

# THE MEDIÆVAL MASON

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLISH STONE BUILDING  
IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES AND  
EARLY MODERN TIMES

BY

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## PREFACE

THE first three chapters of this book deal chiefly with the economic history of the stone-building industry in England during the later Middle Ages and attempt a picture of the conditions under which the mediæval mason worked and lived. In the three chapters that follow, various economic problems centring round the mediæval mason—whether freemason, hewer, roughmason or layer—are examined, and in the seventh and final chapter the changes in the economic conditions of the industry during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are described.

Our investigation is based on all the printed materials, especially building accounts, we have been able to gather and on a first-hand examination of manuscript records relating to certain large building operations. The information has been used in two series of papers. The first series deals with the building of Vale Royal Abbey, 1278-1280; Beaumaris and Caernarvon Castles in the early fourteenth century; Eton College, 1442-1460, and London Bridge, more especially in the fifteenth century. The Vale Royal paper has recently appeared, and the others will follow it, in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* (the Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge of Freemasons, No. 2076, London, the masonic lodge of research). The second series deals with apprenticeship, wages and organisation among masons. The paper on apprenticeship appeared in the *Economic History Review*, April 1932; the paper on wages was published in *Economic History*, January 1933; the paper on organisation will be printed in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*. It is thus possible to reduce the amount of detail in this book by referring such readers, as may wish to examine our results more minutely, to these preparatory papers.

We have to thank the editors of the *Economic History Review*, *Economic History* and *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* for allowing us to make such use as we desired of our papers already printed or about to be printed in their respective

publications. Further, we desire to acknowledge our indebtedness to Dr. G. G. Coulton, a pioneer in the exploration of the economic conditions of the mediæval building industry, for his interest in our work and for valuable suggestions on various points of difficulty; to the Corporation of the City of London for permission to use their records, and in particular to Mr. A. H. Thomas, Deputy Keeper of those records, for giving us the benefit of his profound knowledge of their contents and skill in their interpretation, and to Dr. Helen Chew for placing at our disposal her unrivalled knowledge of the London Bridge records; to the officials of the Public Record Office for opportunities to consult and use the P.R.O. documents listed and printed in the Appendix to this volume, and especially to Mr. H. C. Johnson for light on the meaning of various terms occurring in them; to the authorities of the British Museum for permission to examine and use manuscripts in their custody; to the Provost and Fellows of Eton College for generously depositing their valuable building records in the Sheffield University Library for our inspection and for allowing us to print in translation one of their computus rolls; to Mr. V. H. Galbraith, who saved us from several errors and examined for us a manuscript in the Bodleian Library; to Mr. W. J. Williams for giving us information concerning the wills of certain masons and for allowing us to use, prior to publication, his paper "Masons of the City of London" which is to appear in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*; to Mr. W. J. Songhurst and Mr. Lionel Vibert for very kindly reading the first proofs of this book and making various helpful suggestions; to our colleague, Mr. A. G. Pool, for his help in proof correcting, and to Mr. H. M. McKechnie, secretary of the University Press, for his friendly co-operation.

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D. K.  
G. P. J.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE stone buildings of the Middle Ages in this country have now in great measure become part of a national heritage. Some of them, while the faith of their clergy changed and changed again, have remained in almost continuous use day after day from the distant era of their first erection down to the present age. Others, it is true, have been reduced by the storms of centuries, by the necessities of kings, by the destructiveness of civil war, and by neglect in times of peace, to ruins; and of some no trace remains above the rural turf or urban brick hiding their foundations. Still, the preservation of historic buildings by private munificence and the help of the public authority, is now much more assured than in times past and, for those inclined to such pursuits, it is now relatively easy to study mediæval architecture both by seeing the buildings themselves and by reading a multitude of good books written about them.

There remains, however, one aspect of mediæval architecture about which curiosity has been less active and information is harder to get. It is not always realised that a Gothic cathedral or an Edwardian castle, however they may differ as works of art or of engineering, are alike the product of an organising and administrative capacity not less remarkable, if at first less obvious, than the æsthetic or strategical skill manifested in the decoration and erection of such buildings. It is with that side of the stone-building industry, and with the place of the mason in it, that we attempt to deal in this book. In doing so, we are necessarily occupied with a series of problems part administrative and part economic, and with mediæval solutions of them. The æsthetic, religious, moral and social value of the buildings when erected is not our concern; we intend neither to "tax the royal saint with vain expense" nor to vindicate his spending. We have also, in the main, refrained from discussing the question of the sources from which building was financed. On the other hand, we shall be concerned in some detail with the spending

of revenue. It is quite clear to us that if, as Wordsworth says,

high Heaven rejects the lore  
Of nicely-calculated less and more ;  
So deemed the Man who fashioned for the sense  
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof  
Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells,  
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells,

the vision of Henry VI. could only be realised because his servants applied both skill and conscience to the meticulous consideration of details concerning halfpence, just as, later, the carvers, to make one whole of the roof of King's College Chapel, had to work accurately to fractions of an inch on its parts. We have accordingly attempted to add to the many books on mediæval architecture one in which the economic problems of the industry are considered, and it is part of our purpose to lay due stress on those characteristics of the industry which show it as less circumscribed than others in its development by manorial conditions, the restrictive influence of municipal authorities and the paucity of private capital resources.

That the industry is important for the economic historian appears first of all from its magnitude. There were in England and Wales between 900 and 1000 monastic establishments,<sup>1</sup> collegiate churches and hospitals, most of which were built of stone, many of which were extended and rebuilt at various times, and some of which, as their surviving masonry shows, were on a scale that was for their day stupendous. To these must be added thousands of parish churches, the great majority of which were either originally built of stone or subsequently rebuilt in it. Many, it is true, required little labour and material in the making and repairing of their fabrics, but the construction or enlargement of others gave ample opportunity of pious expenditure to a rising class of wealthy merchants,<sup>2</sup> and some were on a scale that misled Cobbett into believing that the population of some parts of England had been greater in mediæval times than in his own.<sup>3</sup> Besides the churches, there were royal and other castles, town walls, like those still encircling the older parts of York and Chester, municipal buildings and

<sup>1</sup> For a list see Gasquet, *Monastic Life*, pp. 251 seq., or the list of contents in Vols. I.-VII. of Dugdale-Caley, *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g., Unwin, *Studies in Economic History*, p. 266; cf. Mrs. J. R. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, I., 18.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *Rural Rides* (Everyman edition), I., 47-49.

bridges, of which those of London and Rochester are probably the best known. Some of these building operations, it will be later shown, were on a very large scale: Eton College, e.g., required in one year, 1443-1444, more than a million bricks;<sup>1</sup> the construction of Vale Royal Abbey needed, between 1278 and 1280, the labours of 15 quarrymen on an average to provide stone, and of 31 carters to transport it.<sup>2</sup> Beaumaris Castle at one period, admittedly a time of exceptional activity, found employment for 400 masons, 30 smiths and carpenters, 1000 unskilled workers, and 200 carters.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of these figures will be understood if it be remembered that the population of London, in 1377, was probably no more than 35,000,<sup>4</sup> of whom, when deductions have been made for women and children, perhaps 10,000 to 12,000 were adult male workmen. In its busiest period, the building of one North Wales castle employed a number equal to 13 or 14 per cent. of the workmen employed in the trades and commerce of the capital.

An industry in which such large numbers were employed at one place and time would clearly give rise to problems very different from those that had to be met in contemporary agriculture or by the members of merchant and craft guilds in the towns. In periods of less activity and on smaller buildings than those referred to, the numbers employed were certainly less, but were still often sufficient to make a mediæval building operation more comparable to a modern factory than is commonly supposed. It will later be made clear that the difficulties experienced in obtaining a supply of labour were similar in nature, though solved in a different way, to those which faced the pioneers of factory production of cotton goods; that experts in the difficult business of directing the contemporaneous labours of large numbers of men were necessary; that piece-work was by no means unfamiliar; and, last but not least, that the craftsmen employed approximated more nearly than did other mediæval artificers to modern workmen, being mere wage-earners, paid for working on raw material owned by their employer, and with very little prospect of rising above this condition. The building industry, in fact, stands out from the contemporary activities of more or less independent master craftsmen in their little workrooms as the towers of a cathedral

<sup>1</sup> *W. and C.*, I., 385.

<sup>2</sup> For total numbers employed see *V.R.*

<sup>3</sup> Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I.*, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 117.

or the battlements of a castle stand out above the houses huddled about their base ; it belonged to a different order and a different scale ; already, in the twelfth century, there is an anticipation of the nineteenth, in William Fitzstephen's description of Thomas à Becket's repairing of the Tower of London :—

With wonderful speed accomplishing so great a work between . . . Easter and Whitsuntide, with so many smiths, carpenters and other workmen, working so vehemently with bustle and noise that a man could hardly hear the one next to him speak.<sup>1</sup>

The industry was thus essentially capitalist in character and, inevitably, was carried on chiefly by the mediæval monarchy and the mediæval church. They, with a few great barons, could command the great resources necessary for buying huge quantities of stone or leasing extensive quarries, providing timber, tiles, lime, iron of various kinds, lead and glass, and for paying the wages of artificers and workmen by the score, and sometimes by the hundred. The building of Vale Royal, for instance, cost in three years over £1500 in the money of that day, equivalent, perhaps, to £48,000 in ours ;<sup>2</sup> Caernarvon, Conway and Harlech Castles in one year, 1291, cost over £14,000, say about £450,000 in modern currency ; the expenditure on York Minster, in the thirty years between 1350 and 1498-1499 for which totals are given in the printed edition of the Fabric Rolls, averaged over £350 per annum, and amounted altogether to more than £10,500. In one respect the Monarchy had an advantage over the Church in its rights of purveyance and its power to conscript workmen, a power occasionally granted to others, and sometimes, as for instance in the building of Westminster Abbey, used for the erection of buildings for a religious purpose. Both Church and State had long administrative experience : their vast possessions necessitated and developed

<sup>1</sup> *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Series), III., 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> We reach the figure of £48,000 as follows : on the average 135 masons, quarriers, carpenters, smiths, diggers and carters were employed at Vale Royal Abbey during the three years 1278-1280. We assume that at the present time the earnings of such a group of men would average about 40s. a week each, making a weekly wages bill of £270. Hire of carts (excluding wages) and purchases of lime, iron, tools, etc. (stone came from royal quarries and timber from royal forests), represented an addition of approximately 20 per cent. to the wages bill at Vale Royal, so we add 20 per cent. to £270, thus reaching a weekly outlay of about £320, or, say £16,000 in one year and £48,000 in the three years. This figure is 32 times the original sum, and we apply that multiplier to the expenditure on Welsh castles in 1291.

a system dependent on the services of expert officials, used to management on a large scale, and on careful calculation and auditing. It is no doubt true that there were limits to the expertness of the officials, and that the system of accounting, especially with ecclesiastical and monastic corporations, might become ineffective and often failed to prevent financial disorganisation and waste. Nevertheless, without it, the erection of the great buildings of mediæval England would have been quite impossible. We must, therefore, conceive of the building industry in part as a state enterprise directed by a civil service in much the same way as the other frequent occupation of mediæval kings, with which at times it was closely connected, namely war.

Since building was to such a great extent an activity of the State and of the Church, it is possible to study the industry by means of a series of records which are as important and as full of information for the historian as the fabrics to which they relate are to the architect. The number of such records is very large : the Public Record Office list<sup>1</sup> of them relating to royal works between the reigns of Henry III. and Charles I. contains nearly 1500 building accounts, and to these must be added fabric rolls of cathedrals, e.g., York, Exeter, Ely and Wells, and a large number of building accounts of various kinds in other public repositories and in private or corporate possession. These differ considerably in interest and comprehensiveness. Some are more or less bald summaries and totals of expenditure, or of expenditure and receipts, under a few main heads ; others give far more detail as to the quantities and costs of materials and carriage and the numbers and remuneration of workmen ; still others—the most instructive as a rule—are particulars, from which summaries might be, and often were, drawn up, being in many instances weekly statements containing the names of all workmen employed, the amounts paid to them (or at least due to them)<sup>2</sup> and the purchases of materials and tools. The

<sup>1</sup> *P.R.O. List and Indexes*, No. XXXV., pp. 272-305.

<sup>2</sup> There are indications that both masters and journeymen in the royal service might have to wait for their pay. The wages of workmen at Windsor in 1259-1260, e.g., are said to have been two years in arrears (Tighe and Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, I., 79). Money for wages at the North Wales Castles in 1296 was evidently hard to get (Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edward I.*, p. 268), and it is known that the salaries of master masons and other officials were often in arrears (see e.g., *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1313-1318, pp. 530, 531 ; 1318-1323, p. 160 ; 1323-1327, pp. 387, 392). Workmen at Calais in 1536 had not been paid for a month (*Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII.*, XI., 201), and in the seventeenth century the Crown was often a bad payer (see p. 194 below). The Church also was sometimes unpunctual : on York Minster, see p. 32 below.

journal of John Vady, clerk of the works at Eton, for 1444-1445, is a good example of this kind of account : it records not only the name of every mason, carpenter, dauber, smith and labourer employed during that time and the amount he earned, but also on what particular days of each week he was at work or absent. The London Bridge Wardens' Accounts are similar, and have the added advantage that they stretch over generations. From such records as these (to the nature of which we shall return later) it is possible to accumulate a very great mass of information about the costs of materials and transport, the grades of workmen, the scale of their remuneration, the continuity, and, to some extent, the conditions of their employment. There are, as we shall indicate, some points on which they shed little light, but such defects can to some extent be made good from sources of another kind. In any event, the student of the history of this industry is embarrassed, not by the scarcity, but by the bulk and copiousness of record material.

