of Bro. Wilson's transcription of the *Bain* MS. It will be recalled that Bro. Speth and his colleagues edited a Version of the *Scarborough* MS. in *Q.C.A.*, vol v., following a beautiful facsimile of the Roll itself. This Version was carefully made and merits high praise, but it is in my judgment inferior to that produced by Todd and Whytehead: it is marred by the transcription of "Yo^u." or "yo^u." consistently as "yo^u," and by the use of the modern *s* throughout in place of the old long *f*.²

These particular Reprints, when compared with all the others I have examined, are exceptionally good: their errors are relatively few, although some are important. The total errors in the other Reprints of these MSS. would, I think, amount to thousands. Pages could be filled with tedious details of such inaccuracies, the vast majority of which are small, even tiny, but none of which are permissible in an "Exact Reproduction."

Possibly a few examples would be useful in establishing this point:—

(a) In 1892 Bro. William Watson, a keen worker in this field of Masonic research and a disciple of Hughan, transcribed the *Clapham* MS., of which the first sheet or the first two sheets are missing. To complete his transcript he borrowed the missing text from the *Colne* MS. No. I. He printed this supplement in italics: this supplement contains no fewer than seventy mistakes. I do not know if Watson used another transcript of the *Colne* MS., or collated the actual MS. But this was a prelude to his "Exact Reproduction" of the *Clapham* MS. In this work he was again assisted by Bro. Hughan who "carefully collated" the MS.; but in the transcription of the MS. there are at least two hundred and fifty mistakes.

(b) The "Exact transliteration" of York MS. No. 1 by Todd and Whytehead is inexact in many particulars. A line of text is missing. More important is their incorrect rendering of the distance of warning to Masons to

¹ See the Title-page of many of these Reprints. The phrase "Exact Reproduction" is common: cf. Watson's *Introduction* to his Reprint of the *Clapham* MS., in which he asserts the utmost care: "I am indebted to him (Bro. W. J. Hughan) . . . for having recently carefully collated the original MS. with my transcript to ensure correctness." The transcript is not an accurate representation of the MS. This quotation could be matched with many others, transcribers of no mean authority guaranteeing the work of others. Beneath some of the Reprints there is a statement to the effect that it is a Certified Transcript; e.g., "Certified to be a correct Transcript by W. J. Hughan" at the end of the *Embleton* MS., a transcription which also lacks full value.

² The abbreviation "yu." or "Y^u." was a common form in cursive script in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: good examples of it can be found in our MSS.: e.g., the *Hughan* MS.

attend Assembly: they render it as "1 mile," when the MS., which is clear enough, reads (as we should expect it to do) "1 miles." The small "l", standing for "fifty", was misread for "I" and "miles" for "mile".

(c) The Colne MSS. are printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. 34 (1921). They are entitled "LITERAL TRANSCRIPTS . . ." Photographs are given of the originals (a sheet of each), and the writer of the paper makes it plain in his *Introduction* that the greatest possible care has been taken to give a faithful representation of the documents. Not only is one of the photographs worthless, so faded that it gives no idea of the excellently preserved text of the MSS., but the Transcripts are sadly unfaithful to their originals.

Transcript of MS. No. I. has more than 150 errors including 37 words either wrong or misspelt: and insofar as the "u" in the MS. has been throughout (except strangely enough in "Tweulf" at the end) transcribed arbitrarily by the modern "v," there are really more than an additional 100 mistakes. Some of the misspellings are important: *e.g.*, line 2, *beloved* for *blessed*; line 10, *begat* for *begun*; line 39, *Laterness* for *Laternes*; line 72, *haw* for *ham*; line 192, *kegn* for *Regn*; line 207, *Gretus* for *Grecus*; line 243, *Knight* for *King*.

Transcript of MS. No. II. has more than 200 errors including some three dozen misspelt words or wrong terms: some of the blanks to which attention was especially called by the writer of the paper can be filled wholly or partially: *e.g.*, line 58, "*ordained for them*" for "*ordun . . .*"

At the end of these documents the scribes drew sketches of the Masons Coat of Arms. That on MS. No. I. is a crude drawing of the Arms; but on MS. No. II. the professional scrivener (I fancy) tried to do his job well: thrice he drew the Arms neatly in triangular form, and doubtless found satisfaction in his work. These interesting and probably valuable aids to identification are missing from the printed versions. In fairness to the writer of these records it ought to be stated that on the photographs of the text accompanying the records these drawings are to be seen.

Analysis of the errors I am trying to expose reveals them to be the following:—

(a) Incorrect form of arrangement of the MS. Paragraphing or iteming are in many cases changed for no reason unless it be that the transcriber wished to make the document easier to read. Hugnan treated the *Hughan* and *Tew* MSS. in this manner.

(b) Words are misspelt, wrong words are written, words are omitted, so are phrases.

(c) Punctuation is false—a consistent defect. The tendency to modernise punctuation has been adopted by transcribers: the results are unfortunate for what I believe to be a salient characteristic of the documents is changed.

(d) False lettering, especially in Capital lettering, is common. Capitals are missed *passim*: this is an obstructive error to those desirous of establishing identities by way of script examination. I shall refer to the difficulty of Capital lettering later.

(e) Failure to emphasise terms or parts of text which the old scribes were at pains to emphasise, so far as they could, by writing them in different styles of script or by making them Catchwords or Catch-phrases: *e.g.*, Gothic lettering, larger hand, rubricated forms, etc. This common defect forfeits us many a valuable clue. A good example of this mistake is seen in the *Colne* versions mentioned above. MS. II. offers ample evidence of the scribe's pains to embellish his work in more than 100 instances: none of these are shown in the printed record. The less educated and Operative scribe (again, my own fancy), who wrote the older document, MS. No. I., also tried to emphasise his text: his work is more difficult to detect: but the writer ignored it. Many other examples of this omission could be cited from printed versions of the OLD CHARGES.

(f) Incorrect form of printed text as *script-text*. This is the reverse error of (e). Transcribers have over-emphasised terms or phrases. Two kinds of this mistake are to be noted: (i.) The printing of text in italics when the MS. is not italicised. Most transcribers have so rendered the Rubric and the Oath-direction. Possibly HUGHAN's transcript of the important *William Watson* MS., which quotes a good deal of ancient authorities, offers the best example of this false treatment: all these quotations are put in italics for obvious reasons, yet the MS. itself makes no distinction so far as I can see. In the text as we have it two small phrases are underlined, *bargerie-war* and *anena*; terms which puzzle us to-day. I think that whoever underlined these words did so because he regarded them as important. But Bro. Vibert suggests to me what appears to be a more rational explanation, namely, that he did not understand these terms that he found in the text he was copying and, having done his best, italicised them to indicate his difficulty. As Bro. Vibert points out: "They are to us obvious corrupt readings. But he [the scribe] did not know that." (ii.) The use of uncials for important terms. Examples of this misuse of lettering can be found in the Reprints of the *William Watson*, the *Stanley*, the *Taylor* (in *A.Q.C.*, vol. 21) (1908), the *Waistell*, the *Hope*, the *Probity* MSS. and in many others.

In regard to these two points it ought to be noted that the use of italics and uncials in the texts of the OLD CHARGES is rare.

It may be objected that all these errors are small things having far less significance and value than I dare to attach to them. No error in an exact or literal reproduction of any MS. is a small or insignificant thing. It is a serious thing for it makes the text inaccurate in that the text is different from the original it claims to reproduce exactly.

The production of a wrong form of document or the omission of embellishments may possibly be singled out as serious; so also the use of uncials or the absence of correct punctuation. I do not, however, consider it wise to evaluate errors as serious or trivial. Any one may be important to the degree that it hides the clue we are looking for to establish identities and unlock literary and historical secrets.

I venture to think we have studied profitably the contents of these documents and have got almost as far as we can in this direction: a new field lies open to us in the script of the texts; if this is skilfully and patiently examined. I am confident that valuable discoveries will be made. Unless this be so in the future there is little justification for this paper except that of a purely academic exercise of merely personal value.

It will, of course, serve no useful purpose to try and account for these defective renderings of the script. But it may be helpful to suggest that possibly our zealous Brethren have been primarily interested in the *body* or *content* of the documents. Neatly and correctly they gave us these very important values and have enabled Masonic historians to do their work with authentic materials. Our gratitude to them ought not, however, to cause us to evade the issue that the *form* and details of the *text-script* are of equal importance for critical purposes. A fair example of this to deduce is the version of the Charges in the *Tew* MS. printed in HUGHAN's *Old Charges* (2nd edit., 1895). I think he copied them completely from his own transcript (circulated in pamphlet form) of the document. That their content is correct goes without saying: that they yielded authentic material for Masonic history is gladly admitted, and probably at a time when it was wanted. But, on the other hand, comparison of the printed version with the MS. will show many errors in both form and text-script.

The point I wish to make is that we to-day have to use the work of previous scholars: if for certain purposes we have to do the work over again, doubtless we personally are profited, but time, which is so precious, is not economically used. The *Colne* MSS. above referred to can offer a good example of this truism. In his *Old Charges*, p. 71, Hughan discusses the *Colne* MS. No. I. which he had transcribed. He quotes from his version some dozen lines or so, which, when compared with the original document, are found to contain some dozen small slips in textual *minutiae*. Unluckily, Bro. Beesley, in writing his *Introduction* to his own defective transcripts of these *Colne* MSS., quotes these passages from Hughan's great work; but in his quotation he has made more than thirty slips. Thus his copy is more defective than Hughan's copy, and imposes a gratuitous burden on Hughan.

An interesting piece of work by Bro. Dr. Rosedale is relevant to this discussion of errors in *minutiae* of script. In *A.Q.C.*, vol. 33 (1920), his paper is published in which he pleaded for a new principle of classifying the OLD CHARGES. The paper was severely criticised by Bro. Vibert and Bro. Songhurst. Following his paper in the volume mentioned above is printed his "Variorum Edition" of the "Dodd Family" (Spencer Family) of these MSS. This "Edition" is a collation of the texts of this small Family. The primary text, the *Inigo-Jones* MS., is given in full, and in an elaborate series of footnotes the collation of the other five MSS. in this Family is shown. There is an imposing air of accuracy and authority about this "Variorum Edition . . .," but, fortunately, its author printed photographic facsimiles of four pages of MSS.: two of the *Fisher-Rosedale* MS. and two of the *Songhurst* MS. If these pages be compared with the collation of variations, the collation will be found to be defective. None of the four pages is correctly collated: and, if the whole work can be assessed by this fragment, its value is difficult to estimate. I do not question Bro. Dr. Rosedale's erudition: it so happens that this fragment of his work illustrates the point I am making regarding small errors. In it there is false punctuation: (it is worth noting that in the four pages of facsimile there is, as we should expect, very little punctuation); apparently the *Inigo-Jones* MS., which I know only in the beautifully rendered facsimile in *Q.C.A.*, vol. vi., is exceptionally modern in its completed system of punctuation, and this feature of the primary text of the collation has been taken for granted throughout his work by the editor of the variants. Capital lettering is false: there is no indication of embellished text and emphasised words—the examples in the facsimiles are strikingly clear. And at least one variant is missed: *Household*—*Houshold* in the passage concerning St. Albans. Doubtless the collation is of value for the purposes of examining *content*: for any other critical purpose it would not seem to be of much service.

In reply to the criticisms of his work, Bro. Dr. Rosedale pleaded lack of time. "Unfortunately for myself, I have but scant time to devote to any form of literary work . . ." ¹ Admittedly, textual studies and collations of variants, not to mention the search for script-identities, demand more than erudition and zeal; much time and rare patience are needed.

I plead for a thorough revision of all the *Reprints* of the OLD CHARGES which have been made, except those published by modern scholars trained in the science of collation and transcription.

To those who are volunteering to do this work, and have little experience of its difficulties, may I venture to offer a few rules for guidance?

(1) Documents must be scientifically described: their characteristic features plainly stated. Such a record is valuable, for documents may be lost again after their re-discovery.

¹ *A.Q.C.*, *ibid.* Dr. Rosedale did not, I think, make it quite clear whether he worked from the manuscripts themselves or from reprints.

(2) Form (arrangement) of text must be faithfully reproduced: margins, lines, overrunning of margins, embellishments of text and other artistic features—drawings, etc.—shown.

(3) The script where different in character must be reproduced in its different style: *e.g.*, gothic lettering and heavy lettering. Modern printers make a fuss about this need, but surely their skill is adequate to meet the demand of old forms of type.

(4) Capital letters must be properly shown. This causes endless difficulty. The *S* and the *C* and occasionally the *P* are often doubtful in the old texts. When doubtful, they should be rendered in the Capital form. The small long *f* ought also to be reproduced. The tendency has been to render it as *s* in the modern style—an unfortunate decision.

(5) Blanks must be shown: interpolations, footnotes and marginalia too.

(6) Punctuation must be true. There are endless mistakes in this matter of detail which are most difficult to account for. To give the correct punctuation is as easy or as hard as to give it incorrectly. Generally, there is very little punctuation in these MSS. To modernise it, as is so frequently done, is a serious error. Full stops and colons are rare: the comma is common, and the semi-colon frequently found.

(7) Uncials must not be arbitrarily used to express embellished text. Uncials are rare and often strange in their old-fashioned form.

(8) Iteming of clauses and the numbering of them need care: the right representation is often hard.

(9) There is, in my view, no need to give the text line by line or to indicate the lines by any method of numbering, etc. If the form of the document is correct, this system of setting the work out is gratuitous. On the other hand, many think that work done in this way is helpful.¹

(10) Such a task is necessarily a long and often a tedious one demanding patience, endurance, concentration, skill in applying knowledge of script, accuracy in attending to detail, and a readiness to revise again and again, especially when proof-sheets are ready. Time is the tyrant here: critical capacity is but a humble slave whose services may not be wanted. A reverence for the "old writings" and a fraternal regard for their scribes are not obstructive to success.

Possibly, it may not be out of place to recall here the rule of the Jewish scholars whose lives are devoted to preserving the sacred writings of their race: the rule that not "a jot or tittle" of the texts must be altered or amended or omitted is absolute: and the preservation of Jewish texts for so many centuries is as enviable as it is remarkable.

Why must these Reprints of the OLD CHARGES be absolutely correct?

Chiefly because identities of relationship or kinship cannot be established satisfactorily unless they are. And there follow from this the many difficulties of authorship of the scripts, etc.

While it is true that copyists often wrote an amended version of the text of the document they copied, and so bequeathed to us the problems of classification and of fixing the true text of our OLD CHARGES, it may be wise to believe that such amendments were deliberately and conscientiously made for the most

¹ An instance of the possible importance of recording alignment will be found in *A.Q.C.*, iii. At p. viii. of the Introduction to the Transcript of the *William Watson* MS. Bro. C. C. Howard points out that four omissions in the text of the *Cooke* MS., perhaps five, are all of almost exactly the same length, 42 letter spaces. This strongly suggests that the transcriber had before him a text where the line was of this length, and that in each case he slipped a complete line. Clearly if an earlier document turned up with this same line-length, which corresponded in its wording to the *Cooke*, it would have very strong claims to be the actual document the transcriber used.—L.V.

part rather than through carelessness or ignorance.¹ Apart from all variations of text and form, there is in these MSS. an exceedingly large measure of common or identical phrasing. This suggests that the copyists were responsible men who treated their job seriously, and for the most part laboured, crudely or cleverly, to reproduce what they had as a model before them. Unless we act on this belief we deprive ourselves of one of the best weapons we possess to fight the challenge of these documents to our critical skill. Many examples could be given of the scribe's scrupulous fidelity to the copy he was labouring to reproduce; the writer of the *Buchanan* MS. deliberately converted the small "g" in "Gouverne" (in the Invocation) into a "G": the writer of the beautiful *Scarborough* MS. was, it would seem from his script, an educated man, yet he carefully preserved for us to elucidate the quaint term "ouerfhires" when stating the conditions of one being "bound and made Maſon": or, if the *Colne* MS. No. I. be studied, it will be evident, I think, that while the crude hand betrays an ill-educated man, the effort throughout to copy accurately, even in the matter of cautious emphasising of terms, demands our respect and admiration.²

After all, the point here is that any transcriptions we make to-day must be accurate: they are copies of our *original* documents just as the MSS. themselves were, when written, copies of their original documents: and, if we agree that the writers of old altered their texts, we must also agree that we must not alter ours.

May I also suggest that the dates of MSS., if dependent on their script, should be assigned by expert authority. Here, unfortunately, mistakes have been made. The *Tew* MS. and the *Hughan* MS. are important documents, but the dates assigned to them are wrong. I suspected they were later than late or end-seventeenth century. The British Museum Authorities have kindly given their view: they place both MSS. in the first half of the eighteenth century. The matter of correct dating is to-day, fortunately, a fairly simple matter in the vast majority of documents, and there is no reason why all our OLD CHARGES should not be so expertly assessed in age.

A word of warning concerning photographic facsimiles is also relevant. Unless these editions are expertly produced they are apt to be of less than full value. Usually the texts are faded: the photographs have to be touched up. This process demands knowledge of calligraphy as well as professional skill in photography. *Q.C.A.* offer excellent models: so far as I have been able to test them, they appear to be perfect. Similarly the facsimiles of the *Grand Lodge* MSS. issued for *Q.C.* by Bro. G. W. Speth. But, on the other hand, some of the photographs (which ought to be facsimiles) of the texts which illustrate Reprints of the OLD CHARGES are inaccurate owing to either defective photography or unskilled touching up: the text is inaccurate or meaningless in its altered form. Examples of this can be found in Todd and Whytehead's book on the York Rolls: and, these same photographs were in some cases borrowed by Hughan to illustrate his *Old Charges*. Sometimes the photographic reproductions are so faded as to be futile: an example has already been alluded to in this paper.³

Before concluding, may I be permitted to direct attention to transcriptions of other Masonic documents. I have had chances of comparing some of these records with the original MSS. Often the same faults I have discussed in this

¹ See Bro. Vibert's *Inaugural Address* to *Q.C.* (1921) where critical and historical arguments are marshalled to prove that scribes deliberately amended the texts, and sometimes reveal authoritative decision in so doing.

² See facsimile of the *Buchanan* MS. issued for *Q.C. Lodge* by Bro. G. W. Speth. I would suggest that "ouerfhires" is a corrupt form of "otherwise."

³ It is interesting to collate these photographic illustrations with the transcribed records so far as possible: if this is done, mistakes will be discovered. *E.g.*, Hughan's *Old Charges* (Second Edit.), pp. 113 *sqq.*, where the "hee or shee" MS. is being discussed. (*York* MS. No. 4.)

paper are to be found: namely, that, while the *content* of the MS. has been (as a rule) satisfactorily transcribed, the detailed script has not been faithfully reproduced.

I give an important example: Below is what I believe to be a correct transcription of part of the well known Schedule of documents belonging to the Grand Lodge at York in 1779. It was written by John Browne, Gd. Secretary, and is preserved in the archives of York Lodge, No. 236:—

A Schedule of the Regalia Records &c. belonging to the Grand Lodge of all England, Taken at a Committee held the 15th. of September 1779.

Records & Papers in a Paper Box

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| N ^o . 1. | { | A Parchm ^t . Roll in 3 Slips containing the Constitutions of Masonry and by an Endorsment appears to have been found in Pontefract Castle at the Demolition and Given to the Grand Lodge by Brother Drake. |
| N ^o . 2. | { | Another like Roll in 3 Slips Endorsed "Constitutions for Masonry." |
| N ^o . 3. | | A Parchm ^t . Roll of Charges on Masonry. 1630. |
| N ^o . 4. | { | A Paper Roll of Charges on Masonry 1693. Given to the Gr ^d . Lodge by Bro ^r . Walker. 1777. |
| N ^o . 5. | | Part of another Paper Roll of Charges on Masonry |
| N ^o . 6. | { | A Parchm ^t . Roll of Charges, whereof the Bottom part is wanting. |

If this transcription be compared with the versions of it given in either Todd and Whytehead's book or in Hughan's more famous book, whatever value there is in my general contention will be revealed.

One of the most valuable records in the York Lodge is that which is usually called (but wrongly) the "Minutes" of the "Grand Lodge of all England" commencing in 1714. A transcription of this long document will be found in *A.Q.C.*, vol. 13, where it is one of the Appendices to Hughan's Paper on the Grand Lodge of York. This transcription was made by Cowling, to whom Hughan pays a graceful tribute. Although extremely useful as a substantially accurate record of the facts and the historical material preserved in this MS., the work of Cowling, if considered as a work of faithful transcription, was quite unworthy of the praise Hughan gave its author or the honour of being printed in *A.Q.C.* It is lamentably defective in form and bears every mark of hurried, slipshod work.

Returning to the OLD CHARGES, I would in conclusion urge that all these MSS. be housed in one library. In addition to the reason I gave in the opening paragraphs of this paper, there are others of weight to which I would invite attention.

(a) The *preservation* of the MSS. Many of the MSS. known to me are sadly the worse for wear. They are of perishable substance, and, in the short space of time we have re-possessed them, they have been subjected to much handling and none too careful treatment. Amateur enthusiasm has been largely responsible for this. Those who first found these documents often tell us they were in "excellent condition" and the text in good state. If our former companions could see these treasures to-day, they would be alarmed and perhaps a little ashamed of our guardianship of them. Placed under a central authority, expert in this essential matter of preserving them, these documents would be guaranteed *as long a life as possible*. Moreover, as is commonly known, science aids the curator of MSS. to-day. If a central authority were guardian of our

OLD CHARGES, possibly the aid of science would be called in to treat as necessary the visible corruption that threatens to destroy some of them.

(b) *Guardianship*. This is a complex matter. It can best be exposed in three ways:—

(i.) The firm refusal to allow these documents to be used or handled except by recognised scholars. The cumulative effect of their being seen by so many Brethren whose interest is transitory and unacademic has been destructive, and will be even more so now that interest has been widely aroused in these documents as exhibits of Masonic importance. If housed in a central library, the MSS. would be safe from the reactions of superficial interest: only properly accredited scholars and students would be permitted to handle them.

(ii.) We have recovered and re-possessed these documents during the last seventy years. That we should ever *lose* them again seems the wildest of suggestions. But, it is always possible for them to be mislaid or lost again (perhaps even stolen), if guardianship is not too vigilant, and if interest continues strong. MSS. have been taken from the country secretly, as we know. Located as and where they are, it is alarmingly possible that some of them may again be lost to view. If they are housed in one central library, the possibility of their disappearance becomes almost negligible.

(iii.) We do not *own* these invaluable memorials of our ancient Fraternity. We hold them in *trust* or in *guardianship*. They belong to the Craft as a Fraternity, for, as Hughan taught us, they are the "Title Deeds" of the Craft. We value them because they serve in an incontestable manner our traditional and constitutional needs. If *we* value them for this reason, and so highly esteem them because they serve us so well, how much more will our Brethren in five hundred years, maybe, in one thousand years, from now value and esteem them? Their need of them will possibly not be so great as ours; yet, they will assuredly find the highest pride in possessing them. It is, therefore, our plain duty to preserve these MSS. to the best of ability in faithful custody and to preserve them *alive*!

That serious reasons can be advanced against the idea of a central repository within the Craft for the OLD CHARGES is a fact of Masonic experience to be carefully noted. That the idea is impracticable at the present time ought not to lessen its *real* value: for, although impracticable on certain grounds only, it is, on the highest ground of argument, as possible as it is desirable. In my canvassing of the idea I have been frankly surprised at the readiness of knowledgeable Masons to agree rather than to disagree with its suggestion.

If, however, it is asking too much to bring all our MSS. into one collection, is it too much to hope that these documents may sooner or later be collected into group-unities under the guardianship of those Lodges now known to have the nucleus of such a collection? If individual Lodges and individual Brethren felt it hard to surrender their document or documents to the safekeeping of such well-known centres of Masonic life, they would assuredly find no mean measure of satisfaction in having assisted the common welfare of the Craft in affording its students and scholars better facilities for their daily research than they can now enjoy.

By chance or judgment, I, a junior Brother, may be considered by my Brethren to have been disrespectful to those members of the Craft whose work I have ventured to discuss and criticise. May I say that I am mindful of the moral injunction of the OLD CHARGES and reverence my elders in the Craft. Had not Speth, Hughan, Watson, Poole and others shown me the way into this difficult realm, I should not have found it myself. I cannot emulate their zeal: their erudition is greater than mine: and their genius is certainly safe from any attack.

June, 1934.

FRIDAY, 4th MARCH, 1932.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Williams, W.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., G.Ch., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treas.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; B. Telepneff, S.D.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., I.G.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C.; W. Ivor Grantham, and S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.D., Warwicks.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. Stuart Brown, Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., A. G. Harper, A. Saywell, A. W. Hare, W. P. Breach, L. G. Wearing, A. H. Edwards, J. Toon, J. F. Tarrant, J. Herbert Bankes, P.G.D., E. Elves, E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D., G. S. Collins, P.A.G.D.C., H. F. Whyman, P.A.G.St.B., Col. J. C. Hanna, P.A.G.S.B., Geo. C. Williams, Major C. H. Inwood, James Presnail, E. A. Bristow, W. Brinkworth, Robt. MacIntyre, J. Edward Whitty, Morlais Morgan, Lewis Edwards, E. Oetzmann, W. F. Dillon, P.A.G.Purs., H. S. Phillips, C. Allen Newbery, W. T. J. Gun, Alfred Wells, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, Thos. Tose, Major-Gen. J. D. McLachlan, P.G.S.B., T. E. Rees, J. H. Earls, C. A. Newman, T. Lidstone Found, G. D. Hindley, R. B. Vincent, John E. Messenger, T. E. Johnston, C. J. C. Padfield, J. J. Nolan, P.G.St.B., J. Wallis, G. Stevens, J. W. Stevens, P.A.G.Supt.W., W. H. Edwards, G. B. Redfern, A. F. Street, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., Donald Stevenson, Major A. G. T. Smith, E. L. Bristoll, A. Keville, H. F. Mawbey, S. M. Hills, A. F. Ford, Lambert, Peterson, E. J. March, Jno. Palmer, P.G.St.B., Henry G. Gold, W. H. E. Smeaton, W. W. Woodman, Chas. H. Perram, P.G.D., W. Barrett, E. Saxine, R. W. Strickland, E. Baltz, John Lawrence, F. S. Henwood, A. Loftus Brown, A. L. Collins, P.A.G.Reg., E. W. Marson, Geo. M. Bartle, A. Norman Gutteridge, H. A. Horsnell, S. Hazeldine, A. J. H. Elliott, R. E. Stubbington, A. Chichele Rixon, J. Johnstone, Wm. Lewis, R. Bruce Wycherley, Frank Rickford, John I. Moar, L. Danielsson, F. Bare, Wallace Heaton, P.G.S.B., R. Sandland, R. L. Loyd, F. Houghton, W. R. Gregory, H. C. Bruce-Wilson, G.S.B., Geo. A. Hopkins, G. A. Crome, F. A. M. Taylor, D. Drysdale Anderson, L. R. Jepson, H. Chown, P.G.Purs., F. M. Shaw, B. Ivanoff, J. H. Clark, J. F. H. Gilbard, G. E. W. Bridge, F. P. Reynolds, A. E. Gurney, Frank L. Fitness, C. F. Tyson, B. A. Smith, H. E. McMeel, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.Purs., Rev. G. Freeman Irwin, P.A.G.Ch., G. W. South, C. F. Sykes, H. M. Sayers, H. Johnson, and Edward A. Frith.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. C. W. Digby, Warner Lodge No. 2256; Geo. W. Brockman, St. Martin's Porchway Lodge No. 4862; H. W. Navril, J.W., Bedford Lodge No. 157; Herbert A. Ranson, W.M., Anglo-American Lodge No. 2191; J. R. Edwards, P.M., Sir Francis Burdett Lodge No. 1503; Herbert Shepherd, Arcadian Lodge No. 2696; Percy High, P.M., Brownswood Lodge No. 4272; R. Greenaway, W.M., Bolingbroke Lodge No. 2417; Geo. L. Elkington, P.M., Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28; D. A. Patrick, P.M., Centurion Lodge No. 1718; R. W. Sloley, P.M., United Empire Lodge No. 3863; B. J. Gott, L.R., P.M., Organon Lodge No. 3233; H. J. Parsons, L.R., P.M., Anglo-American Lodge No. 2191; H. E. Eden, Meridian Lodge No. 4106; T. Ashdown, L.R., P.M., St. Olave's Lodge No. 2764; H. Hayltor, St. George's Lodge No. 3065; H. L. Chown, Scion Lodge No. 4794; W. Dundas Bathurst, P.G.St.B.; C. F. Barrett, P.M., and R. Bursell,

W.M., Westminsterian Lodge No. 3344; J. Dean, Arondale Lodge No. 2389; Thos. A. Fox, P.M., Lodge of Charity No. 4431; Cyril Edwards, Lodge of United Strength No. 228; H. Bradbury, P.M., Queen's Westminster Lodge No. 2021; T. J. Hall, Brownswood Lodge No. 4272; E. J. Toner, Borough of Finsbury Lodge No. 3901; F. Ward, Dominicos Lodge No. 5252; F. J. Knowles, Meridian Lodge No. 4106; W. Dickinson, S.W., Neptune Lodge No. 22; J. W. Burrows, Kenelm Lodge No. 5158; W. Bunker, P.M., and B. Cheshire, W.M., Grenville Lodge No. 1787; A. J. Kingston, Grosvenor Lodge No. 1257; H. W. Montague, Beverley Lodge No. 5006; Arthur E. Peacock, P.M., Lambeth Borough Council Lodge No. 2941; B. T. Ashton, Borough of Finsbury Lodge No. 3901; Cecil B. Tubbs, Old Haileyburian Lodge No. 3912; W. T. Boston, Lodge of Perseverance No. 213; C. W. Oxham, Wood Green Lodge No. 2426; and Reginald Large, J.W., Moorfields Lodge No. 4949.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. D. Knoop, M.A.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; and John Stokes, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks, P.M.

One Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction, one Class of Instruction and Forty-two Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Jewels of the G.L. Nationale of France, formerly the property of the late Bro. Major N. S. H. Sitwell.
 Collarette and Jewel, Provincial G.L. Neustrie.
 Breast Jewel, of the same, with clasp for Lodge No. 1.
 Founder, Consecrating Officer and Hon. Member, No. 3.
 Consecrating Officer: Nos. 18, 19, 23, 24, and Chapters Nos. 9, 10.
 Founder, No. 20.
 Hon. Member Nos. 20, 25.
 Apron and Collar with Jewel: St. Andrew Lodge, Paris.
Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. HUBERT HUNT, of Bristol, P.G.Org.

Two R.A. Jewels, one with white ribbon and one with *blue*. Both have the motto *Nos reserere valeamus*. This motto occurs in a series of R.A. Jewels of the period at Bristol. The Jewel with white ribbon has the maker's mark, PB, AB, WB, for Peter, Anne and William Bateman. Each has a central gem stone, one white the other red.

R.A. Jewel, by Harper, 1813. Design of Altar under an arch from which the keystone has been removed.

By Bro. A. F. FORD.

I.P.M.'s Jewel, silver; not hall-marked. No inscription. The property of Lodge Faith, No. 141. This was an Antient Lodge, constituted in 1774. Design: a square on an arc, elaborately ornamented in relief and pierced. Between the square and arc an arch with keystone on two pillars, and within the arch a triangle with the tetragrammaton. Between the pillars the sun in splendour. The Lodge also possesses a Treasurer's and a Secretary's Jewel of the same period, late eighteenth century.

By Bro. G. WALLIS HALL, of Kent.

Masonic Address: Broadsheet. The writer, Bro. Matthew Garland, was born in Deptford in 1742, and was first a shipwright and then an auctioneer. Initiated in Lodge of Moral Reformation, Deptford, in 1784. Master of Perfect Lodge, Woolwich; Prov. G. Orator for the Province of Kent, 1799 till his death in 1819. He wrote numerous Masonic poems which were published after his death by Bro. F. C. Daniel with the title *Masonic Effusions, Moral and Religious*.

This present address is in verse and was delivered to the St. George's Lodge, Deptford, on April 2, 1817. It brings in the names of all the members.

By Bro. ARTHUR TAYLOR, of Bristol.

Apron and Sash, tartan; the flap of the apron divided.

By Bro. Dr. GEORGE NORMAN, Bath.

Apron, of an unknown degree. Green bordered with a purple and cream ribbon, on it a cross above a crescent. The flap light blue with a dark blue border.

By Bro. ALFRED SHARP, of Havre.

Minute Book of the French Prisoners' Lodge held on the hulk *Le Bienfaisance* at Plymouth, 1804 to 1809. With a loose leaf of the year 1800. There is also a list of members. The Lodge was hitherto unknown.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to those Brethren who had lent objects for exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

Bro. J. Heron Lepper, the Prestonian Lecturer for 1932, then delivered his lecture, the subject being:—

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASONIC RITUAL IN ENGLAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Beginning with the earliest Exposures after the formation of Grand Lodge, Bro. Lepper traced the development of the Ritual and Ceremonies as indicated by Prichard, the French Exposures of the middle of the Century, and the English and Irish Catechisms that began with *Three Distinct Knocks*: showing to how large an extent the forms arrived at immediately after the Union were based on pre-existing material.

From the nature of the address it is not possible to have it printed.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Lepper, on the proposition of Bro. Williams, seconded by Bro. Flather; comments being made by Bros. Baxter and de Lafontaine.

THE LODGE OF RANDLE HOLME AT CHESTER.

BY BRO. S. L. COULTHURST, P.P.G.D. (*E. Lanc.*) AND
BRO. P. H. LAWSON, Prov.Gr.Supt. of W. (*Ches.*), F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A.



FOR the knowledge of Freemasonry in the City of Chester during the seventeenth century we are indebted to certain MSS. of Randle Holme of Chester included in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, together with statements in his *Academic of Armory*, which he printed at Chester in 1688. All these are well known to Masonic Students and have been made use of by Historians many times in a more or less correct manner.

The first reference we offer is to be found in the *Academic*, Book iii., ch. iii., p. 61:—"A FRATERNITY, or SOCIETY, or BROTHERHOOD, or COMPANY: "are such in a Corporation that are of one and the same trade, or occupation, "who being joined together by oath and covenant, do follow such orders and "rules, as are made, or to be made for the good order, rule, and support, of "such and every of their occupations. These several Fraternities are generally "governed by one or two Masters, and two wardens, but most companies with "us by two aldermen and two stewards, the later being to receive and pay what "concerns them."

This is not definite to Freemasonry, from the fact that he in general terms describes at great length, the Chester Guilds or Trade Companies (of which no less than 23 still remain) and especially when we realise the vast and varied contents of the work in question.

Harleian MS. No. 2054, at the British Museum, is a collection of papers, almost entirely in the handwriting of Randle Holmes, and his own description of it is:—"Notes and Charters, with generall things which concerne the Companies and occupations within the City of Chester."

Almost every trade is treated upon at great length, copies of Charters, Terms and Tools used, explained and described, coats of arms for companies, oaths and ordinances are given in generous quantities, all valuable, and indicating a full and general knowledge of the Chester City Trade Guilds or Companies.

"Living all their lives in Chester and being prominent Citizens, their (Randle Holme i., ii., iii., iv.) collection naturally abounds with references to that City. They have preserved to us the most valuable information relating to old Churches, Ancient Families, City Companies, City Records, Registers & church wardens accounts, old Charters, Family Deeds, and taking note of all the usages of the Trades of Chester."

(Earwaker, "The Four Randle Holme of Chester,"
Chester Arch. and Hist. Socy., 1890-91.)

One of the most interesting references to the Masonic Fraternity is the "Terms of Art used by Freemasons," which are set out at length at p. 131 of vol. iii. of the *Academie of Armory*. On p. 393 occurs the well-known reference:—

"I cannot but Honor the Fellowship of the Masons because of its antiquity: and the more, as being a member of that society called Free-Masons: In being conversant amongst them I have observed the use of these several Tools following some whereof I have seen born in coats armour."

Bro. Rylands (1882) says:—

"It appears to have never before been noticed and I need hardly call attention to its importance."