Stone building has so far been represented as used almost exclusively in castles, churches and similar erections. That it was also used for domestic architecture is true, but such use was exceptional in mediæval times, as may be gathered from the fact that very few houses of those days have survived. It is, indeed, clear that wood or clay, or both, not only preceded stone as the all but universal building materials but were also used for centuries after the close of the Middle Ages. The frequent use of wood is no doubt partly accounted for by its plentifulness in a period when this country was much more wooded than now, large stretches of it being forest<sup>1</sup> in the ordinary and not merely in the legal sense of the word. Timber, too, though it might sometimes be very difficult to transport, was easier to obtain than stone, the felling of trees being as a rule less laborious than the uncovering and extracting of rock, and, in addition, was probably easier to work and to erect. In mediæval England therefore, as in mediæval Germany, Scandinavia and Switzerland, and in eighteenth century Canada and the American Colonies, stone houses were rarely built. This continued to be the case in some parts of England, even though stone was plentiful and easily obtained, down to Elizabethan times and later.<sup>2</sup> Where stone was used in domestic architecture, it was employed chiefly for foundations, or sometimes for the

<sup>1</sup> A list of more than 60 forests existing in the thirteenth century is given in J. C. Cox, *Royal Forests of England*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> See Innocent, *Development of Building Construction in England*, p. 119.

lower story, the superstructure being of wood.<sup>1</sup> In the earlier Middle Ages, London consisted almost entirely of wooden houses, or houses of wood and wattle, and this, together with the use of straw and reeds for roofing, meant a constant danger of widespread fire which time and again brought about the destruction of parts of the city. Various means of reducing the danger were tried. The building of stone dividing walls was encouraged, in 1189, and the use of tiles, shingles and lead for roofing, in 1212; tubs of water were required to be kept in readiness outside every house, and some attempt was made to minimise the risk connected with baking and brewing,<sup>2</sup> but the peril remained until, after the Great Fire, the chief cause was removed by the requirement that houses should be built of brick or stone.<sup>3</sup>

The same danger, from the same cause, prevailed in other towns. A Worcester ordinance of 1467,<sup>4</sup> e.g., requires the chamberlains to have fire hooks made, "to drawe at euery thyng wher paryle of fuyre ys" and kept in readiness at various points in the city. It was also ordered that "no chymyneys of Tymber ne thacched houses be suffred w<sup>th</sup>yn the Cyte but that the owners do hem away and make them chymyneys of Stone or Bryke by mydsomer day next comynge, in peyn of lesynge of a noble." That timber houses were not uncommon in Nottingham, where stone was easily available, is suggested by a summary of an action for breach of contract in 1405 and by a building contract of 1479 preserved in its records,<sup>5</sup> both relating to wooden houses. In the country, and especially at a distance from navigable rivers, it is hardly probable that stone houses were more numerous in proportion than in the towns. Indeed, William Harrison<sup>6</sup> may be cited as evidence that both in town and country timber houses were the rule in the late sixteenth century, though he says the fashion had lately changed: "The greatest part of our building in the cities and good townes of England consisteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houses of the commualtie (except here and there in the West cuntries townes) are made of stone. . . . The

<sup>1</sup> Innocent, *op. cit.*, 118; [J. H. Parker], *Domestic Architecture in England*, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> T. Hudson Turner, *Domestic Architecture, etc.*, pp. 22-23. Note also his statement that in deeds, much later in date than 1189, houses wholly built of stone are, because of their rarity, given to indicate boundaries.

<sup>3</sup> 18 and 19 Charles II. c. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *English Guilds* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 367 seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Nottingham Records*, II., 26 seq., 388 seq.

<sup>6</sup> F. J. Furnivall edition of *Harrison's Description of England* (New Shakespeare Soc.), pp. 233, 238.

ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet, and for the most part, of strong timber. . . . Howbeit such as be latelie builded are commonlie either of bricke or hard stone."

This relatively late and infrequent use of stone as the chief building material for houses does not mean that there was no work for masons in the towns. In cathedral cities alterations in the fabric sometimes found employment for many, and its maintenance always required the labour of a few. Some towns contained many parish churches, of which there is said to have been much re-building and enlargement in the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The construction and maintenance of bridges, quays, gild halls, gates and walls found work for masons; so did the construction of stone chimneys, where that practice was adopted, the laying of stone floors and the paving of streets. In this matter there was probably an advance in the second half of the fifteenth century,<sup>2</sup> during which acts were passed for the paving of streets in Gloucester (1455), Exeter (1466), Canterbury (1474), Southampton (1477), where it was ordered that every citizen should pave the space in front of his house as far as the middle of the street, and Bristol (1491). Nevertheless, though there were masons in the towns, there is every reason to believe that in most towns the number permanently settled represented but a small proportion of the working population,<sup>3</sup> especially in the earlier Middle Ages, when most members of the craft, willingly or otherwise, found no continuing city but wandered, like the minstrel and the friar, from place to place as opportunity of work occurred or royal officers commanded.

To understand the work of the mediæval mason and the organisation of the industry in which he was employed, it is necessary to know something of the material on which, at one stage or another, he used his axe or chisel. Investigation of the subject is to some extent hindered by gaps in the two most important sources of information, the buildings themselves, which have wholly or partly disappeared, and the accounts relating to them which, though numerous, are not to be had for every building nor, as a rule, for all stages of one particular building. The general account of this side of the industry which we attempt to give in this chapter, though illustrated from documents which we have had an oppor-

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. J. R. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, I., 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Apprenticeship*, pp. 347-351.

tunity to study, cannot claim to be based on a special inquiry into the history of mediæval quarrying, and our conclusions, therefore, are on several points tentative.

We may begin with the observation that quarrying must often have been hindered and not infrequently brought to a stop by difficulties which the greater resources of modern times have overcome with relative ease. One, clearly, was the inferiority of mediæval instruments as compared with modern machine-driven drills and saws. The use of explosives for detaching great quantities of rock was not, so far as we know, practised, and the quarrymen had to rely almost exclusively on picks, axes, chisels, levers and wedges. Moreover, both mining and quarrying to any depth was impossible in the Middle Ages, because of the lack of effective means to get rid of water in excavations; only with the bucket and chain devices of the seventeenth century and with the Newcomen pump and Watt's steam engine in the eighteenth was this difficulty lessened and finally overcome. It was therefore fortunate that building stone could often be obtained from escarpments, the edges of which were cut into by quarrymen.<sup>1</sup> At times, it is true, quarrying was carried on in places where water made working both difficult and dangerous: stone for Dublin Cathedral was obtained in 1564-1565 from the bed of a river and from a position on the shore, below high-water mark, at Clontarf,<sup>2</sup> but such instances were exceptional, and the great bulk of mediæval building material was obtained much more easily. There appears to be little evidence as to the scale of operations, and we have met with no quarrying contractors' accounts. The famous quarries at Huddleston, Taynton and Barnack<sup>3</sup> were no doubt extensive but some quarries were quite small: the dimensions of a quarry near Ham Hill, Somerset, are given in a lease belonging to the fifteenth century—a period of special activity in that region—as 24 feet square, and according to a sixteenth-century survey of the parish of Norton, the ancient dimensions of quarries there were 20 feet each way.<sup>4</sup> Such quarries as these could probably be worked with very little capital. Whether quarrymen engaged in

<sup>1</sup> Our colleague, Professor Fearnside, informs us that deeper rock was quarried but, as a rule, only in places where little or no water leaked into the workings.

<sup>2</sup> J. Mills, "Peter Lewys and His Workmen" (*Journal Royal Soc. Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1901), p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> In 1185 Ramsey Abbey received a gift of 40 perches of land in a quarry at Barnack, *V.C.H. Northants*, II., 294.

<sup>4</sup> *V.C.H. Somerset*, II., 393.

them had any organisation similar to that of lead and tin miners or had any similar system of partnership is not known. The marblers of Purbeck certainly had rules, and were associated in later times, but their early records have been destroyed by fire, and the antiquity of their association cannot be determined. There is some evidence of definitely capitalist organisation as early as the later thirteenth century. Master Thomas of Weldon, who supplied stone for Rockingham Castle, appears to have had in his employment a number of stone-cutters, layers, quarrymen and labourers.<sup>1</sup> It is also probable that such people as John Prophete, who supplied large quantities of stone for Westminster Palace and Windsor Castle in the fourteenth century,<sup>2</sup> were entrepreneurs who owned or leased quarries, paid the wages of quarrymen and stone-cutters, and sold stone, sometimes hewn, sometimes in the rough, for building. In some instances monastic quarry-owners, provided with more than they needed for their own use, either sold stone or leased quarries to others: Glastonbury Abbey derived profits from its quarry at Doulting as late as the Dissolution, and the Barnack quarries are said to have brought great wealth to Peterborough. With the question of transport from quarry to fabric, and the connection between the mason's craft and that of the quarryman we shall be concerned later.

Mediæval builders used a great variety of stones, ranging from the all but intractable granite of Cornwall<sup>3</sup> to the perishable chalk of Cherryhinton. It would be outside our purpose to attempt a list of all the kinds of stone used and of the quarries from which it came, but we enumerate the better-known sources of supply.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *V.C.H. Northants*, II., 295-296.

<sup>2</sup> *V.C.H. Surrey*, II., 277. John and Philip Prophete, in 1360, were appointed wardens of quarries at Mesteham and Chaluedon, near Reigate, and empowered to press masons and other workmen to prepare materials there for the works at Windsor Castle (*Pat. Roll*, 33 Edward III., part iii.). William Profit, who supplied stone for Westminster Palace in 1395-1396 (*B.M. Additional Roll* 27,081) and 1401-1402 (*P.R.O. Excheq. K.R.* 502/21) may have been a member of the same family.

<sup>3</sup> This was little used until the fifteenth century. Even then it was not quarried, but obtained in blocks on, or near the surface of the soil. Cox, *English Parish Church*, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> To avoid multiplicity of footnotes, the following sources of information on this subject may be indicated here: (i) J. Watson, *British and Foreign Building Stones*; (ii) J. C. Cox, *The English Parish Church*, Chapter IV.; (iii) E. A. Greening Lamborn, *The Parish Church, its Architecture and Antiquities*, Chapter VIII.; (iv) Some incidental information in J. F. Hunnewell, *The Imperial Island: England's Chronicle in Stone*; (v) L. F. Salzmänn, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, Chapter V., gives a convenient general account of quarrying; (vi) The volumes of the *V.C.H.*,

(i) *Imported Stone*.—The most important building stone imported from abroad was the yellowish-white oolitic stone of Caen, which is soft when quarried but hardens on exposure. It is thus suitable for delicate carving and has been much used in England for internal decoration of churches. It was imported soon after the Norman Conquest for the Abbey of St. Alban's and old St. Paul's. Thereafter it was widely used, more especially for churches within easy reach of navigation. From the middle of the fourteenth century, it has been said, the coarser stone of Brinstead tended to take its place: but great quantities of it were still being imported in the fifteenth, no less than 407 tons of it being used in one year, 1443, for the building of Eton College.<sup>1</sup> Belgian marble was also imported for decorative work as early as the twelfth century, but was soon superseded by the famous marble of Purbeck.

(ii) *Oolitic Limestones*.—Of British building stones the most widely used were the various kinds of oolites, which occur in a broad belt stretching from the Yorkshire coast to Dorset. Perhaps the most famous quarries of this kind of stone were those at Barnack in Northamptonshire, from which the cathedrals of Peterborough and Ely and the monasteries of Crowland, Thorney and Ramsey, among others, were supplied: in fact, so extensively was this stone used that the quarries were worked out in the Middle Ages. Other sources of similar stone were the quarries at Doulting, near Shepton Mallet, whence Wells Cathedral and Glastonbury Abbey drew much material; Chilmark, Somerset, which supplied Salisbury Cathedral; Taynton and Headington in Oxfordshire, which provided great quantities of stone for Oxford colleges and churches in the county; Portland stone, used in the building of Exeter Cathedral, the Palace of Westminster, and other London buildings: its most extensive use came after the mediæval period, but it was exported as early as the fourteenth century. Still other sources were the quarries of Ketton, Rutlandshire, from which stone was obtained for Bury St. Edmunds and some Cambridge colleges; Quarr, in the Isle of Wight, which provided material for the abbey of the same name and also for

especially Kent, Surrey, Northants, Oxford, Nottingham, Yorkshire and Dorset, contain articles on quarrying in each county. In several instances these are the work of Mr. C. H. Vellacott, whose garnered information is the most useful contribution with which we are acquainted; (vii) A record of special usefulness for the study of prices and transport costs is the series of Eton College building accounts, to which we refer later.

<sup>1</sup> *W. and C.*, I., 386.

Winchester Cathedral; and Ancaster, the stone of which was used in Lincoln Cathedral.

(iii) *Magnesian Limestone*.—Examples of this stone are those obtained at Huddleston in Yorkshire, where York Minster owned and leased quarries, and whence much was sent in the fifteenth century to Eton and to Cambridge for the building of King's College Chapel. Roche Abbey in Yorkshire is built of a similar stone, durable and yet easy to work, which abounds in its neighbourhood.