The following are in the Harleian MS. No. 2054 at the British Museum:—

1. The Constitutions of Masonry, in the handwriting of Randle Holme.
2. A Scrap of Paper, referring to the "Words & Signes of a free-mason."
3. A Page containing twenty-six names with certain fees.

The Copy of the Old Constitutions bears no date, and it has generally been put at about 1650. (Hugan.)

In view of the clear connection between the three documents, this date may be well worthy of re-consideration since it is over twenty years earlier than the date we suggest (later) as the probable date of the list of the Members of the Lodge.

We agree with the opinion of Bro. Rylands:—

"That in all probability there is a very clear connection [between all three documents] and that we have here some of the original papers (or at least copies) belonging to a Lodge of Freemasons existing at Chester somewhere about the middle of the seventeenth century."

No. 2 is a scrap of paper, evidently torn off the corner of a sheet, and it is suggested that it was probably used as a memorandum:—

"There is seu'all words and signes of a free Mason to be revealed to y^u w^{ch} as y^u will answ: before God at the great and terrible day of Judgm't y^u keep secret and not to reveale the same in the heares of any p'son or to any but to the M^r & fellows of the said Society of free masons so help me God xc."

This is the first known allusion to Masonic "words and signs." (Hobbs, *Growth of Masonic Ritual*.)

It is well known that many of the oaths and regulations of the Trade Guilds or Companies have definite resemblances to the Masonic observances.

A few from the Chester Companies may be of interest:—

BARBER-SURGEON COMPANY IN 1606.

"you shall concale, keep secrett and not disclose such councill as att any tyme hereafter shall be used or spoken of by or amongst the said company soe helpe me God and by the Holy contents of this Booke."

BRICKLAYERS COMPANY IN 1578.

"& I shall conceale and keep secrett and not disclose, so helpe me God."

SKINNERS & FELT-MAKERS COMPANY IN 1615.

"You shall therefore sweare by all Mightee God that you will be faithfull and true and keep secrett what shall be used or spoken at our meetings So helpe me God and Jesus Christ."

SMITHS, CUTLERS & PLUMBERS COMPANY IN 1501.

The oath of the Aldermen (Master) Stewards (Warden) and Bretheren:—

"I will be Just and true unto the Kinge and Queen of England and to the Maior of Chester
So helpe me God and Holie Dame and the contents of this Holie Book."

Turning again to Randle Holme's *Academie*, he has a heading (vol. iii., p. 111):—"Terms of art used by Freemasons stone cutters."

At the end of the list he says: "There are several other terms used by the Free-Masons which belong to buildings, Pillars, and Columbs." He follows this by another list, headed: "Terms of Art used by Free-Masons." The first list deals merely with stone; the second is a collection of architectural terms.

The passage "I cannot but Honor [etc.]" quoted above is the opening paragraph of a section which is headed "Masons tools," and in this we have descriptions, with references to a very crude plate, of the shovel, mason's hammer, "which may be well so termed, because there is no other trademan's like it," chisel, and so on. The text speaks of "three Free Masons tools very useful in their trade," and again, "three other Free Masonry tools." These include a "great Mallet with a long handle, some call it a Maul."

On p. 460, when discoursing of Pillars, he says: "For it is ever a term amongst workmen of the Free Masons Science, to put a difference between that which is called a Column, and that which they name a Pillar"; and at the conclusion of this section, he says (p. 466) "I shall . . . set forth all their words of art used about them: by which any gentleman may be able to discourse a Free mason or other Workman in his own terms."

In this latter passage he appears to make a distinction between "a gentleman" and "a Free mason," and it is clear that he uses the words "Free mason" in the operative sense. It will be noted that Randle Holme uses the term "Free mason" in all his descriptions of the operative Mason and his work, and where he says he is a member of that Society called Freemasons, his description of Masons tools follows immediately. He also uses the term "Free mason" at the head of the list of 26 members of the Lodge, which is in Harleian MS. No. 2054.

The period we are considering is the most important of our Masonic History; every authentic item that can be gathered will make a connecting link and enable future historians eventually to arrive at a better understanding of what took place during the period of transition from Operative to Speculative.

In chap. vi. of his *Untrodden Paths of Masonic Research*, the late Bro. Gilbert Daynes wrote:—

"With regard to English Lodges of this period, in addition to the 'acception' of the London Company of Masons, our knowledge is confined chiefly to the Lodge at Warrington . . . (1646), the Lodge at Chester of which Randle Holme was a member about 1665 and the Lodge which met at the Masons Hall, London, on the 11th March, 1682. What was the work of these Lodges where operatives Masons, if not entirely excluded, must have been in considerable minority? What were their aims? Did they in any way deal with trade interest? . . . The answer to these and many similar

enquiries is the same: we do not know, but we shall be extremely grateful to any brother who can, by his researches, furnish such further facts as will enable satisfactory solutions of these queries to be supplied.

Or again, what induced Elias Ashmole, Randle Holme and other scholars of the age to be made Masons? That they were influenced by reasons of substance may be regarded as certain, but the student has not yet succeeded in discovering the operating causes."

"Our knowledge concerning the Lodges mentioned and of their members is by no means complete. Bro. Rylands spent a considerable amount of time and trouble investigating all Records as to the Warrington and Chester Lodges, and Bro. Conder has done the same for London. They have collected many particulars relating to the lives of the members of these Lodges, but their work cannot be said to be exhaustive, more must remain to be unearthed . . . It would also be helpful to know if any, and if so which of the known speculative Masons had any connection with the Masons or other Trade Companies in their particular locality."

Bro. Daynes in his concluding paragraph indicates an important line of action and confesses that he does not feel that Bro. Rylands went far enough. It is the case, unfortunately, that Bro. Rylands depended almost exclusively on Wills for his sources of identification, but it has now been found possible to amplify, and in some cases modify his information from other sources.

In his Inaugural Address as Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge on November 8th, 1928, Bro. H. Poole said (*A.Q.C.*, xli., 290):—

"I believe that there is not a single case in this country in which we can trace any sort of continuity of a Lodge of Masons for more than the shortest period anterior to 1717."

"We know in fact, extraordinary little about the personnel of the craft in early days and I know of very few writers who have attempted to get behind the works of the Craft and discover something of its organisation, the relative status and functions of the men and the conditions under which they worked."

"The problem of the historian is rendered more interesting, though by no means easier by the fact that the personnel of Masonry must have changed during that period from a largely operative to an almost entirely speculative character; to this period belong such incidents as Ashmole's initiation in 1646, and to this period belong certainly not less than 60 of our existing copies of the Old Charges."

"The whole question of the location of the known copies of the Old Charges presents features of interest; . . . eleven can be associated with what I may perhaps be allowed to call the 'Warrington area' in Lancashire and Cheshire."

"At Canterbury there has survived a book of accounts of the Company or Fellowship of Masons &c. (containing all the building trades) for a period of about a century previous to the formation of our Grand Lodge, that is to say it covers a period during which extensive restoration work was carried on at the Cathedral, and reaches a point only a few years before the formation of the first Lodge in Canterbury. This company was of course primarily a purely operative one; but there are several curious features, such as irregularities in the fees paid, and above all the impression that several of its members were well to do citizens who were not operatives, which seem to me to point to something esoteric."

This address by Rev. Bro. Poole turned our thoughts in the direction of the Lodge at Chester, where similar conditions existed at the same period. After Bro. Rylands' investigations into the seventeenth century Lodge at Chester (in 1882) he contributed a paper to the *Transactions* of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society (1898) in which he quoted from J. Brent, *Canterbury in the Olden Times*, the following reference to the Guild at Canterbury:—

“An instance of late date, in which the Town Guild had lost its power, occurred at Canterbury.

“About 1680, the Joiners, Carpenters, Carvers, Masons, Bricklayers, etc., were incorporated into one fraternity; the various Guilds and fraternities continued in force untill the middle of the eighteenth century. Their termination was undignified. Thomas Roch, a cabinet maker, born in Dublin, but a native of Wales, having settled in Canterbury and purchased his Freedom, was immediately afterwards called upon by the Builders, to which Fraternity he was considered as bound to attach himself, to pay the Master and Wardens the sum of £4 for fees and dues. He refused to pay and they refused to produce their charter. The case went to Rochester Assize and then before Lord Mansfield at Maidstone; here in 1758 the plaintiffs, who refused to produce their sham charter, were non-suited. The decision caused the general break up of the Guild and Fraternities, although some of them lingered on a few years.”

There is recorded (*A.Q.C.*, xli., p. 225) that at Exeter a new charter was granted to Carpenters, Free masons, Masons or Bricklayers, Glaziers, and Painters as a corporate body in 1586, and a later charter was granted in 1684/5 to the same building trades.

In the ordinances a quarterage of 6d. each is provided for.

At Oxford, the Freemasons, Carpenters and others were incorporated in 1604. (*A.Q.C.*, xl., p. 217.)

The Bishop of Durham constituted the Freemasons, Carvers, stone cutters, sculptors, brick makers, Bricklayers, tilers, glaziers, Painters, Plumbers, etc., into one Fellowship and incorporation in 1671. (Knoop, *The Medieval Mason*.)

There are several other similar records in various parts of the country.

All these Bodies were united into a single unit for purely trade purposes and under Trade Guild or Company regulations which had existed generations before.

In our consideration of the List of Names we shall quote considerably from Bro. W. H. Rylands' investigations, which appeared in *The Masonic Magazine*, January and February, 1882, as he is the only one who has attempted to give us any light upon the subject of this Chester Lodge. The articles have also been reprinted, “FREEMASONRY IN CHESTER, 17TH CENTURY, 1650-1700.”

In his Appendix he says:—

“Randle Holme in the list preserved in Harl. MS. No. 2054 gives the names of twenty-six persons who had paid various sums to be free masons. Amongst these his own name is found. This list must have been written before 1700 and is an extremely valuable document, being, I believe, the only list of the kind (of an English Lodge) in existence of such an early date. The fact that the names of Randle Holme, gentleman, William Street, alderman, and Samuel Pikes, tailor, are included in the list, shows very clearly that the Fraternity or Lodge was not composed entirely of *operative* Masons. I am inclined to think that these are not the only ‘free Masons’ in the list to be classed as speculative Masons.

“ Some explanation of the manner of selection of the Wills may be considered necessary. Being at once satisfied on looking over the Memorandum of Randle Holme that it referred to persons connected with the City of Chester, I selected from a list of the names mentioned therein as recorded in the Index of Wills, etc., at Chester, all the documents referring to persons bearing the same names described as ‘of Chester.’ When two occur, they are both here given. In some of the Wills the testator is distinctly stated to have been a *Mason*, for example, W. Wade 1716, W. Woods 1699, James Mort, 1684, John Lloyd 1674/5.”

The following extracts are important:—

“ If the John Lloyd, Mason, whose Will is here printed, is the John Lloyd occupying the twenty-second place in Randle Holme's list, then the list must have been made before 1675 the date on which the Will was proved.”

“ If the Will of John Fletcher of Chester, cloth worker, be accepted as that of the Freemason, the date must be about 1665.”

This latter name is important; our identification is that of John Fletcher, carpenter (see list), which aids in bringing the date to 1673/4, a year or so earlier than one of the two dates suggested by Bro. Rylands. 1665 or 1675.

Bro. Rylands says further:—

“ The name of George Harvey of Chester, bricklayer, appears in the Will of Robert Harvey, Alderman, proved 1669. The others are, I believe, all Cheshire names. There is no Thomas Morris of Chester to be found in the Index of Wills at Chester: Parry is a Welsh name; and only the administration bond of *Robert Morris* of Chester, Glazier, 5th Aug., 1708, as printed below, appears to be extant, but I hope at some future time to be able to add some information about the names now wanting.”

“ Of course I am aware it may be urged that the Wills here given, except in the case of four, in which the testator is specially called ‘Mason,’ are not or may not be the Wills of the persons mentioned in the list. But out of the twenty-six names given by him, the Wills of only nine, including that of the third Randle Holme, are wanting; all those here printed are of persons resident in or near Chester. In my own mind I am only doubtful, if in either of the documents here printed under the name of Hughes, we have the Wills of the Freemasons.”

Bro. Rylands clearly indicates that his only source of identification has been the Wills of persons bearing the names on the list, and in this he pleads uncertainty in given cases; in no less than nine he is unable to identify from his source of information and expresses the hope that at some future time he will be able to add some information about the names missing.

Since the results of Bro. Rylands' investigations were published in 1882, over fifty years ago, much further information has become available which enables a closer and more up-to-date inquiry of the personnel of the Lodge members to be made.

We are indebted to Bro. P. H. Lawson, Prov.Gr.Supt.Wks: (Ches.), F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A., and Editor of the *Transactions* of the Chester Archæological and Historical Society, and recognised as a skilled Genealogist, for his valuable help in preparing the main facts of identification of the list of names, and for his help and advice in other directions.

It is generally accepted that the lives and characters of men consist of their various activities. Biographers form their estimates and conclusions gathered from as wide a field as possible, and in the present case we have taken our evidence of identification from all possible authentic sources. But there is one field left unexplored, the great mass of information contained in the Chester City Records and now lying dormant which should be investigated and if possible printed before they go to dust.

We shall now proceed to take the names on Randle Holme's list in order, and give all the particulars we have been able to ascertain in each case.

1. ROBERT MORRIS, Glazier, 20^s.

Free in 1659/60 as a Glazier.

Steward of the Painters and Glaziers Co. in 1680 when Holme and Taylor (members of the Lodge) were Aldermen.

A member of the Smiths, Cutlers and Plumbers Co..

Assessed on 2 Hearths in St. John Ward 1664.

Admin: to his son Robert Morris, Glazier, 5 Aug. 1708.

Elected Alderman or Master of the Lodge or Company as recorded by the 8 votes at the head of the list.

Rylands gives his widow's refusal to administer and the bond of his son, Robert Morris, Glazier, but no further information.

2. ALDERMAN WILLIAM STREET, J.P. BEERBREWER. 10^s.

Free 18 March 1647/8 as Beerbrewer, son of William Street, Beerbrewer. Sheriff 1657, Mayor 1666, 1683, 1688.

Presented the City with a piece of Plate 1655.

Assessed on seven Hearths in St. Bridget's Ward 1664-5.

Entered his pedigree at the 1663 Visitation.

In the list of Cheshire Gentry 1673.

A Subscriber to Randle Holme's *Academie* 1688, and his copy is now in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, with a special frontispiece bearing his name.

Buried at St. Bridget's 2 Dec. 1696.

His daughter Alice married Roger Comberbach, Recorder of Chester, father of Roger Comberbach, also Recorder of Chester, who was a member of the "Sun" Lodge at Chester in 1725, and Prov.Gr.W. 1727, and who took up a letter of Loyalty to Grand Lodge (see Grand Lodge Minutes) in answer to W. Cowper, D.G.M. Visitation to the Chester Lodge.

Second on the list with seven votes.

Rylands gives no Will or particulars.

3. JOHN HUGHES, SLATER, 15^s.

Was of age in 1659, possibly the elder brother of William Hughes (No. 10 on list of Members).

Assessed on 2 Hearths in St. Martin's Ward 1664.

A deponent on behalf of William Hughes in 1672-3 (and then aged 34) in a suit tried in the Exchange Court at Chester, *Hughes v. Holme*, claiming payment for the building in 1671 of a house near St. Bridget Church for Randle Holme (member of the Lodge).

An apprentice of his Free 1672/3.

Admin: to Mary his relict 17 Jan. 1683-4.

Inventory of Goods dated 9 Nov. 1683 to the amount of £16.1.4.

Chosen 1st Steward or Warden on the list.

William Wade w^t giv^t for to be a first mason

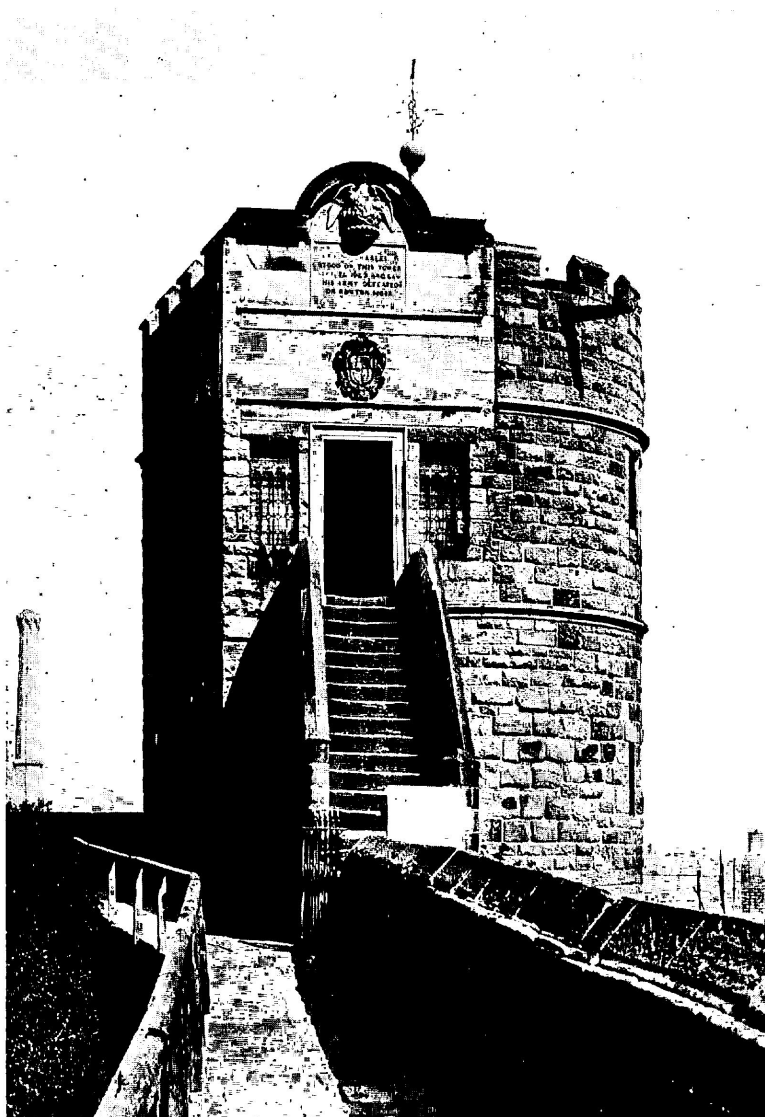
|||||	20
|||||	10
|	15
||	5
|	8

Robert Morris
William Street Alder
John Hugood.
Sain pike taylor
William Wade

William Harvey	20
Mus Holden	20
Robt Downham	20
Geo Boulton	10
Will Hugood	8
Jo Fletcher	10
Sain Hilton	15
Ran Holme	10
Ric Taylor	10
Ric Ratcliffe	20
Will Woods	5
Jo parry	10
Geo Morris	10
Geo May	10
Will Robinson	20
James Mort	20
Jo Lloyd	20
Geo Harvey	20
Will Jackson	10
Robt Harvey	20
John Madock	10

There is great ~~great~~ worth & sign of
a first mason to be revealed to y^e w^{ch} ad
y will aug^r. before God at his great &
terrible day of Judgement. See post. E. 10
to x^e vail^t to any but to y^e m^{an} & follow
of his faith society of first mason so
before me God pt.

for 1 th	9
for 10 th	9
for 15 th	1
for 5 th	1
for 8 th	1



Chester :
The Phoenix Tower on the City Wall.

Rylands gives note of one inventory as above, and John Hughes, husbandman; no further particulars given. It is one of the names he had doubt about, but the above identification would appear to settle the point.

4. SAMUEL PIKE, TAILOR, 5^s.

Free 12 Jan. 1671/2 as app. of William Olderoft of Chester, Tailor.

1689. Mary, Daughter of Mr. Sam Pike buried at St. Peter's, Feb. 3 1689.

"Mr." Samuel Pike was buried at St. Peter's 1698.

Admin: to Catherine his relict (who was buried at St. Peter's 8 Dec. 1708). Edward Partington of Chester, Merchant, security for £500 bond (in respect to personal estate of about £250).

Chosen 2nd Steward or Warden in the list of Members.

Rylands gives this administration, but no further particulars.

5. WILLIAM WADE, BRICKLAYER, 8^s.

Free as an apprentice to George Harvey, Bricklayer (member of the Lodge) Oct. 26 1664.

Assessed on 4 Hearths in St. Oswald's Ward.

Chosen or appointed Clerk to the Lodge or Company.

Rylands gives W. Wade 1716 of St. Michael's as his identification as mentioned above. This is probably the son of the Member of the Lodge.

(William Wade, Mason, free 28 March 1687, probably his son and of St. Michael's Parish.)

6. WILLIAM HARVEY, BRICKLAYER & LINEN DRAPER, 20^s.

Free 1647.

(Second son of Thomas Harvey, Milner [*i.e.*, Milliner], and nephew of Alderman Robert Harvey, J.P., Ironmonger, Sheriff 1627, Mayor 1639/40.)

A Bricklayer before he was an Innkeeper.

Sheriff in 1667. Mayor 1678/9.

Assessed on 12 Hearths in St. Michael's Ward 1664-5, then of the "Starr" Inn-holder. When at the "Starr" he issued a Trade Token. A specimen is still preserved in Brit. Museum, inscribed "William Harvey at 'Ye Starr' 1669 1^d."

Buried as Alderman & J.P. 30 Aug. 1684 at St. Bridget's.

In the same Parish Register occurs:—

1671. Luce Parry, a Maid to William Harvey of the Starr was buried Oct. 12.

1696. Mrs. Mary Harvey, widdow was buried Jan. 8 1696.

Will dated 27 Aug. 1684, proved 28 June 1687 by Mary his relict.

Rylands gives Will but no other information, further than that there was some dispute about the Will at a later date.

The Harvey family had been bricklayers over a long period and members of the Bricklayers Company whose preserved records only begin 1738: we give a few extracts herewith.

Note.—1694 Timothy Davie, son of Roger Davie of Soughton on the Hill, bound an apprentice to Thomas Harvey for seven years from 29 Sept. 1694.

From Bricklayers Co. Books:—

1738 Nov. ye 11th disbust at funeral of William Harvey's wife 14s.

1739	May 1	Thomas Harvey Junr.	Master
		George Harvey	Warden
		Edward Harvey	a Member

There were 16 Members of the Company at this date.

1739-42	Thomas Harvey	Master
1746-47	George Harvey	} Warden no Master
1754-55	„ „	
1762-3	„ „	
1770-71	„ „	
1751-52	Thomas Harvey	Warden
1768-69	Robert Harvey	„

7. MICH HOLDEN, 20s

No records or identification.

A John Holden, draper, was free of the City 1657/8.

8. PETER DOWNHAM, MASON, 20s.

Free 1668 as a Mason. Buried at St. Michael's 27 Mar. 1684.

Probably a son of Ralph Downham, Mason, of St. John's Parish, assessed on one hearth in St. Giles' Parish 1664, who married Katherine Stacy (St. Mary Parish) at Bunbury, 18 May 1645.

In 1662 (after the Restoration):—

Ralph Downham, St. Mary's a/cs.

Paid Ralph Downham for setting the Font 12/-
for getting it out of Mr. Beckertons garden 1/-
dragging it to the church 1/-.

Seth Hulton (No. 12 on List) was free as an apprentice to Ralph Downham 12 Feb. 1671/2.

Rylands gives no identification.

From the above particulars of Ralph's marriage in 1645 it would be possible to have a son to be free in 1668 to follow his father's trade as was usual.

9. THOMAS FOULKES, CARPENTER, 10s.

Was of age in 1653.

Assessed on 2 Hearths in St. Jchn's Ward 1664.

Deponent in the Hughes v. Holme suit 1672-3, then aged 40.

Will dated Nov. 17 1712 as Thomas Foulkes, senior, carpenter: proved 2 Aug. 1713.

Rylands gives Will only.

10. WILLIAM HUGHES, BRICKLAYER, 8s.

Was of age 1663, and Free in 1665 as a bricklayer.

Probably younger brother of John Hughes, Slater (No. 3 on List).

Married by licence dated 14 Dec. 1666 to Eleanor Harrison of Chester, spinster.

Contracted in Dec. 1670 to build a house adjoining St. Bridget's Church for Randle Holme (member of the Lodge) whom he sued in the Exchange Courts at Chester in Oct. 1671 for money due, and obtained judgement in April 1673. Holme counter-claimed in Oct. 1674, but apparently without success.

(Cheshire Sheaf 3 Sxxii.-1-4.)

He had 40,000 bricks in a kiln at Hoole in 1682.

His wife was buried at St. John's 15 Sept. 1679 and he on Dec. 6 1685.

This law suit is important as connecting Hughes and Holme and three other members of the Lodge, and demonstrates that Rylands' identification is not correct.

Rylands gives the Will, 1693, of William Hughes, Gent, of Holt, Co. Denbigh. This person does not appear to have had any connection with Chester.

11. JOHN FLETCHER, CARPENTER, 10^a.

Free in 1651.

John Fletcher renewed the roof of the tower of St. Mary's, Chester.

"1657=Payd to John Fletcher for seting a roofo upon ye steeple (tower) he being at all charges of flagging it to carry away the water, slating it, to find all the Tymbers that will give to it and workmanship, and likewise he to be at the cost of hanging the foure new belles, finding all the Ironworke for them and to make good the brused clappers for which he has had from us £26-10-0."

This was the year Randle Holme acted as churchwarden, the above being from his accounts.

There was a Henry Fletcher, Master Mason, appointed to the Counties of Chester and Flintshire during pleasure Nov. 14 1601.

The Fletcher Family had a long connection with St. Mary's Church (Randle Holme's Family Church) as Churchwardens:—

Peter 1554-6, Richard 1590, William 1615, James 1617 & 18, Lawrence 1622, John 1646. Charles 1646, clerk at St. Mary's, was buried Jan. 1 1678.

Rylands gives the Will of John Fletcher, Clothworker, who died 1665, but he casts doubt on it being the Freemason.

12. SETH HULTON, MASON, 15^a.

Free as apprentice to Ralph Downham, Mason, 12 Feb. 1671/2.

Perhaps related to Alderman John Hulten of St. Oswald's Ward, shoemaker, sheriff in 1662, who entered a pedigree at the 1663 Visitation.

Rylands gives no Will or identification.

13. RANDLE HOLME, PAINTER, 10^a.

(The 3rd Randle Holme, son of Alderman Randle Holme, J.P., Arms Painter and Herald. Mayor 1643.)

Born 24 Dec. 1627. Free 1657 as a Painter.

Alderman of the Painters and Glaziers Co. 1659 to 1673 and 1679 to 1699.

He was married three times—1655 to Sarah daughter and co heiress to Henry Soley, clerk, secondly in 1666 to Elizabeth daughter of Geo. Wilson of Chester, Gent., and thirdly in 1688 to Anne.

He died 12 March 1699/00 and was buried at St. Mary's, Chester.

1648. He was admitted to the Painters, Stationers and Glaziers Co. at the age of 21 and is described as Randle Holme Jnr. Painter.

1658. He was one of the Company Stewards and entered up the accounts, one of which is for rebuilding the Phoenix Tower on the City Walls which have been ruined by the late Wars.

"Pay'd to Randle Holme for the Repair of our Meeting Place."

Amongst the items being:—

“ For raising the tower two feet higher than it was before	
Paid for 1000 and halfe Bricks	13.6
Paid for several crest stones and working them for the	
top of Battlement	7.0
Paid sume of all the Worke about the roof	20.7.6
The Total sume of the whole work divided between the two companies.”	

(Barber-Surgeons Co. and Painter, Glazier Co. 1659 Oct.,
Painter Glazier Co. Records.)

“ Mr. Randle Holme, sonne and heire of the late Randle Holme, Alderman of this Cittie and Justice of the Peace, who formerley was Alderman of this Company, was duly elected Alderman of this Company in place of his father.

As was customary, he entertained the Members to dinner:—

“ 1659. Spent for Beare and Tobacco at Alderman Holme, his house, he being at great Charges in Giving the company a dinner 5^s. 6^d.”

He was re-elected Alderman up to his death 1699/70 except in 1674-9. Does this indicate any feeling on account of his having associated himself with the Freemasons Lodge of the various building trades in 1673 which we have now under review?

In 1657 he was Churchwarden at St. Mary's Church.

1664. By some court influence he was appointed to the office of Sewer of the Chamber¹ in Extraordinary to his Majesty King Charles II.

¹ J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., in “The Four Randle Holmes, of Chester,” *Transactions of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society*, 1890, has the following reference to this appointment:—

In the year 1664, by some court influence Randle Holme (iii.) was appointed to the office of “Sewer of the Chamber in extraordinary to his Majesty King Charles II.” To us at the present day this word conveys no meaning, but it was well known then, and is to be found in the writings of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden and others. A “sewer” was an officer of any large household, whose duty it was to place the various dishes on the table and to remove them afterwards and also it was thought to taste them, to see that they were properly cooked. The “sewers” had also to bring water for the hands of the guests. Chamberlayne, in his *Magna Britannia Notitia*, in describing “the officers and Servants in Ordinary above stairs” in the reign of George I., mentions the four gentlemen cupbearers, the four gentleman carvers and four “Gentlemen sewers” and describes these as “very ancient officers of the crown and places of honour.” In addition to these four gentlemen sewers, there were eight “Sewers of the Chamber” who were not taken from persons of such high rank as the former. In the case of Randle Holme (iii.), it is clear that his office “of sewer of the chamber in extraordinary” to the then King was a sinecure appointment, possibly not carrying any money payment with it but having certain privileges attached to it, amongst which was freedom from arrest, exemption from serving on Juries, and from holding any public office whatever. This is shown by the following document copied from Harl. MS. 2022, f. 183, b:—

These are to certifie that Randolph Holme is sworne and admitted to the place of sewer in the Chamber in extraordinary to his Maiestie. By Virtue of which place he is to enjoy (all) rights and privileges thereto belonging. His person is not to be arrested or deteyned without leave from me first had and obtained, neither is he to beare any publick office whatsoever, nor to be impanelled on any enquest or Jury nor to be warned to serve at Assizes or sessions whereby he may pretend excuse to neglect his Maiesties service but is to attend the same according to his oath and duty.

Whereof I require all persons to forbear the infringing of the freedome and priuiledges of the said Randolph Holme as they will answer the contrary at their perill.

Giuen under my hand and seale the 20 day of December 1664 in the 16 yeare of his Ma^{ties} reigne

E. Manchester.

Truly a useful document to have at that or any period.

23. GEORGE HARVEY, BRICKLAYER & LINENDRAPER, 20^s.

Free 18 Oct. 1649 as a bricklayer.

Fourth Son of Thomas Harvey of Chester (Milner).

Assessed on 2 Hearths in St. Olave's 1664.

Rylands gives no identification.

24. WILLIAM JACKSON, PLASTERER, 10^s.

Free 16 April 1664 as an apprentice of John Johnson, Plasterer

Rylands gives the Will of W. Jackson, Tanner, 1677, who was free as a Tanner in 1673. The Plasterer as above is the more probable Member.

25. ROBERT HARVEY, BRICKLAYER, 20^s.

Third Son of Thomas Harvey, Milner, and brother of William Harvey and George Harvey (Members of the Lodge).

Assessed on 2 Hearths in St. Olaves 1664.

Legatee in the Will of his uncle, Alderman Robert Harvey, 1669:—

“ I remit & forgive to the said Robert Harvey my nephew, Bricklayer, all debts & Sums of Money owing from him to me.”

Rylands gives the Will of Robert Harvey (Alderman) 1669 as his identification. This nephew the bricklayer as above is more probable.

26. JOHN MADDOCK, TANNER, 10^s.

Free 1663 as a Tanner.

Son of Alderman John Maddock, Tanner, Mayor 1673, and Brother-in-Law to Richard Taylor (Member of the Lodge).

Assessed on 3 Hearths in St. Giles Ward 1664 (his father assessed on 4 in the same Ward).

Married by Licence dated 25 Jan. 1666/7 to Brilliana Trafford of Helsby, Spinster. Thomas Trafford, of Chester Bondsman.

Died 25 Sept. 1680, buried at St. Johns.

Ancestor of Thomas Maddock, Rector of Liverpool, and Sir Herbert Maddock, Governor of Bengal.

There were great Tanneries on the Dee side outside the City Walls, all of which were destroyed during the siege 1643-6. Would John Maddock be interested in Building Finance and in having his own property restored?

Rylands identifies by Will; no other particulars.

SUMMARY:—

The youngest Members appear to have been:—

Samuel Pike, free, 12 Jan. 1671/2.

Seth Hulton, free, 12 Feb. 1671/2.

Richard Taylor, free, 9 Oct. 1672.

The earliest death would appear to be that of John Lloyd in Feb. 1674/5.

The list of Members can therefore not be later than 1674.

The youngest Members named might have been of age prior to taking up the Freedom of the City, but on the whole it is a fair inference that the list is not earlier than 1672 and it would be safer to assign it to the year 1673.

18. THOMAS MORRIS, BRICKLAYER & LINENDRAPER, 10^s.

Free 23 Sept. 1664 as son of Richard Morris, Butcher, dec.

Richard Morris the butcher, his father, was killed at Boughton, Chester, during the first attack of the Siege of Chester, and was buried at St. Mary's 19 July 1643.

Thomas Morris was apprentice to Robert Harvey, Bricklayer & Carpenter (Member of Lodge).

Assessed on 5 Hearths in St. John's Ward 1664.

Philip Thompson, an apprentice of his, was free in 1671, and Nathaniel Batho in 1672.

Rylands gives no identification.

19. THOMAS MAY, MASON, 10^s.

Probably the Thomas May "Maison" whose daughter Katherine was baptised at Holy Trinity May 3 1631.

Assessed on one hearth in St. John's Ward 1664. but was not charged.

Rylands gives no identification.

20. WILLIAM ROBINSON, SLATER & PLASTERER, 20^s.

Free as a Carpenter 1656/7.

Son of William Robinson, labourer, whose Will was dated 23 March 1680 and proved 8 Aug. 1685, in which he leaves his son William, one doublet &c.

One or other was Churchwarden at St. Mary's Church 1665 (Randle Holme's church).

Assessed on 3 Hearths in St. Thomas Ward 1664.

In 1672 he is described as a plasterer when his apprentice Thomas Cowdcke became free.

1674 & 5. He obtained grants for building against the inner face of the City Wall near Newgate (including a coal house).

Rylands gives the Will of his father the labourer.

21. JAMES MORT, MASON, 20^s.

Free 1678/9 as a Mason (taken late in life).

Assessed on 2 Hearths in St. Thomas Ward 1664. Bondsman to a Marriage licence in 1676.

Will dated 29 Oct. 1684 proved 11 Dec. 1685.

Inventory of goods 30 Nov. 1685 £14.18.9.

St. Oswald's Church Register records:—

1688. Elizabeth, Wife of Mr. Seth Mort, Gent, buried Dec. 3.

1693. Seth Mort, Gent, buried July 5.

If "James" was related, it should have some bearing on the social status.

Rylands gives Will, but no further particulars.

22. JOHN LLOYD, MASON, 20^s.

Free 1665 as a Mason.

Licence to Marry Annie Edwards of Chester, Widow, Oct. 16 1663.

Will dated 21 Jan. 1674/5 (I, John Lloyd, Mason) proved by Annie his relict 10 April 1675 and contains a long inventory.

Rylands gives the Will only.

15. RICHARD RATCLIFFE, GENTLEMAN, 20*.

Son of John Ratcliffe Senr., M.P. for Chester 1646-53, 1666-1672. Recorder for Chester 1646-51, 1656-72, who was assessed on 10 hearths in Northgate Ward 1664, died 13 Jan. 1672/3, and was buried at St. Oswald's 16 Jan.

The Chester Corporation in 1673 made a Grant of £50 to the children of John Ratcliffe Sen. in consideration of his services to the City.

Richard Ratcliffe matriculated at Brazenose College, Oxford (entered "Commoner" 7 Aug.) 20 Nov. 1663, aged 20, and was removed Sept. 17 1664 when he was entered a student of the Middle Temple.

He took up his Freedom 22 Jan. 1672/3 a few days after his father's death and about the time of the Lodge.

He died apparently unmarried, and boarded with Alderman Street (a member of the Lodge). His Will dated 29 Jan. 1682/3 was witnessed by William Woods, Mason (a Member of the Lodge) and was proved by William Street 23 Sept 1685.

The Will includes:—

As to my temporal estate which is my annuity, which lyeth now in the hands of Mrs. Elizabeth Swift, Widow, which is £30 bating 12 shillings due at Christmas last. Also the sum of £10 which was given by the City, £10 a piece to five of my fathers children, the said money being paid by Alderman Manning, then treasurer. The fore-said sums of £29.18.0 and £10, I do give and bequeath unto William Street of the City of Chester, Alderman, for the satification for what he hath layed out for my dyat, lodging and apparell.

Rylands gives the Will but no further particulars. William Street was a member of the Lodge.

16. WILLIAM WOODS, MASON, 5*.

Free as the Son of John Woods, Mason, 26 June 1661.

Assessed on one hearth in St. Olave's parish 1664-5 but not charged.

Witness to Will of Richard Ratcliffe (Member of Lodge).

Churchwarden of St. Mary's Church 1678. (Randle Holme's family church.)

Will as of Handbridge, Chester, Mason, 8 Nov. 1699, proved 17 May 1706.

Rylands gives Will, but no further particulars.

For over 100 years a William Woods, Mason, appears in the Roll of Freemen for Chester:—

1660/1 June 26. William Woods, Mason, son of John Woods, Mason.

1689/90 Mar. 15. John Meredith, app. to William Woods, Mason.

1696/7 Oct. 4. William Woods, the younger, Mason, son of William Woods, Mason.

1696/7 Oct. 14. Richard Wettenhall, app. of William Woods, Mason.

1708 Feb. 21. Charles Drinkwater, app. of William Woods, Mason.

1708 Mar. 16. Thomas Roberts, app. of William Woods, Mason.

1732 Sept. 19. William Woods, Mason, son of William Woods, Mason.

1770 Oct. 28. William Woods, Mason, son of William Woods, Mason.

1775 Oct. 21. Francis Woods, Mason, son of William Woods, Mason.

17. JOHN PARRY, CARPENTER, 10*.

Free 16 June 1662 as a carpenter.

Assessed on one hearth in St. Olave's Ward. Died 1682. (Assembly Book fol. 197.)

1680 to 1682 An Alms man of Richard Bird, Merchant.

Rylands does not identify.

1680. July 27. Some irregularities having taken place as to paying the rent at the Phoenix Tower, a new agreement was drawn up between the Barber-Surgeon Co. and the Painter Glazier Co.

This was signed on behalf of the Painter Glazier Co. by:—

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) Richard Taylor | } Aldermen of
the Company |
| (2) Randle Holme | |
| (3) Robert Morris |  | Steward |

All Members of the Freemasons Lodge.

No. 1 is entered as a Glazier, No. 2 a Painter, No. 3 a Glazier; he was also a Member of the Smiths, Cutlers and Plumbers Co.

“1690. Jan. 10. Paid Mr. Holme for ye stone which
stands over Ye Phoenix Door 18^s.
Paid Ed Nixon towards putting it up 6^s. 1^d.”

This is the sculptured stone of the Painters Co. Arms which still stands over the doorway of the Tower (now King Charles Tower).

Randle Holme had a house built for himself and his ever increasing family on the West side of Bridge St. near St. Bridget's Church in 1671, which was eventually the subject of a lawsuit with William Hughes, bricklayer (member of the Lodge) the Contractor 1671-4, heard at the Exchange Courts (see under W. Hughes) in which several members of the Lodge were involved.

In the City Assembly Books it is recorded:—

“1670. It is ordered that the Nuisance created by Randle Holme in his New building in Bridge St. (near to the Two churches) be taken down as it annoys his neighbours and hinders the prospect from the Windows.”

Again the following year:—

“Mr. Holme, painter, fined £3.6.8 for his contempt to the Mayor in proceeding in the building in Bridge St.”

The building was however completed and lived in for the rest of his life, and it was here that he established his Printing Press. (Will, Randle Holme iv.)

It is unnecessary to give further instances of Randle Holme activities; they are all interesting and range over a large field from painting a banner top for 1/3 to the conducting of Funerals at £50. His remarkable life's work would fill a volume of many pages, but we hope we have indicated sufficient to show how closely he was connected with the Lodge and its members.

14. RICHARD TAYLOR, GLAZIER, 10^s.

Free 9 Oct. 1672 as a Glazier.

(Son of Richard Taylor, Glazier, who was assessed on 4 Hearths in St. Michael Ward 1664.)

He or his father measured up the “Extras” in the dispute between Hughes and Holme, and one or the other was Alderman of the Painter, Glazier Co. along with Holme.

Richard Taylor, Jnr., married at St. John by licence 31 Oct. 1671 Elizabeth, daughter of Alderman John Maddock, Tanner, Mayor 1676 and sister to John Maddock (member of the Lodge).

Admin. to Elizabeth his relict 21 Nov. 1693. Inventory £527.10.0.

Rylands gives Ric. Taylor Jnr., Merchant, and Rich. Taylor, Button Merchant. The first-named as “Merchant” is the more probable as being identified by his association as a glazier in the Hughes-Holme case.

In Foregate St., Cow Lane, St. Johns Lane with those houses next the Eastgate, all burned to the ground, without Northgate, from the said gate to the last house Mr. Dultons, all burned and consumed to the ground, with the little chappelle of St. John not to be found. From Dee Bridge over the Water, all that long street called Hand-bridge, all buildings ruinated and burnt to the ground when Holt Bridge was taken, all Glovers Houses under the Walls of the Cittie taken down. All the buildings and houses at the Waterside upon the Roodee pulled down, besides the halls of several gentlemen in the Cittie and near it as the Bache Hall, Mr. Ed. Whitbie, ye Recorders, Blecon Hall, Sir Randell Creeves. The fullers or Walkers Mills, Hoole Hall and Mr. Bunburies, The Water Tower at Dee Bridge, all Shott doune.

Bretton Hall, Mr. Ravencrofts Shott downe and plundered.

The Nunneries within the Cittie, Sir William Breretons plucked down and plundered at the beginning of the Warr. Lord Cholmondleys house in St. John St. churchyard, plucked down and burnt bye parliament partie as they lay in Siege about Chester, my Ll [Lord] was also fined £7,000.

Mr. William Gamulls house near Newe Gate with the Gatehouse which was his, the destruction of divers other houses in the Cittie with Grenadoes, not a house in Eastgate to the Middle of Watergate St. on both sides but received some hurt.

St. Peters Church much defaced and pewes torne and all windows broken, the destroying of the Bishops Palace with stables and the ruin of the Great Church.

The drying dry of the Cittie stocks, plate, rents, collections, not knowne all with losses, charges and demolishments in the opinion of most will amount to £200,000 at least.

So far hath the God of heaven humbled this famous Cittie, and note, here, that if Jerusalem the particular beloved Cittie of God of which it is said in sacrit writ, count her towers, mark well her bulwarks in Man's Judgements invincible. Yet her sinne provoked God soe, that he leaved not a stone upon another: This may be an advertisment to us, that Gods Mercy is yett to be found, since he hath left us so many streets etc. not unmolested.

God grant us faith, patience and true repentance, and amendment that a worse danger befall us not.

Randle Holme ii. on going out of office as Mayor, 1643. (Harl. MS. 2135.):—

For to see our autient plate diminished, our benefactors money exhausted, the Citizans estates impoverished, our subburbs fired and the Citizans oppressed (the necessity of the Tymes requiring it) and I am much grieved I could not remedy it.

Nor were the troubles of the City over with the Siege.

In 1647 the City was visited by a violent outbreak of the Plague, which lasted ten months; most of the citizens fled the City, yet over 2,000 deaths are recorded and grass grew in the once busy streets.

1659. Aug. 5. Under this date it is recorded:—

“We hear that the enemy has arisen in several parts, but only abides in Cheshire and Lancashire with Sir George Booth at their head, and that Charles the Second has been proclaimed at Warrington.

“Pushing on to Chester, which City he took, though the Castle held out, he invited the Cheshire Gentry to Meet him, and declared ‘he was for a free Parliament and a single Person (King).’”

During this period of trouble to the City covering 1643-66, it cannot be imagined that much substantial progress could be made by the citizens, who were already penniless and who had starved and seen their City brought to ruin. The War and Plague must have seen the passing away of many older citizen craftsmen, including Members of the Trade Guilds, which would no doubt have reduced the effective position of some of these Guilds or Companies, either in personnel or finance.

There were separate Companies of Masons, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Glaziers, Painters, and Slaters in the City.

The Records of the Masons Company (never a strong one, and attached to the Goldsmiths in 1600 (Harl. MS. 2104) and later to the Clothworkers) have not survived from the early times, and the earliest available begin early in the eighteenth century.

"In 1691 the Masons of Chester petitioned for a Charter of Incorporation but for some reason not stated they were refused." (Hanshall.)

The Bricklayers Co. earliest records available are dated 1738.

This leaves us without important material to put forward in the shape of evidence of some of the Members of the Freemasons Lodge of 1673-4.

Although there is no evidence to support the suggestion, we are prompted to ask whether the internal conditions of the City and the Companies themselves compelled the various building trades units of the City to unite as one body and that body the Freemasons Lodge which we have under review? We do not press the suggestion, but it certainly gives us food for thought.

We are also faced by the fact that Randle Holme iii., who had been Alderman of the Painters, Glaziers Co. (like his father and grandfather before him) from 1659 to 1673—fourteen years—was in 1673 not re-elected. Was it on account of his having thrown in his lot with the new body composed of all the building trades? Even if that body did not concern themselves with trade matters, it is well known how jealous the old-time Guilds and Companies were about what they considered their time immemorial rights, which were by 1673 rapidly passing away from them by the march of progress.

Did the Freemasons Lodge die out before 1679 when Randle Holme was re-elected Alderman of the Painters Company again, an office which he continued to hold until 1699, or were the difficulties overcome which enabled him to come back?

We shall probably never know, but the incident is surely one of considerable significance.

THE PHŒNIX TOWER (Meeting Place).

The City of Chester as is well known is still surrounded by its walls and Towers, and it is possible to walk round the whole distance.

One of the Towers which still exist, now known as "King Charles' Tower," formerly "The Newton Tower," "The Phœnix," and "The Golden Phœnix," was for over 164 years the meeting place of many of the 25 Trade Guild Companies—certainly from 1609 to 1773.

The Records of the various Companies are valuable and interesting.

Amongst those Companies known to have met there were: The Painters, Glaziers, Bricklayers, Masons, Joiners, Carvers, Smiths & Plumbers, Cloth workers, Slaters, Barber-Surgeons,—notably the main building trades.

Formerly over the front were the Arms carved in stone of the various Companies. These have now all been removed, except that belonging to the Painter, Glazier Co., which was originally placed there in 1609, but after the Siege was replaced by the present one, possibly carved by, but certainly supplied by, Randle Holme iii. as set out by his account under his name in the list of members.

We are informed by an old Member of one of the City Companies that it was a tradition in the old days that each Member went up to the table and made his mark or vote. This is confirmed from the Skinner and Feltmakers Company in 1671:—

“ Att our meeting held in ye comon hall, it is put to the Vote whether
John Clayton shall go out or not

Shall goe / / / / / / / / / / /

Shall nott / / /

It was no doubt a common practice of voting with the Chester Companies, and the Freemasons Lodge would without doubt adopt local procedure.

In this evidence we get a probable and more than possible solution of the marks in front of the first five names on the list.

It is suggested that the one of the first pair having most votes would act as Master, the 3rd and 4th as Wardens, and the 5th the Clerk as indicated by his account on the top line.

This points to the fact that the list of twenty-six names is a record, either the original or a copy by Randle Holme (more than likely a copy, bearing in mind that it is a list by W. Wade, the clerk) of some election day, when the officers were elected and chosen and fees paid.

What were these fees or sums of money given against each name?

It must be remembered that all the 26 did not pay—only 21 according to the summary of the account at the foot of the list.

Admission fees to the Companies of Chester varied in amount, but the sum paid by each member on admission to his own Company was always the same at a given period of admission.

One rule was common to all companies, that referring to Election days, fees and dues. On these days all fees (apart from admission), dues, quarterage, etc., had to be paid up, and it was very usual to pay the whole year's fees on Election days instead of Quarter days.

The amount of quarterage varied in the Companies, being generally 4d. or 6d. for each member and each of his workmen. Thus a member employing four men would pay 2/6 per quarter—10/- per year for himself and men. Broken periods of the year had to be paid for; also fines for various trade offences.

This is illustrated by the following extracts from the rules of the

BRICKLAYERS COMPANY OF CHESTER:—

Election Day Rule, 1681:—

It is ordered, concluded and agreed upon by and with the consent of the Brothers of the Company of Bricklayers of the City of Chester, that from Henceforth and for ever, their election day for choosing of Master & Wardens of the Said Company shall be upon the first day of May yearley.

ORDER FOR THE PAYING OF QUARTERAGE, 1683:—

It is fully agreed by the consent of the whole Company that every brother of the Said Company shall pay upon every Quarter day, beginning upon the first and twentyth day of July 1683. pay the Sum of one shilling of lawfull Money of England to the Wardens of the Same Company.

A Further Entry Nov. 1, 1683:—

It is agreed that for the present only fourpence a quarter shall be paid to the Company and now agree to pay sixpence a quarter during the year named.

The above appears to be somewhat confused, but we find John Brooks paying quarterage for himself and 9 workmen 6d. each and a man for $\frac{1}{2}$ a quarter, making $5\frac{1}{3}$ for the quarter.

Another entry shows each employer paid 4d. for himself and 6d. for each of his men. Later it was ordered that all Quarterage, etc., be paid half-yearly.

We find the same thing in the rules of the BARBER-SURGEON Co.:—

1607. Each shall pay on Election day in Money 3d. each which shall be in the name of Quarterage.

The rule in the SMITH CUTLERS & PLUMBERS Co. was:—

1582. It was ordered and agreed att our Meetinge the XI daye of Januarie 1582 by all the Voyces of the brethren thatt all such sumes of money as is gathered for Quarterage and for Fynes, the same shall be employed for the relief of our poor brethren and other necessaries and the Same shall not be delivered out without the consent of our brethren att a Meetinge.

1661. It was ordered and agreed that all Quarterage and fines be cleared each year on Election day for the Steward to be cleare.

1669. Nov. Any brother does or shall neglect or refuse to appear att any clearance day to pay off his dues, he shall be forfeit two Shillings and Sixpence.

A heavy fine in those days, when fines were about 3d. or 6d. each for minor offences.

We suggest that the amount placed against each name on the list is for Quarterage, fees or fines. We have no other solution to offer.

This may also account for the different payments by the various members of the Lodge at Canterbury as recorded by Bro. Poole.

This is all the evidence we have to bring forward with respect to the Lodge of Freemasons at Chester 1673-4.

Bro. Poole defines the Lodge at Canterbury composed of the various building trades with one or two speculative members, with various fees, etc., to be primarily an Operative Lodge.

What shall we designate the Randle Holme Lodge at Chester in 1673—Operative or Speculative?

The evidence we have been able to examine and present does not lead us to any definite understanding of the character of the Lodge, why and when it was formed, and how long it continued working; all this will remain as at present until further documentary evidence is unearthed.

It may be interesting and instructive to the study of the Lodge in question to go back twenty years when the Siege of Chester, 1643, 1644, 1645, took place, and left the City in a more or less ruined condition, especially when we realise what this ruined state would mean to the various branches of the building trades. For many years to come, progress would be slow after such a course of events.

We cannot do better than reprint the description of the City after the Siege 1645-6 as given by Randle Holme ii. (Harl. MS. 1944, 98 and 99.):—

Thus of the Most Anchante and famous Cittie of Chester in times past; but now beholde and Mark the ruines of it in three years 1643, 1644, 1645, the particuler demolition of it, now most grevous to the spectator, and more woeful to the inhabitants thereof.

Without the Barrs, the Chappelle of Spittle, with all the houses and the edifice there, upon Sir William Breretons first assult made upon the Cittie.

The Membership composed:—

- 6 Masons
- 6 Bricklayers
- 3 Carpenters
- 3 Slaters and Plasterers
- 2 Glaziers
- 1 Painter
- 1 Tanner
- 1 Tailor
- 1 Beerseller
- 1 Gentleman
- 1 occupation or identification unknown

In the main the membership appears to have comprised the leading building trade employers in the City; 21 out of the 26 members were in this category. Of the remaining five, four were men of means who may have had interests in building or building finances.

The relatively substantial status of the majority of the members is borne out by the Hearth Tax Returns. Half the members occupied houses with three or more hearths and upwards, and with the possible exception of one or two, the remainder had two hearths.

The accepted basis is, two hearths for a yeoman, three and upwards for a gentleman.

Eight Members at least were Armigerous. Many belonged to the old Cheshire families, notably the Harveys, who settled in Chester early in the preceding century and whose descendants were resident in the City until the end of the eighteenth or later.

The Ratcliffes, Holme and Hultons settled here towards the end of the sixteenth century; the Streets and Maddocks (from Edge in Malpas, where they had been several generations) early in the seventeenth century.

Randle Holme's list of names with the entries of fees paid, and the marks against the five names written separately, has often been discussed. But we have what is, we believe, a new suggestion to make as to its interpretation.

The text is as follows:—

William Wade w ^t give for to be a free Mason		
/ / / / / / / /	20 ^s .	Robert Morris
/ / / / / / / /	10	William Street, Ald'm
/	15	John Hughes
/ /	5	Sam Pike, Tailor
/	8	Will ^m . Wade
Willia ^m Harvey	20	
Mich Holden	20	
Pet Downham	20	
Thos Foulkes	10	
Will Hughes	8	
Jo Fletcher	10	
Seth Hulton	15	
Ran Holme	10	
Ric Taylor	10	
Ric Ratcliffe	20	
Will Woods	5	
Jo Parry	10	
Tho Morris	10	

Tho May	10
Will Robinson	20
James Mort	20
Jo Lloyd	20
Geo Harvey	20
Will Jackson	10
Robert Harvey	20
John Maddock	10

For	1£ 9
„	10 ^s . 9
„	15 ^s . 1
„	5.1
„	8.1

The summary at the bottom right-hand corner does not agree with the general list; does it indicate that only those in the summary paid? Apparently we should understand it to mean this, and it might be put in the following form:—

	Total on List.	Paid.	Not paid.
20/-	10	9	1
15/-	2	1	1
10/-	10	9	1
8/-	2	1	1
5/-	2	1	1

It is suggested that the first line of the list should read:—

William Wade[’s account of] what [each member] give(s) for to be a free mason.

Bro. Rylands asks:—

“Why, it may be asked, are the first five names separate from the others and given in a different form? Are they superior officers of the fellowship and are we to understand the marks occurring before names as recording the number of attendances at the Lodge, the number of votes recorded at some election, or the payments of certain odd amounts?”

Bro. Rylands gives no replies to these questions further than that he has just previously described the list as recording the names of persons made Freemasons with the initiation fee. This statement has been repeated by historians many times since 1882.

The Records of the Chester Trade Guilds or Companies reveal that they were governed mainly by Aldermen and Stewards, and very often a clerk was appointed.

Of the 25 (original number) Companies:—

- 21 were governed by 2 Aldermen and 2 Stewards
- 3 by Masters and Wardens
- 1 by Wardens only

On the Annual Election days we find of the Bricklayers Co.; the Smiths., Cutlers and Plumbers Co.; the Painter, Glazier Co.; the Barber-Surgeons Co.; the Skinners, Felt-makers Co. They elected the Aldermen and chose the Stewards.

An instance of a clerk being in a Chester Company was in 1660-1666 when William Holme (younger brother to Randle) was clerk to the Painter, Glazier Co.

Another recorded instance is in the Records of the Barber-Surgeons Co. when in 1666 John Wright stated he had been clerk to this Company for Forty years.

We have not traced out the building activities of the City after the Restoration of 1660, interesting as it would be, from the fact that it is irrelevant to our subject and would greatly extend this paper. It would, however, appear that the first attention would be paid to domestic requirements and making houses more inhabitable, to be followed by public work of which we have an example thirty years after the Siege.

In the City Walls, close to the pavement now partly covered by re-flagging the path, is a stone which commemorates the rebuilding of the City Walls for about 60 yards. It is inscribed:—

T. SIMPSON
16 M 74
I. POOLE
R. TAYLOR

T. Simpson was Mayor, and John Poole and R. Taylor were Aldermen and probably Murengers for the year 1674. R. Taylor was a Glazier, Member of the Painter, Glazier Co., and Father to the R. Taylor No. 14 on the list of Members.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED:—

Chester Rolls of Freemen.

„ Hearth Tax returns.

„ Marriage Licences.

„ Parish Registers (several).

Wills and Admons. in Chester Probate Reg.

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A.Q.C. Transactions, various.

A NOTE ON BROWNE'S MASTER-KEY.

BY BRO. E. H. CARTWRIGHT, P.G.D.



NOWING that there existed a book in cipher generally spoken of as "Browne's Ritual" and published a few years before the Union, I had long wanted to see it in the hope that it would give some information as to the ceremonial working of the time.

At length, a couple of years ago, through the kindness of Bro. Vibert, who was also able to supply the key to the cipher, I obtained access to the book and I deciphered the whole.

From the point of view of ceremonial detail it proved distinctly disappointing, but on general grounds it is of considerable interest.

When typing the decipherment I made some carbon copies, and Bro. H. H. Hallett, when copying my typescript for his own use, made several more. As the result, copies of the transcription are now in the Libraries of Grand Lodge and Quatuor Coronati and in those of the Masonic Societies at Bath, Bristol, Manchester, Taunton and York.

The full title of the book is "Browne's Masonic Master-Key through the Three Degrees, by way of Polyglot." It was published in 1802 and is nominally the Second Edition. The "Editor," John Browne, of No. 60, Snowhill, London, who was also the publisher, describes himself as "P.M. of six Lodges and M.A."

The volume appertains purely to the Moderns. It begins with the formulary of opening the Lodge, but this is much cruder than that given in the contemporary 'Spurious Rituals' which would appear to indicate the working of the Antients. There are neither Deacons nor Inner Guard. There is no reference to the situation of anyone but the Master. The first question is addressed to the Senior Warden and the tiling is proved by the Junior Warden with three knocks which are answered by the Tyler. When the Master has declared the Lodge open (which he does in the name of the Grand [*sic*] A.O.T.U., and not of St. John) he "gives three knocks and the Wardens give two knocks each."

Then follows the colloquy: "Brethren, please to be charged.—Are you all charged?—All charged in the West, R.W.M.—The King and the Craft with three." This shows that they were at the supper table, sitting round which we know our eighteenth century Brethren habitually worked the Lectures.

We are at once launched into the Lectures which take up 80 out of the 100 pages of which the volume consists. Those of the First and Second Degrees (I shall advert to the Third Degree later) are to all intents and purposes the identical Lectures that we use to-day and that are, I believe, generally thought to have been composed by Preston. There are differences it is true. Some of them are merely minor verbal variations, the diction being now on the whole decidedly improved. Others, the chief of which I shall mention, are definite alterations. Occasionally the phrasing of Browne accords rather with the present-day Stability working. Certain portions of Browne do not appear at all now, and in the modern Emulation Lectures a few points are introduced that are not in the older version. But this does not invalidate the foregoing statement that the two versions are substantially the same. There is, however, one marked difference—the Lectures as generally used nowadays (which for brevity, but

without implying absolute identity, I may call the Emulation Lectures), and as they were printed in Claret in, or about, 1836, incorporate the whole of the ceremonial formulary and that almost entirely in *oratio recta*, whereas in Browne there is very little of this, and what there is is in almost every case in *oratio obliqua*. It may, I think, be fairly surmised that this complete inclusion of the actual wording of the ceremonies was a post-Union interpolation, and one cannot help wondering whether it may, perchance, have constituted the "new system" of working the Lectures, the adoption of which it was thought by the originators of the Emulation Instruction Lodge "might be the means of effecting much improvement." (Sadler's *History of Emulation*, pp. 6 and 16.)

Some portions of the book are not in cipher. These are mostly dissertations (or "Eulogiums," to use Browne's term) on such subjects as Faith, Hope and Charity; the Four Cardinal virtues; the Periods of Creation; and so forth; and they practically all appear without essential variation in the Emulation Lectures of to-day.

The Lectures are divided, as now, into sections, seven in the First Degree, five in the Second and three in the Third. At the end of each section a Toast was proposed, and doubtless drunk, introduced by the same colloquy that I have quoted above. Save for some insignificant verbal differences, the "Charges" now printed after the several sections are in nearly all cases identical with the Toasts of Browne.

Prior to the Second and Third Lectures the Lodge is opened in the Degree but the formulary is brief. The Junior Warden, having himself ascertained that the Lodge is tyled, proves the Brethren and reports the fact to the Master. In the Second Degree the Wardens explain that they are going from the West to the East in search of the secrets of Geometry; in the Third Degree from East to West in search of the lost secrets of a Master Mason. There is a very crude closing in each of these Degrees but on quite different lines from the openings. The only detail in the Third Degree closing that in any way savours of present practice is that the Wardens "bring up the Word." Prior to this the Master asks: "What is a Master Mason's name?" and for answer we have the old doggerel, reminiscent of Prichard:—

Cassia, Cassia, is my name,
From a just and perfect Lodge I came;
A Master Mason raised most rare
From the diamond ashlar to the square.

He then asks: "What is an excellent Master's name?" and the reply is a word contracted to "Gbn.," which name is said to have been conferred on him by King Solomon "for being an excellent Mason." The Wardens then "bring up the Word," and the Master concludes thus: "Brethren, the Word that was lost is not yet found, but that substituted in its room proves to be Mbn., which closes a Master Mason's Lodge; and may the fragrance of Virtue, like the Cassia, ever be found in every Master Mason's breast." The Master then gives one knock and the Wardens give one each—the same knocks that they gave when opening the Third Degree.

In opening and closing the Second Degree "the Master gives two and one knocks and the Wardens give one each."

The closing in the First Degree is, like the opening, the same in principle as what we now use, though cruder in form. The Master himself declares the Lodge closed and the Senior Warden merely repeats the announcement. The Junior Warden says: "I declare the same," and the Master concludes with: "Brn., in the meantime may the blessing of the Almighty be upon us and all regular made Masons to beautify and cement us with every moral and social virtue." The same knocks are given as in the opening.

Immediately before the form of closing, the Entered Apprentice's Song is printed in full and in the Second Degree the Fellow Craft's Song is set out.

It may be noted that the tiling is proved by "three distinct knocks" in the First Degree, "two and one knocks" in the Second and "one knock" in the Third.

The distinctive characteristics of the Moderns are in evidence throughout. The right-hand pillar belongs to the First Degree and the left-hand to the Second. Both Wardens sat in the West. As already stated, there was no Inner Guard, but neither, apparently, did the Antients have that Officer. It is the Junior Warden who proves the tiling, and who admits the Candidate and conducts him through the ceremony.

The "Three Great Lights" discovered by the Candidate on being "restored" are the candles which represent the Sun, the Moon and the Master. The Bible, Compasses and Square are only mentioned later as the "Furniture" of the Lodge. In the Lecture these Lights are said to be situated "due East and West," but subsequently, in what corresponds to the Explanation of the Tracing Board, they are described as being "at the East, South and West corners of the Lodge." "Lodge" here of course means the Lodge-board, but exactly what its east, south and west "corners" connote is somewhat obscure. I would hazard the suggestion that "sides" would more correctly have defined the positions in view of the interpretation given of their symbolism.

There is no indication of formal test questions being put to the candidates. This was a matter discussed in the Lodge of Promulgation, the Antients evidently insisting on them and Promulgation deciding to follow suit. (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 42.)

The whole structure is definitely Christian, there being repeated references to Christ and the Christian Faith, but, curiously enough, there is no invocation of Christ in the Initiatory Prayer (which is virtually the one given in Preston's *Illustrations* and the one that we use to-day), though there is in the one given in the contemporary rituals. The Lodge is dedicated to St. John the Baptist because he was the "harbinger or forerunner" of the Saviour. In this the Antients were in agreement. All these Christian references appear to have been deleted at the Union, but it is odd that in some workings one such still remains, though it is not in Browne; possibly the Antients had it and the Reconciliationists did not realise its significance, as, indeed, many Brethren fail to do to-day. There is an allusion to Christ as the "bright and morning star," a phrase quoted (though usually incorrectly by reason of the omission of 'and') from *The Revelation*, xxii., 16. Parenthetically I may remind the reader that one Ritual suggests the alternative phraseology: "Lift our eyes to Him in whose hands are the issues of life and death and in whose mercy we trust for the fulfilment of His gracious promises of peace and salvation, etc."

According to Browne "Evangelical and moral knowledge was first preached in the East and propagated in the West." We now have "Learning originated in the East"; and similarly "Faith in Christ" is now altered to "Faith in T.G.A.O.T.U."

A point worth noticing is that the Pass Words were not *between* the Degrees but *in* the Degrees; and they would appear to have been regarded as of even greater importance than the Words. Thus in the Second Degree the Word is communicated to the Candidate before the Pass Word; and the Junior Warden at the foot of the staircase demands "the sign, token and word of a Fellow Craft," while the Senior Warden at the top asks for "the pass grip and pass word." Moreover, in both the First and Second Degrees the Words are spelt in full (in cipher of course), but even in the cipher the Pass Words are camouflaged. - We know from other sources that this was one of the incongruities remedied at the time of the Union.

It may be noted that the Candidate made one perambulation in the First Degree, two in the Second and three in the Third, whereas with the Antients it would seem that the numbers were in just the reverse order. If that were so, this is one of the very few details in which the Union working appears to have followed the Moderns' practice in preference to that of the Antients. It is the system generally adopted now, though in the present-day working in Yorkshire and in Bristol (and possibly elsewhere) there are three perambulations in each Degree.

It may be of interest to mention a few other instances wherein Browne differs from the modern Emulation version of the Lectures.

The definition of Freemasonry as "a peculiar system of morality etc." does not occur in Browne. Nor is there any reference to the "Charter or Warrant" which makes a Lodge perfect.

The initiate is made to "advance by three regular steps." The Candidate for Passing does the same. No such advance is mentioned in the Third Degree.

"The form of the Lodge" is said to be a "parallelogram." A "rectangular parallelogram" would have been more accurate. As the reader is doubtless aware, both Claret and the Gilkes Ritual¹ call it an "oblong square," which, though strictly speaking a contradiction in terms, is sufficiently expressive of what is intended. At some later time this was replaced in the Emulation working by "parallelopipedon," an incorrect description, since that geometrical figure is a solid, of which the common brick is a perfect example. Whatever term is used it ought to be one that connotes a *plane* figure, since the 'form' alluded to is simply the cross section of the hypothetical Lodge which is a four-sided pyramid of infinite height, and its cross section, wherever made, is an oblong rectangle.

The Toast at the end of I^o, §3, where we now have the Tyler's Toast, is: "To all charitable and distressed Masons wherever dispersed."

In connection with the Square, Level and Plumb Rule as Movable Jewels, we do not find the full explanation of their moral tendencies which is given in the Emulation Lecture. They are said by Browne to be termed "Moveable Jewels" because "they are moveable every St. John's Day, or oftener if required." These implements are not cited as Working Tools in the Second Degree, nor are Working Tools mentioned in the other Degrees.

The Toast at the end of I^o, §5, is: "To the pious memory of the two Saint Johns, those two great parallels in Masonry; we follow their precepts and profit by their example." Exactly when the SS. John were deposed in this connection in favour of Moses and King Solomon it is difficult to say. One would expect it to have been at the Union, but it is curious that the reference to them was apparently retained for some time after that date in the Lectures as given in Emulation, and Claret specifically ascribes its elimination therefrom to Gilkes. This Toast is now replaced by the Charge: "The Past Grand Patrons of Masonry."

There is an "Explanation of the two Spherical Balls" which is now omitted. Of the Balls one is said to have borne "a representation of the celestial bodies" and the other "a map of the terraqueous globe."

Whereas we now have Virtue, Honour and Mercy as "the distinguishing characteristics of a good Mason," Browne asks only for "the distinguishing characteristic [*singular*] of a Mason," and the answer is: "Virtue; and was it seemingly banished from society, it ought always to be found in a Mason's breast."

¹ *The Whole of the Lodge Ceremonies and Lectures, as taught by the late P. Gilkes.* This, though published anonymously, is thought by some to have been really Claret's first edition.

The reference to a Lewis and his duties and privileges comes at the end of I°, §7, and in place of the present Charge we find the Toast: "To all our royal and loyal, great and little Lewises wherever dispersed, not forgetting the Louisas." The last word is actually spelt "luisas" and puzzled me until Bro. Songhurst supplied the solution, which I have made clear by slightly altering the spelling.

The seventh section is followed by a few supplementary questions relating to the clothing, modes of recognition and the wind. It is difficult to see why they are thus separated instead of being in the Lecture as now. They certainly are not meant to constitute an eighth section, for no Toast follows them. The interrogation about the clothing is more elaborate than now and on reading the first question one expects it to be followed by the catechismal couplet of Prichard that became a well-known catch question. Possibly the forms here given by Browne were in his time similarly used as tests. The clothing is thus dealt with:—

Bro. S.W., have you seen your Master to-day?

I have the honour of seeing him now.

How is he wrought to be cloathed?

In the old cloathing.

What is the old cloathing?

Blue, scarlet, purple and gold.

Why those colors?

Because they were royal colours such as were worn by our antient kings and princes and, as Holy Writ informs us, composed the vail of the Temple.

How cloathed as an Operative?

With the distinguishing badge of a Mason.

Then comes the "Calling off"; and here we find the obvious error, which still persists in some quarters, of "high time" instead of "high twelve," as the hour at which the men are called to refreshment. This curious solecism can only have been originated by someone ignorant of the recognised terms, "high twelve" for noon and "low twelve" for midnight. The contemporary 'Rituals' both have the correct expression.

In the Second Degree the second section begins thus:—

Bro. S.W., for why was you¹ passed a Fellow Craft?

For the sake of the letter G.

What does the letter G. denote?

Geometry, or the fifth Science, on which Masonry is founded.

Similarly later on, in connection with the Middle Chamber, we have:—

What does the letter G. denote?

Geometry, or the fifth Science, on which Masonry is founded, but more immediately God, the Grand Architect of the Universe, whom we ought to adore and to whom we must all submit.

The description of the mode of receiving wages is interesting:—

How did they receive them?

Without diffidence or scruple.

Why in so careless a manner?

Without diffidence, knowing they had earned them; and without scruple, they put such confidence in their Masters in those happy days, they received their rewards without counting.

¹ The old form of the second person plural, 'you was' and 'was you', which is so familiar to us in reports of trials of the period, is used consistently. I believe that it was retained in legal parlance long after it had disappeared from ordinary language.

The Toasts that follow the first four sections of this Degree are virtually identical with the modern Emulation Charges, but that after the fifth section is: "May discord be unknown and harmony prevail among Free and Accepted Masons."

The number 'five' (those who hold a Lodge) is said further to allude to "the five external senses," namely:—

"Seeing, that we may see a Brother and observe the sign; feeling, that we may feel the token; hearing, that we may hear the Word; and smelling and tasting, that we may enjoy our refreshments when our Right Worshipful Master calls us from labour."

The closing in both Second and Third Degrees is followed by the note: "The Lodge is to be closed generally in the First Degree."

The Third Degree Lecture is, except for about the first page, quite dissimilar from the Emulation version. The latter, after the few opening questions, consists of nothing but the ceremonial formulary cast in question and answer form. Browne relates the legend and describes how it is practically illustrated to the Candidate. He gives a detailed account of the proceedings subsequent to the loss, dealing at considerable length with the apprehension, trial and punishment of the ruffians, who are given their eighteenth century names. The language has an antiquated flavour and in some particulars is reminiscent of Prichard; for instance, we have his well-known doggerel as well as the extraordinary tag, "*Museus domus dei gratia.*"

When "the melancholy news" was reported to the King, he "with great emotion smote upon his breast and said: 'Oh! Gbn., Gbn., what I so much feared is come to pass; our excellent Master is smitten.'" In the repetition of this on a later page the reading is, "our excellent builder."