(iv) *Cretaceous*.—This group includes chalk, of which the harder forms, used for building, are called *clunch*. The ease with which such stone could be obtained and its tractability led to its being frequently employed in East Anglia, as for instance in the building of Peterhouse and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, for Norwich Cathedral and for the elaborate sculpture in the Lady Chapel at Ely. If kept dry and not rubbed, clunch is durable, but in buildings where it has been used externally, it has usually had to be protected with ashlar or brick on account of its rapid weathering. Much more important than clunch in mediæval building is the Kentish *rag-stone* quarried at Maidstone, Reigate and Merstham, of which very great quantities were used at Eton College, Windsor Castle, Westminster Palace, London Bridge and many other buildings. This stone is very hard, and difficult to dress and was used chiefly for the filling of walls, a softer stone being dressed for facing. *Flint* is too hard to be dressed, and could therefore hardly have concerned the freemason: the layer, however, might frequently have to deal with it, for in counties where other building stone was scarce flint was frequently, and sometimes very effectively, used. One method, instances of which may still be seen in churches on the outskirts of London, was to lay flint pebbles in more or less the same way as cobbles used to be laid in Lancashire roads, some other stone being used, of course, for the angles of the walls. This method of laying flint entailed a plentiful use of mortar and, in some instances no doubt, the whole wall was plastered over so that little or nothing could be seen of the stone. A more elaborate method, employed, e.g., in some Norfolk churches, was to split the flints and get one side as flat as possible, the stones being laid with this surface outwards. Even in counties where flint was not used for the outer surface it might be cheaply used as rubble to form the cores of walls: it was probably for this purpose that it was used at Eton in 1445-1446.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Vady's Account, 1445-1446.

(v) *Carboniferous*.—This formation includes the gritstones found extensively in Derbyshire, Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland. Though sometimes used for ornamentation, it is too hard and coarse to be easily carved and undercut. On the other hand, it is remarkably durable, and has borne well the weather of seven centuries at Kirkstall Abbey. A similar stone was used at Barnard Castle and at Manchester Collegiate Church, the present cathedral.

(vi) *Stone for Internal Decoration and Sculpture*.—Besides the varieties of building stone already noticed, two others may be mentioned as widely used for internal decoration. One is the marble of Purbeck and Corfe which, it has been said, was used during the period between 1170 and 1350 in nearly every church of any size in England. This stone was not only quarried and prepared for transport, but was also dressed, polished and sometimes carved on the spot. There grew up a local school of sculptors who, in some instances, supplied effigies to order: in other instances the marble necessary for a tomb or an altar was sent in blocks to its destination, and the craftsmen carved and erected the work there. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, the demand declined, and the place of Purbeck stone was taken by alabaster, or gypsum, a mineral useful for statuary and, when burnt, for making plaster of Paris. An important area of supply in the Middle Ages, and easily the most important at present, was the district North and West of Nottingham, in which town, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there were carvers of repute. One of these, Peter the Mason, received the sum of three hundred marks for a great reredos, carved at Nottingham, and carried thence in ten carts to Windsor, where it was erected.<sup>1</sup> Another, Nicholas Hill, conducted in the later fifteenth century a business in which art played less part, for he sued his agent in 1491 for an account of the sale of fifty-eight heads of John the Baptist, probably of standard pattern and made for stock.<sup>2</sup> The best stone used by these alabasterers was, however, quarried at Chellaston in Derbyshire. Its repute extended to the Continent, for in 1414 Alexander de Berneville, a master mason acting on behalf of the Abbot of Fécamp, came to this country expressly to buy it, and having been brought through

<sup>1</sup> V.C.H. Nottingham, II., 332.

<sup>2</sup> Stevenson, *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, III., 19.



Nottingham to Chellaston, paid 40 gold crowns in advance for a quantity of it, to be shipped through Hull.<sup>1</sup>

(vii) *Brick*.—The use of tiles for roofing was known in England at least as early as the thirteenth century,<sup>2</sup> but the frequent use of wall-tiles or *tegulae murales*,<sup>3</sup> that is to say bricks, was probably a later development. Bricks appear to have been used for arches, labels and mullions in the Chapel Barn at Coggeshall, a building ascribed to the middle of the thirteenth century,<sup>4</sup> and for the walls of the transept of Holy Trinity Church, Hull, erected about 1320, a period at which brick-making was practised in or near that town, William de la Pole being the owner of a brickyard there.<sup>5</sup> On the Continent, brick was extensively used in Gothic building in countries such as Flanders, where building stone was rare or dear, and it is believed that in this country it was most used at first in Eastern England, partly because East Anglia lacks building stone, and partly because the use of brick was there introduced by immigrants from Flanders, from which country brick also was imported in the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> In the early fifteenth century brick was used, with very little stone, for Beverley Bar and, a generation later, was being used in very large quantities for the inner parts of walls at Eton College. Later in the century it was used in the building of fortified houses at Tattershall and Kirby Muxloe, where, it may be noted, stone-layers and bricklayers<sup>7</sup> were to some extent interchangeable.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, LXIV., 32-37.

<sup>2</sup> Salzmann, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Chapman, II., 67.

<sup>4</sup> *East Riding Antiquarian Society Transactions*, IV., 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III., 24. <sup>6</sup> Briggs, *Short History of the Building Crafts*, p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> The earliest bricklayers' gild we have met with was at Beverley; the preamble to the ordinances of 1596 claims that the craft had been organised since 1426. See J. Dennett, *Beverley Borough Records, 1575-1821* (Yorkshire Archæological Society Record Series, 1933). For bricklayers at Newcastle see p. 232 below.

<sup>8</sup> *K.M.*, *passim*. Cf. an entry in the records of Dunwich in 1610: "To the masons for layeing the Crosse with brick, iijs. viiijd" (*Hist. MSS. Commission, Various Collections*, VII., 91).

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF MEDIÆVAL BUILDING OPERATIONS.

#### A. ROYAL BUILDING.

WHETHER or not it be true that at all stages of political development the holders of authority have required to be housed in a more impressive and comfortable manner than their subjects, it is certainly true that in the Middle Ages the provision of housing for their rulers was commonly an obligation of the least privileged part of the population of England and Wales. Old Welsh law, e.g., required that the villeins should construct a hall, chamber, barn and other buildings for the king,<sup>1</sup> a duty which may be compared with the obligation of the villeins of Aucklandshire to make for their lord, the Bishop of Durham, a "hall in the forest, of the length of 60 feet and of the breadth within the posts of 16 feet, with a buttery and hatch, and a chamber and a privy; also they make a chapel of the length of 40 feet and of the breadth of 15 feet."<sup>2</sup> Such buildings, at best, could only have been of timber: indeed, a late fourteenth-century survey of Chirkland is explicit on the point: "the free and native tenants shall make in common the hall, chamber, kitchen and grange of the lord at Chirk, *to be built anew of timber* as often as the lord shall require . . . and the aforesaid villeins . . . shall construct a mill for the lord, both the inside and outside work, *in all things relating to carpentry*, except the outside wheel."<sup>3</sup> In the early Middle Ages, no doubt, the tenants of many manors were capable of the rough carpentry, the wood and wattle partitioning, and the straw thatching that sufficed for such building work as was demanded of them: they could not provide sufficient skill, however, for the erection of stone buildings which, with advancing luxury and wealth, the Crown and such lords as

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, I., 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Boldon Buke* (Surtees Society), 62.

<sup>3</sup> G. P. Jones, *The Extent of Chirkland, 1391-1393*, xxvi.

the Bishop of Durham required. It may be noted that the Earl of Arundel's tenants were bound to carry the great timbers for his castle of Chirk, but nothing is said about any obligation to find, dress or set the stone for it.

All through the Middle Ages the Crown continued to need, on its various manors, the construction or repair of buildings mainly if not entirely of timber, but a variety of causes led it also to order larger and more elaborate structures of stone. One was the maintenance and extension of the royal supremacy. The destruction of the adulterine castles of the barons under Henry II. contributed powerfully to the establishment of internal peace, but such fortresses as the Tower of London still continued to be necessary, and the attempt of Edward I. to bring Wales and Scotland in subjection to the English Crown required the construction of a number of new castles, such as Caernarvon, Beaumaris, Conway and Stirling, in order to preserve the conqueror's authority west of the Dee and north of the Cheviots. Another was a growing feeling for magnificence and comfort, notable in the reign of Henry III.<sup>1</sup> The vast expenditure of Edward III. and his successors on Windsor Castle, for instance, could not have been justified on military grounds alone, and must have been partly due to a desire to create for the monarchy a palace that should be not only safe but splendid. Lastly, the piety of mediæval kings induced them not only to make munificent gifts to existing religious foundations but also, occasionally, to build entirely new ones, as Edward I. in fulfilment of a vow, built the Abbey of Vale Royal in Cheshire.<sup>2</sup> In this section we propose to describe the way in which such building works were administered for the Crown, chiefly in the period before 1350.

There is a fund of information, relating chiefly to small operations and to repairs, in the Liberate Rolls for the reign of Henry III.,<sup>3</sup> which contain orders by the score to various officials to have buildings renewed, altered, white-washed, roofed or wainscoted, to get windows glazed, walls painted, drains excavated, premises furnished and the like. Some of these are simple orders to have particular pieces of work done; others give more or less detailed instructions and occasionally an expert was sent to amplify or explain them. The Constable of the Tower, e.g., is told in 1238-1239 to cause a drain to be made "in the fashion of a hollow column, as our well

<sup>1</sup> See Hudson Turner, *Domestic Architecture in England*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Ledger-Book*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> For extracts in translation see Hudson Turner, *op. cit.*, 182 seq.

beloved servant John of Ely shall more fully tell thee." In some cases a date is set for the finishing of the work: in others haste is specially enjoined as, e.g., in 1243, in an order to the keepers of the works at Windsor to have a chamber "wainscoted by day and night<sup>1</sup> so that it may be ready . . . by Friday, when the King shall come there," and an order to Edward FitzOdo to get a chamber at Westminster ready for Easter "even though it should be necessary to have a thousand workmen a day for it." The tone of the orders to this officer is sometimes very peremptory: he is to be diligent "even as you wish our love towards you to be continued" or "as you would avoid the ire and indignation of the King"; similarly the sheriff of Wiltshire is to get a new chamber for the queen ready before Whitsuntide "as he loveth his life and chattels."

These royal commands are directed to constables of castles, wardens of particular works, keepers of manors and, in a very large number of instances, to the sheriff of the county in which the work was to be done.<sup>2</sup> The sheriff is sometimes instructed to get the work done himself, sometimes to deliver stores or money for the purpose to others: in the former case it was usual for the writ to contain the names of one or more persons who were to view and certify the work; in either case the disbursements made by the sheriff at the king's command would be deducted from the money due when he presented his accounts at the Exchequer. In 1255-1256, to take but one example, the Sheriff of Kent was allowed £28 13s. 7d. spent by the king's order on certain alterations to his chapel at Rochester. This method of issuing orders to sheriffs was certainly convenient. It solved momentarily the problem of finding money for building by transferring the difficulty: the Sheriff of Wiltshire, e.g., was commanded in 1245-1246 to get work done "whencesoever moneys for the completion of it may be procured." On the other hand, enterprising or ruthless as the sheriff might be, there were limits to the amount of building work which could be carried on by such anticipation of revenue, and for large operations, as a rule, a different sort of official was necessary. An instance is the man whose name occurs repeatedly in these Rolls, Edward FitzOdo, keeper of the works at Westminster. He was not an architect or mason, but a king's clerk, that is an administrative and probably

<sup>1</sup> For other instances of night work, see pp. 121, 208 below.

<sup>2</sup> On the sheriff as concerned with building, see W. A. Morris, *The Mediæval English Sheriff*, pp. 125-126.

also a financial expert, whose business it was to take care of materials delivered, to see that sufficient labour was hired and to be accountable for the proper carrying on of the work. He was the son of Odo, the goldsmith, and nephew of John, fusor at the Exchequer, to which office he himself succeeded, being confirmed in it in 1237: father and son were associated in supplying oil, varnish and colours for the king, for which the Treasurer was ordered to pay them in 1239. It is likely that Edward FitzOdo either possessed great wealth himself or commanded extensive credit, for in 1244 the Treasurer was ordered to pay him the very large sum of over £1900 which he had spent on the erection of a new chamber, making a conduit and on other works connected with Westminster Hall.<sup>1</sup> Normally on important works such as these a master mason and a Treasury official or some other expert were associated: in the period from 1254 to 1262, e.g., John of Gloucester, a master mason, was FitzOdo's colleague; from 1269 to 1272 the accounts were presented by Robert of Beverley, master mason, but they are certified by view and testimony of Adam de Stratton, clerk of the Exchequer. The king's master mason had authority mainly, no doubt, over the workmen and the actual building work while his colleague was chiefly concerned with finance, but it may be noted that the master mason had a share in the responsibility for the accounts: Robert of Beverley figured at least once as an auditor of accounts. Moreover, such a mason might have to handle personally large sums of money: John of Gloucester, e.g., in 1259-1260, had £410 delivered to him for distribution to the workmen at Windsor.<sup>2</sup> This particular mason may have been wealthy: at any rate in 1258-1259 the Treasurer was ordered to pay him and a clerk of the king's receipt the sum of over £126 spent by them at the king's command.

The services performed for Henry III. by Edward FitzOdo and John of Gloucester were performed for his son by a number of similar officials, about whose careers we have some information and whose work can be studied by means of a series of building accounts preserved in the Public Record Office.<sup>3</sup> We have already indicated the importance

<sup>1</sup> See Brayley and Britton, *History of the Ancient Palace . . . at Westminster*, pp. 46, 47, 51, and the authorities there cited.

<sup>2</sup> Tighe and Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, I., 79.