Among the Ornaments of a Master Mason's Lodge are "the three dormers," these being "the east, south and west windows which gave light" to the Sanctum Sanctorum.

The 'gates' of the Temple are also said to be east, south and west. This was the accepted nomenclature at that time and the alteration to the south, north and east respectively seems to have been made at the Union.

Where we now speak of an "artificer in metals," Browne uses the word "craftsman."

Of the Toasts in this Degree the first is: "To all just and upright Master Masons." The second is virtually the same as the present Charge, but with the addendum: "S.M.I.B.—The widow's son of Tyre." The third also conforms with the modern Charge but ends: "S.M.I.B.—All our present and past Grand Masters."

Following the Lectures we have accounts of the Initiation of a Candidate, of the Form of Passing and of the Form of Raising, but these occupy only two pages each. They are merely superficially descriptive, hardly any of the wording being given. For the First Degree Prayer we are referred to the Lecture. No prayer at all is indicated in either of the other Degrees. Neither here, nor elsewhere in the book, are any Obligations set out and there is no mention of any penalties. The Initiation ends baldly thus: "The Master recommends him to be charitable; asks him for some small pittance towards the poor and distressed Brethren; he offers to give something but seems much disconcerted." In the Third Degree a brief outline of the legend is given and the illustrative actions of the Wardens are again described. A question asked at one point is of interest because in some old Lodges (one, at least, in Kent) we still meet with it. "The Master asks the Wardens who [*sic*] they have got there. They answer, A representative of our Grand Master, Hiram, slain for not divulging the secrets of a Master Mason."

When one had hoped to find the full text, these curt descriptions are, as I have said, disappointing. Nevertheless, when taken in conjunction with references in the Lectures to both wording and action (*e.g.*, the formal perambulations, etc.) they do convey the impression that by 1802 the Degree ceremonies had become definitely more formalised than the 'Rituals' suggest.

The next twelve pages contain what are called Explanations of the Hieroglyphics in each of the Degrees. These consist in the main of a series of extracts from the preceding Lectures and, save for the same alterations that have since been made in the latter, are substantially identical with what we now call the Explanations of the Tracing Boards.

The section that belongs to the Third Degree contains, in addition to the short portion that corresponds to our present Explanation of the Tracing Board, a repetition of a good deal of the *post mortem* part of the Lecture.

These "Explanations" are of considerable interest because Bro. Rankin, in a brochure on the Emulation Lodge of Improvement, stated (p. 15) that "The explanation of the Tracing Boards is made entirely by putting together excerpts from the Emulation Lectures," thus conveying to his readers the impression that those explanations were not compiled until after the establishment of that Lodge of Instruction and the adoption of its Lectures in their present form. We now know that these dissertations were originally composed certainly as far back as 1802 and probably earlier, and no doubt Bro. Rankin will be prepared to modify his opinion accordingly.

The last two pages of the volume contain (not in cipher) "Charges to the Several Officers at their Elections." These are noted as being "By the Editor." The Officers dealt with are the two Wardens, the Treasurer, the Secretary and the Tyler. Naturally there is no reference to either Deacons or Inner Guard.

One or two verbal curiosities are met with, such as 'porphry' for 'periphery' (of the circle), 'superfice' for 'superfices,' and 'passage of entrance' for 'passage of utterance.' It is somewhat droll to find two instances of the slip, that is occasionally heard in these days, of "Middle Temple" for "Middle Chamber."

I said at the outset that this volume is nominally the second edition. The first edition, published under the same title, appeared in 1789, and reprints, with trifling differences on the title-page, were issued in later years. The copy in the Quatuor Coronati Library is dated 1798. This edition, however, has but little interest as compared with the second. There are only eleven pages in cipher and they give merely the questions of the Lectures but none of the answers. The rest of the volume comprises, in open language, the Eulogiums and Explanations (not the accounts of the ceremonies, nor the Explanation of the Hieroglyphics) which in the second edition are interpolated in their proper places. The cipher used in the earlier edition is the same as one of the two that in the second edition are employed in alternate paragraphs.¹

¹ Bro. Rosedale, in the *Transactions* of the Manchester Masonic Association for 1919 or 1920, has stated that the cipher in one edition is "the exact opposite" of that in the other, but in this he is mistaken.

REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF AMERICAN UNION LODGE, No. 1, F. & A.M., OF OHIO.

*By Bro. Chas. S. Plumb.**Published by the Lodge at Marietta, Ohio.*

RO. PLUMB has done a great service, not only to this distinguished old Lodge, but also to the history of Masonry generally in the United States, by the compilation of this work, which gives us a wealth of information about the Lodge, its places of meeting, its members, and all the prominent masons who have at various times been associated with it. The history itself, with all its vicissitudes, is really a chapter in the history of the country.

The original Lodge was founded in 1776, the year following the outbreak of the War of Independence, as a Military Lodge among the troops at Roxbury, Mass., the troops which at a later date were organised as the Connecticut Line. The actual text of what is always spoken of as the Warrant of the Lodge, a document issued by the D.G.M. at Boston, does no more than to constitute Joel Clarke Master of the American Union Lodge, which is authorised to meet at Roxbury or anywhere on the Continent where no Grand Master is appointed. This form of words was to cause difficulties later on. The Lodge was one of several formed at the time, there being ten constituted by the local Provincial Grand Lodges, among various bodies of troops, and one by the British authorities in Pennsylvania in the 17th Regiment of Foot. This left the country with the Regiment in 1786. The rest had but a brief career; those that survived the war ceased to work at the close of hostilities in 1783, or very soon after. (Tatsch, *Freemasonry in the Thirteen Colonies*, Chapter "Military Lodges.")

But in two cases the Warrants were accepted as authority for the formation of ordinary Lodges at a later date. The Lodge in the Maryland Line was revived in 1786 at Charleston, S. Carolina. A new American Union Lodge was formed on the strength of the document of 1776 at Marietta, Ohio, in 1790.

The records of the original Lodge are, one gathers from Bro. Plumb, still in existence, in the possession of the Grand Lodge of New York. They consist of a set of By-Laws, a complete run of Minutes and lists of members and visitors, and were largely drawn upon by Bro. E. G. Storer, in his *Records of Freemasonry in the State of Connecticut*, published in 1859. The Lodge was all but wiped out of existence in August, 1776, when the Master and four other Brethren were taken prisoners at the Battle of Long Island. But the Warrant was saved, and a remnant of the Lodge held a meeting at Redding in Connecticut in 1771,

Jonathan Heart being the Secretary. There seem, however, to have been no more meetings till February, 1779, when the Lodge was re-established, once more at Redding, or Reading as the spelling then was. Between 1779 and 1783 it met pretty regularly. The By-Laws were revised, the currency being altered to dollars. The meetings were held at various places in Connecticut, New York and New Jersey. On June 24th, 1779, the Lodge as a body paid a ceremonial visit to Washington at his house at West Point, and he seems to have visited them in December. The last meeting took place on May 23rd, 1783, with Bro. Jonathan Heart in the chair, and as Bro. Storer says, "We have no record of any further meetings of this Lodge. The Revolutionary War being now brought to a happy termination and the Army disbanded, the Craft, of course, were dispersed to their several homes, to enjoy the blessings of the peace their valor won, and to cultivate the moral and social virtues, by the establishment of Masonic Lodges in the various sections of the country where they were severally located."

But Bro. Heart retained the Warrant in his possession, and, with Bro. Rufus Putnam, who had been initiated in the Lodge in 1779, was among the pioneers who opened up the North West Territory. Three Lodges had already been formed west of the Alleghanies when, in 1790, ten Brethren met together at Marietta, with Rufus Putnam as their Chairman, and decided to apply to Bro. Heart for authority to establish themselves as a Lodge and for the grant of a Charter. Apparently it was supposed that Bro. Heart had some sort of authority which would enable him to constitute Lodges in the newly settled Territory. Bro. Heart's reply was to the effect that the Warrant of American Union was in his possession and that he was still the Master of the Lodge. He had no doubt that as he and Bro. Putnam had been original members, and others concerned had visited the Lodge in the old days, they had every right to revive American Union, and this they proceeded to do. The first regular session under the new conditions took place on June 28th, with Bro. Heart as Master, and eight other Brethren. The old Warrant was read, seven Brethren were proposed for membership and the Wardens were elected. Apparently one of the joining members, Anselm Tupper, was appointed Secretary, as we find him in office at the next meeting; he had signed the original petition but was not present at the inauguration of the Lodge. The style of the Lodge now became American Union No. 1.

Bro. Plumb goes on to remark, somewhat naively, that the early sessions of the new Lodge, from 1790 to 1807, very largely related to securing proper recognition as a legalised body. This might well be. They wrote to the Grand Lodges of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, with this object. From New York there was no reply. Pennsylvania greeted the new Lodge with enthusiasm: it recognised it as American Union, No. 1, in the North West Territory, and said: "As the account which you have given of the origin of your Warrant is perfectly satisfactory, and as the succession to the Chair has been uninterrupted, your authority for renewing your work appears to be incontestable."

Massachusetts agreed that the Warrant was a perfect and good one. But they were careful to add that it would be the duty of the Lodge to surrender it as soon as a Grand Lodge was formed. Bro. Secretary Tupper apparently accepted this advice, but his principles were very soon to be put to the test.

Bro. Plumb still seems, however, to be uneasy about the validity of these proceedings; the argument he adopts is that as Pennsylvania was satisfied there is no more to be said.

But the original Lodge itself apparently recognised that the authority to Joel Clarke had its limitations. When they were in the jurisdiction of the G.L. of New York, in 1777, they applied for confirmation. But the Grand Lodge issued to them instead a new Warrant, giving them a new name as well, Military Union, No. 1. This they did not approve of, and that may explain why there were no meetings between 1777 and 1779 when they were revived at Redding, Conn. It may also explain why, on the present occasion, there was no reply from the G.L. of New York to the request for recognition. Of the New York Warrant we hear no more.

But after all the position at Marietta in 1790 was a difficult one, and one to be solved in a practical manner and not by a nice consideration of technicalities. If there was any Masonic law at all in the North West Territories at that time, it was the law as set forth in the Entick and Noorthouck Books of Constitutions. They enjoin that a Lodge which has ceased to meet for twelve months shall be erased from the Grand Lodge Book, but may on petition be restored on paying a fee for Constitution. The Brethren at Marietta obviously were unable to comply with this provision as it stood. But they did the best they could. They petitioned to the only available Masonic authority, Bro. Heart, the senior mason in the Territory. He assisted them to revive what was after all his own old Lodge, and restored to them as their authority for working the Joel Clarke document.

If on the other hand we are to hold that there was no Masonic law in force in the Territory, then we must fall back on general principles. In that case according to Masonic custom, these ten Brethren at Marietta had every right under the circumstances to constitute themselves into a Lodge and no one was entitled to object if they adopted the name of a Lodge that had ceased to exist seven years previously in another part of the country. They would however be well advised to notify their action to Masonic bodies such as the three Grand Lodges, and to ask for recognition at their hands; this is precisely what they did do. But they would be bound to give in their adherence to the territorial authority, so soon as one came to be regularly constituted. Most unfortunately the Joel Clarke document was lost in a fire which destroyed the Lodge meeting place in 1801.

The Grand Lodge of Ohio was formed in 1808. American Union took part in the preliminaries, but, by accident, was not represented at the actual meeting of Constitution. In consequence an unfortunate division took place. Although the Lodge was offered pride of place as No. 1 on the register on the new Grand Lodge, with, of course, a new Warrant, the majority refused to come in on these terms and preferred to remain as an unaffiliated body. The minority accepted the proposal and were duly recognised as No. 1. For several years therefore there were actually two Lodges at Marietta, both describing themselves as American Union No. 1. Not till 1816 was the dispute finally settled, in favour of the minority Lodge. Bro. Plumb gives us the correspondence very fully. The document then issued by the Grand Lodge recognised American Union as working under the authority of the document of 1776, as revived in its favour in 1790.

The rest of the history is comparatively uneventful, but Bro. Plumb has given us everything essential and has been at special pains to furnish biographical details and portraits of important Brethren. He also gives us a full list of members and officers from 1790, and an Index which his readers will find extremely serviceable.

American Union, No. 1, whether of the North West Territory or of Ohio, can be quite content with a record which, beyond cavil, takes it back to 1790, and on any reasonable interpretation of the facts establishes a continuity with the previous Lodges working under the same name, and by the same authority, if not of working, at all events of membership in the person of Jonathan Heart, its original Secretary, the custodian, as last Master, of the Warrant during the years when it no longer functioned, and its eventual restorer to life in its new home.

July, 1934.

LIONEL VIBERT.

THE JESUITS AND FREEMASONRY.

Under the title *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*, Messrs. Putnam have brought out, at the price of 5/-, a translation of Rene Fulop-Miller's history of the Jesuit Order. As the work, in its English dress, runs to over five hundred pages with copious illustrations and a good index, it is certainly value for money. Its whole object is to set before us the splendid work done by Jesuits all over the world and in all branches of knowledge, and the writer does his best to defend them against the various charges that have been made against their Order ever since the days of its Founder by Popes as well as Governments and individuals. Its immediate interest for us, however, lies in the references to Freemasonry to be found on pages 434-437 and 457-460.

The author takes the orthodox Roman view that Freemasonry is a "humanitarian anti-church" aiming "at a superstate and international universality, the purpose of which was the replacement of Catholicism by a temple of humanity" (p. 235). The assertion that we cherish these remarkable aims will merely bewilder most English Freemasons. But the statement is firmly believed by our Roman antagonists. The author mentions the suggestion that the "higher degree," as he calls it, which he says was introduced by Ramsay, was a Jesuit device to introduce strife and confusion into the Craft. But he observes that Fessler, whom he describes as the great reformer of Freemasonry, has effectually disposed of that idea. He has much to say of what he calls the "Enlightenment," meaning by that the school of thought founded by Diderot, and developed by Rousseau and Voltaire. He describes the leaders as members of the Parisian Lodge *Les Neuf Soeurs*. They were Montesquieu, D'Alembert, Diderot, Lamettrie, Helvetius, La Chalotais, and Voltaire himself, who, however, we are told died a good Catholic. The statement that these seven philosophers all belonged to the celebrated Paris Lodge is somewhat wide of the mark. Bro. Dr. Firminger, who brought the book to my notice, points out that the Lodge was founded in 1776; Montesquieu died in 1755 and Helvetius in 1771. Amiable, the historian of *Les Neuf Soeurs*, is categorical that neither D'Alembert nor Diderot were ever members, since they died, the one in 1783 and the other in 1784, and neither appears in the 1783 list of members. But the *Internationales Freimaurer Lexicon* says that D'Alembert was a member, a statement that Lehnhoff repeats in his *The Freemasons*, but on what authority does not appear. No list of members gives the names of either La Chalotais or Lamettrie; L'Amiable indeed nowhere mentions Lamettrie. The author must have been misled by some one of his authorities, but I cannot trace the source of the error. But both Gould (*Hist.*, iii., 156) and the *Allgemeines Handbuch* make the same mistake about Helvetius. When Voltaire was initiated he wore the Masonic clothing of Helvetius which that brother's widow had presented (the *Handbuch* says "returned") to the Lodge. But Helvetius himself had been dead seven years when that happened.

It is interesting to learn that the Papal Allocution of Pius IX. of 1865 was drafted by the Jesuit General, Father Beckx, and the Jesuits now made it their special task to attack the Freemasons "with all the resources of controversy." But on a later page we are told that a rapprochement has recently taken place between the Jesuits and the Craft. At a meeting held at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1928, Father Hermann Gruber, the most prominent Jesuit authority on Freemasonry, met Bro. Ossian Lang of New York and other masons. The discussion revealed fundamental differences of opinion. But both sides showed their readiness to restrict their indulgence in controversy and refrain from venomous attacks, the one on the other. We are assured that certain Jesuit fathers in Rome are now working quietly but persistently towards combating childish and false ideas regarding Freemasonry. If their researches lead them to a truer appreciation of the character and aims of the Craft in this country at all events, it will be something gained. But of any such development there is so far no indication.

July, 1934.

LIONEL VIBERT.

NOTES.



BATTY LANGLEY.—A reference to Batty Langley will be found at page 283 of vol. i. of Gould, and on p. 77 Gould gives an account of the historical introduction to the subject of Geometry which Langley embodied in his work *The Builder's Compleat Assistant*, the 1738 edition. The full text is given at *A.Q.C.*, xi., 135, and consists of a summary of the history of Freemasonry, as we have it in the Old Charges. He has clearly taken it mainly from Anderson, but as Hugban points out (*Old Charges*, 1895, p. 146), he probably was familiar with the various printed versions of the Old Charges then in existence, and has certainly used the *Briscoe MS.* Gould observes that, whereas in 1726 he dedicated his *Practical Geometry* to Lord Paisley, the then Grand Master, and subscribed himself "your most devoted servant," in 1736 his *Ancient Masonry* was dedicated to Francis Duke of Lorraine and others by "their humble servant and affectionate Brother, B. Langley." So that it is clear that during the interval he had become a Freemason. The frontispiece of his *Builder's Jewel* 1741, reproduced at *A.Q.C.*, xxix., 253, has very definite Masonic allusions. But his actual Lodge has never, so far as I know, been identified. I am indebted to Bro. H. Cherrington, of Dudley, for drawing my attention to a reference to him in No. 5 of the journal *Paint*, where, in the course of an article on the Mansion House, the writer quotes a letter which Batty Langley wrote to the Lord Mayor on March 18th, 1734. He had *not* been invited to send in a design for the new Mansion House, but that did not deter him. He produced one, and in the letter which accompanied it he wrote:—

" . . . I beg leave to inform your Lordship and ye Gentlemen of ye Committee, that as the Just Rules of Architecture have always been my study: and as thereby I have demonstrated the many beauties

and defects of our Publick Buildings: of which I lately published an Acct. in the Grub Street Journal under the name of Hiram—I therefore beg leave to inform yr. Lordship and ye other Gentlemen of the Committee, that as I know myself able to compose a Design for a Mansion House with greater magnificency, Grandeur, and Beauty, than has been yet express'd in any: nay, even in all, the Publick Buildings of this City, taken together—I am therefore making a Plan, Elevation and Section for ye same (supposeing it to be erected in Stocks Market) which in abt. three weeks time I shall have completed; and now beg leave that then, I may be permitted to exhibit ye same unto this Committee for consideration.

Mr. Justice Blackerbée of Parliament Stairs is my near Neighbourhood, and who will further inform yr Lordship of my abilities &c. if required.

I am,

Yr Lordship's Obedt Sevt.

(Signed) BATTY LANGLEY

Parliament Stairs.

18 March, 1734."

His choice of a pseudonym suggests that he had already joined the Fraternity in 1734, and it is possibly the case that his friend Mr. Justice Blackerbee, who lived at Parliament Stairs, is the Bro. Nathaniel Blackerbee who was a prominent Grand Officer at this time, Grand Warden in 1728, and for many years Treasurer of the Charity Fund. In his history of No. 4, Bro. Oxford tells us that Nathaniel Blackerby was a J.P. and chairman of sessions of the city of Westminster. (Note at p. 8.) He was also Treasurer to the commission for building Westminster Bridge and the fifty New Churches; he would therefore be a useful person for an architect to have as a reference.

L.V.

An Old Irish Jewel.—At *A.Q.C.* xviii., 221, there is a photograph of a Jewel exhibited by Bro. G. Comstock Baker at the meeting in November, 1905.

This jewel, which bears the inscription "M.H. No. 757," can be definitely identified.

Warrant No. 757 was issued 8th March, 1792, to hold a Lodge in the village of Richhill, Co. Armagh; 35 members were registered on the roll of this Lodge, and the Warrant was cancelled 5th July, 1821.

The "M.H." of the inscription is undoubtedly "Michael Hickey." This brother's name does not appear amongst those registered in Grand Lodge, but the Lodge Seal is still in existence, and bears the following inscription cut around the outer edge of the upper side of the seal:—

"ML HICKEY—× OF + LODGE
N^o 757"

The lettering of this inscription is very similar to that of the jewel, and is evidently the work of the same hand.

It is not at all surprising that Bro. Hickey's name does not appear on the Grand Register. Many members of country Lodges, and some even of Dublin City Lodges, were never registered in the books of Grand Lodge, and, therefore, the fact that a certain name does not appear on a given Roll is no evidence that the brother in question was not a mason.

This laxity of many Lodges in registration of members at length caused Grand Lodge in 1810 to resolve:—

“That Lodges shall in future send with each Half-Yearly Return of dues a return of ALL the Members of the Lodge, including those admitted from former Returns, and that all Members who are not Registered within Three Months after being raised to Master Mason shall pay 5s. 5d.”

The engraving on the Hickey jewel is of a crude nature, and like some others of its kind may have been done locally, perhaps by the owner himself.

As a general rule these jewels present Craft and R.A. symbols on the obverse, those of various side degrees and of the H.K.T. being displayed on the reverse. Here, however, we find on the reverse the two Craft pillars and three steps.

The obverse bears all the usual Craft emblems. Commencing at the top of the jewel we have the Omniscient Eye, Sun, three lesser Lights, Common Gauge, Trowel, Plumb, Seven Stars, Moon, Ladder, Maul, Level, and inside the Arch are the letter G, three Great Lights, and three Steps.

Denoting R.A. Masonry are the Arch and Keystone, and the triangle of nine lights which will be found between the Moon and Ladder. The triangle with nine lights is interesting as it is not often seen. This symbol possibly depicts the well-known formula of Irish R.A. Certificates “those who know the Angles and Squares of Three by Three.”

In passing it may be observed that the sequence of the letters on the pillars of the Arch speaks badly for the orthodoxy of Bro. Hickey as a member of the Irish Constitution, and further their proper place should have been on the Craft pillars.

Turning to the reverse of the jewel we find a medley of Craft, R.A., Ark Mark and Link, and H.K.T. symbols.

For the Craft are shown the two pillars, three steps, and the Irish P.M. Jewel—the Square and Compasses with the letter G.

The Irish R.A. is denoted by the Serpent, Burning Bush and Shoe.

In the Ark and Dove with an olive branch we have the symbols of the first of a sequence of degrees known as the Ark, Mark and Link, or Ark, Mark and Wrestle degrees. These were at one time very popular in Ireland, and the Ark and Dove are met with everywhere, but the degree with many others of its kind has disappeared long ago from Irish Masonry.

The H.K.T. symbols are the Cock, Lamb, Coffin, Skull and Crossbones, and the Triangle of Lights. The Sword and V.S.L. are hard to place. They may have been intended to represent the K. of M. degree, or on the other hand some long-forgotten side degree.

The only symbol I have been unable to identify is the five single candlesticks. A five-branched candlestick is sometimes found on old Irish Floorcloths as a symbol of R.A. Masonry, but five separate lights have no symbolic reference in any degree known to the writer.

It is noteworthy that the jewel under consideration bears no symbol of Red Cross Masonry, which formed a prominent part of the Irish Rite as practised at the period to which the jewel belongs.

The usual symbol of the degrees of Red Cross Mason (at present known as K.E., K.E. & W., and K.S.) was a bridge of three arches on which was erected a Latin Cross. An example of this symbol will be found on the reverse of the “Scott” Jewel, marked “B” (Lepper and Crosslé’s *History of G.I.L.*, Plate facing p. 344).

A study of these old Irish Jewels has disclosed a peculiar fact. In every instance so far examined, two symbols only are shown for the H.K.T. degree—the Cock and the Lamb, and these two also appear on old Irish Certificates and Floorcloths. Now for many years past the symbols of this degree have been three in number, the Cock, Lamb and Dove. It would be of material interest to all students if a definite statement could be made as to when and why the third symbol was added.

W. JENKINSON.

The Mother Lodge of Australia.—At *A.Q.C.*, xliv., p. 255, Bro. Lepper states:—"This Warrant was resigned when the Lodge joined the G.L. of N.S.W. in 1885." The Lodge is still working as "Australian Social Mother No. 1 N.S.W."

This is not quite in accord with statements in the history of the Lodge by the late Bro. W. Henley in connection with its centenary in 1920. The G.L. of N.S.W. was formed in the latter part of 1877, this Lodge taking a prominent part and becoming No. 0 on its Register. Opposition to joining the new body was headed by the S.W., Bro. Plumb, who was installed Master in January, 1878. The Lodge decided to surrender its old Warrant and join the new body, but Bro. Plumb held on to the old Warrant. The Lodge got a warrant from the new body under which it worked. Bro. Plumb and his friends carried on under the old Warrant, but the effort dwindled. Eventually they formed a new Lodge under the G.L. of N.S.W. in 1885 and returned the original Warrant to the G.L. of Ireland. Eventually this was returned to Lodge Aust. Social Mother after the formation of the U.G.L. of N.S.W. in 1888.

After its centenary in 1920 the Lodge decided to change its name to Antiquity under which name it is still working as No. 1 U.G.L. of N.S.W.

W. R. DAY.

A Letter from Dunckerley.—The accompanying illustrations give us the text of a letter written by Dunckerley to George, 1st Marquess of Townshend, and the three certificates which were enclosed with it. These give us definite dates for Dunckerley's service on board the *Vanguard* and *Prince* men-of-war. The letter speaks for itself. The pension he was applying for was granted in the following year. We have to thank Bro. Col. W. E. Moss for the loan of the original documents.

L.V.

Somerset House: Nov 20th: 1766

My Lord

I am so very confident of your kind concern for my misfortunes, and your generous intention to do me any service in your power, that I shall make no other apology for troubling you with this letter, than my belief that your Lordship will not be displeased to know what has past relative to my very singular affair, since I had the honour of seeing you.

Permit me to acquaint your Lordship that I waited on Mrs Poyntz (Lady Spencer's Mother) who said she could almost swear I was the late King's son; and assured me she would communicate the affair to Lady Suffolk, and do all she could to serve me. Two months are past, and I do not find that she has been able to do any thing. The day before yesterday, I was permitted to wait on her again: and she has promised me to make it known to the Duke of York, if his Royal Highness should visit Lord Spencer in Northamptonshire, where this Lordship and the family are going soon.

Lady Barrismore is in Ireland: and I have little dependence on Mrs Poyntz, as her age and infirmities seem to frustrate her good intentions. It was a misfortune to have my birth concealed but it is misery to me, now I know it too late. In spite of all my reasoning, I cannot subdue that pride which proceeds from the consciousness that I am the Son of so great a Man. At present I barely exist, in this Apartment, where my Mother resided from the Word near thirty years: the smallness of my pension (as a superannuated Gunner) in proportion to the high price of all provisions; and the thoughts of those hardships my Wife and Children must be exposed to, should death deprive them of one their only support; these distresses make me at present a very miserable Being

Letter from Thomas Dunckerley to the Marquess Townshend,
dated 20th November, 1766.

I am far from desiring to be troublesome to the Royal Family; or by having a pension, become a dead weight to my Country: even my present distress shall not compel me to wish for that which (to my Conscience) doth not appear right. God hath been pleas'd to bless me with common Sense; which I have for many years intended to improve, by Reading & Study, not having it in my power to get assistance from Teachers: I should therefore be very happy if I could obtain any Employment, in any Department that is adequate to my poor abilities, and which would not depress me beneath the character of a Gentleman. If the Salary was small, it would be an Addition to my present Income (£250 p^{ann}) and I might lay something by for the support of my Wife or Children. That I should survive me. Tho' I have no claim to your Lordship's patronage (according to the present Mode of Interest) yet I address my self to your Humanity, as my Anchor of Hope; most humbly requesting you will recommend an unfortunate Man to the notice of your Brother, or the Marquis of Granby, that I may obtain some little Employ either in the Treasury or Ordnance.

I have taken the liberty of inclosing some of my Certificates, One of which is from that good Man Captain Swanton, who had the honour of being known to you, and with whom you was in company this day seven years past, in the Bay of Biscay. I shall beg permission to wait on you, and have the honour to be, with the greatest Gratitude and Respect

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obliged and
Obedient Servant Tho. Dunckerley

These are to certify the Right
Honble the Lords Commissioners for —
Executing the Office of Lord High —
Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland,
That M^r. Thomas Dunckerley served
as Gunner under my command on —
Board His Majesty's Ship Vanguard —
from the 1st of April 1754 to the 26th
of July 1754 During which Time, he
Discharged his Trust faithfully, as a
Sober, Diligent Officer

Given under my Hand —
this 4th of April 1757.

G. Phoenix

These are to certify the
 Right Honble The Lords Commissioners
 for Executing the Office of Lord —
 High Admiral of Great Britain
 and Ireland; That M^r. Thomas —
 Dunckerley served as Gunner under
 my Command on Board His Majesty's
 Ship Vanguard from the 26th of
 September 1755 to the Date hereof
 During which Time he Discharged —
 his Trust faithfully, as a Sober,
 Diligent Officer.

Given under my Hand
 this 4th of April 1757
 G. B. 24702

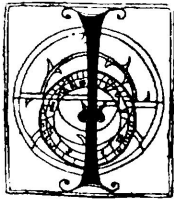
These are to Certify the Right Hon^{ble}
the Lords Commissioners for executing
the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great
Britain and Ireland, &c. &c.

That M^r Thomas Dunckerley was
Gunner of his Majesty's Ship Prince, under
my Command, from the 27th March
1761, to the Date hereof. During
which time he behaved with Sobriety
and Diligence, and was Obedient to
Command

Given under my hand on
board his Majesty's Ship
Prince in the Downs
this 31st December 1761.

J^s. Peyton

OBITUARY.



Tis with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Frederick John Asbury, F.S.A.A., F.C.I.S., of London, E.C., on 4th February, 1932. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle which he joined in 1905.

George William Girling Barnard, of Norwich, on the 24th February, 1932, in his 81st year. Bro. Barnard held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He also held office as Dep.Pr.G.M. Our Brother had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since 1890.

Charles Rosser Bishop, of Shepton Mallet, on 5th September, 1931. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.H. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Walter Herbert Brown, F.R.G.S., of London, S.E., on 6th March, 1932. Bro. Brown was P.M. of Globe Lodge No. 23 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He also held the office of P.G.Stew. Our Brother was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle which he joined in 1900.

Robert John Buchanan, of Belfast, in October, 1931. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 274 and P.K. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Robert Ingram Clegg, M.A.S.M.E., of Chicago, on 3rd December, 1931. Bro. Clegg was a P.M. of Lodge No. 370 and a member of Chapter No. 118. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1909.

Henry Albert Cook, of Kimberley, on 7th July, 1931. Our Brother was a P.M. of Octahedron Lodge No. 1417 and P.Z. of Mendelssohn Chapter No. 3142. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

William James Cooper, of Manchester, in October, 1931. Bro. Cooper was a P.M. of Stockport Lodge No. 3656, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1917.

Thomas Henry Dey, of London, N., on 10th February, 1932. Our Brother was a member of Queen's Westminster Lodge No. 2021 and of the Army and Navy Chapter No. 2738. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in 1902.

James Sholto Cameron Douglas, M.A., D.M., of Sheffield, on 30th October, 1931. Bro. Douglas had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and at the time of his death was Pr.G.Sc.N. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

William Edgar Edleston, of Southport, Lancs., on the 8th December, 1931. Our Brother was a member of the Rose of Lancaster Lodge No. 2325. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

John George Gardener, of London, S.W., in January, 1932. Bro. Gardener was a P.M. of the Kennington Lodge No. 1381 and P.Z. of Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

Cecil Wilberforce Gwyther, of Buenos Ayres, on 13th December, 1931. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Dis.G.W. and P.Dis.G.Pt. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1918.

John Harrison, of Sidcup, Kent, on 27th January, 1932. Bro. Harrison held the rank of P.Pr.G.Sup.W. and P.Pr.G.S.B. (R.A.), Castleton, Yorks (West Riding). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1893.

Henry Harvey, of London, N.W., on 3rd January, 1932. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D. Middlesex. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle which he joined in May, 1918.

Stanley Baird Hemming, of Parkerville, W. Australia, on 10th December, 1931. Bro. Hemming was a descendant of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Hemming; he was S.D. of Lodge No. 90, and J. of Chapter No. 12. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Charles Higginbotham, of Bradford, Yorks., on 31st March, 1932. Our Bro. was J.D. of the Lodge of Harmony No. 600, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1921.

Arthur Voce Hunt, of London, E.C., on 15th December, 1931. Bro. Hunt held L.R., and was a P.M. of St. Bride Lodge No. 2817. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1918.

Thomas George Hunt, of Leicester, in December, 1931. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.S.B., and was H. in the De Mowbray Chapter No. 1130. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1919.

David Charles James, of Concepcion, Chili, on 28th October, 1931. Bro. James was a member of St. John's Lodge (Mass. C.), and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1911.

Walter Johnson, of Swindon, on 23rd December, 1930. Our Brother was a P.M. of the Royal Sussex Lodge of Emulation No. 355. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

William Frederick Keddell, of London, E., on 29th November, 1931. Bro. Keddell had attained the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1907.

Christian Suhr Lange, of Copenhagen, in 1931. Our Brother was a member of St. Andrew's Lodge (D.C.), and had been attached to our Correspondence Circle since October, 1906.

Edwin Lea, J.P., of Gloucester, on 9th February, 1931. Bro. Lea had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.H. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1900.

Robert Lyndon Matthews, of Twickenham, on 16th October, 1931. Our Brother was a P.M. of the Clapham Lodge No. 1818. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Reginald Mold, of Buenos Aires, on 12th January, 1932. Bro. Mold had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1901.

George Arthur Morrell, of Bradford, Yorks., on 8th February, 1932. Our Brother was P.M. of Charity Lodge No. 3342, and a member of Sincerity Chapter No. 61. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1917.

Dr. **Robert Galbraith Reid**, of London, W., on 28th January, 1932. Bro. Reid was a P.M. of the Lodge of the Nine Muses No. 235. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Richard Lewin Shawley, of Melbourne, in May, 1931. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Grand Sword Bearer, and was P.Z. of Chapter No. 2. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

Leonard R. Strangways, M.A., M.R.I.A., of London, W. Bro. Strangways was a member of No. 357 (I.C.) and of Chapter No. 33 (I.C.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1898.

John Thomas Thorp, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L., F.R.S.A.I., of Leicester, on 17th March, 1932. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon, Past Assistant Grand Sojourner, and Past Grand Warden (Hon.) Iowa. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1895, was elected to full membership of the Lodge in November, 1900, and was W.M. in 1908-09. He was the founder, first Master, and for many years the Secretary of the Leicester Lodge of Research, No. 2429, and a widely-known writer on Masonic subjects.

Hugh Philip Tiemann, of Pittsburg, Pa., on 4th January, 1932. Bro. Tiemann was a member of Lodge No. 576 and of Chapter No. 257. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Augustus Turner, M.A., of Stroud, in January, 1932. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1906.

James Arthur Vann, of Darlington, on the 8th January, 1932, at the age of 62 years. Bro. Vann had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

John Foster Vesey Fitz Gerald, of London, on 2nd January, 1932. Our Brother was a P.M. of United Lodge No. 1629, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

Francis Cliffe Watkinson, of Huddersfield, on 27th February, 1932. Bro. Watkinson had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1926.

George Whittington, of Leeds, on 16th January, 1932. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1912.

Egbert James Wilson, of Bendigo, Vic., in May, 1931. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Grand Director of Ceremonies, and was J. of Chapter No. 14. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1921.

George Frederick Bryant Windle, of Sudbury, Suffolk, on 22nd October, 1931. Bro. Windle held the rank of P.A.G.So., Middlesex, and was P.M. of Sydenham Lodge No. 2744. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1919.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

PUBLICATIONS.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

COMPLETE SETS OF THE TRANSACTIONS.—A few complete Sets of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vols. i. to xlv. have been made up for sale. Prices may be obtained on application to the Secretary. Each volume will be accompanied as far as possible, with the St. John's Card of the corresponding year.

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A few complete sets only for sale. Prices may be obtained on application to the Secretary.			
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BINDING.

Members returning their parts of the *Transactions*, to the Secretary, can have them bound in dark blue Canvas, lettered gold, for 6/- per volume. Cases can be supplied at 3/- per volume, date or number of volume should be specified.

MEMBERSHIP MEDAL.

Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only. In Silver Gilt, engraved with the owner's name, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel. 10/6 each.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY:

LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

OFFICE. LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

≡: Ars ≡: Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
 QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.,
 AND LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

VOLUME XLV. PART 2.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.
 1935.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

- 1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.
- 2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.
- 3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.
- 4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising therefrom to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.
- 5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.
- 6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translation (in whole or part) of foreign works.
- 7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.
- 8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.
- 9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge from becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is two guineas, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest) and the 8th November (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read, which is followed by a discussion.

The Transactions of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary and other matter.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigraha*, appear at undefined intervals and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The Library has now been arranged at No. 27, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Secretary.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meeting are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather associates of the Lodge.

2.—The printed Transactions of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

4.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the Transactions.

5.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no literary, artistic, or scientific qualification. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle pay a joining fee of twenty-one shillings, which includes the subscription to the following 30th November.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the Transactions previously issued in the same year.

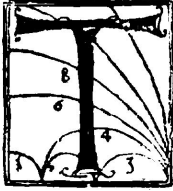
It will thus be seen that for only a quarter of the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in Lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Master Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies, are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

FRIDAY, 6th MAY, 1932.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Williams, W.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., I.P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., J.D.; *Rev.* A. W. Oxford, M.A., M.D., P.G.Ch., Almoner; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., I.G.; Geo. Norman, M.D., P.G.D., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, and F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., James Fiddes, *Rev.* J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., T. E. Rees, Ed. M. Phillips, A. G. Harper, A. W. Hare, Geo. Simpson, A. Saywell, H. F. Mawbey, C. F. Sykes, G. I. Davys, P.G.D., *Major* C. C. Adams, P.G.D., J. Elston Cawthorn, P.A.G.D.C., G. W. South, D. Pryce Jones, Ed. B. Holmes, W. J. Palmer, G. Stevens, F. K. Jewson, Chas. J. Woosnam, W. J. Osborne, J. E. Messenger, L. G. Wearing, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., Stanley J. Miller, E. Eyles, J. Dean, J. W. Burrows, Lambert Peterson, F. Fighiera, P.G.D., W. T. Dillon, P.A.G.Pt., T. Lidstone Found, A. E. Gurney, H. Gladon, P.G.St.B., H. W. Sayers, A. H. Crouch, A. F. Ford, F. W. Mead, John H. Pullen, H. C. Weeks, A. Regnauld, Chas. S. Cole, A. Chichele Rixon, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., J. H. Clark, J. F. H. Gilbard, H. Johnson, Wm. Smalley, Alfred G. T. Smith, John Lawrance, Allan Ramsay, J. J. Hill, F. L. Fitness, J. I. Moar, S. M. Hills, E. W. Marson, W. Brinkworth, A. T. Gordon, Fred I. Mote, S. Liviten, and J. C. Harvey.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. C. Mawbey, P.M., Kensington Lodge No. 4893; Victor J. Young, Semper Fidelis Lodge No. 4393; E. J. Smith, W.M., St. John and St. Paul Lodge No. 615; F. A. Greene, St. James Lodge No. 1579; W. H. French, Robert Burns Lodge No. 25; J. Simmones, Dalston Lodge No. 3008; T. W. Streeton, Malden Lodge No. 2875; E. A. Weeks, L.R., Macdonald Lodge No. 1216; B. N. Pullen, Peckham Lodge No. 1475; W. H. Earley, S.W., Querna Corona Lodge No. 5267; and C. Warters, Leyton Lodge No. 2626.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Rev.* H. Poole, B.L., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland & Cumberland, P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; John Stokes, M.D., P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks, P.M.; and Boris Telepneff, S.D.

The W.M. read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

JOHN THOMAS THORP.

BRETHREN :

Since our last meeting one of our oldest members and Past Masters, Bro. John Thomas Thorp, of Leicester, has been called away, and the Lodge and the Craft generally have lost an enthusiastic student and a genial personality.

Bro. Thorp was born at Leicester in 1849, and after attending the Stoneygate School in that city, finished his studies at Frankfort on the Main, in Germany. He was there during the Austro-German War of 1866, and subsequently for some years he travelled extensively in Europe, eventually returning to Leicester, where he for many years occupied an important position at the head of one of the large houses connected with the textile industry in the Midlands.

He was initiated in the John of Gaunt Lodge, No. 523, in 1870, and was its Master in 1875 and again in 1882. In our own Lodge he joined the C.C. in January, 1895, and was admitted a full member on 8th November, 1900. He occupied the Chair of Master in 1909. But before this he had founded the Lodge of Research, No. 2429, Leicester, of which he was the first Master in 1892. This Lodge commenced the issue of *Transactions* at once, and up to his death he was the Editor of them, and the series, which is now in its forty-first year, forms a remarkable collection of the results of the research of Bro. Thorp himself and the numerous enthusiasts whom he gathered round him.

To our own *Transactions* he contributed several papers; in vol. xvi., *A Pompe Funebre in Paris in 1806*, and *Notes on Gounod's Opera, The Queen of Sheba*; also some notes on certificates. To vol. xvii., a paper on *Masonic Chivalry*; to vol. xviii., one on *Anderson and the Earls of Buchan*; to vol. xix., notes on seals; to vol. xx., a paper on *Slade's Freemasonry examined*; and to vol. xxxi., one on an *Early Will of Philip, Duke of Wharton*. But he kept his chief energies for what was emphatically his own Lodge, No. 2429, to the *Transactions* of which he contributed continuously, in papers which dealt with every aspect of the Craft and not merely with its archæological side. A subject which he made peculiarly his own was that of French Prisoners Lodges; on which he published a book in 1900. Further information on these Lodges was printed from time to time in the *Transactions* of No. 2429, and he had completed the text of a second edition of the work at the time of his death.

He was closely associated with Bro. Hughan, who made him his literary executor, and in that capacity he brought out the later and revised editions of Bro. Hughan's works. He wrote several histories of Lodges and Chapters, some of which were published as independent works. Such are those of Lodge No. 91 Antients, Leicester; Lodge Liberty and Sincerity, Wellington, Somerset; Lodge Knights of Malta, Leicester; and Chapter Fortitude, No. 279, Leicester.

In connection with the Lodge of Research he issued a series of Masonic reprints to which he wrote interesting introductions; of these may be mentioned *Multa Paucis*, Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, and several other of the eighteenth century spurious rituals. In 1898 he became the owner of the version of the *Old Charges* that bears his name, of which a full account and transcript will be found at A.Q.C., xi., 205.

He also possessed a remarkable collection of Masonic curiosities of all kinds, china, glass, certificates, seals, and so on, and books, among which was an exceptionally large run of *Jachin & Boaz*. These he was always ready to exhibit and to explain to those interested, and few meetings of the Leicester Lodge of Research were not enlivened by the display of Masonic curios from Bro. Thorp's collection.

His Masonic distinctions included, besides various collars in his own Province, rank as P.A.G.D.C. (England) in 1905, and as P.G.D. in 1917. He also held Grand Rank in the R.A. and Mark, and was the possessor of numerous honorary memberships in Lodges and Masonic societies.

He died at Leicester on Tuesday, 15th March, and at the funeral on the following Saturday, where there was a very large attendance of Freemasons, the Lodge was represented by the Secretary, and also sent a wreath. Our sympathy goes out to his widow and family, and in this Lodge we mourn the loss of a Brother whose reputation as a Masonic writer may truly be said to have been world-wide.

The most striking tribute of appreciation of his outstanding merit and popularity was perhaps the presentation to him of his portrait painted in oils and bearing the following inscription:—

W.Bro. JOHN T. THORP, F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.Lit.,
P.P.S.G.W. Leic. and Rut., P.G.D. (Eng.).

This Portrait (by F. T. Copnall, Esq.) was presented to him by the Brethren of the Province and of the Correspondence Circle of the Lodge of Research No. 2429 Leicester.—May, 1928.

It may not be unfitting to close this brief tribute with words written by our Brother himself in a paper entitled "Some notes on the Second (F.C.) Degree." (Lodge of Research *Transactions*, 1927-8, p. 128): —

"Does not the Winding Staircase point out to us that the path of life, of duty, of knowledge, of moral excellence and virtue is ever an upward striving? Does it not represent the painful progress of an enquiring mind, and the toil and labour which intellectual study and the acquisition of knowledge entail?

But does it not teach something besides?

Our ancient Brethren eventually succeeded in passing the Wardens, and obtaining the reward of their labour in the middle chamber; in like manner all honest work, all noble endeavour must surely be certain of recognition *in the end*.

The Staircase is winding, the end cannot be seen from the beginning, but as the F.C. proceeded onwards until he had obtained his wages, beneath

'that hieroglyphic bright,
which none but Craftsmen ever saw',

so every patient, striving soul may surely rely upon receiving his reward, after a consistent following of that pathway which

'winds through darkness up to God.'"

With such a vital testimony as this our departed Brother being dead yet speaketh.

One Provincial Grand Lodge, one Installed Masters' Association and Thirty-one Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following Members of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—

Bros. Major P. G. Jeffery, Junior Grand Deacon; Major Cecil Adams, *M.C.*, and R. H. B. Parnall, Past Junior Grand Deacons; Rev. W. Solly, *M.A.*, Past Assistant Grand Chaplain; Norman P. Bain, Past Assistant Grand Registrar; A. R. Catto, J. R. Dashwood, W. R. Girling, Thos. Goulding, J. W. Iliffe, C. E. L. Livesey, R. L. Siau, Chas. Sinkins, W. T. Storm, J. F. Sutton, R. H. Teasdel, C. J. Watts, and Percival M. Watts, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; H. J. K. Balls, J. J. Hall, E. C. Waymark, and C. Fisher Yates, Past Grand Standard Bearers; A. P. French, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer; and T. Jeston White, Assistant Grand Pursuivant.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. GILBERT JOHNSON.

Oddfellow's Apron. Early nineteenth century.

By Bro. WM. BRINKWORTH.

Summonses on postcards, issued by a Lodge, a Chapter and a Commandery in California.

By Bro. S. J. FENTON.

Masonic Valedictory Letter issued by the Lodge of St. Andrew, Edinburgh, to Bro. William Hastie in 1848.

By Bro. RAY SHUTE, of Monroe, U.S.A.

Portrait of Washington. Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. Dr. GEO. NORMAN.

Photographs of Lodge furniture, formerly the property of Royal Cumberland, No. 41, Bath, now at Barnstaple. One is a winding staircase; the other an octagonal roof supported by pillars which may possibly have represented the Middle Chamber. The photographs have been reproduced in the *Transactions* of Somerset Masters Lodge, for the year.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

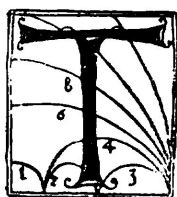
Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS, W.M., read the following paper:—

MASONS AND THE CITY OF LONDON.

GLEANINGS FROM THE LETTER BOOKS AND OTHER RECORDS

A.D. 1293 TO A.D. 1654.

BY BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS.



THE materials for this paper have occupied considerable time in collecting and assembling. They relate to Masons in the City of London and are mainly derived from the archives of that City. Of these records the greater part are extracted from the series known as the Letter Books of that City. This term has been applied to them for many years and is in itself somewhat misleading as we are apt to interpret such a term as meaning Books containing Letters or copies of them. The description, however, is explained as having been given because the fifty Books under consideration are lettered consecutively with the Letters of the Alphabet A. to Z., continuing with &c., and A.B., and then resuming with double letters, *e.g.*, A.A. to Z.Z.

Letter Book A. begins A.D. 1275 in the time of Edward I., and the last Book brings us up towards the end of the reign of James II.

There are two other series of Records in the Guildhall: (1) The Journals which commenced in 1416, and (2) The Repertories of the Court of Aldermen beginning in 1495. The Journals and Repertories are to a considerable extent reproduced in the Letter Books of corresponding periods and at times seem to correspond to rough Minute Books shortly afterwards transcribed fairly into the vellum Letter Books. The three series during their parallel periods often supplement each other.

The Letter Books A. to L. have been published by order of the Corporation in an abbreviated form under the title *Calendar of Letter Books*. Each printed volume is the Calendar for one letter book. Thus there are eleven printed volumes, J. being omitted as a separate letter. These were all edited by Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L., the Records Clerk in the Office of the Town Clerk of the City of London. Volume A. was published in 1899, and Volume L. in 1912. Volume L. brings the Record up to the reign of Henry VII. and the year 1497.

The later volumes are accessible to Students on application at the Records department of the Guildhall. They have been resorted to as will be seen by the Appendix. The facilities afforded by the printed volumes for home study have enabled more minute investigation to be made than was possible in the time at my command in the case of the Books which had to be searched at the Guildhall itself.

When I had substantially concluded my selection of materials I naturally wanted the best use to be made of them and offered them to Brother Conder, the author of the epoch-making volume entitled *Records of the Hole Crafte and Fellowship of Masons with a Chronicle of the History of the Worshipful Company of Masons of the City of London* (published 1894). Brother Conder, however, very graciously replied to the effect that he preferred that the matter should be dealt with by me. Hence this paper.

May I here be permitted to say that I do not pretend in any degree to have done more than string together the various items, and thus the Brethren who are adepts in such matters are invited to make the best use they can of the materials now presented to them.

It will be seen from the Appendix (No. 1) that Ordinances were made by the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London in 1293 as to the Wages of Carpenters, masons (*de masons*), plasterers, daubers and tilers. These have been printed from time to time and need not be repeated here, but it is noteworthy that ten years before those Ordinances, namely, on 25th January, 1283-4, the Mayor, Sheriffs, etc., had ordered that in each ward two good and honest men should be assigned to discover what masons or carpenters took wages contrary to the Statute. The employers found guilty were to be fined 40s. and the receiver to be imprisoned for 40 days.

There were 24 Wards in the City, so that any transgressors had small chance of escaping detection if 48 good and honest men were not counteracted by an adequate supply of duplicity and secrecy on the part of the delinquents. The penalties were heavy if discovery were made.

It is therefore evident that in 1283 the City authorities attempted, at any rate on paper, to control the wages of their fellow citizens who were masons, and we may justly remark that to some extent the word freemasons would then have been a misnomer if freedom to bargain for higher wages had been included in the word 'free'.

It also appears that there was a Statute of the City restricting wages prior to 1283-4. The City Fathers ruled their community with a strong hand in those days.

Letter Book A. (printed page 222) records a mandamus from the King to hold an Inquisition before Giles de Audenard and Master Robert de Beverley, the King's Mason, and the Aldermen of the City as to a proposed filling up of a ditch in Castle Baynard and the rebuilding of a new strong wall near Ludgate. This mandamus was dated from the Tower of London 8th January, 6 Edward I. [A.D. 1277-8].

A return was made that the King would not suffer damage and a license was issued accordingly. (See Patent Rolls 6 Edward I., membr. 21.)

LETTER BOOK B.

(*Temp.* Edward I. and II.).

Ranges from *circa* A.D. 1275-1312.

References to Masons occur on pages 9, 15, 210, and 277.

Page 9 names Master Richard de Crundale (who was Architect of certain of the Eleanor Crosses and died in 1294) as one of the mainpernors (which equals sureties) of one Peter de Honilane.

Other masons (*latomi*) are also named as mainpernors of Fulk le Barbur.

The jurors had found that Peter de Honilane "walks abroad at night with arms to do mischief and takes reward for beating men contrary to the peace of the lord the King."

They also found that Fulk le Barbur and others keep houses of ill fame in the City.

Alan le Mazun was found not guilty of a charge against him (page 6), but the other culprits were bailed out, as before stated.

This happened in September, 1281, and indicates that masons were at that time helpers of people who were in trouble.

Page 15, under date 10th August, 7 Edward II. (1313), names Master Simon de Pabenham and Master Alexander de Canterbury, masons, and Master Robert de Norhampton, carpenter, as sworn to make and supervise assizes and partitions of tenements in the City and as making a certain partition accordingly.

This indicates that certain Masons had been duly appointed and sworn for the above purposes, and seems to involve the existence of something like an organisation of Masons in the City.

Page 210, under date 7th March, 2 Edward II. (1308-9), records that William de la Sale, mason (cementarius) acknowledged himself bound to pay William de Wytton, skinner, and Roysia his wife £4.13.4.

Page 277, under date in August, 1278, records an inquest as to two accidental deaths. "Being asked who witnessed the accident the jurors say no one was present except a poor mason whose name they know not whom the said Stephen had that day hired and he on seeing the mishap took fright in terror and had not since been found. No one suspected. The bodies viewed, &c."

LETTER BOOK C.

(Temp. Edward I. and II.) *circa* A.D. 1291-1309.

25th January, 29 Edward I. [A.D. 1300-1].

Page 86 records that Richard de Wytham, mason (cementarius), was sworn to give due consideration to all men in the City and suburbs touching stone walls between neighbours, party walls and others in a bad condition, &c., as often as required, &c.

The City in those days as in the present appears to have had a rota of Official Referees to deal with certain matters in dispute between citizens; and this we may hope saved much in the way of acrimonious strife and avoidable expenditure in law costs.

LETTER BOOK D.

(Temp. Edward II.) *circa* A.D. 1309-1314.

Entries concerning Masons appear at pages 47, 53, 66.

At page 35 a list commences of Redemptions of Freedom. This begins *anno* 3 Edwd. II. and is carried down to 6 Edward II. and is the earliest list of the kind preserved among the City archives.

The parties named as so obtaining the freedom of the City and thus becoming citizens of London are distinguished from others who were freemen by patrimony or by servitude (*i.e.* apprenticeship) although occasional admissions of apprentices to the freedom are recorded.

Page 47. 2nd February, 1309-10. Robert Peny "mazon" admitted &c. before Richard Potrel the Chamberlain and paid—15^s. / 10^d.

Page 53. [May, 1310.] Master Richard de Wightham, mason of London Bridge, admitted, &c., before the aforesaid Mayor, Aldermen and Chamberlain—half a mark.

There seems at this period to have been a rounding up of men who worked in the City as Masons and had not taken up their freedom. We have seen that Richard de Wytham, mason (doubtless the same person), was in 1300-1 sworn to perform certain duties in the City. In this entry he was described as mason of London Bridge. Whether this means that he resided on the Bridge or worked on the Bridge, or both, is not definitely stated.

Conder (p. 58) states that the City records preserve "the othe of the Viewers, Maister and Wardens of Masons and Carpenters."

Letter Book D. (p. 195) prints the oath of Viewers:—

"Yee shal trewly serche the Right be twene party and party in alle maner sise of nousances that yee be chargid in w^oute any favore of eny party and trew report make to the mayre and aldermen aftir yowre witte and connyng so help yow god and holydom and by the book."

The following variation of the text after the word "nousances" is added by a later hand:—

"and other edifying w^t in this Citee of London that ye shal be charged of be the Maire of London for the tyme beyng and trew Report thereof make to the Maire and Aldermen aftir your witte and power sparing neither for mede favour drede nor hate of eny person but wel and truly theryn behave you so help &c."

The handwriting is of the fifteenth century.

LETTER BOOK E.

(Temp. Edw. II. and III.) circa 1314-1337.

Contains references to Masons at pages 55, 264, 266, 267, and 273.

Page 55. Friday before the Feast of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas [7th March] 9 Edward II. [A.D. 1315-16] the masons of the City appeared on summons before Stephen de Abyndone the Mayor, John de Gisors, Nicholas de Farendone, John de Wengrave, William de Leire, Robert de Keleseye, and John de Lincoln, Aldermen, and were told to elect six paviours, experienced and responsible men to repair the pavement of the streets of the City.

Thereupon election was made by the following masons, viz., Master Michael le Maceoun, Simon de Pabenham, Adam le Marberer, Walter de Depenhale, Robert Pavy, Hugh de Tichemers, William le Hore, John Child, and others [not named] who chose Richard de Felmersham, Richard de Banneberi, William de Ledrede, John de Gudeford, John de Okele, and William le Lung, paviours, and they came before the Mayor and Aldermen and were sworn to keep the pavement of the City in repair.

It seems clear from this that in the year 1315-16 the Masons of the City were so organised as to be capable of being called on by the Mayor and Aldermen to choose paviours for the City. Adam le Marberer was also classified as a Mason. His Will was enrolled in the Court of Husting in 1331 (vol. I., p. 370).

The Will of Robert Pavy, described as a Mason, was proved in the Husting Court in 1326. See printed Calendar of Wills, vol. I., 318. The Will of Simon de Pabenham, mason, is also abstracted in the same Calendar, p. 400. The Wills as abstracted do not contain anything of Masonic interest.

Page 264. This record sets out the exemption of Master William de Rameseye, mason, from being put upon juries, &c., and is set out in Conder (p. 60), who quoted it from Riley's *Memorials of London*.

Page 266 records proceedings between John Spray and William de Rameseye for the guardianship of Robert son of William Huberd. This is a miniature romance in which abduction, guardianship and marriage of a boy and girl are factors of interest which must not detain us here. Suffice it to say that a certain Master William de Rameseye, Junior (probably the Mason above named) was one of the principal actors and Thomas de Cauntebregge of the Ward of Aldersgate was one of his sureties as guardian.

Probably this Thomas de Cauntebregge was the same as the Master Thomas de Canterbury named at page 273 (and in Conder at p. 61), as follows:—To Master Thomas de Canterbury, a mason for the said work (of the Guildhall Chapel) £6.17.0.

The same account records payment to John de la Rokele for freestone (libera petra) for the aforesaid chapel, 5½ marks.

The date of these entries is A.D. 1332.

At Book E., p. 232 (year 1323), is a list of the names of those elected and sworn in divers Misteries of London for the government and instruction of the same. The Misteries are designated thus:—

Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Drapers, Grocers, Apothecaries, Ironmongers, Saddlers, Mercers, Girdlers, Vintners, Woolmongers, Beaders, Cordewaners, Haberdashers, Butchers, Skinners, Cutlers, Cappers, Cofferers, Corders, Hosiers, Tailors and Linen Armourers, Fusters, Painters, Cheesemongers.

It will be observed that no mention is there made of any Mystery of Masons. The name Thomas de Cauntebrege appears as a Mercer, so probably he was not the same person as the Mason before named. There was a habit at that period to give the name Thomas to many children, and those born at Canterbury, where Becket was slain, would naturally take the name.

LETTER BOOK F.

Circa A.D. 1337-1352 (*temp.* Edward III.).

Entries at pages 193, 212, and 254.

Page 193. 25th July, 1349. Appointment of three sureties for a guardian of a child ten years of age. One of these three was Robert Huberd "mason."

Page 212. Reference is here made to Ordinances regulating wages and prices in the City by assent of Walter Turk, the Mayor, the Aldermen, and Commonalty for the redress of loss suffered by the inhabitants of the City during the past year through masons, carpenters, and other labourers demanding unreasonable wages.

These Ordinances are set out in full in Riley's *Memorials*, pp. 253-8. They appear to be dated about 1350. An Ordinance was made by the King's Council in 1349 fixing the rate of wages of labourers whose numbers had been seriously diminished by the Black Death.

Page 254. 13th January, 1340-1. John le Barber "mazoun" is named as a juryman on a trial of one William de Notyngnam for thieving a cup of mazer of the value of 10s. The prisoner was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged.

Pages 48, 146, 149, 176.

There are four references in this Book to William de Ramsey, and as the last of them gives him the title of *Master* William de Rameseye there can be little doubt that he was the same person as the William de Ramseye who was the King's Master Mason and Master-mason of the Chapter House and Cloister of Old St. Paul's. [See Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) London, vol. IV. The City, p. 52b.]

Page 48. On Ash Wednesday, 1st March, 1339-40, King Edward II. called the City Fathers to meet him on the Thursday, and then desired a loan of £20,000, and allowed them until the next day to consider the matter.

On Friday they agreed to advance 5,000 marks and no more. The sum was rejected as inadequate, and they were ordered to bring the names of the wealthier citizens in writing that they might be submitted to the King and his Council for the purpose of assessment on the following Sunday.

On that day after much debate it was agreed to advance £5,000 to the King. He accepted that amount and the assessment was made as per details set forth in the Letter Book. Among those assessed was William de Rameseye, £10. Hugh le Marbrer was assessed at £20. (Hugh le Marbrer is also named on pages 7, 17, 21, 250, 251, 285. He appears to have been a Draper and a Sheriff.)

Page 146. Again the name William de Rameseye appears as assessed to contribute towards a sum of £3,000.8/- which the City in 1346 agreed to raise for the King partly as a gift and partly as a loan.

The receipt for his portion is noted on page 149.

Page 176 records a Grant of tenements, and the name Master William de Rameseye appears as one of the witnesses to the deed. (Date 25th July, 20 Ed. III., 1346.)

LETTER BOOK G.

Entries pages 51, 115, etc., 148, 158, 301.

Page 51 refers to the Ordinances made 2nd February, 1355-6, for allaying disputes between mason 'hewers' on the one part and mason layers and setters (masouns legers et setters) on the other part.

These are set out in Riley's *Memorials* (pages 280-282), in Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, vol. I., p. 341-2, and in Conder's *Hole Craft*, p. 64, and need not be reproduced here. It should, however, be observed that in Conder's book the words "or Freestone Masons" and the words "(rough masons)" are added by that author. I much doubt their accuracy. In any event they are additions to the original.

The marginal note is:—"Ces sont les ordenaunces et les articles touchauntz le mestier des masouns."

It will be seen that the French word "mestier" is used. This was Anglicised 'misterie' and that has led many to treat the word as 'mystery' in the sense of the Ancient mysteries.

Page 115 commences an "Extract of fines and amercements imposed on labourers, artificers and servants, and of others imposed for abuse of weights and measures, in the City and suburbs, by the Mayors of the City, the Sheriffs, and Commissioners appointed by the King from 1st August, 31 Edwd. III. [A.D. 1357] to 29th September, 33 Edwd. III. [A.D. 1359]."

This list is interesting as it shows that the Statutes of Labourers were not, as Dr. Anderson appears to suggest, a dead letter so far as Masons were concerned. (See *Constitutions*, Edition 1738, page 74.)

In this list the word 'masoun' appears 26 times, but it will be seen that the same name is occasionally repeated.

It is interesting to note how the penalised parties went sureties one for the other. The following is a complete list of the items naming 'masouns':—

Simon Palmere, "masoun," by surety of John Depyng, carpenter, 2s.

Alexander de Wyartone, "masoun," by surety of John de Hatfeld, "masoun," 2s.

Richard Salyngge, "masoun," by surety of Richard Gerveys, "bedell," of Bredstret, 2s.

John Heryng, "masoun," by the same surety, 12d.

William le Yonge, "daubere," by surety of William Broun, "masoun leggere," 12d.

William Broun, "masoun," by surety of William le Yonge, "daubere," 12d.

(Observe the reciprocity of suretyship.)

William de Corndone, "masoun," by surety of William Stoket, "dighere," 20d.

Simon de Bartone, "masoun," by surety of Richard Joy, carpenter, 12d.

John Hatfelde, "masoun," by surety of Alexander de Wyartone, "masoun," 12d.

(This is another instance of reciprocity.)

John de Crafton, "masoun," by surety of John Crane, "masoun," 18d.

Richard atte "Wynge," "masoun," by surety of Richard Warde, "masoun," 18d.

John de Cannynge, "masoun," by surety of Richard atte "Vynge," "masoun," 12d. (He made his Will in 1400 and is therein described as "Latomus".)

Richard Notefeld, "masoun," by surety of Thomas Gardiner, "pavyere," 2s.

Richard Warde, "masoun," by surety of John de Cannynge, "masoun," 20d.

John de Raneler, "masoun," by surety of Richard Stonhard, "daubere," 2s.

Nicholas Petit, "masoun," by surety of Henry Tabbard, carpenter, 18d.

John Crane, "masoun," by surety of John de Graftone, "masoun," 18d.

(Reciprocity again.)

John Smythe, "masoun," by surety of John Crane, "masoun," 18d.

John de Lesnes, "masoun," by surety of Richard de Salynge, "masoun," 2s.

Page 148. Proclamation made *temp.* Stephen Cavendisshe, Mayor, *anno* 37 Edward III. [A.D. 1362-3] to amend and redress the damages and grievances which good folk of the City both rich and poor have received and suffered for a year past owing to masons, carpenters, plasterers, tilers (teelers) and all kinds of labourers taking exceedingly (a demesure) more than they ought to the following effect:—That masons, between Easter and Michaelmas shall take for a days work 6d.; and from Michaelmas to Easter 5d.; and for Saturday if they work by the week, a whole day's pay; and for Festivals, when they do not work, nothing.

Page 158. 20th February, 38 Edward III. [A.D. 1363-4]. John de Totenham and Richard de Salopia, carpenters, and Richard de Salynge, and Richard atte Cherche, masons, sworn to survey nuisances and to make partition of messuages between parties pleading &c.

The marginal note is:—Carpentar 'et Cementar jur.'

(It will be seen that a Richard Salyngge was among those named in the preceding list as fined and also as a surety.)

P. 301. A proclamation made 1st November, 46 Edwd. III. [A.D. 1372]. That no mason, carpenter, nor other labourer take more than 6d. for a working day between Easter and Michaelmas, and 5d. between Michaelmas and Easter; and for a Saturday, if they work the whole week, they shall take for a whole day.

(This is almost a copy of the entry at page 148, but it is here copied because by the phrase "nor other labourer," it seems to classify masons among labourers.)

[Pages 179, 180, and 181 contain interesting entries dated 1364 as to the status of apprentices, but as these entries relate to apprentices in general and not specifically to masons they are not here transcribed. The subject is commented upon in the Introduction to Letter Book G., page xi., &c.]

The Appendix to this paper includes references in Letter Book G. to Sworn Masons.

LETTER BOOK H.

This printed volume covers the period *circa* A.D. 1375-1399.

Entries in which Masons are mentioned occur on pages 13, 43, 107, 110, 125, 184, 213, 216, 217, 238, 253, 274, 350, 354, 378, 411. There are also several entries in which Masons though not named were affected as members of a misterie.

Entries on pages 13, 216, 217, 253, and 350 relate to the City's sworn carpenters and masons and are here collected.

Page 13. 26th October, 49 Edward III. [A.D. 1375]. Thomas Flante and Stephen Warde, Carpenters, and Thomas Mallynge and Richard atte Chirche, masons, sworn to make partition of lands, tenements, and rents, to report nuisances, &c.

27th November, 1 Richard II. [A.D. 1377]. Thomas atte Barnet, one of the masons who had been formerly sworn, having neglected his duties, Thomas Mallynge was presented and sworn in his place.

(Hence it would appear that for a time Thomas Mallynge had been superseded by the other Thomas but had been reappointed. This Thomas Mallynge, *alias* Cake, was, as appears by his Will enrolled in the Court of Husting, a wealthy man for a Mason.)

Page 216. 9th October, 7 Richard II. [A.D. 1383]. Thomas Mallynge and Richard atte Chirche, masons, and Stephen Warde, carpenter, lately appointed to survey assizes of nuisance &c., elect and present William Dudecote, carpenter, to John Norhamptone, the Mayor, to take the place of Thomas Fant, carpenter, deceased, and he was admitted and sworn.

(It seems from this that the appointments may have been made annually although there is no entry made between 1377 and 1383.)

P. 217, under date 26th June, 7 Richard II. [A.D. 1383], records that Isabella, widow of Henry Clerk tapicer claimed dower in her husband's lands and "one third of the property was allotted to her by view of the City's sworn masons and carpenters."

Page 253, under date 12th July, 8 Richard II. [A.D. 1384], records that Cristina late wife of Thomas Clenche was to have delivered to her by view of the sworn City Masons and Carpenters one third of the [other] tenements and rents within the liberty of the City of which her said husband died seised to hold the same by way of dower.

Page 350 (date=6th December, 1389) is a similar entry, the closing sentence being: "One third of the said tenements by view of Richard Odyham the Chamberlain and the City's sworn masons and Carpenters was thereupon delivered to Katherine, widow of the said Richard Brykelesworth, by way of dower and the residue to Johanna his orphan daughter."

In the printed Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1364-1381 (Edited by Mr. A. H. Thomas, M.A., the Clerk of the Records of the City of London) there are entries mentioning the sworn Masters of the Masons and Carpenters at pages 150, 163, 229, and 245, and showing the various questions referred to them such as removal of fixtures, nuisance by leaving 20 cartloads of dung at the end of a tenancy, the existence of a dangerous structure, an order to make partition, and a view as to an encroachment.

(The Editor's note, page 245, states that the sworn Masons and Carpenters were officials usually four in number who advised the Mayor and Aldermen in disputes relating to party walls, encroachments and other matters arising under Fitz Aylwin's Assize of Building. For their oath A.D. 1301, see Lib. Cust. 1, p. 100. Calⁿ. of Letter Book C., p. 86. Calendar of Early Mayors Court Rolls, p. 178.)

The following entry at p. 163 brings Henry Yevele to our notice once more:—

Memo.—That on 19th Novr. A°. 47 Edw. III. (1373) John the Chaplain of John Rothying brought into Court for safe custody a box containing deeds which had been handed over to the said John Rothying by a Carpenter in his employment. To this box Henry Yevele and the wife of William Waldern laid claim.

Page 237 (3rd February, 1377) records a complaint by divers persons living round London Bridge or resorting there that the necessary houses or wardrobes annexed to the Bridge were in a dangerous state of disrepair. It was agreed by the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty assembled in Council that John Cogeshale and Henry Yevele Wardens of the Bridge should have them repaired and that the cost should be allowed to them in their next account.

In this connection it may be here noted that in Letter Book H., pages 212, 213, the following entry occurs:—

Wednesday, 18th February, 6 Rich. II. [A.D. 1382-3] it was agreed in Common Council that the latrine on London Bridge should for the future be kept in repair by the Wardens of the Bridge.

Also that Henry Yevelee should have an acquittance under the Common Seal for the time that he was Warden of the Bridge and should be permitted to resign his place at Michaelmas next.

(The range of Master Henry's activities from repairing latrines to Palace Building is remarkable.)

Reverting to Letter Book H., other entries relating to Henry Yevele occur on pages 125, 238, 354, 378, 411.

Page 125 (24th January, 1378-9) records his contribution of 5 marks towards a fund for making peace between Royal persons and others and the City of London.

Page 238. He was present at a Congregation of the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council as one of 18 from Bridge Ward. (Thomas Mallyng, a mason, was also there from the same Ward.)

Page 354 (2nd August, 1390) refers to a petition brought before the City authorities as to a sum of £80 claimed from Henry Yevele and his wife as due to her daughter by a former marriage. (See my paper on the King's Master Masons, *A.Q.C.* xliii., p. 91.)

Page 378 relates to the attendance of the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen and 24 Councillors of the City before King Richard II. at Nottingham on 25th June, 1392.

The name of Henry Yevele is followed by that of Richard Whityngtone. They were two of the Commoners. Their association is very interesting.

Page 411 relates to a quitclaim in respect of a tenement in Grascirchestret: In this Henry Yevelee and William Waddesworth are named as Wardens of London Bridge. The date, 8th April, 1394, indicates that the resignation of his Wardenship did not finally take effect.

Continuing extracts from Letter Book H., other entries relating to Masons are at pages 43, 107, 110, 184, and 274.

Page 43 is the entry frequently referred to in Masonic writings as to the meeting on 9th August, 1376, of an immense Commonalty from the (there) under-written misteries to the Guildhall, when the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen presented the names of the underwritten persons elected by each mystery and deputed to serve as a Council for the City until the charge of a new Mayor, and they were called separately for each mystery and charged by their oath (which is there printed). Masons: Thomas Wrek, John Lesnes, John Artelburgh, Robert Henwyk (Henwyk ?).

The entry itself has been photographed in my paper on Archbishop Becket and the Masons' Company of London, *A.Q.C.* xli, after page 136.

The photograph shows that the earlier entry in the same list and on the same occasion recording the names of Thomas Wrek and John Lesnes as Freemasons is struck out because their names were recorded in the subsequent entry.