<sup>3</sup> Castle building in the reign of Edward I., being a war operation, would naturally be administered by the Wardrobe, which took charge of military preparations: "All ranks from the mighty banneret to the humble Welsh archer and the bricklayer or tent maker . . . all alike

of these building accounts for students of mediæval economic history, and at this point we shall attempt to give some idea of their form and contents, taking as a sample the records relating to the building of the Abbey of Vale Royal in the years 1278-1280,<sup>1</sup> accounts of special importance because of the light they throw on the beginning of works on a large scale.<sup>2</sup> They commence with a statement of the receipts, arrears being noted, for each year in succession from the revenues allocated for the works. Then follow the expenses (i) for tools, wax, pitch, iron, steel, nails, boards, lime and straw in each year; (ii) for transport of timber, lime, stones, etc., in each year, and (iii) for wages of the different kinds of workmen in turn—carpenters, sawyers, plasterers, masons, quarrymen, smiths, (with colliers and "portehaches") navvies and other labourers—for each year. These accounts are complete in the sense that they make it possible to draw up an income and expenditure account and to work out the proportion of the cost due to particular kinds of labour, materials and transport, whereas in many instances building accounts have survived only in parts, either the receipts or the cost of materials or of carriage being missing. The form of the Vale Royal accounts shows clearly that they were compiled at the end of the period to which they relate: that is, they were drawn up from other accounts, for each year or shorter period considered by itself, which have not survived. The extant accounts are, at least in part, summaries: they nevertheless contain much more detail than the accounts for the building of Caernarvon Castle in 1304-1305.<sup>3</sup> These are fuller than the Vale Royal accounts in one sense, since they give the totals of expenditure in each week under various headings; but, on the other hand, though they give the numbers and rates of pay of the workmen employed, they do not, like the Vale Royal accounts, give their names and consequently they throw no

looked to the Wardrobe clerks for direction, for pay, for equipment and support" (Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, II., 139). Thus in the account of William of Louth, keeper of the Wardrobe, covering the period 1281-1285 (printed in Appendix to *Chronica Johannis Oxenedes*, Rolls Series), we find £9414 4s. 11d. spent in wages of masons (*cementarii*), carpenters and other workmen at Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon and other places, besides various other sums for *operationes castrorum et villarum in Wallia*. Money for the works at Vale Royal Abbey, it may be noted, was also received through the Wardrobe (*Ledger-Book*, 64).

<sup>1</sup> *Excheq. K.R. Enrolled, Accounts*, 485/22; they are printed, partly in summary, in *Ledger-Book*, 192 seq.

<sup>2</sup> On these accounts see *V.R.*; on those relating to Caernarvon and Beaumaris, *B. and C.*

<sup>3</sup> *Excheq. K.R. Accounts*, 486/1.

light on the provenance of the workmen and the continuity of their employment, nor is it possible to trace the promotion of workers from one grade and rate of pay to another. Such details have to be sought in the subsidiary accounts, or *particulæ*, which exist for some years in the case of Caernarvon. These are in essence weekly pay sheets upon which the names of all men and women employed are entered together with the amount earned by each, the workers being grouped in categories.

The official responsible for the Vale Royal accounts was Leonius son of Leonius, keeper of the works. Little is known of his history<sup>1</sup> but there is sufficient to indicate that he was an expert who could be used for paying a garrison, inquiring into a stoppage of navigation on the Severn, taking custody of two castles and two counties at once, serving as Sheriff of Shropshire, or, as in this instance, taking charge of a large building operation. There is nothing to suggest that he had any special architectural knowledge, and everything points to his being a financial and administrative head, whose business it was to see that the revenues assigned to the works were collected (for which purpose he was made Chamberlain of Chester) and were not wasted. His counterpart at Caernarvon was Thomas de Esthall,<sup>2</sup> Chamberlain of North Wales, called like Leonius *clericus regis*. The building works were only one of his many cares, and accordingly, as we shall see, the preparation of the accounts fell to other people, but Esthall was probably finally responsible.

The arrangement of the building operations at Vale Royal was the business of Walter of Hereford,<sup>3</sup> the master mason (*magister cementarius*) or master of the works (*magister operacionum*). He was also in charge at Caernarvon in 1288-1289 and possibly earlier: in 1315 he was succeeded by Henry de Elerton, but he could not have remained at Caernarvon continuously in the preceding period since there is evidence that he served the king in Scotland in 1304 and that in 1306 he brought masons for the "queen's work" in London. He was, in fact, an architect in the royal service, capable of taking charge either of an ecclesiastical or a military building operation and evidently stood high in his profession, having the title of Master and being paid at the rate of 2s. per diem for seven days a week, when the most skilled ordinary mason under him received 2s. 6d.

<sup>1</sup> For references see *V.R.*

<sup>2</sup> For references see *B. and C.*

<sup>3</sup> For references see *B. and C.*

per week. Under his authority at Vale Royal there was an under-master, John de la Bataile, paid at 3s. per week, and perhaps a second assistant, Richard de Hereford, at 2s. 8d. and later 2s. 10d. per week. At Caernarvon the under-master, at 4s. per week, was Henry de Elerton who later became master.

How Walter of Hereford was trained we do not know. From the fact that he was called *cementarius* and is included with that grade in the accounts, we take it that he had probably been, if only for a short time, a working mason. It is possible that the architects of the Middle Ages were drawn from the class of skilled stone carvers and designers of tracery,<sup>1</sup> but clearly other and comparatively rarer qualifications than theirs were needed for a position such as that of Walter de Hereford. Probably, as Henry de Elerton served under him, he in his turn had served as under-master of some works before being placed in charge at Vale Royal, and perhaps he had passed through a grade like that of Nicholas de Derneford at Beaumaris in 1316, who was called master, but received only 1s. per day and was perhaps subject to the general authority of the more highly paid Henry de Elerton. Nor can we tell from the accounts what exactly the functions of the master mason were. He certainly had a share of the responsibility for the accounts in 1304-1305, since they are said to be by his "view and testimony,"<sup>2</sup> and money for wages may have been paid to him to distribute,<sup>3</sup> but his chief business, no doubt, was to determine the number of workmen and the quantity and kind of materials necessary, to make the plans, decide the order of operations and what individuals, or groups, should carry them out. We also think it probable that he had to decide on the degree of skill possessed by newcomers to the works and to fix their wages. It is true that the accounts do not indicate who made these decisions, but somebody must have done so and the master mason would be the

<sup>1</sup> In the early fourteenth century the remuneration of a skilled designer and of a master mason in charge of a building were at about the same level. Master Richard de Wightam, superintending and directing the work at Westminster Hall in 1307, received one shilling per day, the rate paid to Nicholas de Derneford at Beaumaris. The same rate was paid at Westminster to Master Thomas of Canterbury *tractanti super trasuram . . . et moldas de novo reparanti* in 1330. (See Brayley and Britton, *op. cit.*, 110, 150) 1s. 6d. per day was paid to Master Edward Canon, master stone-cutter, working on the stalls of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1352 (Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 192).

<sup>2</sup> The weekly particulars were doubtless drawn up by William de Shaldeford, clerk of the works at 2s. 7½d. per week.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. John of Gloucester, p. 18 above.

most suitable person. The diversity of wage rates clearly points to individual bargains made with particular workmen; the orders for impressment direct that the men shall be sent to Walter of Hereford at Caernarvon: it is, therefore, natural to suppose that he would have to estimate their capacity and set their wages so that the king's interest should not suffer. The *Regius Poem*, which, though it belongs to the later fourteenth century may reflect the practice of previous centuries in this matter, implies that the master mason judged the efficiency of the workmen and had power of dismissal.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to his stipend as master of the works at the castle, Henry de Elerton was paid for building work in connection with the town quay. This we know from an entry on one of the membranes relating to works at the castle, and it is possible that were the extant building accounts for this period more numerous and were the existing ones thoroughly searched, other instances might be found of men who were master masons, at an annual fee, and also, at times, building contractors. This possibility in turn suggests that, in part at least, the qualifications which enabled such masters as Walter of Hereford to manage large undertakings were acquired in the course of experience of smaller ones conducted on their own account. Certainly there is evidence that such masons were to be found as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. Master Robert de Walden, *cementarius*, undertook in 1251 to finish the masonry of two chambers at Havering and perform other work *ad tascam* for £95,<sup>2</sup> and an order was given in 1255 that the masonry of the king's house at Guildford should be done at task, by the advice of John of Gloucester, the king's mason.<sup>3</sup> In 1256 he was commanded to view the defects in the Tower of London and commit the repairs to somebody at task.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever the truth may be with regard to the master masons of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, there was in the second half of the fourteenth at least one mason who was held in high esteem as an architect, who rendered great service to the Crown, himself took mason's work on contract and probably was also a dealer in stone. This was Henry Yevele<sup>5</sup> who, in 1356, was one of the persons

<sup>1</sup> See p. 169 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls, 1247-1251*, p. 556.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1254-1256, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>5</sup> For an account of him see *D.N.B.*, articles by J. G. Nichols, reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S., Vol. XIX., 38 seq., and W. Wonnacott, *Henry Yevele, the King's Master Mason, A.Q.C.*, XXI., 244 seq.

by whose advice regulations were established for the London masons. He was at the time disposer of the works at Westminster, for which, in 1369, he received 1s. per day. In 1387 and again in 1397-1398 he was master mason at Westminster Abbey. Meanwhile, in 1370 and 1381, he was commissioned to recruit masons for the king's service. His eminence as a designer is indicated by the fact that the masons who, in 1395, undertook to build the upper part of the walls of Westminster Hall were required to do so *selon le purport d'une forme et molde faite par conseil de Mestre Henri Zevely*. In an earlier contract for the erection of the south aisle of St. Dunstan's, Thames Street, the mason is to proceed *selon la devyse de Mestre Henry Iveleghe*. He also was the expert by whose measurement and valuation William Sharnhale, contractor for extensive building work at Cowling Castle in 1382, was paid. Yevele was himself a contractor, together with Stephen Lote,<sup>1</sup> in 1396, for the construction of a marble tomb for Richard II. and his queen. That he was a dealer in stone and other material is probably indicated by his supplying of Flanders tiles<sup>2</sup> for Westminster in 1365-1366 and of thirteen tons of Stapleton stone for Rochester Castle in 1368.<sup>3</sup> The fact that he held the manor of Langton in Purbeck in 1376 also points in the same direction.<sup>4</sup>

Though we are less well informed about Walter of Hereford than about Henry Yevele, it is clear that both the earlier and the later master mason were of similar grade and eminence. The one may have been more inured to service in remote districts and on the borders of Edward I.'s

To the information there collected it may be added that he was a warden of London Bridge as early as 1377 and as late as 1394 (*Cal. Letter-Book H.*, 237, 411), and that John Clifford, chief mason of the Bridge, was probably the John Clifford, mason, who was one of his executors. It may further be added that in 1396 Yevele was a member of the *Salve Regina* fraternity connected with the Church of St. Magnus at London Bridge, a fraternity not confined to masons (Thomas, *Plea and Memo. Rolls, 1381-1412*, p. 239). Our attention has very recently been drawn to three documents in the P.R.O. (transcribed by Mr. W. J. Williams and to be printed in *A.Q.C.*, XLIV.), of great interest as evidence of a connection between Yevele and Geoffrey Chaucer. The first, dated 27th September, 1389, is an order to Chaucer, clerk of the King's works, to pay Yevele certain arrears of his salary of 1s. per day. The other two, dated 30th September, 1390, and 11th October, 1391, are acknowledgments by Yevele that Chaucer had paid various sums due to him.

<sup>1</sup> Who, in 1400, succeeded Yevele as disposer of the king's works at Westminster and the Tower of London, at a stipend of 1s. per day and a winter robe yearly at Christmas (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 361).

<sup>2</sup> Brayley and Britton, *History of the Ancient Palace . . . at Westminster*, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> *A.O.C.*, XXI., 246.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

dominions and was perhaps more practised in military architecture, while the other may have spent more of his life in London and on London buildings and was possibly a better master of sculpture and design. Both, however, were purveyors of labour for the Crown and, in addition to their architectural knowledge, possessed managing ability and could be responsible for the presentation of accounts. In the later Middle Ages, as we shall show, the qualifications of the chief mason employed on a large undertaking tended to be neither so high nor so rare as theirs, and his status, as compared with that of the master or surveyor of the works, probably declined. We have not enough information to decide how far, if at all, an architect like Walter of Hereford was subordinate to an administrator like Thomas de Esthall. The relations between the architect and the administrator no doubt varied from time to time and place to place, and depended, in part at least, on the character and qualifications of the particular master mason: Yevele, for instance, could probably take up a much more independent attitude than would be possible for others of his craft.

As Henry Yevele was an outstanding example of the capable architect, his contemporary, William of Wykeham, was an instance of the remarkably capable administrator.<sup>1</sup> Wykeham was willing to spend money on his own building, at Winchester Cathedral in 1371 and Winchester College in 1387, and possibly understood a good deal about architecture, but he was not professionally an architect. Nevertheless, it was his capacity in superintending building work for Edward III., whose service he entered about 1347, that laid the foundation of his career. In May, 1356, he was appointed clerk of the royal works at Henley and Easthampstead, and in October of the same year became a surveyor of the works at Windsor. Three years later he was made surveyor of Windsor Forest and chief warden and surveyor of the castles of Windsor, Leeds, Dover and Hadleigh. His wage, of 1s. a day when resident, 2s. when travelling, was later increased by an additional shilling until other remuneration could be provided for him from ecclesiastical benefices. He was, in fact, bountifully provided, took orders in 1361 and became Bishop of Winchester in 1367. He should be regarded probably, as the kind of person skilled in getting things done, whether feeding the king's

<sup>1</sup> See Moberley, *Life of Wykeham*.

dogs, selling his horses, repairing his property, managing a bishopric or conducting the foreign or domestic affairs of the realm, and in a later age might have found his vocation either in a high position in the civil service or as managing director of a great industrial or commercial concern. We know of no other official concerned with building who climbed so high, but it is clear that the position of clerk of the works offered opportunities of advancement. William de Shaldeford, for instance, who was paid 2s. 7½d. a week,—approximately the earnings of a skilled mason—at Caernarvon in 1304-1305, was in August, 1315, not only clerk of the works at the Castle but surveyor of the castles in North Wales and controller of the chamberlainship. In July, 1320, a mandate was issued for his removal pending the investigation of complaints against him, but the check in his career, if it occurred, was only temporary for in December, 1327, he was evidently acting as deputy in North Wales for Roger Mortimer, the Justice. A commission was issued in December, 1330, to inquire into a complaint of the commonalty against his oppressive conduct but he probably did not suffer through his connection with the hated Mortimer, for he was still a deputy of the Justice in May, 1331, and, indeed, held that office as late as August 1339. Meanwhile, as a reward for his services to Edward I., Edward II. and Edward III., he was given lands at Nantmawr and a mill at Eithinog, worth between them over £16 annually and, in September, 1339, was appointed during pleasure remembrancer and a baron of the Exchequer at Caernarvon.<sup>1</sup> Another instance of a clerk of the works who rose to high office may be found in William Mulsho, who served under Wykeham from 1358 to 1361 and then succeeded him at Windsor. He followed his chief also in the office of Dean of St. Martin's le Grand, in 1364. In the following year he was appointed king's chamberlain of receipt and in 1375 became keeper of the Wardrobe.<sup>2</sup> We know little of the means by which other clerks secured promotion in their profession and little, too, about the way in which master masons rose from the ranks; in the case of the latter, however, there is reason to believe, as we have suggested, that opportunity to take contracts or to deal in stone was a factor of importance.