The Editor of the printed Calendar says nothing there about the deleted entry, but he had previously given information to Bro. Gould about it. (See Gould, vol. ii., 145.)

The information appears to have been misunderstood both by Bro. Gould and by Bro. Conder.

Bro. Conder, however, was relying mainly upon Gould's *History* and Herbert's *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*.

The statement (Conder, p. 69) that "According to this list the masons elected four members and the freemasons two" is incorrect and misleading, and there is no real foundation for the statement that "In the following year it is found that the latter company is struck off the roll and its two representatives to the Common Council are added to the Company of Masons; thus raising the masons to the rank of a principal Company." The original book (photographed as aforesaid) clearly shows that there is one continuous list on one and the same date (not in different years) and that the two names at first entered in the list as "fremasons" were struck out because, later and in the same list and on the same page their two names were entered under the heading "Masons" with the addition of two others.

It is my bounden duty to call special attention to the fact that in Bro. Conder's paper on the Masons Company (*A.Q.C.* ix., 28) he, having traced the record to its source, was able to correct the error into which he had been led by his predecessors.

That paper is most important as being a concise epitome of Brother Conder's book on the Masons' Company with some few additions and corrections.

Page 107. (Date 31st January, 1378-9). Precept to the several Aldermen to inquire into the misdoings of bakers, brewers, hostlers, *masons*, carpenters, tilers, daubers and other labourers in their Wards contrary to Statute and Ordinances and to make a return of the same to the Chamberlain within 8 days.

(This is further evidence that the Statute of Labourers was not ignored in the City so far as Masons were concerned.)

Page 110. (16th December, 1378). Proclamation of the amount of wages fixed by the Mayor and Aldermen to be paid to divers labourers who continued to make excessive charges for their work, notwithstanding the price of victuals and other necessities of living having for a long time remained the same.

Page 110. The following extract is somewhat of a departure from our straight course, but it may perhaps be permitted because it illustrates (what we all know) that in all ages Masons have not been free from such calamities as befall humankind in general:—

8th October (November ?), 2 Rich. II. [A.D. 1378]. John Bakere de Ryslep attached to answer a charge of having sold to John, son of William Burle, 'massoun,' a putrid partridge, near the church of St. Nicholas Shambles, on Sunday after the Feast of All Saints [1st November] the year aforesaid. The said John Bakere being brought before John Phelipot, the Mayor, and the Aldermen, denied having sold the bird, but upon a jury being summoned, confessed the sale. Adjudged to stand half an hour in the pillory, the bird to be burnt under him.

(Thus did our ancestors make the punishment to fit the crime. What a scenario! The Mason's son, John, sent out to buy provision for the Sunday meal (and on Sunday, too). The unscrupulous salesman, John, palming off the putrid partridge upon the innocent lad. The reception when home the bird arrived. The too evident impropriety of the bird. The parents' indignation. The charge. The denial, followed by confession lest a worse thing happened. The Pillory, the putrid partridge proclaiming to the populace the perversity of the Purveyor and well nigh suffocating him as its odours entered his reluctant nostrils.)

Page 184. 10th May, 5 Richard II. [A.D. 1382]. A proclamation (after dealing with other trades) "that carpenters, masons, tilers and others shall take the wages prescribed."

20th May, 5 Richard II. [A.D. 1382]. Precept to the Aldermen that they see Ordinances to the above effect and others duly observed.

Page 274. Masters of Misteries sworn.

Masouns: John Clifford, Thomas Mallynge, Simon atte Hoke, John Westcote, Henry Wylot, sworn the 13th August to Richard II. [A.D. 1386].

(Thomas Mallynge was a Common Councillor of Bridge Ward. His name so appears at page 281. His Will dated 1st October, 1412, is in the Calendar of Husting Wills and was enrolled there on 6th May, 1414. Letter Book I. at page 83 under date 10th February, 1409-10, records that Thomas, son of Robert Kake, otherwise Thomas Mallyng, was on account of old age discharged from serving on juries &c.)

Page 336. Writ to the Mayor and Sheriffs enjoining them, for certain reasons laid before the King and his Council at the last Parliament held at Cambridge, to make proclamation for all Masters, Wardens, and Surveyors of misteries and crafts in the City and suburbs who have in their possession any charters or letters patent from the King or his progenitors touching the said misteries and crafts to bring into the King's Chancery such charters and letters patent before the Feast of the Purification [2nd February] next under penalty of forfeiture of all privileges &c. contained therein, and to await the judgment of the King and his Council, with the authority of Parliament on the same. "The said Mayor and Sheriffs are, further, to inform the King and his Council of

the days and places when and where this proclamation is made by the octave of St. Hillary. Witness the King at Westminster 1 Nov. 12, Richard II. [A.D. 1388].

Another writ to the same to make proclamation for all Masters and Wardens of guilds and fraternities in the City and suburbs to certify the King and his Council in Chancery in writing, before the Feast of the Purification [2nd February] of all particulars touching their foundation, government, property, &c., under similar penalty. Date as above.

(The Editor refers to Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds*, and says: "No original returns to the writs touching the misteries and crafts in the City appear to be extant and only a few returns of City guilds and fraternities; but a copy of a return made by the Barbers of London is among the Archives of the Company. See Sidney Young's *Annals of the Barber Surgeons*, pp. 30-4.)

Before parting from Letter Book H., which is probably for us the most interesting of the series, it may here be noted that up to the present the first known mention of a Gild of Masons in the City of London is to be found in the Will of William Hancock, mason, dated 12th February, 1388/9, and proved in the Commissary Court of London on 4th April, 1389. By that Will he bequeathed to the Fraternity of Masons of London, founded at St. Thomas of Acres, twelvecence. A photograph of the Will is in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xli.

Among the Gild Certificates of 1389 preserved in the Public Record Office is one of a Gild of Masons at Lincoln. A copy of this in the original Latin and a translation are printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii., pages 64-67. That Gild is certified to have been formed in 1313. This appears to be the only surviving Certificate as to a Gild of Masons the particulars of which were reported consequent on the edict of King Richard II.

Brother Conder at page 40 of his book deals with the subject of Liveries. It is now possible to supplement his statement by a reference to the Will of Walter Walton, citizen and mason of London, who made his testament dated 16th August, 1418, whereby he gave to Thomas Poynts mason, "my livery cloak of my old and free mystery". (The Will is translated in *A.Q.C.* xli.)

The same Will also gives to John Croxton mason his best compass.

Both Walter Walton and John Croxton are named in the records hereafter transcribed.

This record by a Mason as to livery of his old and free mystery takes the matter back 63 years before the year 1481 when Bro. Conder (page 96) quotes permission given to that Company to wear a clothing.

The printed Calendar of Letter Book H. refers to certain proclamations as to wages of masons and others, but does not set them out at length. These have been copied and will be found translated in the Appendix.

LETTER BOOK I.

(Temp. Henry IV. and V.)

Circa A.D. 1400-1422.

Entries occur at pages 78, 102, 172-3-4, 207, 210, 277.

Page 78. 13th October, 2 Henry IV. [A.D. 1409].

The whole Commonalty "prayed the Mayor and Aldermen by John Westone, the Common Pleader, that for the unity and honour of the City "and nurturing greater love among the misteries of the same, at the next riding "of the Mayor and at all future ridings, all the riders who are of the Commonalty "of the City shall wear hoods of the City's colours, viz. red and white, &c., and "that no minstrels henceforth ride before any mystery of the City, but only "before the Mayor, and then only three bands or companies at the most &c. "Their prayer granted &c."

Page 102. (18th April, 1412). The Record relates to the allocation of a piece of waste land adjoining the Church of St. John de Walbrooke. The proceedings mention Walter Waltone, William Wyltshire, Walter Myltone, and Robert Lardyner the City's sworn Masons and Carpenters.

Pages 172, 173, 174 give names of Masters of Misteries sworn. These include:—

4 Henry V. [A.D. 1416].

Masons (Lathami) William West, John Crokstone sworn 1 Dec. the same year.

Plasterers (Sementarii) Henry Bostone, William Massam sworn 23 July,

5 Henry V. [A.D. 1417].

(Here the translator seems to have erred. The word *Sementarii* should be rendered "Masons." The early published volumes of the Calendars of Patent Rolls err in like manner.)

Masons (Lathami) Richard Grove, William Fynch sworn 6 July,

6 Henry V. [A.D. 1418].

Page 207 is another list of Masters of Misteries sworn, and includes:—

Masons (Lathami) Edmund Werlowe, John Crokston sworn 21 June,

7 Henry V. [A.D. 1419].

The oath of these Masters was an obligation "to well and faithfully govern the said mistery and present any defects they may find to the Mayor and Aldermen or to the Chamberlain of the City for the time being."

These four entries for the years 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419 are interesting as giving us a list of Rulers in the Misterie of Masons for four consecutive years. [We shall see another entry concerning John Crokston under date 1440.]

Page 210 (date 6th January, 1418-9) records the removal from office of William Enderby, undersheriff, for various offences. One of the charges was:—

(3) That he refused to give judgment in a plaint between . . . Walter Meltone and John Batte, 'masons,' until he had received a sum of money, and made the said Walter enter into a bond for a debt due by the aforesaid William Enderby to William Rendre, 'plautrer.'

It is to be hoped that this scandal on the part of a judicial officer was a solitary instance. (Walter Myltone is named at page 102 as one of the City's sworn masons.)

Pages 273 to 287 comprise a schedule of the names of those convicted of immorality, &c. (the greater number being chantry priests) between January, 1400-1, and July, 1439.

The entry on page 277 is as follows:—

16th July, 12 Henry IV. [A.D. 1411] in the presence of Thomas Knolles, the Mayor, John Prestone, the Recorder, John Shadworth, William Walderne, John Penne, Henry Haltone, and John Lane, Aldermen, there was brought hither Sir William Cosyn, chaplain, who was taken in adultery with Alice, wife of John Forest, 'mason,' in the Ward of Vintry.

LETTER BOOK K.

Temp. Henry VI. (*circa* 1422-1461).

Has entries at pages 97, 250, 256, 257, 276, 314.

Page 97. Names of Masters of divers Misteries sworn anno 7 Henry VI. (There are nine entries preceding.)

Masons (lathomi): Edmund Symond, John Wymmyg, sworn 3rd November the same year (*i.e.* 1429).

(Nineteen others follow.)

Page 250. Saturday 7th October, 19 Henry VI. [A.D. 1440] came John Croxtone, mason, to the Mayor and Aldermen and prayed that, in consideration of his long service of 29 years as mason of the "comyn Yeldhalle" of the City and of his great age, he might have "an olde shedde stondyng next with oute ye Yeldhall on the northside of ye same yate, and the newe housyng over the same yate and ageynst the seyde Shedde yat is of two stages geteed w^t. ye grounde undirnethe ye seyde two stages on ye northside of ye same yate duryng the brede) of ye same shedde & with free entre & issue to and fro ye strete"—to hold the same to himself and "Anneys" his wife and the longest liver, and to the executors and assigns of his said wife for one year after her decease.

His prayer granted.

Afterwards, viz. on Wednesday the 2nd May, 20 Hen. VI. (A.D. 1442), the above prayer was granted by Robert Clopton the Mayor, the Aldermen (named) and the whole Commonalty of the City.

(It would seem that the on the later date the grant was by way of confirmation.)

Page 256. Names of Masters of divers Misteries sworn anno XIX. and XX. Henry VI.

Masons: John Hardy, William Goodburgh, sworn Wardens 5th May [A.D. 1441].

Page 257. *Carpenters and Fremasons:* John Croxton, John Broun, Richard Brid, Richard Bryght, sworn Masters . . . August . . .

(*Note.*—This is an early instance of the use of the word "Fremasons." John Croxton, on pages 250, 276 and 314, is designated "masoun." Probably John Broun was his colleague and the other two were Carpenters.

In these two entries we have references to Wardens and Masters. The Masons' Company at this time was ruled by Wardens.)

Page 276. 18th December, 21 Henry VI. [A.D. 1442] petition to the Mayor and Aldermen by John Croxton and John Hardy, masons and sworn 'vieweres' of the City, praying to be discharged from serving on juries &c., as their time was so much taken up by the duties of their office and also by "a grete werk y^t. they have take spedely for to make at Ledenhall of London for the comyn wele and profit of this Citee."

Their prayer granted.

(The Editor suggests that the work referred to was the proposed erection of a common granary at the Leadenhall.)

Page 314. 17th June, 24 Henry VI. [A.D. 1446] petition to the Common Council by John Croxtone, a mason, as follows:—

"Besechetch full mekely your continuell servaunt John Croxtone, masone, that where he hath done hys true diligence and laboure in attendaunce upon alle the werkes of thys Cytee and specially upone the werkes of the Guyldhalle by xxx. yere and more and there in spended hys yonge age in wych service there is yet due to him by yow of wages paide oute of hys purce to divers werkmen in the tyme that Brykles and Blysworth weren Clerkes of the same werkes viij. li. ijs. and sythen that tyme in attendaunce daily upone your werkes by vj. yere and more aboute the foundementez & reisyng of yo^r. chapell at Guyldhalle and purveying for the ordenaunce and Counseile of the mooldes thereof and upon youre werkes at Padyngtoun, Tybourne, Trippeswelle, Charyngcrosse, Crosse in Chepe and other places and had never any wages fee or reward of yow for alle hys longe service sayyng onely a litell hous and xxs. by yere and hys clothynge yerly That it please unto youre good graces in considerac'on of the long service of youre seid besecher so done And by the grace of god yf it like yow for the terme of hys lyf shall doo, to graunte unto him your payment of the seid

viiij. li. ijs. and also for the term of hys lyf xls. more yerely of Fee to the seid xxs. to be takene yerely by the hands of youre Chamb'leyn for the tyme beyng at the festes of Nativite of Seint John Baptiste, Mighelmasse, Cristmasse and Esterne be even porc'ons & he shall pray to god for yow."

His prayer granted.

(This is the last entry I have found concerning John Croxton to whom was given by Walter Walton in 1418 the best compass of that Brother Mason.)

LETTER BOOK L. (1461-1497).

Temp. Edward IV.-Henry VII.

Entries concerning Masons and Marblers appear at pages 183-4, 233, 246.

The entry at page 183-4 is that of the very well known and highly important Ordinacio Lathamorum dated 15th October, 21 Edward IV. [1481] and consists of Articles for the better regulation of the Mistery.

These have been printed more than once and are included in an Article by Bro. Conder in *A.Q.C.* xxvii., 81-87. As will be seen later, these Ordinances remained in force until they were varied in certain respects in the fifth year of the reign of James 1st.

At page 246 (14th December, 1487) is an Ordinance that Wardens of the Misteries should thenceforth make no Ordinances in their Misteries unless the same be approved by the Mayor & Aldermen for the time being &c., and thereupon Wardens of divers Misteries brought in their books of Ordinances that had not been approved by the Court of Aldermen and those Ordinances were cancelled, and the leaves of the books on which they were recorded were cut out.

(This shows that the Mayor and Aldermen intended to keep a firm hold on the rules of the Misteries.)

Page 233 is now copied because it shows the nature of the Craft of Marblers:—

31st August, 2 Hen. VII. [A.D. 1486] came good men of the Craft of Marblers praying that certain ordinances for the better government of their Craft might be approved, among them being the following:—

"That every persone occupying the said Crafte within the Fraunchise of the saide Citee that maketh any Stone-werk of Marbyll, laton' werke or coper werk belongyng or perteynyng to the same Crafte not sufficient wherethurgh the same werke of Stone laton' or coper is or shalbe by the Wardeyns of the same Crafte for the tyme beyng presented and forfaited to the said Chambre shall pay and make fyne in money the iiij. part of every stone so forfaited after the rate of the price that it coste as the byer thereof shall confesse and also shall pay and make fyne for every pounce of laton' or coper werke forfaited as it is aforesaid iiijd. to be applied and devided in maner and fourme abovesaide."

Their petition granted.

At this point it may be permissible to insert a note to Brother Conder's narration as to the Arms of the Masons Company. He deals with that subject on page 83 *et seq.* First of all opportunity may be taken of correcting the statement that the Company were represented by *six* members on the Common Council. It will be seen from the Records and from Bro. Conder's article in *A.Q.C.* ix., 28, that the number of representatives was four, and not six.

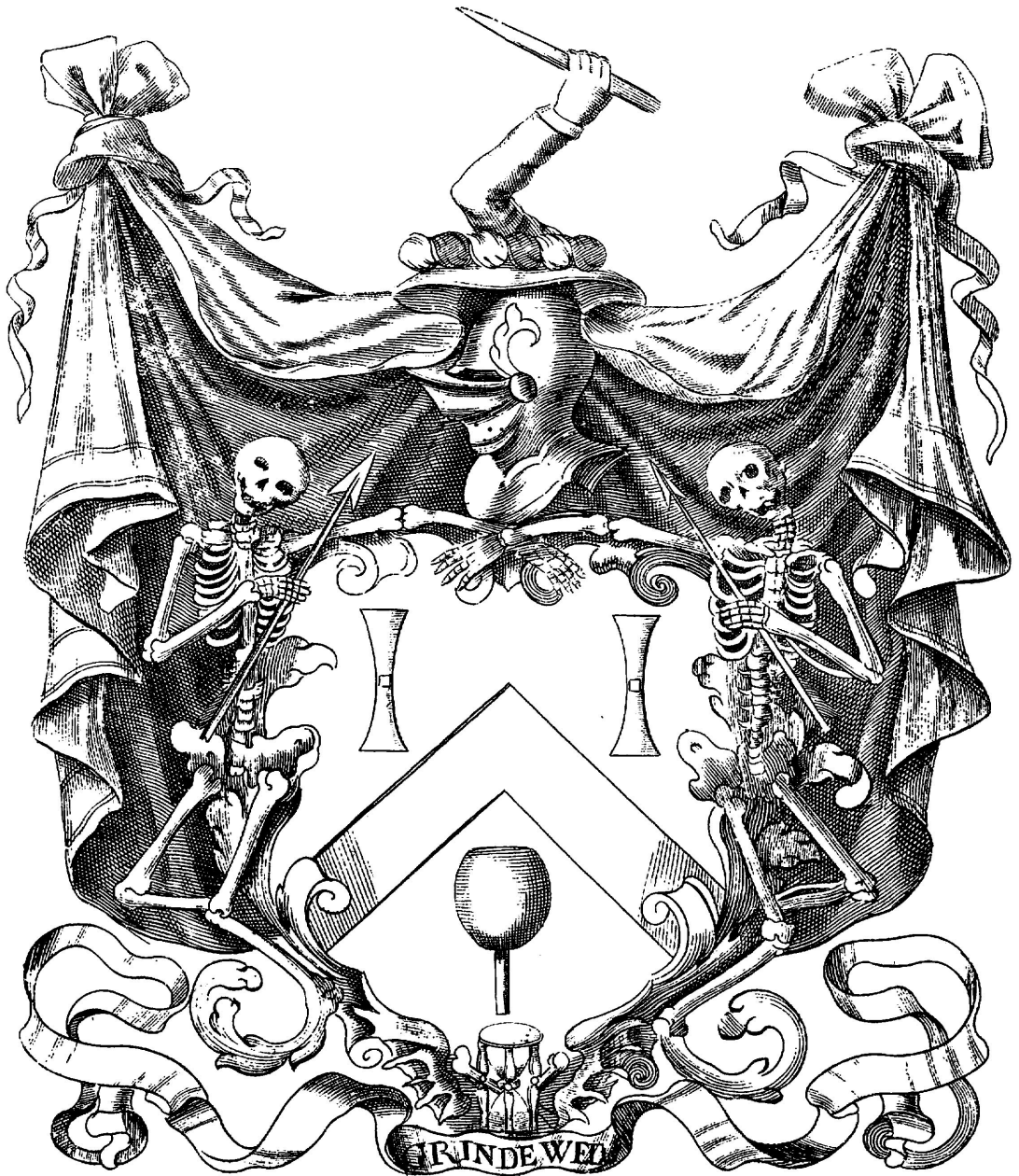
At page 93 it is stated that the form adopted by Stow was continued by later heraldic writers who copied one another, *ad infinitum*.

There is one praiseworthy exception to this. In a book published in 1677, *London's Armory accurately delineated in a Graphical display of all the Arms, Crests, Supporters, Mantles and Mottos of every distinct Company and Corporate Society in the City of London*, by R. Wallis, may be seen the Arms of the Masons' Company with the engrailed chevron and Castles similar to those in the Grant of 1471.



THE MASONS

From Wallis's *Londons Armory*, 1677: as reproduced in *Coat-Armour of the London Livery Companies*, by Charles Welch, F.S.A., 1914.



THE MARBLERS

From Wallis's *Londons Armory*, 1677; as reproduced in *Coat-Armour of the London Livery Companies*, by Charles Welch, F.S.A., 1914.

The engraving is a good example of heraldic drawing, and a reproduction of it accompanies this paper. The Marblers' Arms are also reproduced.¹

LETTER BOOK M.

This book is the first of the long series of Letter Books remaining unpublished in the printed Calendars issued by the Corporation of the City of London.

I have had transcripts made of such items as are indexed in the MS. Index preserved at Guildhall, but it is probable that there are incidental references to Masons which are not referred to in the Index. The extracts so made are set forth in the Appendix to this paper.

The first extract is a supplementary set of Ordinances of Freemasons dated 19th February in the first year of the reign of Henry VIII. (1509-10).

The term Freemasons had been officially used in Letter Book K. (page 257) in August, 1441, but now it will be seen that for the first time the term Freemasons is deliberately used and in their petition they style themselves "the hoole felliship of the craft mistere or science of Fremasons enfraunchesed within this Cittie."

The petition then refers to a grant made in the time of the Mairaltie of John Brown (that is in 1480-1) unto the Wardeyns of Fremasons, and asks that further specific powers be granted to the fellowship.

It is noteworthy that in certain clauses the phrase occurs "no Fremason nor mason," showing that there were certain masons to whom the prefix "Free" did not apply. This indicates that the Petitioners desired to prevent anyone saying that the Ordinance applied only to Freemasons.

Rights of search and forfeiture were conferred and penalties were authorised of which one half went to the Chamber of London and the other half to the Common box of the Fellowship.

The concluding sentence is quaint and important as bringing together in one phrase the Masonic implements "plumme rule compas leuell and squyer."

LETTER BOOK N.

Folios 175b, 176 and 177.

The extract from this book is dated 24th October, 13 Henry VIII. (1521). Here is another petition from the Wardens and Company of the mistere of Mason Fremmen of this Citie.

(Here note that in lieu of the term Freemason the term used is "Mason Fremmen." This may indicate that the Petitioners considered the one term as explanatory of the other.)

The petition was granted with the result that important regulations were made as to the qualifications and presentation and number of apprentices.

Reference is made to the mental and physical qualifications of the Apprentice. The wardens and livery are to see that he has good capacity to

¹ The blazonry, as given by Welch, is as follows:—

MARBLERS. (They were monumental masons. Now united with the Masons.) **ARMS:** Gules a chevron argent, between two chipping-axes in chief of the last and a mallet in base or. **CREST:** An arm embowed, vested azure cuffed argent, holding in the hand proper an engraving-chisel of the last. **MOTTO:** Grind well. Wallis gives as **SUPPORTERS** two figures of Death each armed with a spear.

MASONS. Grant by William Hawkeslowe, Clar., 12 Edw. IV., 1472. Confirmed by Thomas Benolt, Clar., 12 Hen. VIII. (1520-1). "A feld of Sablys a Cheveron siluer grailed thre Castellis of the same garnysshed wth dorez and wyndows of the feld in the Cheveron a Cumpas of Blak." A crest is shown in the drawing in the margin, viz., Upon the helm, without torce, a castle as in the arms. (Orig. in Brit. Mus. Add. Ch. 19135. Facs. in Conder's *Records of Company*.) **MOTTO** (Present): God is our Guide. (Former): In the Lord is all our trust.

practise and learn the said Mistere and have also his right lymnes to exercise the manuell feat thereof. Fees are provided for and they are to be divided between the Chamber of London and the Common Box of Fellowship.

Work by Foreyn Masons is restricted.

Note also that there was a distinction drawn with regard to those Masons who were of the Fellowship but not of the Livery. When not admitted to the Livery only one apprentice might be taken. When so admitted and taken into the Livery two only.

When a Mason was Warden two several times he might take three. Never could the number three be exceeded. (There was, however, a proviso when an apprentice had but one year left to serve.)

The term Master Mason is also used in this extract showing that it meant a Master who employed other Masons.

A further presentation is stipulated for when the Apprentice's term has expired. Such presentation to be before the City Chamberlain and the Wardens of the Fellowship "And by them therunto habled and admitted."

It will be seen that the Ordinance was to endure for two years in the first instance and then to be subject to ratification.

LETTER BOOK X.

No entry appears to be indexed after Letter Book N. until Letter Book X., fo. 101b.

The item in that book is dated 15th November, 13 Elizabeth (1570). It shows that the Marblers had endeavoured to anticipate the Union with the Freemasons by getting some grant from the Court of Common Council for joining the two Companies together.

Apparently this grant had been obtained without the consent of the Freemasons. The Marblers having obtained the grant had at once proceeded to act upon it by making men free of the supposed united Company. Then the Freemasons appealed to the next Court with the result that the grant to the Marblers was cancelled.

The Letter Book contains no record of the grant so cancelled, and it would seem that the book was written up after the cancellation, and so the cancelled grant was not included.

LETTER BOOK Z.

At folio 57b, *et seq.*, is another set of orders for the Company of Freemasons.

The date is 28th April, 22 Eliz. (1580).

The document needs but little comment in this paper.

Old Ordinances were ratified and confirmed and new provisions were made to protect the public against the use of inferior Purbeck Stone or Purbeck Paving.

In 1581 these Orders were confirmed with variations and additions, but none of these are of interest to us as Freemasons.

Letter Book Z., fo. 61b, records that on the death of Phillipe Paskyn Fremason, William Kyrwyn was appointed Cyties Mason in his stead.

The entry is dated 31st May, 22 Eliz. (1580).

This William Kyrwyn is the Freemason whose tomb is in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. In the Appendix will be found an abstract of an award made by the four City viewers in 1577. One of the four viewers was "William Kerwyn" and they were called in owing to a dispute between Nicholas Bacon (then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal) and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

LETTER BOOK &c.

The City Officials having reached the end of the Alphabet with Z. did not at once go back to the beginning of the Alphabet but distinguished the next book by the mark &c.

This book contains very important information not before made public. It shows clearly the union of the Companies of Freemasons and Marblers and that this was effected on the application of the Wardens and some members of the Company of Marblers, the Wardens of the Company of Freemasons being present and consenting. The Marblers represented that the Union was desirable because of the great decay and disability of their Company, and for other reasons.

The two Companies were accordingly incorporated and were thenceforth to be one entire body and to be called and termed by the name of "freemasons and marblers."

This order is dated 20th July, 27 Eliz. (1585).

The Repertory of the Court of Aldermen shows further developments relating to the admission into the united Company of other Marblers. The new style of the Company is used in the Repertory entries, viz., "the Company and Fellowship of Fremasons and Marbelers."

This new style has been lost sight of for many years. It appears to have been dropped very soon after it had served its original purpose.

The names of the members of the two Companies are given and include William Kyrwyn and Cornelius Cure. (The latter was appointed to the office of King's Master Mason).

Edward Younge of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, in his Will dated 17th June, 1596, is described as Citizen and Freemason and Marbler (Archdeaconry of London Act Book III., 38 p.).

Some of these extracts show the succession of the Master Masons of the City, and speak clearly for themselves.

The order appears to have been (1) Philip Paskyn, (2) William Kyrwyn, (3) Andrew Kirwyn, (4) John Walton as Viewer, (5) Richard Smythe as Mason, (6) John Somner, (7) John Record, (8) Richard Smithe, (9) Thomas Jordaine.

(This brings the record up to the fifteenth year of James I., since when I have not sought to trace it. I may, however, note that in the Index to the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, which begin in 1495, other entries show that in the period *circa* 1554 to 1557 John Pasken was admitted Freemason to the Chamber in the room of Ellys dec^d. (Rep. 13 No. 2, fo. 446) and that on John Pasken's death the above named Philip Paskyn was, on Petition, appointed Chief Mason of the Works of the Chamber (Rep. 13, fo. 570).

LETTER BOOK C.C., fo. 235.

There is an entry here that seems to me to be of considerable importance. The date is 4th June, 5th James I.=1607.

The Order commences by reciting a Petition from the Company of Freemasons stating that many offenders in the Company did evil without punishment and reformation was not forthcoming. It was alleged that this was due to the reason that the Wardens who were chosen to rule the Company pursuant to orders made in the 20th year of Edward IVth [this should apparently be 21 Edward IV.] were to continue as Wardens for two years and by such long continuance became remiss. It was therefore ordered that the orders last mentioned should be void and that thenceforth the Company or those who shall be called into the clothing and livery of the Company should elect one Master and two Wardens annually. These when elected were to be presented by the old Master and Wardens in the King's Court holden before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City in the Guildhall and there sworn and charged.

The full purport of the new Order must be seen by the Order itself, but among other things it is noteworthy that here for the first time the method of ruling the Company of Freemasons is by election of a Master and Two Wardens who hold office for one year and are to be presented after election and are then to be charged.

The full significance of this Order must be left for consideration by the Brethren, and this also applies to many other extracts which are printed with this paper.

The next extract is one from the Repertory of Aldermen as to a complaint in 1626 by the Master and Wardens of the Company of Freemasons against one Sampson a Carver and other Artisans. Evidently the Company could only resent, but found in course of years that they could not efficiently prevent such intermeddling with their 'misterie.'

The extract dated 1627 shows that there was dissension between the Antients of the Company and the Master and Wardens. We can only hope that the differences were settled by the appointed peacemakers, but I have not succeeded in finding what the result really was.

The year 1626 brings us past the year 1620, in which the existing records of the Company begin, as stated in Brother Conder's book.

It is well we should bear in mind the statement on page 137 that from that point the progress of the Company can be followed very closely by means of thousands of pages contained in twenty-five large folio volumes of Court and Account Books. From this great store Bro. Conder necessarily had to make selections of the more important entries and to summarise many of them in a concise way. The Account Book of some 500 pages is the only book dealing with the Company before 1663. It ranges over the period 1620 to 1706.

As, however, the first extant Minute Book of the Company does not commence until 1663, the extracts dated 1654 as to Thomas Cartwright are printed as they show an element of rebellion and inconstant obstinacy on the part of the said Cartwright. Accused before the Court of Aldermen for refusing to pay £6 as a fine for not serving the Company of Freemasons as Steward though elected, he repented of his refusal and consented to pay and was ordered so to do, but afterwards relented and did not implement his promise, and indeed peremptorily refused to pay, with the result that he was committed to Newgate Gaol till he paid or was otherwise lawfully discharged.

Probably all came out right in the end, but one wonders whether the Thomas Cartwright who in 1673 became Master of the Company was the same stubborn and we hope conscientious resister.¹

The information now published as to the Company of Marblers will, I hope, shed clearer light upon that worthy body. Bro. Conder, in the Appendix to the *Hole Crafte* (pages 285 to 289), collected such materials as came to his notice.

We now have the official Record showing how and when the Marblers were joined to the Freemasons in 1585 (that is twenty years before the death of Stow, from whom Bro. Conder quotes).

Bro. Conder refers to Thomas Raynton. The Will of Thomas Raynton, Citizen and Marbler, Blackfriars, was proved in the Commissary Court of London (Reg^r. Tunstall 92), on 24th June, 1527. The first Will of a Marbler of which I have found record is that of John Mapylton, Citizen and Marbler, St. Dunstan in the West, proved in the Archdeaconry Court of London (Reg^r. 1, 179) on 2nd August, 1407, and also enrolled in the Court of Husting.

The particular scope of the Marblers Craft is shown in the Ordinances made in 1486 and printed in the Calendar of Letter Book L.

The paragraph in Conder (286 and 287) may now be deleted in view of the aforesaid Records and of subsequent information obtained by Bro. Conder and embodied in his paper in *A.Q.C.*, vol. ix., 29.

John le Marbrer is named in Letter Book A. (page 285) under date 25th July, 1284. One was bound to him for breaking a piece of marble. He was named also (at page 161), and Walter le Marbrer is named 20th November, 1288 (page 111).

There does not appear to have been any Mason elected to the office of Mayor or Sheriff of London, but in 1338 Hugh Marbler, or le Marbrer, was Junior Sheriff.

The Arms of the Marblers are shown in Wallis's Armory published 1677. Their Motto was "Grind Well," and the supporters were Two Skeletons.

(These Arms are reproduced from that source.)

¹ Bro. H. W. Sayers has dealt with this point in his comments on this paper, and has shown that any such identification would be quite unsafe.

ADDENDUM.

A few copyist's and other errors in Brother Conder's book are here submissively corrected.

Page 100, footnote 2. Instead of 2 Hen. VII., cxxij. (1426), read: 11 Hen. VII., chap. xxij. (1495).

Page 157. Margin: "A grant of the office of Master Mason A.D. 1620, 1633."

The grant copied is by Charles 1st, who only came to the throne in 1625. The original Patent Roll at the Record Office shows that this grant to Nicholas Stone was made on 21st April, 1626.

[There was another grant to him dated in the 8th year of Charles 1st (1632)].

Page 197. The date of the Charter of the Company as granted by Charles II. was 17th December, 1677. The Charter has now been printed at length in *A.Q.C.* xliii., pp. 117 to 124.

Page 231. A reference to an Article in *A.Q.C.* xxxvii., pp. 44 to 50, seems to prove that "The Mitre" was on a different site from that of "The Goose & Gridiron."

Pages 235 and 236. When Q.C. Lodge visited Burford in 1932 the memorial to Kempster was seen and the year of his death is thereon given as 1715 (not 1725). His Will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 15th August, 1715, and is recorded in Register FAGG., folio 161.

Page 249. Anderson in 1723 is said to quote from Stow's Survey, 1733 edition. This should be 1633 as on page 250.

Page 249. In 1723 a *new* edition of Anderson's *Constitutions* is referred to. But the edition of 1723 was the first. The paragraph quoted is not from the last page, but from page 82. The pages of the 1723 edition are numbered up to 91.

Page 269. The Will of Joshua Marshall is to be found registered at full length in Register Reeve, fo. 36, at the Probate Registry, Somerset House. Whether the original Will is also there I cannot say.

Page 288. The Memorial to Edward Marshall and Joshua Marshall in St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street, gives the age of Edward Marshall correctly as 77. Bro. Conder was misled by the Dictionary of National Biography.

 APPENDIX.

 EXTRACTS FROM THE CITY OF LONDON LETTER BOOKS AND OTHER
RECORDS AT THE GUILDHALL.

LETTER BOOK A.

Statutes made *temp.* Gregory de Rokeslee, Mayor, and by the 24 Aldermen. Fo. 88b. (date 1293). 21 Edward I.

(P. 184.) Here follow Ordinances as to the wages of carpenters, masons, plasterers, daubers, and tilers commencing:—

"De charpentiers, de mazonz etc." and ending "pus ke il soyt ateint."

[Printed and translated with little variation in *Liber Custumarum* (Rolls Series). I., 99, 100. II., 541-3. Editor.]

(P. 184.) 25th January, 12 Edward I. [A.D. 1283-4]. Ordained by Henry le Galeys, Mayor (and by the Sheriffs and others named) that in each ward there should be two good and honest men assigned to discover what masons or carpenters take wages in the City contrary to the Statute of the City, and to report their names to the Mayor and Sheriffs with the view to their being punished, viz., the payer of wages contrary to the statute by fine of 40s. for each offence, and the receiver by imprisonment for forty days. (*Cf.* 'Liber Horn,' fo. 263.)

LETTER BOOK D. (196).

Oath to Freemen—

Ye shall take no apprentice for less than 7 years and ye shall cause him to be enrolled as such within the first year of your covenant and at the end of his term if he has well and loyally served you ye shall cause his egress (*soun issu*) to be enrolled . . . And ye shall take no apprentice unless he be a freeman and not a bondsman (*neif*). All which points aforesaid ye shall well and truly keep so God you help and his Saints.