<sup>1</sup> For references to him see *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-1317*, p. 339; *1317-1321*, p. 493; *1327-1330*, p. 194; *1330-1334*, pp. 61, 143, 323; *1334-1338*, p. 399; *1338-1340*, pp. 322, 359.

<sup>2</sup> See Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, IV., 155-156.

The number and, in some instances, the continuity of royal building operations raise the question whether any centralised system was set up for their management. Much more investigation is necessary before any very satisfactory answer can be given, but we shall refer to one or two facts which suggest that such a development was taking place. It may be observed first that it was not possible to calculate the exact amount of material required nor, mediæval transport being what it was, to guarantee that supplies of stone would always be enough to keep the building going at the speed desired. It happened that London—situated in a district where building stone was not plentiful but where, owing to the continuance of work on Westminster Palace, the Abbey, the Tower and other buildings, a good deal of stone was required—was fairly favourably placed for the importation of stone from France, the Isle of Wight, and Yorkshire by sea and from the Maidstone district by river. It would therefore be convenient for a store or “dump” to be set up there on which the superintendents of buildings could draw at need. Possibly there was such a store in existence as early as the reign of Henry III. It was part of the business of Edward FitzOdo and Henry of Westminster, master mason at the Abbey, 1244-1253, to take charge of stone, mortar and timber delivered to them by the Constable of the Tower.<sup>1</sup> FitzOdo and Master Robert of Beverley also, in 1261, were in charge of a store at Westminster from which, at the king's orders, stone was supplied to Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

A second centralising tendency is to be seen in the practice of placing several building operations under the direction of one surveyor or clerk of the works. William of Wykeham, as we have noted, acted as surveyor of several castles in 1359. Similarly, in 1389, Geoffrey Chaucer was clerk of the works at Westminster Palace, the Tower of London, the castle of Berkhamstede, the manors of Kennington, Eltham, Clarendon, Sheen, Byfleet, Chiltern Langley and Feckenham, as well as several houses at 2s. per day.<sup>3</sup> Several of these works were among those to which William Cleve, chaplain, was appointed in 1444.<sup>4</sup> Though they had to visit these

<sup>1</sup> Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, I., 69.

<sup>3</sup> *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-1446, p. 232. In the same month John Arderne, a predecessor of Cleve's, was appointed a baron of the Exchequer. In 1445 Cleve was appointed clerk of the works for life, at 4s. per day, when travelling, and was provided with a dwelling-house previously occupied by Arderne, as well as premises for storage of engines and materials (*ibid.*, 1441-1446, p. 355).

various works from time to time, it is clear that Cleve and his successors directed them from London. In 1447 Cleve was allowed to put premises in repair for “an exchequer of books, the attendance and resort of the people and officers by reason of the said office,”<sup>1</sup> and Edmund Blake, appointed clerk and surveyor of the king's works in 1451, had a dwelling at Westminster with counting houses, sheds and store-houses.<sup>2</sup> As the general management of several operations was committed to these clerks so the oversight of special kinds of work at several buildings was entrusted to other experts. In 1446, e.g., John Champard was granted the surveyorship of all castles and lordships south of the Trent in all things pertaining to the office of smith, at the same wages as the master mason and master carpenter.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Jordan, “serjeant of our masonry within our realm of England,”<sup>4</sup> in 1464 no doubt had a similar wide authority.

#### B. ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDING.

It is perhaps commonly believed that the surviving masterpieces of mediæval ecclesiastical architecture are mute but convincing witnesses to the harmony of æsthetic and religious endeavours in the men who planned, carried out and paid for their erection; that the cathedrals of Canterbury and York, for instance, are the product of the finest skill appropriately used in the noblest possible service in the Middle Ages. Such a view was by no means universal in those ages themselves: magnificence and costliness in the architecture and appointments of churches were not only suspect but clearly condemned, and that by men whose character and teaching are rightly regarded as the flower of mediæval piety. Saint Bernard, while refraining from condemnation, made plain to the Cluniacs his dislike of their architectural splendours, as marking a departure from the poverty and simplicity demanded by their rule,<sup>5</sup> and, later in the twelfth century, Peter the Precentor, rector of the Paris cathedral school, upheld the view that the passion for building, while making poverty impossible for the monks

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1446-1452, p. 76. See *ibid.* for the appointment of an under-clerk, at 1s. per day, with dwelling and livery.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 510. Blake was clerk and surveyor of works at 4s. per day when travelling; the premises referred to are those occupied by his predecessor Cleve.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1441-1446, p. 453.

<sup>4</sup> *Rolls of Parl.*, v., 547b.

<sup>5</sup> *Apologia ad Guillelmum . . . Abbatem*, cap. xii. (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxxii. col. 914).

who were vowed to it, drove the lay poor into deeper distress and necessitated economic arrangements inconsistent with the law of God.<sup>1</sup> The most emphatic condemnation came, as might be expected, from Saint Francis of Assisi, who warned his followers that mean buildings and coarse vessels only were in accord with their rule of life<sup>2</sup> and ordered that their churches should be small and their houses not of stone but of timber and mud.<sup>3</sup> On one occasion, says Brother Leo,<sup>4</sup> he commenced to pull down the stone building erected during his absence and without his leave by the admiring people of Assisi as a place for the general chapter of the Order, for he feared that the brethren who came to it might be led to set up similar buildings elsewhere. With the friars, both Franciscan and Dominican, as with the monastic orders before them, puritanism declined as wealth increased: their doctrine of the blessedness of poverty remained as a doctrine, but with no passion in it: by 1250 they were coming to regard their buildings as conventual.<sup>5</sup> As for the secular clergy, not bound by the vow of poverty, there was little to restrain them from seeking such magnificence as they could command, for even their critics, the regulars, admitted the necessity of ornament to excite devotion in the vulgar.<sup>6</sup>

It is beside our purpose to examine the motives which led to the erection of the thousands of ecclesiastical buildings, of one kind or another, with which this country abounded in the Middle Ages, and it is not our intention to discuss in detail the means used to raise money for them. Local patriotism played an important part, as, for instance, in 1469-1472, when the people of Bodmin rated themselves, contributed through the guilds and turned out to labour for the rebuilding of their parish church.<sup>7</sup> Affection for their own houses, æsthetic interest, the need of space for pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Verbum Abbreviatum*, see excerpts translated in G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, II, see p. 26

<sup>2</sup> *Speculum Perfectionis* (ed. Sabatier for Brit. Soc. Franciscan Studies), p. 18

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21

<sup>5</sup> Cotton, *Gray Friars of Canterbury*, p. 15. Cf. with regard to the Franciscans and Dominicans, the evidence alluded to in G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Mediæval England*, pp. 88-89. On the attitude of preachers both towards architectural magnificence and art in general, see Owst *Literature and Pulpit in Mediæval England*, pp. 47 seq.

<sup>6</sup> St. Bernard, *Apologia ad Abbatem*, cap. xii. "illi [episcopi] . . . carnalis populi . . . devotionem corporalibus excitant ornamentis" and the argument might perhaps be extended to buildings. On the other hand, writing especially of the episcopal office, St. Bernard warns the bishops "honorificabitur . . . non amplius aedificiis sed ornatis moribus" (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxxii cols. 812-813).

<sup>7</sup> *Bodmin*.

cessions, the expectation of a larger income perhaps,<sup>1</sup> as well as a desire to raise a lasting monument *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, moved monks and canons to tax themselves<sup>2</sup> and to beg or borrow from others in order to enlarge or rebuild their churches. The motives were, no doubt, as mixed as human nature itself, and the purest piety as well as the grossest superstition helped to produce the revenue. Compulsory contributions<sup>3</sup> were sometimes required: princely gifts were made by the Crown, by great lords and by ecclesiastics: pyxes in church<sup>4</sup> and travelling collectors in town and country provided means to buy stone and hire workmen, and so did legacies in land or money from the rich, in small sums and even in kind from the poor: penalties and indulgences,<sup>5</sup> used for centuries and a source of abuse long before Luther thundered against Tetzl, were exploited: and in addition to these fluctuating sources of revenue a relatively steady income from rents or appropriated churches often formed the nucleus of a fabric fund.<sup>6</sup> Until more fabric rolls have been examined it would be perilous to generalise on the management of these funds. It is known that monastic finances were often entangled and sometimes desperate: on the other hand, the York Minster fabric rolls suggest on the whole a prudent policy of aiming at extra resources for special building and keeping expenses ordinarily well within income.<sup>7</sup>

The official whom monastic authorities made responsible for the fabric was ordinarily the sacrist. It was his business also to provide the necessities of ritual, such as wax, oil and wine, to safeguard the shrines and treasures of the church, to take care of vestments and other ornaments and renew them as well as gospels and missals. The discharge of these duties necessarily involved the sacrist in others of a subsidiary

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion is St. Bernard's, see Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, II., 172-173.

<sup>2</sup> As the Hereford and York chapters, e.g., did; see *Charters and Documents of Hereford Cathedral*, p. 80, and *F.R.Y.M.*, xi.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Church rate, on which see Cannan, *Local Rates in England*, pp. 14-16.

<sup>4</sup> The income from 21 boxes at Wells can be traced in the fabric rolls for 1390-1391, 1457-1458, 1480-1481 and 1492-1493, see *Hist. MSS. Commission, Wells Dean and Chapter MSS.*, II., 17-20, 83-89, 98-101, 130-133.

<sup>5</sup> These occur by the score in the *Calendars of Papal Letters*, and are common in cathedral chartularies and registers.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., at Westminster, see Rackham, 36, 37.

<sup>7</sup> In *F.R.Y.M.* there are 31 fabric accounts for the period before 1500. In 8 either total income or total expenditure is not given. Of the remaining 23, a debt is shown in 5 and a balance in hand in 18. The balances are as a rule larger than the debts.



kind in the administration of the estates or revenues out of which the funds to pay for labour and material were obtained. Thus the "maister segerstan" at Durham, e.g., had his own office, or chequer, in the angle between the north transept and the north aisle: in this office he took his meals: here he transacted business relating to the estate of Sacriston-heugh, which provided the greater part of the revenue of his department—business concerning crops, horses, cattle, poison for foxes, pitch for curing diseases of sheep, the repair of barns and so forth: here also he prepared accounts of expenditure on bread, wine, oil and wax, on lead, glass, timber and stone, on silk, velvet, linen and cerecloth, and on various kinds of labour.<sup>1</sup> At Durham the care of shrines and treasures, elsewhere a duty of the sacrist, devolved upon the feretrar, but the fabric was still the sacrist's responsibility, as it was also at Ely and Worcester. Such an arrangement was sufficient when building repairs were a relatively unimportant part of the sacrist's business, or when part of the work that might have been his was performed by another obedientiary: but it would be less convenient when new building, as distinct from maintenance and repairs, was being undertaken. The greater the scale of the new building, the more it would demand special administration. Thus, at Westminster, the rebuilding of the nave became known as the *novum opus*, in charge of a special keeper, or *custos*,<sup>2</sup> and at Hereford a particular part of the building was administered by a vicar-choral as "clerk of the works of the new cloister."<sup>3</sup> At York, Wells and Exeter, the fabric of the cathedral church was the special concern of an official other than the sacrist, called the *custos fabricae* or *custos ecclesiae*. Such officials were appointed by and responsible to the Chapter.<sup>4</sup> At Wells, at least, the appointment was

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the sacrist's duties at Durham, see *Durham Account Rolls* (Surtees Soc.), III, x-xvii, for his accounts, *ibid.*, II, 372-419. On the importance of the sacrist at Ely, see Chapman, I, 9, 23.

<sup>2</sup> At times the sacrist was *custos novi operis*, but it does not appear that he was always so, see Rackham, pp. 39 n and 46. At Ely, Alan of Walsingham, the sacrist, took charge of the new work, the re-erection of the great central tower which had collapsed in 1322, and presented separate accounts for that and for his other work. The separation, however, was not quite rigid, see Chapman, I, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, pp. 267-270.

<sup>4</sup> In 1355 the Bishop of Worcester claimed the appointment of the sacrist, a claim the Chapter was unwilling to admit. Simon Crumpe, then sacrist, was appointed cellarer. The Bishop ordered that Crumpe should not be removed while giving good service *ad expeditionem fabricae*; he might continue to act as cellarer until another was provided "which we hope will be soon," see Wilson, *Worcester Liber Albus*, pp. 271-272, 277-278. At Ely both Bishop and Chapter were concerned in the appoint-

annual, but there is evidence that the same man might hold office for a number of years. Richard Pomerey was keeper of the fabric in 1488-1489 and his reappointment is recorded for nearly every year following down to 1513-1514, so that he probably held office for a quarter of a century at least. At York also the office was several times held for a period of years: John Appleton, who was *custos fabricae* in 1433, served in the same capacity in 1441-1442, and possibly retained office during the whole of the intervening period.