(In handwriting of the fifteenth century. Editor at page 192.)

LETTER BOOK D. Introduction, page ix.

Thus among a long series of ordinances entered in the Letter Book before us presumably of the year 1312 or 1313, we find the following, viz.:—

(1) That henceforth no person shall receive an apprentice unless he be himself free of the City and cause their covenant to be enrolled of whatever condition such apprentice may be.

(2) That no apprentice after fully serving his term shall follow his trade in the City before he shall have been sworn of the freedom and thereupon enrolled.

(3) And that no apprentice shall be received for a less term than 7 years according to ancient usage.

P. ii. The freedom of the City of London was no empty honour. Without it a man was not at liberty to open a shop to traffic by retail or even to reside within the City walls except for a limited time and then only in the houses of freemen and under frankpledge. On the other hand the man who had acquired the freedom by any one of the three methods just mentioned was free to trade by wholesale or retail with fellow citizen or stranger; to carry his goods throughout the length and breadth of the land and to enter any town without payment of meurage or other toll.

If any such toll were exacted in contravention of his chartered rights the remedy of reprisal was at hand by writ of *withernam*. This immunity from toll was not confined however to the London citizen. It was enjoyed by the free inhabitants of other cities and boroughs at home and abroad and was highly prized.

LETTER BOOK G.

The Sworn Masons of the City.

There are frequent references in the Letter Books to the sworn Masons of the City. They are often associated with the sworn Carpenters. A statement as to their duties appears in the paper itself under Letter Book H.

Letter Book G. has a typical series of entries on this subject at pages 129, 223, 257 and 279.

(P. 129.) 18th October, 1361 (35 Edward III.). Richard atte Cherche "mazoun" elected and sworn before John Wrothe, the Mayor, to be associated with the masons and carpenters in assizes of nuisances.

(P. 223.) 7th March, 1367-8 (42 Edward III.), Master John de Totenham and Richard de "Shropshyre," carpenters, and Richard atte Cherche and Thomas atte Barnet, masons, were sworn in full Husting to faithfully discharge their duties in partitioning lands, rents, and tenements in the City and suburbs and in Assizes of Nuisance &c.

(P. 257.) 13th January, 1369-70 (43 Edward III.), a report made to the Mayor and Aldermen by Richard Shropshire and Thomas Fant sworn carpenters of the City and Richard atte Cherche and Thomas atte Barnet, sworn masons of the City, as to the dimensions of a tenement near Holbournebrugge purchased by Edward Siende "smythe" from Sir William Rooke and Sir Thomas Eydone, chaplains.

(P. 279.) 14th February, 1370-1 (45 Edward III.), petition to the Mayor and Aldermen by Richard Shropshire and Thomas Fant, Carpenters, and Thomas atte Barnet and Richard atte Chirche, masons, the four masters elected and sworn to make assizes and partitions in the City to be discharged from payment of taxes and subsidies for the King as their predecessors in office had been for the last hundred years. Their petition granted so long as they remained in office.

LETTER BOOK H. P. 13, fol. xxiii.

26th October, 49 Edward III. A.D. 1375.

Thomas Flant and Stephen Warde, carpenters, and Thomas Mallynge and Richard atte Chirche, masons, sworn to make partition of lands, tenements and rents to report nuisances &c.

27th November, 1 Richard II. A.D. 1377.

Thomas atte Barnet one of the masons who had been formerly sworn having neglected his duties Thomas Mallynge was presented and sworn in his place.

(Page 39, fo. xlvi.)

And that each mistery return the names of those so elected to the new Mayor on the day of his charge the greater misteries electing not more than 6 persons and the rest four or two according to their size, for one year . . .

(Page 41, fo. xlvi.b.)

Names of the misteries summoned and present at this time viz: 41 (but this does not include any Mason or Freemason).

Be it remembered that on the 9th August, 50 Edward III. (A.D. 1376) there came an immense Commonalty from the underwritten misteries to the Guildhall before John Warde, Mayor, William Haldene, Recorder, John Chichestre, Adam Stablo, Robert Hatfield, John Aubrey, Bartholomew Frestlynge, Nicholas Twyford, John Maryns, John Haddele, Hervey Begge, Adam de St. Ive Aldermen and presented the names of the underwritten persons elected by each mistery and deputed to serve as a Council for the City until the charge (oneratio) of the new Mayor and they were called separately for each mistery and charged by their oath as follows:—

(Translation)

You swear that you will readily come when summoned for a common council of the City unless you have lawful and reasonable excuse and good and lawful counsel shall you give according to your understanding and knowledge and for no favour shall you maintain an individual benefit against the common weal of the City preserving for each mistery its reasonable customs and when you shall so come you shall not depart without reasonable cause or leave of the Mayor or before the Mayor and his Fellows have departed.

Names of persons of divers misteries so elected viz: (The 33rd mistry on the list is at page 43.):—

Masons. Thomas Wrek, John Lesnes, John Artelburgh, Robert Henwyk (Heuwyk ?).

[*Note*.—The printed Letter Book H. does not show that in the original 1376 list of misteries the heading Fremasons occurs followed by the names Thomas Wrek and John Lesnes. That whole entry was however struck out and an attempt made to erase it with a knife. The words “quia postea” were added to indicate the reason for striking out, namely, that the same Thomas Wrek and John Lesnes headed the list of four names of Masons.]

[*Note*.—In the same year (5 Richard II.) Henry Yevele had received from Lord Cobham the sum of £20 due to Thomas Wrewk mason for the works going on at Cowling Castle near Junction of Thames and Medway. (London Middlesex *Archaeological Transactions*, vol. ii., p. 260; also *Freemasons' Magazine*, 1862, vi., 404.)]

Page 124.

The names of the good folk and the sums they lent (includes)

Henry Yevele 5 marks.

(24th January, 1378-9)

By which expenditure, and by the diligence and work of certain good folk of the City, a good accord was effected between the Lords of the Realm and the City thanks be to God.

Page 216, fol. clxiv.b.

9th October, 7 Richard II. (A.D. 1383).

Thomas Mallynge and Richard atte Chirche, masons, and Stephen Warde, carpenter, lately appointed to survey assizes of nuisance etc. elect and present William Dudecote, carpenter, to John Norhamptone, the Mayor, to take the place of Thomas Fant, carpenter, deceased and he was admitted and sworn.

P. 237-8. List of Common Councilmen last day of July, 8 Richard II. (1384):—

Bridge (18) Thomas Mallyng Henry Yevele.

P. 281. Thomas Mallynge named as a Commoner at Common Council meeting 25th March, 1386, and

P. 333. Thomas Mallynge present at a Common Council meeting 31st. August, 1388, as one of the 14 Councillors for Bridge Ward.

Pages 273 and 274.

Masters of Misteries sworn. The last on the list are:—

Masouns; John Clifford, Thomas Mallynge, Simon atte Hoke, John Westcote, Henry Wylot, sworn the 13th August, 10 Richard II. (A.D. 1386).

The Will of John Clifford of St. Paulinus Olave Southwark is registered in the year 1417 in the Register Marche fo. 38 of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

The Will of Thomas Mallynge *alias* Cake is registered in the same Register Marche fo. 28. The same Will was also enrolled in the Court of Husting. (See Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, vol. ii., p. 402.) He seems to have been a very wealthy man for those times.

P. 354.

Tuesday, 2nd August, 4 Richard II. (A.D. 1390), came William Kyrtone and Elizabeth his wife a City orphan and daughter of John Hadde called “Lightfoot” and presented a petition to the effect that the said John Hadde bequeathed the sum of £40 to the said Elizabeth and a like sum to John then

in the womb of Katherine his wife the portion of either of the deceased to go to the survivor of them. That John the son had died and that the petitioners had been unable to recover the sum of £80 due to them from Henry Yevele and the aforesaid Katherine now his wife, John Warner and William Jordan executors of John Hadde.

They therefore prayed a remedy.

Thereupon all parties were summoned to appear before the Mayor and Aldermen on the following day when the Petitioners acknowledged they had received satisfaction.

P. 378. "Henry Yevele, Richard Whityngtone" are named in list of 24 Commoners of the City of London to attend Richard II. at Nottingham in 1392.

P. 411. Henry Yenelee (Yevelee) named in reference to a quit claim as to property in Graschirche Street.

He is described (8th April, 1394) as one of two Wardens of London Bridge.

CITY OF LONDON. LETTER BOOK H., fol. 96b.

Dated 31st January, 2 Richard II. (A.D. 1378-9).

Billa missa cuilibet Aldermannno ad inquirendum de pistoribus. braciatoribus. Carpentarüs. Massons. Tylers et Daubers.

Pur ceo qe nous sumus [*sic*] enfourmez par certains gentz de vostre garde. coment les pestours de vostre garde ne fount si bone paste. ne si bele blanc crible ne Tourte come ils ount en charge par une assay fait par pestours meismes Et auxi qe les braceours de vostre garde ne fount mye lour meillour seruoise ne lour seruoise seconde si bone come ils soloient deuant la crye faite sur eux et nientmeins qe ascuns de eux et le plus graunt partie de eux vendent lour dite seruoise autrement qe nest ordeinez Et auxint fount les tauerners de lour vyn encountre lordinance come dist est ensemble et les hostillers vendent lour feyn et aucignes plus chier qe lordinance ne voet Et Masons Carpenters Tilers Daubers et touz autres laborers en vostre garde a contraire del estatut de parlement et de la cite ount mespris a graunt damage de tote la comune Vous comandons fermement depart nostre seignour le Roi qe dedeins viij iours apres la vewe dicestes vous ent facez enquerrer diligemment et distinctement de chescun article de les defautes suisditz et ceo par gentz de vostre garde nient suspectz as tielx malfesours enretournant vers le chamberleyn de la Guyhalle ceo qe ent trouerez par vostre dit enqueste parentre cy et la fyn des viij iours suisditz et nulle des touz cestes choses ne lessez sur peril qapent Escript le drein^r iour de Janeuier lan du regne nostre seignour le Roi Richard seconde fesant les gentz du dit enqueste declarer en lour voirdist combien chescun braceour brace en la semayne issint qe selonc le desert de chescun et selonc la quantite de lour trespas qils puissent estre punis.

LETTER BOOK H., fo. 96b. [Translation].

Dated 31st January, 2 Richard II. [A.D. 1378-9].

Precept sent to each Alderman to make inquisition touching bakers, brewers, carpenters, masons, tilers and daubers.

Whereas we have been informed by certain men of your ward, how the bakers of your ward do not make such good dough, nor such fine blanchpayn nor pastry as they are bound to do by an assay made by the bakers themselves. And also that the brewers of your ward do not make either their better or their second ale so good as they were wont to do before proclamation was made upon them and

that although some of them, being the greater number of them, sell their said ale otherwise than has been ordained. And also the taverners do with their wine contrary to the ordinance, as is said likewise, and the innkeepers sell their hay and oats dearer than the ordinance will [have them do].

And masons, carpenters, tilers, daubers and all other workmen in your ward, have offended against the Statute of Parliament and of the City, to the great damage of the whole Commonalty.

We command you strictly, on behalf of our lord the King, that within eight days of seeing these [presents], you make inquest thereof diligently and definitely, concerning each article and the offences aforesaid, and that by men of your ward not suspect of favouring such offenders, returning to the Chamberlain of the Guildhall what you shall find thereupon by your said inquest, between this and the end of the eight days aforesaid, and that you leave undone none of all these things upon the pain which attaches.

Written the last day of January, in the second year of the reign of our lord the King, Richard,

causing the men of the said inquest to declare in their verdict how much each brewer brews every week, so that they may be punished in accordance with their deserts and in accordance with the degree of their offence.

LETTER BOOK H., folio 99b.

Proclamacio quantum operarij capere debunt

(Undated, but apparently issued in December, 1378.)

Pur ceo qe loyez soit Dieux. Vitailles et touz autres choses des queux homme doit viure sont a present dauxi resonable pris come ils estoient long temps passe Nient meins les laborers qe seruent en la Cite de Loundres prenont si excessiement pur leur labour et trauail que les bones gentz de la dite Citee se sentont grandement greuez Parqe a leur compleinte et par aus de Nichol Brembre Maire et Aldermans de mesme la Citee pur restreindre liex outragouses salaries queux tournent en oppression et damage de tote la commune et restreignent plusors gentz de comencer a faire diverses oueraignes queux tourneroient en aide et honestete de la dite citee si est ordene adeprimes

qe masons, Carpenters, Sawyers et Plastrers preignent parentre le feste de Pasche et le feste de saint Michel chescun iour ouerable vjd. Et del feste de saint Michel tanqe Pasche le iour ouerable vd. et nient plus. Et pur le Samadi sils oueront par la semaine preignent pur iour entier. Et iours des festes quant ils riens ourront riens ne preignent. Et pur amendement de leur instrumentz ne fesure diceux riens ne preignent

[Clauses follow as to tilers and others. The entry is not dated, but it is written in the Letter Book between two entries which are both dated 16th December, 1378.]

LETTER BOOK H., folio 99b. [Translation]

Proclamation [as to] how much workmen ought to take.

Whereas, praise be to God!, food and all other commodities whereby man must live are at present of as reasonable a price as they have been for a long time past;

Nevertheless, the workmen who are employed in the City of London take such excessive [rates] for their work and labour, that the good people of the said City feel greatly aggrieved.

Wherefore upon their complaint and with the advice of Nicholas Brembre, Mayor, and the Aldermen, of the same City, in order to restrain such outrageous wages which oppress and harm all the commonalty and prevent many men from putting in hand divers undertakings, which would grow to the aid and dignity of the said City, it is ordained firstly:—

that masons, carpenters, sawyers and plaisterers take between Easter and Michaelmas for every working day 6d. And from Michaelmas until Easter for the working day 5d., and nothing more. And for Saturday, if they work by the week, let them take for the whole day. And [for] feast days when they do no work, let them take no [pay]. And let them take nothing for the repair of their tools, nor for the making of them.

LETTER BOOK H., folio 144b.

Proclamation dated 10th May, 5 Richard II. [A.D. 1382]

Combien Carpenters Masons & Daubers prendront.

Item qe le meilleur carpenter ne preigne parentre cy et le feste de saint Michel proschein auenir le iour ouerable quant il oure plus qe viijd. Et le meillour mason par entre cy et le dit feste le iour ouerable plus qe viijd. Et le meillour tilere et son garsoun parentre cy et le dit feste le dit iour ouerable plus qe xijd. Et le meillour daubere et son garson parentre cy et le dit feste plus qe xjd. le iour ouerable. Et qils en iours de festes quant riens ne oueront riens ne prendront, maes le samadi sils oueront deux hœures apres none ils prendrent pur un iour entier come sils ussent ouere oue lour mestres par une semaine entier et autrement forse pur *demi* iour Et autres meins bones des mistiers auanditz prendront dedeins les sommes auanditz come ils et lour mestres purront acorder. Et si ascun donne as carpenters masons Tileres Dauberes ou garsons des tilers et daubers plus ou autrement qe deuant est dit encourge la forfaiture de *demi* marc al œps de la *communalte* a chescun foith qil soit dices atteint. Et si ascun carpenter mason tylere daubere ou garson de Tilere ou daubere preigne dascun plus ou autrement qe deuant est dit encourge la forfaiture de *demi* marc al œps de la *commnialte* a chescun forth qil soit dices atteint.

LETTER BOOK H., folio 114b. [Translation]

Proclamation dated 10th May, 5 Richard II. [A.D. 1382]

How much Carpenters Masons and Daubers shall take.

Item that the better [sort of] carpenter do not take between this and Michaelmas next for the working day when he works, more than 8d. And the better [sort of] mason between this and the said feast for the working day, more than 8d. And the better [sort of] tiler and his mate (*garsoun*) between this and the said feast for the working day, more than 12d. And the better [sort of] dauber and his mate between this and the said feast, more than 11d. for the working day.

And that on feastedays when they do nothing they shall take no [pay], but on Saturday if they work two hours after noon, they shall take [pay] for a whole day, as if they had worked with their masters for one whole week, and otherwise for the half-day only.

And other worse [workmen] of the trades aforesaid shall take within the sums aforesaid, as they and their masters may agree.

And if anyone give to carpenters, masons, tilers, daubers, or to the mates of tilers and daubers, more or otherwise than is aforesaid, he incurs the forfeiture of half a mark to the use of the Commonalty, each time that he is convicted thereof. And if any carpenter mason 'tylere' 'daubere' or tiler's mate or dauber's mate take from anyone more or otherwise than is aforesaid, he incurs the forfeiture of half a mark to the use of the Commonalty, each time that he is convicted thereof.

LETTER BOOK I.

Fo. cxi.b. (P. 102 in print).

18th April, 1412.

Together with—

Walter Waltone
William Wyltshire
Walter Mylton
and Robert Lardynner
the City's sworn Masons and Carpenters.

(This relates to the adjusting of a give and take line of highway.)

(Masons. Mistery of Master sworn.) Page 172 (print).

Masons Latham.

William West

John Crokstone

sworn 1st December the same year (*i.e.*, 1416).

Page 173 (print).

Plasterers (Sementarii).

Henry Bostone

William Massam

sworn 23rd July the same year (*i.e.*, 1417).

(There is no reference to Plasterers in Books F. G. H. K., and it seems clear that the word should have been rendered "Masons".)

Page 174. Masons (Latham).

Richard Grove

William Fynch

sworn 6th July, 6 Henry V. (*i.e.*, 1418).

P. 207. Masters of misteries sworn.

Masons (Latham).

Edmund Werlowe,

John Crokston similarly sworn

21st June, 7 Henry V. (1419).

(Oath. To well and faithfully govern the said mistery and present any defects they may find to the Mayor and Aldermen or to the Chamberlain of the said City for the time being.)

1509-10.

LETTER BOOK M., f. 168 *Ordinacio dez Fremasons.*

Memorandum quod decimo nono die mensis Februarij Anno regni Regis Henrici octavi primo probi homines Artis sive mistere de Fremasons Ciuitatis Londoniensis venerunt hic in Curiam dicti Domini

Regis in Camera Guihalde Ciuitatis predictae coram Willelmo Capell¹ milite et Aldermanis eiusdem Ciuitatis et porrexerunt eisdem maiori et Aldermannis quandam billam sine supplicacionem cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba | To the right honorable lord the Maire of the Cite of london' and the Worshipfulle sovereignes the Aldermen of the same | Mekely besechyn your good lordship and discrete Wysdoms your pour oratours the hoole felliship of the craft mistere or science of Fremasons enfraunchesed within this Citie That where as for certain consideracions of the Comon Wele of alle the byars and sellers of almaner stones It was granted in the tyme of the Mairaltie of the right honorable parsonne John Broun' and his brethern' the Aldermen at that tyme beyng unto the Wardeyns of Fremasons and Broun was to their Successours from that tyme forward to have the serche Mayor in oversight and correccion with an officer of the Maires to theym to be assigned of almaner werkes and thinges the whiche belong and apparteigne to the science of Fremasons within the Cite of london' and Suburbs of the same And such defaultez as they did find to present and shew unto the Chamberlayn of london' for the tyme beyng And so correccion to be doon as in your Regestre of Recorde in the Chamber of London it appereth And now it is so good lord and Maisters that the same your Oratours after their discrecions fynde a greate defaulte in lakking of almaner lawfulle assises to be sett out and expressed of almaner thyknes brede and length as well of frestone marbilstone and hard stone of Kent whiche afore this tyme was neuer provided and that hathe been and yet is a greate hurte for the Comon Weale of the byers of theym For the whiche cause your said oratours after their most discrete wysdoms and connyng that god hath sent to theym they have set oute and expressed the length brede & thyknes of every frestone marblestone and hard stone of Kent as it oweth to be ordeyned for the comon weale of every byer therof as in certain articles hereafter it may appiere That yf there may be founde any frestone marblestone or hardstone of Kent or any of them to be defaulti of the length brede and thyknes otherwyse than is exprest and declared in the said Articles to be forfeited or fyned for as in the said Articles it may appiere. Wherefore pleas it your good lardshippe & maisterships to graunt the same articles by your auctorite may be accepted admytted and holde for ferme and stable to endure from this tyme forward for evermore And to be entred of Record in the Registre in the Chamber of theldhalle of the said Citee by vertue wherof and by thobseruance of the said Articles the said Assises of the length brede & thyknesse of almaner stones aforsaid may be kept orelles they to be forfeited and fyned for as it is expressed in the said Articles And that the Wardeyns of the feliship of yo^r said oratours and their Successours from this tyme forward may have serche & oversight of the same with an officer of the Maires to theym to be assigned to present the said defaultes as shall be founde unto the Chamberlayn of london for the tyme beyng and so correccion to be doon And your said oratours shalle daily pray to god for the preservacion of yo^r good lordship and maistership long to endure.

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Firste that alle frestone bourdour be in thyknes at the bossoll iiij ynches at the leest or more And in brede bosse and alle xij

¹ Henry VIII. began his reign 22nd April, 1509. Sir William Capel was Mayor (Two Mayors in that year (1) Tho. Bradbury (2) Sir William Capel).

ynches at the least or more for the broodour the better and of almaner of length' And yf any be founde under that thyknes and brede to be forfeited.

Also that every Frestone pavyng rough as it cometh out of the quarry to be in thyknes v ynches at the least or more And of almaner length and brede And yf there be any under v ynches thike to forfait.

Also that all mantelles and Jamys of iiij foote or iiij foote & a halfe wyde be at the least v ynches thike and of vij foote or viij foote wyde to beat the least vij ynches thike or more. And yf any suche be found contrary to that thiknes to be forfeat.

Also that no Fremason nor mason sell no lede mouthes serche Mantelles nor Frestone pavyng nor alle stones that belongeth to fyre unto they be seasoned at the least o quarter of a yere dryng after they come out of the quarry for grene stone solde and occupied disseiveth the byer therof and he that dothe the contrary shalle forfeate at every tyme so founde faultie vjs. viijd. the oone halfe therof to the Chambre of london and the other halfe to the Comon box of the said Felishippe.

Also that no Fremason nor mason drye by the Fyre in his house nor noon other parsons for hym for no hast but that he have his owne dryng in his kynde for it is a great disceite to almaner of bylders And he that doth the contrary therof and yf it be lafully proeved shalle forfeat at every tyme xxs. to be devided in manner and fourme abovesaid And the same stone so dried to be forfeited.

Also that alle marblestones beyng iiij foote or v foote long shalbe in thyknes at the least iiij ynches or more And that alle marble stone being vj or vij foote long to be iiij ynches thyke at the least and of viij. ix or x foote long to be vj ynches thike at the least and of bréde as the stones wolle falle and that alle suche marble for Towmbes or gravestones shalbe clere hard w'out vent or flaw And yf any suche marblestones be found contrary to these assises to be forfeat to the Chamber of london.

Also that almaner hardstone Ashler shalbe of a Jaage from bed to bed ix ynches fulle And from ix ynches to xij ynches or above as the stone wolle falle and of almaner of length above a foote longe And yf it happen any Assheler stone to be founde under a foote long what Jaage he be o to be forfeat.

Also that every ornall stone to be of v ynches from bed to bed and from v ynches to ix ynches and of almaner of length above a foote And yf it happen any ornall stone to be founde under v ynches from bed to bed what length soever he be of to be forfeate.

Also that every paving stone be vij ynches of brede at least and from vij ynches as brode as it wolle falle to for the broder the better And yf it happen any paving stone to be founde under a foote long or under vij ynches brode to be forfeate And that alle hassokes pavyng or venty stones that is not good shalbe forfeate.

Also that the Wardeyns of Fremasons for the tyme beyng shall have the serche of alle parsones as occupie the said craft or science with these ordenaunce that is to say plumme rule compas levell & squyer.

LETTER BOOK N., fols. 175b *seq.**Masons*

Dated 24th October, 1521.

Memorandum quod die Jovis scilicet xxiii^{to} die Octobris Anno regni Regis Henrici octavi Tercidecimo Gardiani et alii probi homines Artis sive mistere Lathamorum Civitatis Londoniarum Venerunt hic in Curiam dicti Domini Regis in Interiори Camera Guihalde eiusdem Civitatis Coram Johanne Brugge Milite Maiore dicte Civitatis Willelmo Shelley serviente ad legem ac Recordatore eiusdem Civitatis Laurencio Aylmer Milite Willelmo Buttler milite Thoma Exmewe Milite Thoma Myrfyn Jacobo Yarford Milite Henrico Warley Roberto Fenrother Thoma Baldry Willelmo Bailly Johanne Aleyn Thoma Semar Milite Michaelle Inglisshe Johanne Rudstone et Johanne Skevyngton Aldermannis Civitatis predictae et porrexerunt eisdem Maiori et Aldermannis quandam billam Supplicatoriam Cuius Tenor sequitur in hec verba.

To the right honourable lorde the Maire of this Citie of London' and his worshipfull brethern the Aldermen of the same.

HUMBLY besechen your good lordship and Maisterships the Wardeyns and company of the mistere of Masons Fremen of this Citie that where there been dyvers Articles right necessary and expedient to be added to the ordinaunces of their mistere aswele for the Commen Weale of this as for the good politique gouvernaunce Rule and ordre to be had and contynued of and in the said mistere | It may pleas yo^r good lordship and Maisterships to graunte unto them certeyn Articles and Ordynaunces ensuyng if they appere unto you good and resonable | And the same by Auctoritie of this honourable Courte to enacte stablisshe and conferme And to commaund that the same may be entred of Recorde amonges othe Recordes of this Courte fromhensforth fermely to be observed and kept forever.

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First be it enacted that it shall not be liefull to any of the said Feliship to take any Apprentice by Endenture unto the tyme that the Mister of suche Apprentice have first presented hym to and before the wardens for the tyme beyng of thesaid Feloship and vj other being in the lyverye of the same. To thentent that by their wise discrecions they may perceyve whether the same Apprentise have good capacitie to practyse and lerne the said Mistere and have also his right lymmes to exercise the manuell feat therof | And they perceyve those good qualities to be in hym that than they shall Able hym to be Apprentice And elles not | And that than the Maister of that Apprentice shall at the same presentment pay to thuse of the Commen box of the said Feliship iijs. iiijd. And if any of the said Company doo contrary to this Acte he shall forfeit and pay at every tyme that he so offendeth xxs. to be devidid the oone half to thuse of the Chambre of london And the other half to thuse of the Commen Box of the said Feliship.

Also be it enacted that it shall not be liefull to any of the said Feliship to take and have any moo Apprentices than oon at oons unto the tyme he be admytted and taken into the lyverye of the same Feliship And that than he may if he liste take and have twoo Apprentices to gyders oonly and no moo. And afterward whan he hath been twoo severall tymes been admytted Warden of the said Felship that than and not before it shalbe liefull to hym to take

have and holde to geders three Apprentices oonly and no moo | And that noon of the said Feliship be he never so aunceyent or substanciall shall at any tyme passe or excede the nombre of Three Apprentices at oons Provided and always foresen that whan and as often hereafter as any Apprentice in the said Feliship have to serve of his Apprenticelod but oonly oon yere That than and so often it shalbe liefull to every Maister of suche Apprentice to take and have and other Apprentice the saide Acte notwithstanding And he that dooth contrary to this Acte shall forfeite and pay as often as he so offendith xls. to be devyded in forme aforsaid.

Also be it enacted that no foreyn mason hereafter take nor be suffred to take upon hym any worke of masonry to make or sett up within this Citie or liberties of the same nor that any mason Freman of this Citie sette any Foreyn mason aworke within the same Citie or liberties as long and by all the tyme as therebe sufficient and hable men of connyng and workmanship enfraunchesed w'in this Citie to doo as good and as profitable service for the good expedicion of such workes as been of any suche Foreyns: Provided alwey that if there be not sufficient in nombre of Freemen of the said Feliship to doo and Fynyshe in Covenable tyme suche workes and buyldynges as shall hapne for the tyme within this Cytie or liberties of the same That than it shalbe liefull to the Maister Mason of any suche worke to take and resceyve into the same Worke as many Foreyn Masons as shalbe thought unto hym good and sufficient for the expedicion of the said worke | Soo alweyes that the same Maister Mason cause every of the same Foreyn Masons soo for the tyme sette aworke to be contributaries to the said Feliship | And to pay quarterly duryng the tyme they shall soo worke to the Commen box of the said Feliship iijd. as every other mason beyng a Freman useth to pay | And every Maister mason doying contrary to this Acte shall forfeite and pay at every tyme that he soo doth xls to be devided in forme aforsaid Prouyded also that if whan and so often hereafter as any bargayne perchaunce be made with any Foreyn mason for any Worke of Masonry to be wrought made and sette up w'in this Citie or liberties of the same by any suche foreyn Mason be it in Grosse by the weke or by the day yf any such of the said Feliship wille take upon hym the said bargayn and the same undertake to fulfill and perfourme in all thinges that is to say as weke as workemanly as substancially as profitably and as good chepe As the said Foreyn without fraude cr male engyn hath covenanted to doo And also in taske worke woll undertake to kepe his howres and *werkes*¹ likewise as the said Foreyn w'tout fraude as is aforsaid will Covenant to doo That than the said Freeman soo takyng upon hym shall have the preferment of doying of the said worke And not the said Foreyn Mason.

Also be it enacted that fromhensforth noo Freeman of the said Feliship aske ne take for the wages of any of his Apprentices the hole wages of a mason for his wekes worke unto the tyme he hath served and wrought in the forsaid Mistere fully the terme of Four years of his Apprenticelode And over that that every suche Apprentice after the said iiij yeres so expired be brought and presented to and before the Chamberlayn of this Citie. And the Wardeins of the said Feliship for the tyme beyng. And by theym therunto habled and admitted And as touchyng the wages of and for every suche

¹ Altered from 'wekes'.

Apprentice wⁱⁿ the said terme of iiij yeres and before the said Admyssion the same wages to be rated and sette by the Wardeins of the said Feliship for the tyme beyng accordyng to their sadde and wise discrecions and good consciences And every Maister of suche Apprentice doyng contrary to this Acte shall forfeite and pay at every tyme that he offendith in that behalf xxs. to be devided in forme aforsaid.

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Ad Curiam tentam die Jovis videlicet xxiiij^{to} Die Octobris Anno regni regis Henrici Octavi terciodecimo Coram Johanne Brugge milite maiore et Aldermannis Civitatis Londoniarum in Interiori Camera Guihalde eiusdem Civitatis predicta billa modo et forma quibus petita fuit per eosdem Maiorem et Aldermannos Concessa erat duratura A Festo Omnium sanctorum tunc proxime sequenti usque ad finem duorum Annorum tunc proxime sequencium &c Et si tunc videatur Maiori et Aldermannis bona et Racioni consona quod tunc reconcessa et Ratificata erit imperpetuum duraura prout in Actuum Camere Reportorio intitulatur.

LETTER BOOK X., f. 101b.

Freemasons and Marblers.

Decimo quinto die Novembris Anno predicto (*i.e.* decimo tertio regni Regine Elizabethe).

[*i.e.*, 15th November, 1570.]

Item this daye the bill exhibyted to this courte by the companye of the Fremasons agaynst the companye of the Marblers for havinge men made free of that companye accordinge to a graunte made unto the Marblers the laste courte | It ys ordered that the saide graunte made to the Marblers for consyderations movinge the said courte shall not be performed, nyether the companyes ioyned togyther.

Further search has brought to light the following entry in the Repertory of the Court of Aldermen which may have some connection with the cancelled grant referred to in Letter Book X.:—

REPERTORY, vol. xvii., p. 229.

13th November, 1570.

Item. This day M^r. Chamberlayne was appointed to talke and commune wth. Edward Yonge, John Raycat, Thomas Dallydon et Willm Wilford who were appoynted by this Courte to be made free of the Company of the Marblers what fynes they will give for the same.

LETTER BOOK Z., f. 57b.

Orders for ye compayne of Fremasons.

Vicesimo octavo die Aprilis Anno vicesimo secundo antedicto (*i.e.* regni domine Elizabethe Regine)

[That is 28th April, 1580.]

(Margin) Orders for ye companye of Fremasons.

Item thys daye certain orders made and devysed for the benefyt of the companye of Fremasons w^hin thys Cytie were heare redde in open courte, and by the same ratyfyed conformed and allowed. The tenor wherof ensewethe in theise wordes videlicet.

Whereas heretofore there have bene good ordeignances established for the companye of Fremasons of this Cytie for the goodnes assyse and true workmanshype of stone belonginge to the arte of the saide companye of fremasons whereby very good provysions are made to avoyde deceit to the Queenes subiectes in all maner of such stone | uppon paynes of forfeiture of the saide deceitfull stones bothe Asheler and other | as by the old ordeynaunces of the saide arte of Freemasons more playnlye may appeare. Synce wch tyme of making of the saide ordeignances, there hath growen into use a kynde of pavinge stone not before used in this Cytie called Purbeck stone or purbeck pavinge | And allthough the Ordeignances have generall wordes in wch the saide purbeck stone may reasonablye be conteyned and understood | yet because the same are not therin speciallye named such persones as do vse to bringe that sort of stones to the Cytie to be solde have imagined that there are no certeyn lawes and ordeynaunces to ponishe falshod and deceitfulness in that kynde of stone as in other stones expressly named and thervppon have bene daylye bolde to put to sale in this Cytie, purbeck stone evell wrought double bedded, Flawye and crasye, and allso doe falslye overmarke the same, to the greate decepte of the Queenes subiectes both in stuffe and contentes therof.

(1) In consyderacion wherof and for redresse of such deceiptes. It ys ordered & decreed that the wardens of the felowshippe or companye of the Freemasons of this Cytie of London w^h two persones skilfull or more of the Cloathing of the same companye and one offcyer of the Lorde maior of this Cytie for the tyme beyng to be assigned, may & shall have the viewe, search and oversight not onely of all stone mentioned in the said ordeignances accordinge to the tenor and effecte of the saide ordeignances, but allso of the saide Purbeck stone comenlye called Purbeck pavinge, in whose handes, custodye or possession soever w^hin this Cytie or the liberties therof they shall fynde the same offred to be solde or put to sale, as fullye and amplye as they have or may have of anye other sorte of stone mentioned in the saide ordeignances. And as if the saide Purbeck stone had bene in the saide ordeignances speciallye & expresslye named.

Item that all such purbeck stones as they shall fynde so offred to be solde, or to be put to sale beyng so evell wrought the same may not be amended, and be made good and fytt in assyse and goodnes, for the vse of pavinge, or w^{ch} shalbe double bedded, flawye, or to thyn, they shall seise and take as forfet, to such vses as other false and deceitfull stones are by the said ordeignances lymytted and appoynted That ys thone halfe to the Chamber of London, and the other halfe to the vse of the saide companye.

Fol. 58

Item that all such purbeck stones as they shall fynde yll wrought, but yet so as by better workmanshippe, the same may be amended, and made in assyse, thicknes and goodnesfyt for pavinge they shall cause at the charge of the owner to be amended on payne of (lyke) forfeiture of the saide stone or the valewe therof, if the same be offred to sale before such amendment.

Item forasmuch as the said kynde of stone called Purbeck stone ys vsually marked for expressing the content therof, and heretofore the markinge hathe bene wth some reasonable large allowance to declare the full content at the least whereby the Queens subiectes have not vsed to be at charge or troble wth measuringe of suche stone, but bought the same ordynarylye accordinge to the marke. And of late yeares the bryngers of such stone have falselye and deceitfullye marked their stone, whereby the buyers trustinge vppon the former good and true vsage, have bene and be daylye deceived. It ys therefore ordered that all such Purbeck stone as the saide wardens wth the persones afforesaide shall fynde offred or to be put to sale, falselye overmarked, wth marke of greater content then the stone shall in measure be founde to be, shall lykewyse be forfeyt, as other deceitfull stones mentioned in the saide ordeignances. And to lyke vse as ys abovesaide.

Item no persone free of thys Cytie shall buy anye of the saide purbeck stone to sell agayne, vntill the same have bene vewed searched and measured as ys afforesaide on payne of forfeiture of two shyllings syxepence, and soe after the rate for everye hundreth of stone so to be bought, the said forfeiture to be to the lyke vse as ys afforesaide, And that the saide wardens shall have for their travaile in viewinge, searchinge, and measuringe of the said stone so to be searched as ys aforesaide, a peny for everye hundreth to be payde by the buyer therof.

Item that the wardens of the saide fellowshippe as afforesaide shall at all tyme and tymes hereafter, search, viewe and survey allmaner of Fremasons worke & workes done by anye persone or persones aswell of the saide fellowshippe as other w^{thin} this Cytie or the liberties therof, And all such worke or workes as they shall fynde not well and workmanlyke wrought accordinge as the arte and scyence requyareth, or done with ill stone or stones vnfytt and vnconvenient for the same worke, the persone or persones soe offendinge, in the workmanshippe or otherwyse as afforesaide, shall forfeyt and paye for everye suche faulty pece of worke done syxe shyllings and eightpence. And also be compelled to amende the saide faultye pece of worke as by their discretions shalbe thought mete and convenient.

LETTER BOOK Z. (*continued*), f. 136.

An act touchinge the true markinge of purbeck stone and authorytie given to serche and seise the same if yt be faultye.

Commune consiliuim tentum die sabbati decimo quinto die Aprilis 1581 Annoque regni domine nostre Elizabethe dei gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regine fidei defensoris etcetera vicesimo tertio, coram Johanne Branch milite Maiore Ciuitatis londoniensis, Hayward, Duckett, Allen, Ramsey, Woodroff, Dixie, Osborne, Starkye, Bond, Hart, Martyn, Woodcock et Allot vicecomitibus et Maiore parte Consiliariorum.

Whereas heretofore there hath bene good ordeynaunces establisshed for the companye of . . . [and so on, as at f. 57 *et seq.* with certain additions which are not of substantial importance and are therefore not copied here].

LETTER BOOK Z., f. 61b.

Tricesimo primo die Maij Anno vicesimo secundo domine
Elizabethhe Regine (=31st May, 1580).

(In margin) William Kyrwyn The Cyties Mason

Item thys day the Roome and office of the Cyties Mason, nowe beyng voyde by the death of Phillippe Paskyn Fremason, was lovynglye given and granted by this Courte to William Kyrwyn Freemason To have holde occupye and enioye the same together wth all fees profytts comodyties and advantages thereunto belonginge or apperteyninge, so longe as he shall well and honestlye vse and behave hymselfe therin.

AWARD BY THE CITY VIEWERS.

The original of the following document is at the British Museum under reference Charters add. 7589.

The document is written on parchment. The seals are no longer extant. Dated 18th January, 1577. Addressed to Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London by:—

Thomas Peacock
Thomas Spencer
Robert Maskall
et William Kerwyn
“ quatuor visores ”

As to a controversy between Nicholas Bacon (the then Chancellor) and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

The English proceeds:—

To the most honorable Thomas Ramsey Lord maior of the Cyttye of London and his right worshipfull brethren the Aldermen of the same *Showen* unto your good Lordshippe and mastershippes the eighteenth daie of January 1577 And in the twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god quene of England Fraunce and Irelande defender of the faithe &c. Thomas Peacock Thomas Spencer Robert Maskall and William Kerwyn the four masters of the Carpenters Freemasons and Tilers Viewers indifferently sworne to the said Cyttye That where we were charged by your honorable lordshippes commandement to viewe and oversee a certaine varriance latelye growen and arrisen in the parish of Saint Marye Stayninge in the ward of Aldrichegate London Betwene the right honorable S^r. Nycholas Bacon Knight lord keeper of the greate seale of England plaintiffe and the Deane and Chapter of Westmyster defendant for and concernynge the devidinge of the said partye plaintifes and the defendants grounde which we the four sworne viewers have viewed searched sene measured and examyned and there uppon we saye that from a corner part of the said partye defendants house upon the Northe West stretching South there of the party plaintifes it doth containe in lenght lxxi and a halfe of assise whiche the partye plaintife ought of right to have and enioye and to take it downe at his owne will and pleasure by all the lenght of the same measure [other dimensions follow].

The award is made in the plaintiffs' favour “ except there be any writynges or specialties showed to the contrary ”.

The document formally concludes in Latin and is given under the mayoral seal the date being 18th January 1577 in the 20th year of Queen Elizabeth.

(The seals are no longer annexed.)

The document is endorsed apparently by Nicholas Bacon "The survie of the Viewers of London concerning my house in Silver street called Bacon house."

EXTRACT FROM LETTER BOOK &c., fo. 57

of The City of London.

(&c. is the name of the Letter Book.)

Pullison maior.

Martis vicesimo die July anno vicesimo Septimo Elizabeth Regina &c. (that is 1585 A.D.).

(The ffreemasons and marblers united together and made both one Companie).

Item this day John Recorde and John Thynne wardens of the companie of Marblers, Thomas Gardyner, John Bolstred, William Wilford, marblers, and William Kyrwyn and Thomas Kettle, wardens of the companie of ffreemasons being present in this courte the saide wardens and others of the said Companie of marblers were humble suitors to the same Courte that as well in respect of the greate decaie and disabilitie of theire saide Companie as for many other respects they might be united incorporated and conioyned to the saide Companie of ffreemasons and the said wardens of the companie of ffreemasons were likewise willing to admytt and receive them whereupon it was ordered and declared by this courte at the request of both the said Companies that the said John Record, John Thynne, Thomas Gardyner, John Bolstred and William Wilford shall be presently united incorporated and conioyned to the saide companie of ffreemasons and that from henceforth both the saide Companies shalbe one entier bodie and be called and termed by the name of ffreemasons and marblers.

THE MARBLERS' COMPANY.

The previous entry from the Letter Book as to the Union of the Freemasons with the Marblers is also found in the Repertory of the Court of Aldermen, vol. 21.

In the same Repertory the following two entries show the subsequent developments:—

REPERTORY, vol. 21, fo. 203.

At a meeting held 31st August, 1585 (27 Elizabeth)—

Marginal note: Bradley, Marbler, united to the Freemasons.

At this Courte yt ys ordered that William Bradley, Marbeler shall be united and admitted into the Company and Fellowship of Freemasons and Marbelers accordinge as dyvers others of the same Company of Marbelers weare at the Court here holden ye xxij day of Julye last past.

REPERTORY, vol. 21, fo. 210b. 28th September (1585),
27 Elizabeth.

(Margin: *Freemasons and Marbelers.*)

This day the Master and Wardens of the severall Companyes of the Freemasons and Marbelers being present in this Court did present unto the same Cornelius Cure, Barnard Bole, George Anselowe

and Alexander Blake, being all free of the said Company of Marbelers who were as well by the consent of the said parties and by the Wardens of both the said Companies united incorporated and conyoyned to the said Company of Freemasons according as dyvers others of the same Company of Marbelers were at the Court here holden the 22nd day of July last past.

LETTER BOOK A.B., f. 316b.

Martio decimo quarto die January. Anno predicto (*i.e.* Tricesimo septimo Domine nostre Elizabethhe Regine etcetera)

(Margin) Andrew Kyrwin admitted Master Mason and one of the viewers.

Item this day Andrew Kirwyn Freemason was admitted into the roomes and offices of the *Master* Mason and one of the fower sworne viewers of this Cytie now being both of them voide by the death of William Kirwyn Freemason who latelie held and enjoyed the same. To have holdexercise and enioy the saide offices with all fees profits Commodities and advantages to them belonging. Soe long as he shall well and honestlie vse and behave himself in the execucion thereof according to the graunt in revercion hereof to him made the xvij day of December in the tyme of the Maioraltie of Sir Martyn Calthropp, Knight, and was therevpon sworne in this Court for the due execucion of the same office accordinglie.

LETTER BOOK C.C., f. 135b.

Vicesimo primo die January Anno regni Domini nostri Jacobi nunc Regis Anglie Tertio Annoque Domini 1605.

(Margin) Walton admitted a Viewer.

Item John Walton Freemason present in this courte was admitted to the roome and office of one of the fowre viewers w^{thin} this Cittie nowe beinge voide by the surrender of Andrew Kerwyn whoe latelie surrendred the same. To have houlde exercyse and enioye the saide office wth all fees and proffitts to ye same belonginge Soe long as he shall well and honestlie vse and behave himself therein And was here sworne for ye execucion of the same accordinglie.

(Margin) Richard Smithe admitted ye Citties Mason.

Item Richard Smythe Freemason was by this courte admitted to be ye Mason for the workes belonging to ye Chamber of this Cittie nowe being voide by the surrender of Andrewe Kerwyn Freemason whoe latelie held the same. To have houlde exercyse and enioye ye same wth all fees and proffitts therevuto due and belonginge in as large and ample manner as the saide Andrewe Kerwyn helde and enioyed the same Soe longe as he shall well and honestlie vse and behave himselfe therein. And was here sworne for the due execucion thereof accordinglie.

LETTER BOOK C.C., f. 235.

Quarto die junij Anno predicto (*i.e.* regni domini nostri Jacobi nunc Regis Anglie &cetera Quinto)=A.D. 1607.

(Margin) Touchinge ye companie of Freemasons London.

Item whereas ye companie of freemasons enfranchised w^{thin} this Cittie by their petition exhibited to this courte made complainte

That manie offenders in the said companie continued theire evill doinge w^hout punishm^t and manie offences weare comitted and suffered w^hout anie reformation a chiefe cause whereof they alledged to be by reason ye wardens chosen for the rulinge and government of the saide companie accordinge to ye orders made and confirmed by this Courte to ye saide companie in ye xxjth yeare of kinge Edward ye Fowerth weare to continue wardens for twoe yeares by reason of wch longe continuance in ye saide places they have byn founde to be verie remisse in ye execucion of theire offices For reformation whereof and for ye better govern^t of the saide fellowship It is ordered at ye humble suite and petition of ye saide companie that soe muche of the said orders of the xxjth yeare of kinge Edward ye fowerth and concerne ye eleccion of wardens of ye saide companie shalbe henceforth voide and of none effecte And that from hencefurth for ever hereafter ye saide companie or soe manie of them as are or shalbe called into ye Clothinge or liverie of ye said companie shall or maie yearelie assemble themselves together at ye summons of ye Commen officer or beadle at theire Commen hall, in ye feaste of the holie trynitie or w^hin Tenn daies then nexte ensewing and there peceable and quietlie make choyse of one sufficient person enfranchised of the same companie and holdinge howse and howseholde that hath byn oft nest warden of ye saide companie to be Master of ye said companie for one yeare then next ensewinge whoe maie be a direccion to ye wardens for the better government therof. And also in like manner make choyse of twoe honest hable and discreete persons enfranchised of ye saide companie and houldinge howse and howsehold to be wardens of ye said companie for ye same yeare then next ensewinge And yt ye same three persons soe peceable elected and chosen shall w^hin Twentie daies then next ensewinge by ye olde M^r. and Wardnes w^h sixe sufficient persons at ye leasteof ye clothinge or liverie of ye saide companie be presented in ye kings Mat^{tes}. Courte to be houlden before ye lo: Maior and Aldremen of this Cittie wch for the tyme shalbe in ye chamber of ye Guildhall of this cittie and there sworne and charged

f. 235b for the yeare then ensewinge as in such cases in other companies is accustomed. And it is agreed and resolved that ye choyse of ye M^r. and wardens shalbe for this yeare onlie w^hin Twentie daies after ye feaste of the holie trynitie. And that all orders and ordinaunces heretofore graunted by this courte to ye said companie to be performed executed and done by ye wardens of ye saide companie shall hencefurth by vertue of this present order stande and be in effecte and be executed performed and done by the M^r. and wardens of ye saide companie and not otherwise.

LETTER BOOK E.E., f. 89b.

Martis vicesimo sexto die Januarij Anno regni Domini nostri Jacobi nunc Regis Anglie etcetera decimo.

(Margin) John Record the Cities Mason.

Item this day John Record Freemason is by this Courte admitted to be the Cityes mason in the roome and steed of John Somner lately deceased To have hold exercise and enioy the said place with all fees profitts commodities & advantages therevnto due and of righte belonging so longe as hee shall well and honestly vse and behave himselfe therein

And was here accordingly sworne for the due execucion thereof.

LETTER BOOK F.F., f. 268.

Jovis vndecimo die Septembris Anno regni domini nostri Jacobi nunc Regis Anglie etcetera decimo quinto.

Item This day Thomas Jordaine Citizen and Freemason of London is by this Court admitted the Citties Mason in the place and steede of Richard Smithe lately deceased To have houlde exercise and enjoye the same place wth all fees proffitts comodities and advantages therevnto due and of right belonginge Soe longe as hee shall well and honestlie vse and behave himselfe in the execucion thereof.

(Margin) Thomas Jordaine admitted freemason.

REPERTORY OF ALDERMEN.

Vol. 40, fo. 267b. 22nd June, 1626.

Item this day the matters complayned of unto this Court by the Mr. and Wardens of the Company of Freemasons London against one Sampson a Carver and other artisans in and about this cittie for intermedlinge in the petitioners misterie being of contrary professions are by this Court referred to the hearing and consideration of Sir William Cokayne, Sir Martin Lumley (and several others) and they to certifie this Court inwriting under their hands and seals the same and their opinions.

(I have not been able to trace the report of those referees.)

REPERTORY OF ALDERMEN.

Vol. 41, fo. 340b. 27th September, 1627.

(Margin) Peticon preferred by ye firemasons.

Item this daie upon reading of a peticon preferred by sondrie of the Antients of the Company of Freemasons that have been made touching some differences between them and the Mr. and Wardens of the said Company about diverse orders agreed upon for the good of that Company It is thought fitt and so ordered by this Court that Mr. Alderman Ducie, Mr. Alderman Mowlson, Mr. Alderman Heiling, Mr. Alderman Poole or any two of them and Mr. Comon Sergeant, Mr. Watson and Mr. Stone or any two of them shall advise and consider of the said Orders and of the differences between them and to accord the same if they can or otherwise to certifie this Court in writing under their hands how they find the same and their doeinge and opinions And William Gunthroppe to warrie and attend them.

LETTER BOOK T.T., f. 40.

(Margin) The Ninth day of November one thousand six hundred fifty and foure. Freemasons & Cartwright.

This day Thomas Cartwright a member of the Company of Freemasons being againe convented before this Court upon Complaint of the Master and Wardens of the said Company for refusing to pay the sune of six pounds in conformitie to an Ordinance of the said Company for his discharge from the place of Steward of the said Company according to an Order of this Court of the xvijth October last vpon Submission and with the Consent of the said Cartwright—

And the said Cartwright now in Court perimptorily refusing to pay the saide summe according to his promise and the aforesaid order Is by this Court comitted to the Gaole of Newgate there to remain vntill he conforme himselfe or be otherwise lawfully discharged.

A pencilled entry in the margin refers to Rep(ertory) 63 fo. 210, and the Repertory record is as follows:—

REP(ERTORY) OF THE COURT OF ALDERMEN.

Vol. 63, pages 192-3. Tuesday, 17th October, 1654.

This day Thomas Cartwright a member of the Company of Freemasons being convented before this Court upon complaint of the Master and Wardens and others of the said Company for refusing to hould the place of Steward of the said Company being thereunto duly elected or to pay the accustomed fine of vi^{li} [that is £6] for his discharge according to an ordinance of the said Company to be distributed by the Master Wardens and Assistants of the Company to and for the reliefe of the poor members of the said Company And upon hearing what could be said on either side It was adjudged fit and reasonable and with consent of the said Cartwright hereupon ordered that the said Cartwright shall forthwith pay unto the Renter Warden of the said Company the sum of vi^{li} for discharge from the said place of Steward to be employed to the uses and purposes before mentioned And the said Cartwright promised here in Court to performe and pay the same accordingly.

Rep. 63, page 210. Thursday, 9th November, 1654.

This day Thomas Cartwright a Member of the Company of Freemasons being again convented before this Court upon complaint of the Master and Wardens of the said Company for refusing to pay the sum of vi^{li} in conformity with the Ordinances of the said Company according to an order of this Court of the 17th of October last upon submission and with consent of the said Cartwright and the said Cartwright now peremptorily refusing to pay the same according to his promise and the aforesaid Order

Is by this Court committed to the Gaole of Newgate there to remayne until he conform himselfe or be otherwise lawfully discharged.

CALENDAR OF CITY CORONERS' ROLLS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

A.D. 1300-1378.

The extract that follows is taken from the Calendar of City Coroners' Rolls, edited by Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L. (London 1913), p. 261, Roll H., and it seems desirable to put it on record in this place:—

No. 34. On the death of William de Langebrigge, carpenter, Saturday the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen [22nd July, 1340] information given to the aforesaid Coroner and Sheriffs that the above William lay dead of a death other than his rightful death in the rent of Nicholas de la Beche Knt, in the Parish of St. Martin de Oteswyche in the Ward of Bradestrete. Thereupon they proceeded thither, and having summoned good men of that Ward, they diligently enquired how it happened. The jurors—viz. Thomas de Chigewelle

[and 23 others all named] say that on Sunday after the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas [7th July] a° 14 Edward III. [A.D. 1340] after the hour of curfew, Richard Polliscroft and William Aleyn de Stevyntone, masons, John Lewe, Adam de Stevyntone, John atte Wolde de Stevyntone and Robert Davy de Stevyntone, young men of the craft of masons (*garciones de officio cementariorum*) met the above William in the High Street opposite the rent of John de Yakesle in the said Ward, and assaulted him on account of an old quarrel, the said William Aleyn striking him over the head with a "balghstaf" and bringing him to the ground where Richard Polliscroft hit him with a knife called "bydawe," inflicting a mortal wound on his back four inches in deep and one and a-half inches broad; that thereupon, John Lewe, Adam de Stevyntone, John atte Wolde and Robert Davy struck him in all parts of his body with "balghstafs" leaving him half dead; that the said William Aleyn and John atte Wolde were captured and taken to the house of Roger de Forsham, the Sheriff, whilst Richard Polliscroft, John Lewe, Adam de Stevyntone and Robert Davy took fright, but whither &c. the jurors know not. No chattels. The said William de Langebrigge lingered until Friday the eve of St. Mary Magdalen aforesaid when he died, after dinner, of his wounds. The corpse viewed &c.

Precept to the Sheriffs &c.

Four neighbours attached, viz.:

John de Totenham, by John Burre and John Wolf.

Henry atte Boure, by Edward Moundele, and Thomas de Bartone.

Simon de Chikeshant, by Nicholas Brekevyle, and John de Westwyk.

Thomas Lyouns, by John de Osteler and John Thurgod.

(*Note*.—A bydawe=a long and broad knife. A balghstaf is otherwise known as a balstaff or balkstaff.)

The entry is of interest in itself but specially because of the fact that after two masons are named, four other persons are named and described as "young men of the craft of masons." The word translated "young men" is "garciones," which was I believe frequently used as the equivalent of apprentice.

It would seem that the six culprits were not men of the City, as the description de Stevyntone is used four times. There is now a Steventon near Didcot in Berks., and another near Basingstoke in Hants.; also a Stevington near Bedford. (The latter is I think the one, as earlier in the book the name Styventone of co. Beds. occurs.)

Earlier in the same book, at page 102, is an account of an inquest on Elyas son of William del Park "mazoun" on 11th Nov. 1324. John son of William de Park of Styventone of co. Beds. and Elyas his brother working in the Tower fought and Elyas was slain. John took Sanctuary in St. Katherine's Hospital and thence escaped. (Perhaps this is the "old quarrel." Certainly the men of Styventone seem to have been a quarrelsome gang.)

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Williams, on the proposition of Bro. Flather, seconded by Bro. W. K. Firminger; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. H. W. Sayers, D. Knoop, Ed. Conder, and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. KNOOP said:—

In cordially supporting the vote of thanks to the W.M., I propose to restrict my remarks to two or three points. In the first place, with regard to wage regulations: we learn from the paper that wages were fixed in London in 1350 and that the rates were re-affirmed in 1362, 1372, 1378 and 1382, owing to the excessive charges which were being made, whilst in 1357-9 fines were imposed on various masons for breaches of the regulations. Whilst these various actions may show, as Bro. Williams suggests, that the Statute of Labourers was not ignored in the City, they also seem to show that the Statute was not very closely observed so far as masons and other wage earners were concerned. I am not convinced, however, that even the city authorities always paid attention to the regulations: certainly from 1404 onwards the Wardens of London Bridge, who were appointed by the city authorities, were paying their masons 3/9 per week, summer and winter, festivals or no festivals, as compared with the official rate of 6d. per day in summer and 5d. per day in winter and no pay for festivals when no work was done. It may, of course, be that the official rates had been raised at some date between 1382 and 1404, but I know of no evidence to that effect.

The reference to Saturday work in the regulations of 1362—which does not appear to be contained in the regulations of 1350—is of considerable interest. The York Minster ordinances of 1352 (*Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Society, p. 172) provide that work shall cease at noon on Saturdays but give no indication as to how the half-holiday is to affect wages. The London regulation appears to imply, though it does not state so explicitly, that work ceased early on Saturdays; so far as wages were concerned it is quite clear—"For Saturdays if they work by the week, a whole day's pay". At a later date, by a statute of 1514 (6 Henry VIII., c. 3) it was laid down that labourers and artificers working for half a day shall receive only half a day's pay.

In the second place, with regard to the Wardens of London Bridge, Bro. Williams shows that Henry Yevele and John Cogeshale were wardens in 1377 and in 1382-3, whilst Henry Yevele and William Waddesworth were wardens in April, 1394. From the Bridge Accounts we learn that Henry Yevele and William Waddesworth were the Wardens in 14 and 15 Richard II. (1391-2) and that they together received £20 as annual stipends. The post of Warden was administrative rather than technical, and it was probably in his capacity as commoner rather than in his capacity as mason that Yevele held the office. The Bridge had its own master mason, who was no doubt responsible for technical matters. John Clifford, who was sworn one of the masters of the masons in 1386, as is pointed out in the paper, was master mason of London Bridge, though whether he held this office during part of Yevele's wardenship I cannot say, as there is nothing to show when he first became the chief Bridge mason. It is practically certain, however, that he must have had some close association with Yevele, as he was appointed and acted as one of his executors (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxi., p. 252). The detailed Bridge Accounts, in a series of paper books commencing in 1404, show that he was chief Bridge mason at that time and continued to hold the office until his death in September, 1417. He received 3/9 a week and an additional payment of 20/- a year. There is reason, too, for thinking that he was provided with a house and that he, from time to time, sold stone to the Bridge authorities, no doubt at a profit.

Finally, there are two other masons mentioned in the paper whom one may tentatively identify from other sources. The Thomas Wrek who was elected to serve on the Council in 1376 is probably the same as the "Thomas Wrek, mason of London" who received £3 from John of Cobham in 1379 and £20 from him in 1381 (in the latter case, through the medium of Henry de Iveleghe=Yevele).

in respect of work done at the erection of Cowling Castle (*Arch. Cant.*, vol. ii., pp. 96-97). The Simon atte Heke who was sworn a master of the masons in 1386 at the same time as John Clifford was possibly the same as the Simon Hook, mason, who directed the masons' work at the repair of Rochester Castle in 1367 (*Arch. Cant.*, vol. ii., p. 122).

Bro. CONDER writes:—

Brother Williams deserves our best thanks for his careful compilation of extracts from the Letter Books A. to L. which have been published by order of the Corporation of the City of London: also for his search in the Books still in MS., from M. to Z. and onwards. These volumes bring together much more information concerning the London masons than was previously known, and the completion of the publication of these Letter Books will further supply us with material for consideration at leisure.

Letter Book G. contains the Ordinances made on February 2nd, 1355-6, for allaying disputes between mason hewers on the one part, and mason layers and setters on the other part. I still hold the opinion that the hewers were the freestone masons, and the layers and setters the rough masons. When we consider that one of the six named hewers was "Henery de Yeeveele" we have evidence they were freestone masons, and layers and setters may with some degree of certainty be classed as rough masons, words which I added in my *History*, p. 64.

Letter Book H. has the entry concerning Thomas Wrek and John Lesnes which was misunderstood by Gould, who gave me the notes. However, when I was writing my paper on *The Masons Company* for the Lodge (*A.Q.C.*, ix., 28) I visited the Guildhall Library and was able to interview the late Dr. R. R. Sharpe, the Record Clerk. He very kindly produced the original MS., and together we went over the entry. At once we saw how the mistake had previously been made. As a result, I was able in my paper to correct the error. This correction has very kindly been noted by Bro. Williams, as it explains the mistake in my *History*. With regard to the Gild of Masons, the first notice of the Fraternity is doubtless the Will of William Hancock, dated 12th February, 1388-9, as recorded by Bro. Williams, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xli., but they were not then one of the City Gilds according to my judgment. On page 97 of my book I give a copy of an entry in the Company's records in MS. at the Guildhall¹ where it is stated that the Fellowship of the Free Masons were given a Constitution in the time of John Brown Mayor of the City in the one and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the fourth after the Conquest [October 15th, 1481] thus making them one of the Gilds.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

In this rendering accessible to the armchair student some of the historical material to be found in the City of London archives, our W.M. has made available many interesting and valuable facts. But to get at the truth some care will be required, for we do not interpret them always in the same way. As an instance, doubts are expressed in the paper as to the correctness of Bro. Conder's identification of the layers and hewers with

¹ *London Companies MSS.* No. 108, vol. i., p. 38.

the rough masons and freestone masons. No such doubt enters my mind, and I feel sure that Bro. Conder was right. I assume that the setters and layers were the cementarii or builders of the city gild who used stone dressed at the quarries by the bedders. The freestone masons or hewers could give an extra finish to building stone without infringing the mystery of the layers. Both gilds could work on church building, however, as being something apart. The disputes were over civil work, and thus caused the interference of the city authorities. After the decision of 1356 the city marblers were compelled to compete against makers of freestone images which, when painted and gilded, must have been good imitations of marble effigies.

Letter Book M. clearly shows the existence of both masons and freemasons in the city, and it is to me an open question whether the mason fremen of Book N. are to be regarded as the first or second group. A plurality of gilds in a mystery was not uncommon, and the supposition that the Freemasons were the city craft gild takes too much for granted. It is quite possible that before the Reformation the Freemasons were a religious gild whose mystery only concerned the city when they undertook civil work. In the same way the genuine trade gild would be amenable to the ecclesiastical authorities regarding matters of religion. There was a mason gild (*Quatuor Coronati*) whose ordinances were of the same date (1481) as those of a fraternity of Freemasons, but this may have been because all pertaining to the same mystery were dealt with on the same date. In 1724 the Freemason ordinances were quoted in support of a claim for livery as a City Company, but I am under the impression that the masons were omitted when the decision on these claims was issued. And I have never seen any proof that the mediæval gilds of the *Quatuor Coronati* and of St. John were other than two distinct gilds.

There is a memorial brass to William West, marbler (1430) at Sudborough, Northants (Druitt, *Costume in Brasses*, p. 205). The Will of Sir Brian Rowcliffe (1494) expresses the wish that his epitaph be cut in the Temple by Jacobus Remus, marbler, of Pauls Churchyard. (*Test: Ebor: Surtees Socy.*)

Bro. H. W. SAYERS writes:—

I wish to express my personal thanks to the W.M. for his interesting paper in which the facts detailed, as he says, must have occupied considerable time in collecting and assembling. His paper is of the kind which contains evidence upon which further research can be based, which materially adds to its value. It appears to me—but I speak with diffidence—that his discovery of the description 'freemason' as applied to masons in 1441 is very valuable as helping to carry back the dates given by Bro. Conder respecting the earliest use of that description by the Masons' Company. Brethren will observe by reference to Conder's Book that in 1425 he refers to an Act respecting 'Masons' in their general chapters assembled, and he says in his paper read before this Lodge in 1896 (*Q.C. Transactions*, vol. 9, page 30) that soon after the year 1500 the Company ceased to use their old title of 'Fellowship of Masons' and became known as the 'Company of freemasons.' Bro. Conder states that early records of the Masons' Company do not exist prior to 1620, so that the entry in Letter Book K. discovered by the W.M. gives us evidence of the use of the style 'freemason' by some masons at any rate about sixty years earlier than the approximate date given by Bro. Conder.

I do not now propose to raise a discussion on the meaning of the word Freemason which was referred to in this Lodge by Bro. Hughan in 1897, who incidentally mentions in his paper on the Three Degrees (*Q.C. Transactions*, vol. 10, p. 130) that the Masons' Company ceased to use the prefix "free" after about 1665, and the meaning of the prefix was discussed at length by Bro. Speth in his paper in the same year (*Q.C. Transactions*, vol. 10, p. 30). It appears to me from the subsequent correspondence in the *Q.C. Transactions* that no definite conclusion was then arrived at, and I am unaware whether everybody is yet agreed, but however, if not, I will point out that the use of the style freemason as well as mason in 1441 is extraordinarily close to the Act dated 1444 (23 Henry VI.) and quoted in Bro. Conder's Book on page 77 from the Parliamentary Rolls, fixing the wages of Artificers, in particular the wages of any freemason or master carpenter and any rough mason and mean carpenter. The Brethren will notice the differentiation between freemason and rough mason and between master carpenter and mean carpenter, from which I think it fair to draw the conclusion that a freemason was altogether of a higher technical class than a rough mason, precisely as a master carpenter was obviously a better operative than a mean carpenter, and, following the regulations enforced under the Act of 1444, it is evident that in 1447 some masons had taken the precaution of describing themselves more precisely than formerly, and that the Masons' Company altered their designation to Freemasons soon afterwards to indicate that the members were in the higher category of Masons and not in the lower. We certainly know that they used the term Freemason at the date of their petition of 1509, reprinted in Letter Book M. It is also interesting to observe that in the Burial Register of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where William Kerwyn was buried in 1594, there are numerous entries of members of City Companies about that date, and while the names of other companies do not contain the word "free," members of the Masons' Company are styled "freemason" when descriptions are given. For instance, on 25th August, 1592, there was buried "wyfe of William Kerwyn, Fremason", and the earliest entry I observed was on 3rd May, 1579, when was buried Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Ford, Freemason. Two other daughters of Thomas Ford, Freemason, were buried in the same month. In another church in 1671 I find the burial of one John Hilles "free of the freemasons", which indicates that the style was still used in 1671, and I wonder whether the unusual expression means that John Hilles was one of those individuals who came upon the acception of the Masons' Company. I have not had an opportunity to inspect the Records of the Company, but it might be worth while to do so.

There are many names mentioned by the W.M. which might be followed up, but I will refer only to the name of Thomas Cartwright, mentioned under the heading Letter Book C.C., and I think it will be unsafe to assume without further evidence that Thomas Cartwright of 1654 is identical with the Thomas Cartwright who became Master of the Company in 1673. It may be so, but I find from Walpole's *Engravers*, published in 1759, and Strutt's *Engravers*, published in 1785, that one Thomas Cartwright an Architect and builder was also chalcograph, *i.e.*, the old style of an engraver, and that he engraved a famous plan of the Royal Exchange. According to Musgrave's *Obituary*, the death of this individual occurred in 1660 (I have not been able to verify the date), and having regard to his other occupations in London it seems probable this man must have been a freeman of the Masons' Company. It is thus possible that he was identical with the Thomas Cartwright of 1654, but if he died in 1660, possibly the Master of 1673 was a son of the same names. The Masons' Company Records should be inspected to obtain verification of the identity.

I again thank the W.M. for his paper, which has enabled me to make a further advancement in Masonic knowledge.

Bro. WILLIAMS writes, in reply:—

My thanks are due to all the Brethren for their kindly appreciation of my efforts to disinter and distribute the information collected in my paper.

The written comments received from the Brethren are, in the main, additions to the materials I have collected and will illuminate certain of the themes surveyed by me. I thank them all most heartily.

As to Bro. Knoop's contribution, it is understood that before long we may have a paper from him on London Bridge, and, therefore, I need not discuss the details with which he now indulges us in advance. Concerning Thomas Wrek, it appears from C. Welch's *History of the Tower Bridge* (B.M. 10349, i. 18) in the Appendix that in the year 1393 the Wardens of London Bridge went to some little expense in ornamenting the face of a Tower which formed part of the Bridge with effigies of King Richard II. and his Consort. The images were cut in freestone by Thomas Wrenk and set within Tabernacles. Wrenk also executed three shields of the Arms of the King and Queen and St. Edward which were placed beside the Statues. The Sculptor received £10 for his work. (Thomas Wrek was one of the four representatives of the Masons named in the 1376 entry and was one of the two Fremasons named in the deleted entry of that date.)

We were all delighted to hear again from Bro. Conder, our Past Master and the Historian of the Masons' Company. That interesting and most important work was one of the strong incitements to my further investigation.

As to the question whether it is correct to consider that Layers and Setters are to be classed as Rough Masons, it seems that we are not yet agreed. It may, however, be worthy of note that the author of the *Pilgrimage of Perfection* (printed in 1526), in the extract reproduced in *A.Q.C.* xliii., after page 256, says: "The free mason setteth his prentyse firste long tyme to lerne to hewe stones and whan he can do that perfectly he admytteth him to be a free mason and choseth hym as a cōnyng man to be a master of the craft & maketh hym a setter or orderar of stones | though it be ferre greater connyng than is the hewyng of stones | yet it is lesse labour and more quyetnes". It is clear from this passage that that author regarded hewing as a first stage and that he deemed the operator not to be a free mason until he was advanced to be a setter or orderer of stones. He further regarded "hewing" as more laborious and more rough than the more cunning, but less laborious and quieter, work of setting.

Bro. Knoop has recently pointed out that skill of the highest degree was required in the precise setting of the hewn stone in its proper place where the slightest deviation might mean deformity and disaster.

As to the Gild of Masons referred to in the Will of William Hancock, the expression in that Will is (translated): "the fraternity of Masons, London, founded at St Thomas of Acres". Perhaps Bro. Conder did not have those crucial words before him when he alleged that the aforesaid Fraternity was not then one of the City Gilds. The Constitutions made in the time of John Brown, the Mayor in 1481, were simply articles for the better regulation of the Mistry and not an ordinance constituting them to be a gild. Bro. Conder himself states at page 83 of his book that the Masons' Company was among the very first of the Gilds to obtain a grant of arms, namely, in 1472. The fact is that St. Thomas of Acons was in the fourteenth century used by various Crafts (including the Carpenters) as a Gildhall. At page 53 Bro. Conder states: "We cannot form any other opinion than that from the earliest times the City of London had its masons gild."

Bro. Sayers brings before us several instances of the use of the term "freemason."

As to the use of that term in the Statute of 1444 it is to be observed that the Act itself is in French and the expression used was "Frank mason." The translation into English rendering "freemason" was considerably later, though probably sufficiently accurate. It may, however, be said that in the *N.E.D.* one meaning of the word "frank" is given as excellent or superior.

Bro. Sayers questions the identification of Thomas Cartwright (who was fined in 1654) with the Thomas Cartwright who was Master of the Masons' Company in 1673.

I have looked into the matter and having referred to the lists of names in the Lodge Library I now think they were different persons. It is, however, far from evident that either of those Thomas Cartwrights was the Architect and builder and chalcograph alluded to by Walpole and Strutt—nor does Musgrave's obituary make the matter any clearer.

Strutt says that Thomas Cartwright flourished in 1571 and was an Architect and Builder and by him it is said was engraved a plan of the Royal Exchange of London.

Walpole (vol. 3, p. 153, edition 1888) says: "In Overton's list is mentioned a map of the Royal Exchange by Thomas Cartwright the builder."

Benezit in *Dictionnaire des Peintures, &c.*, says (vol. i., p. 884): "Thomas Cartwright architecte et graveur au XVIII^e siecle".

Musgrave gives 1660 as date of death of Thomas Cartwright chalcograph, and refers to Walpole Engr. and Strutt, but when those authorities are consulted it will be seen they are inconsistent.

Bro. Rylands, however, has left a list of names of Members of the Masons' Company from which it appears that one Thomas Cartwright was on the Livery in 1663 and that one named Thomas Cartwright Sen^r. was on the Court of Assistants in 1700. It seems therefore probable that the Thomas Cartwright who was penalised in 1654 could not be the same person as the 1700 T. Cartwright Senior.

Bro. Bullamore's observations must be left to speak for themselves when duly interpreted and collated with established facts.