There does not appear to be extant any very detailed description of the functions of the *custos fabricae* and of measures for his control,<sup>1</sup> but a general description of his office may be given, based upon the Fabric Rolls. In the first place, it was his duty to see that the revenues set apart for the fabric were duly collected and received, a business that might present great difficulty in the Middle Ages, when, owing to a variety of causes, prompt and complete payment was by no means general. An instance of slackness in collecting fabric funds occurred at Westminster when Peter Combe was sacrist and keeper of the new work, i.e. the nave, at the end of the fourteenth century. Ralph Tonworth, his successor in both capacities, inherited a deficit of more than £150 and left on record his conviction that this was partly due to Combe's lack of proper diligence in collecting sums due to the fabric.<sup>2</sup> John Whetehamstede, Abbot of St. Alban's, attempted to prevent similar slackness in his own abbey by laying down a rule that his master of the works was not, of his own authority, to allow relaxation or diminution of sums due. Secondly, the *custos fabricae* paid for materials and labour used on the fabric. Negotiation with the suppliers of both might be left, wholly or partly to others, but considerable diligence might be necessary even then in order to see that the stipulated quantities of

ment of the sacrist, neither side having power to appoint without the other, see Chapman, I, Appendix D, where the question is authoritatively elucidated.

<sup>1</sup> Rules, including directions concerning the office of *magister operum*, were made by John Whetehamstede, Abbot of St. Alban's, in 1429-1430. The master of the works was to see to such repairs, within and without the church, as were not within the competence of other obedientiaries. A list of rents constituting the income of the office is given—these were to be collected by the master of the works and deposited in the common chest already provided for in the Abbot's rules. Out of the proceeds whatever repairs were required by decency were to be carried out under the supervision of the master of the works and with the sanction of the guardians of the common chest, into which any surplus was to be restored. See *Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Rolls Series), I, 279 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Rackham, p. 45 n. "quos tamen P. Combe colligere potuisset si debitam diligentiam ad hoc fecisset."

materials were actually received and that wages and stipends were paid in accordance with contracts and agreements. Such diligence was not always exercised. So much appears from the record of an inquiry in 1345, into the deficiencies of the fabric of York Minster and its custody.<sup>1</sup> The following excerpt shows some of the ways in which the building and the Fabric Fund might suffer by negligence:—

Item, concerning the expenses of the fabric [name not given] said that he believes the masons received more than was due to them and excessive salaries, and the same of other workmen, as Nicholas de Pykeryng, it is said, received more than his due.

Item, concerning the paying of wages: whereas payment is accustomed to be made fortnightly, it is sometimes put off to the month, and even further on occasion. . . . Item, he says that he once paid Roger de Hirton, mason of the same fabric, his wages for nearly a whole fortnight though he was absent all the time and did not work. Item, concerning money paid for potatoes [nothing in the printed text].

Item, be it noted that, as regards the church fabric, he says that alienation of timber, stone and lime has often occurred, and he does not know where . . . . The master of the masons appeared on January 11th. . . . Item, he says that wood, stone, lime, mortar and so on are often alienated: and he says that, as regards alienation of stone, more evils arise from the quarry and that at home nothing suitable for the fabric is carried away.

The numbers employed at York, and the quantities of material necessary, may have been larger than those required for most ecclesiastical building operations in mediæval England, and, even with a sub-keeper of the works to help, the administration was perhaps more than the *custos*, who had other duties to perform, could easily carry on. It is probable, however, that it was the continuity of the works from generation to generation, rather than their scale, that led to slackness. Enthusiasm and efficiency in the Middle Ages, as at other times, and in building as in other activities, were apt to be spasmodic, to burn brightly for a few years, under the inspiration given by a new and large undertaking, and then to grow cold with the passing of time and the accumulation of difficulties. In other building activities, extending over shorter periods, enthusiasm and efficient control probably sufficed to get the undertaking completed. The building of the Adderbury chancel in 1408-1418 by New College seems to have been effectively supervised: John Berewyk, who was in charge of the work,

<sup>1</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 161-164.

had to produce his day-book and tallies at the audit of his accounts by the College, and the financial supervision seems to have become stricter as the amount spent increased: officials of the College resided, when necessary, for weeks or even months at Adderbury, in order to see that the work was effectively and economically carried on.<sup>1</sup> Merton College, also, seems to have had in Thomas Edwards, *supervisor operis* in 1448-1450, an industrious official who made journeys in person to collect money, to buy stones and to agree with masons.<sup>2</sup>

The keeper of the fabric, or of the works, being especially treasurer of the Fabric Fund, exercised a control mainly financial and his authority would not, ordinarily, extend to technical and architectural details. These were the business of the master mason, sometimes called master of the fabric.<sup>3</sup> A number of contracts, under which such master masons were engaged, have survived and serve to make the status of the master mason fairly clear. He was engaged by the Dean and Chapter,<sup>4</sup> sometimes for a period of years, in which case his remuneration might be on a piece-work basis,<sup>5</sup> and he might be required to supply some materials and carriage and to complete his work by a specified time,<sup>6</sup> sometimes for life, in which case he received a yearly stipend and was often assigned or provided with a house.<sup>7</sup> In some instances the master mason was required to give all his time to the fabric and had an apprentice, or successive apprentices, who, no doubt, had a chance of succeeding him.<sup>8</sup> In other instances the constant attention of the master mason was not necessary, and he could work elsewhere when not required by the authorities to advise or supervise. His remuneration, in such a case, was usually an annual fee plus payment at an agreed rate for every day or week that he was present and at work on the fabric. Whether he was appointed for a term of years or for life, the office of the master mason was considered one of dignity, as a sign of which he received annually gloves or a robe,

<sup>1</sup> *Adderbury*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>2</sup> His accounts are printed in Thorold Rogers, *Oxford City Documents*, pp. 314 *seq.*, and in his *Hist. Agric. and Prices*, III., 720 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Historical MSS. Commission, Wells Dean and Chapter MSS.*, I., 220, 222, 267.

<sup>4</sup> A. H. Thompson, "Cathedral Builders," *History*, July, 1925.

<sup>5</sup> Rogers, *Oxford City Documents*, p. 329.

<sup>6</sup> As in the contract of John de Middleton, 1398 (*Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptorum Tres*, pp. clxxx-clxxxii).

<sup>7</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, p. 166.

<sup>8</sup> On master masons' apprentices, see p. 165 below.

or money instead, and honourable maintenance daily, similar privileges being allowed to his *garcio*. In some instances also, when a master mason was appointed for life, provision was made for his maintenance in old age or infirmity.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of the master mason no doubt varied with that of the fabric to which he was attached and the number of men employed upon it. On a large fabric, a new building being roofed or a building containing much wood, his importance might be rivalled and at times even surpassed by that of the master carpenter. The master mason of a cathedral fabric was, however, a very skilled workman: his office required, for its effective discharge, a capacity to make plans and, perhaps, elevations, ability to compute quantities of materials and work and to direct the labour of numbers of men. Indeed, it is possible that some of the administrative work for which the *custos operum* took responsibility was actually done by the *magister cementariorum*. At least occasionally the master mason was concerned with the financial side of the fabric: Robert Giffard, Canon of Wells, amerced for incontinence in 1265, was ordered to pay 60s. to the fabric, the money to be delivered to the master workman;<sup>2</sup> at Exeter, in 1300, the master mason was one of the two *custodes operis*, and it was his duty to keep a counter-roll of the building account.<sup>3</sup> The master mason also, probably, had a great deal to do with the hiring and dismissing of workmen: Robert Janyns, master mason at Merton College in 1448-1449, had his expenses paid while going to Sydeley on business concerned with the hiring of a mason;<sup>4</sup> expenses on travel in search of masons were also paid at Adderbury in 1413<sup>5</sup> and at York in 1470.<sup>6</sup> At York, after the investigation of 1345, it was ordered that no one, except the master of the masons, should interfere with them, either to promote or to dismiss them.<sup>7</sup> The regulations for the masons,<sup>8</sup> drawn up by the Chapter and interpreted by the Chapter in all doubtful points, make his position fairly clear. The subject, however, is discussed in Chapter III. in connection with the governance of the lodge,<sup>9</sup> and need not be considered further here.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 96 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical MSS. Commission, Wells MSS.*, I., 134.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop and Prideaux, *Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Rogers, III., 732.

<sup>5</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, 73, 74.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171 seq.

<sup>7</sup> *Adderbury*, 65.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 61 below.

## C. MUNICIPAL BUILDING.

Less is known about municipal building in stone than about either royal or ecclesiastical works, since the boroughs were less active in this matter, and surviving records pertaining to their enterprises do not appear to be very numerous. Just as houses were commonly of timber in the Middle Ages, so no doubt, townhalls and guildhalls were often of the same material. In not a few instances, the scale of building would be small enough to allow the work to be carried out by a contractor, whose detailed accounts would be very unlikely to survive, if indeed he kept any at all. In London in a single year—1332—we find traces of three different systems of carrying out constructional work.<sup>1</sup> (i) The system of direct labour and direct purchase of materials, as in the case of the repair of St. Botolph's wharf, when £27 12s. 8½d. were spent in wages, materials, etc. (ii) The system by which the materials were bought direct and the labour was hired through master craftsmen, as in the case of the repair of the Guildhall Chapel, when 5½ marks were paid to John de Rokele for freestone and two sums of £6 17s. 0d. and 37s. 2d. were paid to Master Thomas of Canterbury, mason, and a sum of 20s. to Master William de Hurlee, carpenter.<sup>2</sup> (iii) The system by which a lump sum was handed over to certain persons to carry out some particular work, as in the case of the repair of the city wall, when a sum of £40 was paid to Henry de Seccheford and Edmund Cosyn for the purpose. Seccheford at the time was Chamberlain of the Guildhall, whilst Cosyn three years previously had been elected (together with a certain Thomas de Leyne) "to receive the money arising out of murage . . . and to spend it as they think best on the repair of the city walls." How they discharged their duties we do not know; there exists, however, in the Guildhall a fine series of records relating to London Bridge, which throw considerable light on the administration in the fourteenth and later centuries of an important public work maintained and supervised by the city authorities, an undertaking which it is thus possible to compare with those carried on for the Crown and the Church. How far London Bridge may be regarded as a typical municipal enterprise cannot, in the present

<sup>1</sup> See Riley, pp. 186, 187, and *Cal. Letter-Book E.*, pp. 237, 270, 273.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas of Canterbury and William de Hurlee were no doubt the same as the King's mason and King's carpenter of those names, who were employed at Westminster Abbey in 1326, and subsequent years. (See Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, pp. 189 seq.)

paucity of records, be determined: but if it is not typical of what town authorities usually did, it is an instance of what, at times, they could do.

The existing accounts<sup>1</sup> do not, unfortunately, go back to the erection, in the twelfth century, of the stone bridge which took the place of the earlier wooden bridge on or near the same site. They commence with a series of seven parchment rolls which give an account of income and expenditure under certain main heads for periods of twelve months, from 1381 to 1398, and continue with a number of books,<sup>2</sup> which, starting in 1404, give in great detail the weekly expenditure on wages and purchases, in much the same fashion as the accounts relating to the building of Eton College. From these rolls and books, together with frequent references to the bridge in the *Letter-Books* and other records, it is possible to form a fairly clear picture of the way in which the bridge was managed and, in part, to reconstruct its history. Without pursuing that in detail, it will suffice to say that in the earlier period the Crown was concerned in the management and sometimes gave great assistance in raising money, though at others, when the properties of the bridge were in Queen Eleanor's hands, the fabric appears to have been neglected. By 1281, however, and possibly earlier, the city was in control, and the accounts we have referred to contain nothing to suggest that its responsibility was shared. The revenues were obtained partly from tolls exacted on goods carried over the bridge and ships passing beneath it, partly from bequests and charitable contributions, and mainly from the rents of property, especially in the Stocks Market. The officers to whose charge the bridge was committed were the two wardens, elected—at least from 1404 onwards—annually on 21st September: though eligible for re-election they were not to hold office for more than two years consecutively, but this limitation was withdrawn in 1406 and there is evidence to show that they were often re-elected and to suggest that some of them were in office for relatively long periods. Their duties, for which they received a reward of £10 per annum each, were to take charge of the buildings and other properties of the bridge, to use the revenues for maintenance of the fabric, to see that sufficient building

<sup>1</sup> For a study of these and the building work see *L.B.*

<sup>2</sup> We have not ascertained for how long these go on. We have examined them in detail from 1404 to 1418, and on some points, to the commencement of the eighteenth century.

materials and labour were provided at the lowest prices and without taking opportunities of profit for themselves, and, lastly, to keep accounts and present them for audit.<sup>1</sup> Their function was thus similar to that of a royal clerk or master of the works, but the enterprise of which they took charge differed from many royal works in being smaller in scale and more continuous, since they were chiefly concerned with maintenance and not with new construction. For that reason the chief mason in their employment was of lower status than his counterpart at Caernarvon in the early fourteenth century or at Eton in the middle of the fifteenth. He received, in fact, the same wages as the other masons every week with an annual reward of 20s. in addition. Altogether the works were much more like those carried on in a normal period for a cathedral chapter than the larger and more urgent works of the Crown. With a relatively small staff and, ordinarily, a more or less regular routine, the relations between the workmen and the wardens were closer and probably much more friendly than those obtaining elsewhere. The management was not working against time with labour obtained by impressment, nor with labour so casual as others had to use. It is true that many of the masons whose names occur in the wage books stayed only for short periods, but others continued for years and some for more than a decade. Certainly from the workman's point of view the city must have appeared to advantage as an employer in the fifteenth century. It paid, year in year out, until 1441, the same rate of wages in winter and summer, with less deduction for feast days than we have found on any other building operation. Once, in 1425, it bowed to the royal authority and reduced the wages paid so as to bring them within the statutory limits, but within a year wages had returned to the old level and later wage statutes seem to have been ignored except the Act of 1514<sup>2</sup> which was observed for a few weeks in 1515. In comparison with the Crown, the city appears to have been generous in other ways as well: a very common entry in the Bridge Accounts is 4d. or 8d. for ale for the masons and other workmen, and on every Ash Wednesday 3s. 4d. was provided for the same purpose, enough to buy 20 gallons, shared among a dozen men or less.

<sup>1</sup> It may be added that they had in their care, besides the fabric of the Bridge, the services in the Bridge chapel, and the accounts show them as paying the stipends of the chaplains and buying the vestments and necessaries for ritual.

<sup>2</sup> 6 Henry VIII. c. 3. See p. 128 below.

The City of London, though it could keep its bridge in repair, was not able, out of its own revenues, to pay for the first erection nor for reconstruction and had to be assisted by donations from the wealthy and contributions from taxation. If the wealthiest city in the kingdom required such help, assistance must have been even more necessary in poorer places having an important bridge in their vicinity. Such was Rochester,<sup>1</sup> and it is worth noting that from time immemorial the maintenance of the bridge was a charge upon no less than fifty-three places, mostly on the Medway and its tributaries. The responsibility was distributed among them in proportion to their size, and they were arranged in groups, each being responsible for some particular part of the bridge: Hoo, e.g., was required to maintain two piers, while the onerous charge of keeping each of the central piers in repair was shared by twelve places. In 1382, nevertheless, the bridge was in such a state of disrepair as to be impassable; with the Crown's help it was made fit for traffic, tolls were charged on merchandise taken across it and alms were solicited for the construction of a new bridge, which was eventually made possible, largely by the munificence of Sir Robert Knolles and Sir John de Cobham. The new bridge, completed in 1392, was administered by two wardens, annually elected by the men of the places responsible for maintaining the old bridge. Their functions were similar to those of the Wardens of London Bridge and the revenues at their disposal were of very much the same kind, rents from the bridge estate, tolls and pious contributions. As in London, weekly memoranda were kept and annual accounts prepared for audit; it is not clear, however, to whom these accounts were presented, but there existed a body (consisting perhaps of representatives of the places and corporations electing the wardens) referred to at least once as "the commonalty of the Bridge." Some entries in the accounts suggest that the wardens at Rochester were, like those in London, kindly employers: from 1435 onwards, e.g., they provided a meal of fish and wine for the servants of the bridge on Maundy Thursday, but we do not know whether they were equally liberal in the payment of wages. As in London, the bridge employed a chief mason, but we cannot be sure of his status. Only one of the wardens is known to have been a mason,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We have not examined the records of this Bridge, and what follows is based on the admirable account in M. Janet Becker, *Rochester Bridge, 1387-1856*.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Yevele, Warden in 1377, 1382 and 1394, is the only instance we know of in London.

which suggests that no special architectural knowledge was felt to be necessary at ordinary times, though, when a problem arose, expert advice was sought.

Just as the importance of the London and Rochester bridges for travellers and trade necessitated royal inquiry and assistance when local effort was not sufficient, so also the strategic importance of town walls led to the Crown being concerned in their maintenance. That was also a vital matter in periods of disturbance for the townsmen themselves, but there is evidence that in times of peace they allowed the walls to fall into disrepair and saved themselves expense. Some towns could not easily procure durable stone; others were faced with a problem arising out of their own growth, which made it necessary to include within a new wall populous quarters outside the old one. The cost of such fortifications was sometimes met largely by an assessment or collection locally, as for instance, at Beverley,<sup>1</sup> in 1409-1410. There the work was carried out in brick, doubtless cheaper than stone, and has been estimated as costing the equivalent of about £2000 in pre-war money, an expenditure made possible by the accumulation of balances in previous years, by spending less on other work such as paving, and by gifts and legacies in addition to the collection. Elsewhere it was frequently necessary for funds to be obtained by tolls on merchandise sold in the town. In 1327 tolls were imposed in Newcastle-upon-Tyne,<sup>2</sup> to be gathered for seven years, for the repair and maintenance of the walls, and in 1334 Edward II., when staying in the town, is said to have carried on the work. Later instances of royal assistance were the permission given to the mayor, in 1386, to impress workmen and an annuity of £20 given by Henry VIII. in 1527 for the maintenance of the walls and the bridge. Northampton<sup>3</sup> was granted permission to levy tolls in 1224 and 1251, and again in 1301, probably for a new wall of wider circuit. By 1378 the wall was in a defective state and nearly all the inhabitants were required to contribute to its repair. York,<sup>4</sup> whose fortifications were of special importance to the north of England, was on several occasions assisted by the

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Leach, "The Building of Beverley Bar," *East Riding Antiquarian Society Transactions*, IV., 26 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Brand, *History and Antiquities . . . of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1789), I., 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of the Borough of Northampton*, II., 427 seq.

<sup>4</sup> T. P. Cooper, *York: the Story of its Walls, Bars and Castles*, especially pp. 85-92.

Crown to maintain them, as, for instance, in 1221, when Henry III. remitted £100 of the farm of the borough in order that the walls might be repaired, but here also the funds appear to have been obtained chiefly from tolls. A grant of murage was made in 1226 and there were no fewer than eleven other grants between 1284 and 1391. On the first occasion the Dean and Chapter of the Minster were required to pay, but without setting up a precedent; in 1340 they were declared exempt, as the Abbot of St. Mary's had been in 1334.

We have, unfortunately, little evidence to show exactly how the repair of walls and the erection of municipal buildings were administered. The accounts for the building of Beverley Bar are those of William Rolleston and eleven others, *custodes communitatis ville Beverlaci*, who bought the materials and hired the necessary labour directly, no master mason<sup>1</sup> or architect being named in the accounts. In much the same way previous keepers of the town bought stone and paid workmen for the paving of its streets.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, to judge by the Fabric Roll for 1410-1411,<sup>3</sup> the municipal authorities of Norwich placed the chamberlains, Thomas Ocle and John Billagh, in charge of the building of the Guildhall: they received the money collected, purchased stone, timber and other necessaries, and hired what labour was required. A mason called John Marwe was frequently employed: we know, from other sources, that he was a master mason capable of taking a fairly large contract, but he does not appear to have been employed either as master mason or as contractor, during the period of the Fabric Roll, on Norwich Guildhall, being paid the ordinary mason's rate of 6d. per day for himself and 4d. for his servants, no extra reward being mentioned in the accounts.<sup>4</sup>

In other instances, however, instead of administering

<sup>1</sup> William Rolleston is once referred to as *mason* but this is probably a slip for *merchant* or *mercator*, as he is elsewhere described. He was evidently a dealer in materials, who supplied bricks, rafters and lead.

<sup>2</sup> In 1334 and 1407. The Keepers' Accounts are printed, though not in their entirety, in G. Poulson, *Beverlac* (London, 1829, 2 vols), Vol. I., pp. 118 *seq.*, 171-172. The accounts for the paving of Shrewsbury in 1260-1270, edited by the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater, have been printed in *Transactions Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, 1907, pp. 193 *seq.* They show the receipts, at various gates of the town, and the expenditure on stone, carriage and labour, week by week but do not indicate exactly who was in charge of the work. None of the paving, apparently, was let out on contract.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Howlett, "A Fabric Roll of Norwich Guildhall" (*Norfolk Archæology*, XV., 164 *seq.*). It is noteworthy that the corporation had power to press both citizens and strangers for the work at that period.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 103 below.

the work themselves, the municipal authorities contracted to have the new building done or old work maintained for them. The Chester authorities in 1342 agreed to pay John de Helpston, *cimentarius*, £100 for the erection of a tower and a specified amount of walling, he finding the materials and remaining in the city until the work should be completed. In the later sixteenth century two masons of the same city undertook to keep the walls in repair, finding stone, sand, lime and labour, for 40s. per annum.<sup>1</sup> An instance of a relatively large operation let out to contract occurs in the history of Norwich, the surveyor and treasurers of which in 1432 entered into an agreement<sup>2</sup> with John Marwe, freemason and citizen of Norwich, whereby he was to build a new quay, in return for £53 6s. 8d. paid him in instalments as the work proceeded. Marwe, who was probably the same as the mason of that name employed more than twenty years earlier on the Guildhall, was to provide "almaner werkmanship and mater and al othir thyngs that to the seyde kaye xal gon" and the city to provide for him and his men "an hous to werkyn in." In this instance Marwe was responsible not only for the masonry but also for the timbering: whether he sublet that part of his contract to a carpenter or wright or dealt with it directly, we do not know.

In the instances so far given the authorities either directly administered the work or let out the whole of it to contract. There is, however, at least one instance of an operation being partly let to contract and partly carried out on the direct labour plan, an instance which also shows the members of a borough acting as trustees for an undertaking paid for by the Bishop of Lincoln, namely, the rebuilding of Newark Bridge in 1486 after its destruction by a great flood on the Trent.<sup>3</sup> The bishop, who was lord of the town, was to find £66 13s. 4d. for the work, to be delivered in instalments to John Philipot, alderman, and three others, so that "the said Alderman and inhabitants shuld take vpon them the ouersight charge and the maner of setting vp of the said brigg and to make couenaunt with a sufficient Carpenter and other workmen requisite." They accordingly agreed with Edward Downes, of Worksop, carpenter, with regard to the timber and construction of a bridge of twelve arches of specified dimensions, for which he was to receive £40

<sup>1</sup> Morris, *Chester in Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns*, pp. 244-245.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, XXXV., 34 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Clark, *Lincoln Diocese Documents (E.E.T.S., 1914)*, pp. 256-259.

altogether. With the remainder of the money the "alderman and his brethren" were to pay for the carriage of timber and other materials and for the construction of a "myghty stonewerke" at each end of the bridge. Since nothing is said about this part of the work being let out to contract, the alderman and his colleagues probably intended to construct it themselves.

#### D. PRIVATE BUILDING.

Though there is much information to be gleaned from household accounts, estate records and occasional surviving contracts, we know less, of necessity, about the administration of private building than we do about the administration of works executed for the Crown and the Church, since the mutation and decay of families and the loss or dispersion of their muniments have left us with fewer and less available records of the building work done for them. It is clear enough that in some instances the work was carried out by building contractors, some of them operating on a large scale, such as William Sharnhale, who, in 1382, received £270 10s. 4d. in part payment of £456, for work done for Sir John Cobham at Cowling Castle.<sup>1</sup> In others, the administration was very similar to that prevailing on royal and ecclesiastical works already described. It may be illustrated from the accounts<sup>2</sup> relating to the building of Kirby Muxloe Castle in the years 1480-1484, commenced by William, Lord Hastings, the friend and favourite of Edward IV. and carried on, after his execution in 1483, by his widow, whom Richard III. allowed to keep her husband's property. The chief officer in charge of the work was Roger Bowlott, Hasting's local agent or steward: he, with an associate, Ralph Petche, kept the accounts, made purchases and hired and paid the workmen. He had a works office (*fabrica*) where, no doubt, he drew up his accounts and made his computations, using for that purpose a board covered with green cloth (the cost of which is charged in his accounts) and marked out in

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Cantiana*, II., 95 seq. Sharnhale was not the only mason contractor employed. Thomas Crompe and Laurence Attwode undertook the erection of "toute la graunde porte del outerwarde" in 1382, and Crompe was paid £6 13s. 4d. in 1385 for other work. William Bestcherche was paid for masonry in 1384 and Thomas Wrek, or Wrewk, £14 6s. 8d. in 1379 and £20 in 1381. The receipt of this sum was acknowledged in his name by the famous Master Henry Yevele, who also certified the work done by Sharnhale and, perhaps, acted as surveyor or consultant for the building as a whole.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by A. Hamilton Thompson, in *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archæological Society*, XI., 193 seq.

columns in much the same way as that used at the royal exchequer. While Bowlott concerned himself with the work done elsewhere by a *magister operacionum* or *custos fabricae*, the technical and architectural matters were the care of John Couper, the master mason. He probably lived at Tattershall, where there is a castle of slightly earlier date very similar in some respects to Kirby Muxloe, and may have been the master mason of the church there: it is also possible that he served his apprenticeship and worked for a short time as a journeyman at Eton College<sup>1</sup> some years before being put in charge at Kirby Muxloe. It is evident from the accounts that he did not remain permanently at the works, but came and went, with his apprentice, as the work required and his occasions permitted. His wage, while at Kirby Muxloe, was 4s. per week. In his absence, no doubt, his place was taken by the warden of the masons at 3s. 4d. per week, as against 6d. a day paid to other workmen of the same craft. Couper's status, we incline to believe, was similar to that of John Clifford, the chief mason of London Bridge, or perhaps a little higher.

An alternative system would be for the owner of the building to be his own master of the works and accountant. We have not, so far, come across a mediæval instance of this, but an Elizabethan one is known, in Sir William More, whose accounts for the building of Loseley Hall, near Guildford in Surrey, have been preserved.<sup>2</sup> Upon this work he spent, between 1561 and 1569, over £1660. None of the work, so far as we can tell from the accounts, was let out to contract, but More himself bought the materials and hired the workmen, by the day, week, month or, more rarely, the year, the majority being paid only partly in money and having their board provided. It is not clear whether any of the masons employed had a similar status to Couper at Kirby Muxloe, but one of them is referred to as "my mason," and was paid at 10d. per day, and at one time 1s. per day, against the 9d., 8d. or 6d. per day paid to others.

<sup>1</sup> *Eton*. See p. 98 below.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Archæologia*, XXXVI., 284 seq.

Chancel in the early fifteenth and at Kirby Muxloe Castle in the late fifteenth century are examples of this method on a small scale.

(ii) The semi-permanent or continuous type of organisation, involving a more or less regular staff of artisans under master masons and master carpenters. Most cathedrals, as well as important bridges, such as London Bridge and Rochester Bridge, had building departments of this kind associated with them.

Where building operations were very protracted and alternated between periods of vigorous activity and relative quiescence, as at Westminster Palace and Abbey,<sup>1</sup> it is difficult to say from the more easily available records whether, when big extensions were undertaken, the small building department of the quiescent periods was enlarged, or whether it was either (a) entirely replaced by an *ad hoc* organisation responsible for all building for the time being, or (b) supplemented by an *ad hoc* organisation responsible for the big extension, whilst the permanent building department was still in charge of repairs and maintenance. At Canterbury in the early fifteenth century there is evidence which points to the regular building department being supplemented by a separate organisation during a period of active building about 1430.<sup>2</sup>

Although we have described one type of organisation as *ad hoc*, or especially set up for the erection of a particular building, such organisation in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was in no sense improvised, whatever may have been the state of affairs at an earlier period. So far as we can judge, the *ad hoc* type of organisation was based on experience gained at similar undertakings carried out in other places; those immediately responsible for erecting a big building were well acquainted with the steps which should be taken so that the actual building operations might begin, though in each particular case certain parts of the organisation, more especially those relating to the securing of adequate supplies of materials, had to be adapted to local circumstances.

<sup>1</sup> In some years the sums expended exceeded £1200 in the second half of the thirteenth century, whilst in some of the early years of the fourteenth century they were less than £100. (See Accounts printed in Scott.)

<sup>2</sup> See *Register of Prior of Canterbury* (Tanner MSS., No. 165, in Bodleian Library), which Mr. V. H. Galbraith has very kindly examined for us, and W. Cunningham, *Notes on the Organisation of the Masons' Craft in England*, pp. 2, 3.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE ORGANISATION OF MEDIÆVAL BUILDING OPERATIONS.

EARLY mediæval stone buildings, as has already been pointed out, were generally erected either for the King or the Church. That many of these buildings were large is clearly shown by the castles, abbeys and cathedrals which have survived to the present day, whether in good preservation or in ruins. The size of the building, however, is not necessarily an indication of the size of the building operations. On the one hand, the building may have been erected piece-meal over a long period of years by relatively small numbers of workmen engaged partly on maintenance and repair work and partly on reconstructions and extensions. Where this method was adopted, as with cathedrals, due possibly to inadequacy of financial resources or to scarcity of masons, the effect was to cause a small but relatively permanent body of artisans to be carried on the establishment of the Chapter, a body of artisans which could be expanded or contracted from time to time according to requirements. On the other hand, the building may have been erected more or less at one effort, as a single scheme, involving the simultaneous employment of large numbers of workers. In these cases, the scale of operations might be greatly increased by the very substantial amount of subsidiary work which those responsible for the building would have to undertake, more especially where the building was in a fairly isolated position. Thus, we have two principal types of organisation in connection with the more important early stone buildings:—

(i) The *ad hoc* type of organisation especially set up for the erection of a castle or of an abbey. The organisations at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-1280, at Beaumaris and Caernarvon Castles in the early fourteenth century, and at Eton College in the fifteenth century are examples of this method on a large scale, whilst the organisations at Adderbury



## SUPPLIES OF BUILDING MATERIALS.

(i) *Stone*.—The first point to be settled after the selection of the site, and possibly even before the final selection of the site, was where the building materials were to be obtained from, especially the stone, and to a lesser extent the timber (for scaffolding, roofing and panelling), the lime and the sand (for mortar), and in some cases the brick. The solution of the problem, so far as stone was concerned, in the case of most of the larger buildings and many smaller ones, appears to have been that those immediately responsible for the erection of the building opened up and worked a quarry or quarries. Thus at Vale Royal Abbey<sup>1</sup> one quarry, at Beaumaris Castle<sup>2</sup> two quarries, and at Caernarvon Castle<sup>3</sup> four quarries were worked by those responsible for the respective buildings. The Chapter of York Minster<sup>4</sup> in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had quarries at Thevesdale, Huddleston (of which they took an 80 years' lease in 1386), Stapleton and Bramham. Eton College in 1450, in addition to local quarries at Windsor, worked a quarry at Huddleston, in Yorkshire, next to that of York Minster.<sup>4</sup> In all these cases the quarries were relatively substantial undertakings in themselves. Thus at Vale Royal Abbey at one period in 1278 as many as 48 quarriers were employed, though during the three years, 1278-1280, the average number was 15. At Beaumaris Castle 9 quarrymen were employed in 1316-1317, 6 in 1319-1320, and 6 in 1330. At Caernarvon Castle quarrying operations were on a bigger scale: 35 quarrymen were employed in October, 1304, and 33 in October, 1316. At Thevesdale quarry in 1400, the Chapter of York employed 2 quarriers throughout the year and 7 quarriers for part of the year. At Huddleston quarry in 1450, the Eton College authorities employed an overseer and 8 masons and scapplers. In some of these cases masons engaged on the building operations worked temporarily in the quarries,<sup>5</sup> but on the whole, at the larger operations there seems to have been a fairly clear dividing line between quarry workers and building workers. On the other hand, at smaller operations there was more interchange between building and quarrying; the quarrying appears to have been done, in part at least, by labourers who worked sometimes in the quarry digging stone and sometimes at the building site assisting the masons.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *V.R.*<sup>2</sup> *B. and C.*<sup>3</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 6, 13 n., 15, 40.<sup>4</sup> *Eton and W. and C.*, I., 397.<sup>5</sup> See *V.R.* and *B. and C.* The point is referred to more fully in the next chapter.<sup>6</sup> See *Adderbury, passim*, *K.M.*, *passim*, and *Bodmin, passim*.

In addition to obtaining stone from their own quarries, those responsible for building operations frequently supplemented these supplies by purchasing stone. Thus at York Minster, stone was bought occasionally,<sup>1</sup> at Adderbury the freestone was apparently all purchased from Taynton, whilst at Eton College very large quantities of stone were bought from various places, freestone from Caen, Taynton and Merstham, and hardstone from Maidstone, Boughton and Farleigh. In other cases, possibly because the quantities used were not very great, e.g., on repair and maintenance jobs like Rochester Castle, Rochester Bridge and London Bridge, or possibly because conveniently placed quarries of suitable stone were not available, e.g., at Westminster and perhaps at Ely, most, if not all, stone required was purchased from quarries or dealers, and those responsible for the building operations did not add quarry management to their other duties. Thus at Westminster in 1253, large quantities of Caen stone and Reigate stone<sup>2</sup> were purchased and stone was also bought from the king's quarry. At Ely Cathedral in the early fourteenth century, much, if not all, of the stone was purchased from Barnack in Northamptonshire, a famous quarrying area in the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup>

When stone was purchased, in some instances at least, the selection was left in the hands of a mason. Thus in 1413-1414 Richard Winchcumbe, the master mason at Adderbury, was paid his travelling expenses to Taynton "re selection of stone."<sup>4</sup> In 1441-1442 William Hobbys, *cementarius*, was paid 6d. per day for 8 days for riding to the quarries at Upton and Freme "to choose and examine good stones called Cropston" for the repairs at Gloucester Castle. These stones, when chosen, were marked and scappled by the mason's *famulus*, paid at the rate of 4d. per day.<sup>5</sup> At Eton College in 1445-1446 William Chircheman, *lathomus*, was paid his expenses whilst at the quarry at Merstham for the provision of stone<sup>6</sup> and in 1448-1449 John

<sup>1</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, p. 34.<sup>2</sup> Scott, pp. 248, 249. A century later there was at least one quarry connected with Westminster; according to the Fabric Roll of 1357-1358 a sum of £6 was paid for "making a pit in the quarry for getting stone," whilst in the following Account we find "Expenses of two masons at the quarry for two weeks shaping and scappling stone—6s." In 1388 a rent of 66s. 8d. was paid for the quarry at Chalfdon [? Chaldon near Reigate], from which 440 loads of stone were carted to Battersea at 2s. per load.<sup>3</sup> Chapman, *passim*. The quarries at Barnack are said at one time to have belonged to the Abbey of Peterborough (Watson, *Building Stones*, p. 169).<sup>4</sup> *Adderbury*, p. 65.<sup>5</sup> *P.R.O. Exch. K.R.*, 473/18.<sup>6</sup> John Vady's Account, 1445-1446.

Denman, *lathomus*, was paid his travelling expenses to Huddleston quarry to arrange for a supply of stone.<sup>1</sup> The procedure was analogous to the selection of timber referred to in the next section.

(ii) *Timber*.—Even where stone was the main building material employed, considerable quantities of timber were required in the form of beams, poles, boards, etc., for scaffolds, floors, roofs, panels, and in the case of bridges and quays, for piles. Furthermore, in connection with large building operations, numerous temporary structures—houses, workshops, etc.—had to be erected, for which wood was very largely used. Boards and poles could often be bought ready from timber dealers or carpenters, more especially in the towns. Thus at Westminster, York, Ely, Caernarvon and Beaumaris sawn and prepared wood was purchased. On the other hand, at an isolated spot like Vale Royal Abbey, a “boarder,” with his fellows and servants was paid so much per hundred for making boards out of the king’s wood. Whenever big beams or joists were required, the practice appears to have been to select suitable trees, to negotiate for their purchase (if the wood did not belong to those for whom the building was being erected), and then to fell and prepare them. Thus at Beaumaris and Caernarvon from time to time carpenters were sent into the woods at Rhos, Llanrwst and Nant Conwy to fell trees and prepare big joists and large pieces of timber.<sup>2</sup> At Ely whole oak trees and fir trees were purchased, the sacrist, master carpenter and other workmen making various journeys for the selection and purchase of the timber, a considerable portion being bought at Chicksand in Bedfordshire.<sup>3</sup> At York Minster, too, many trees were purchased.<sup>4</sup> At Rochester Bridge the wardens, surveyor of the works or other servants of the bridge visited the neighbouring woods and purchased such elm trees as were required; in 1400 they purchased no fewer than 241 from 9 different owners for £6 8s. 7d. The wardens had then to hire labour to fell and prepare the trees and arrange for transport.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the wardens of St. Mary at Hill, London, who in 1525-1526 required timber for the roofing of two aisles, agreed with one Ballard, owner of a wood, to buy timber at the rate of 3s. per load, paying an extra 2s. to have their choice of the whole wood. The

<sup>1</sup> Roger Keys’ Account, 1448-1449. Both Chircheman and Denman worked for considerable periods at Eton as freemasons.

<sup>2</sup> *B. and C.*

<sup>4</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Chapman, II., 33.

<sup>5</sup> Becker, pp. 67-69.

carpenter was then sent to the wood to choose the more suitable trees and thereafter sawyers to fell the timber and saw it into planks, under the carpenter’s supervision. The planks were carried overland for 10 miles and then brought to London by river.<sup>1</sup>

(iii) *Lime*.—In some cases, as at Beaumaris, Caernarvon, York and Eton, those responsible for the building operations obtained limestone and burnt it to make the lime they required. In other cases, as at Vale Royal and Westminster, the authorities appear to have bought the lime ready for use. At the repair of Rochester Castle in 1368, the master of the works paid a lime burner for making and burning lime, the master of the works supplying the coal and the lime burner the chalk.<sup>2</sup> At Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1480-1484, large quantities of lime were purchased at the inclusive price of 3s. 4d. per load, including carriage, but on one occasion lime burners were paid for burning lime and transport was paid for separately.<sup>3</sup> At York Minster, on the average of the first six complete printed Fabric Rolls, 1½ per cent. of the total annual expenditure was incurred on lime. At Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-1280, and at Rochester Castle in 1368, the cost of lime (including carriage) was almost exactly 2½ per cent. of the total outlay; at Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1480-1484 it reached the surprisingly high figure of 21 per cent.<sup>4</sup>

(iv) *Sand*.—In several of the Building Accounts there is no reference to the cost of sand; presumably it could be dug practically on the spot by the labourers whose wages were charged to the general account. At Caernarvon in 1316-1317, and at Beaumaris in 1330, there are references to carting sand, and at Rochester Castle in 1368 to the purchase of a sieve for sifting sand and lime. At York, however, sand had to be purchased, the outlay being approximately one-sixth of that incurred on lime. Sand was also purchased at Westminster in 1408.<sup>5</sup> At Kirby Muxloe a considerable outlay was incurred on sand, labourers being paid ½d. per load for digging sand and carters 2d. per load for the carriage of that part which was not transported in the builders’ wains.

<sup>1</sup> *Mediæval Records of a London City Church (E.E.T.S.)*, pp. 334-338.

<sup>2</sup> See *B. and C.*, *F.R.Y.M.*, *Eton*, *V.R.*, Scott and *Rochester*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *K.M.*, pp. 231, 232, 267, 304.

<sup>4</sup> At Vale Royal £39 12s. 9d. out of £1526 10s. 10d.; at Rochester (including the coal for burning), £29 19s. 8d. out of £1203 15s. 4d.; at Kirby Muxloe, £210 6s. 10d. out of £993 17s. 6d.

<sup>5</sup> Scott, p. 260.

(v) *Bricks*.—Though bricks are, strictly speaking, outside the province of a book on masonry, a brief reference may be made to them as they were not infrequently used in conjunction with stone. There appear to have been three ways in which supplies could be obtained. One way was for those responsible for the building to produce their own bricks. Thus, at the erection of Eton College, a piece of ground was hired at Slough in 1442 for 20s. a year and a brick kiln built upon it. Between 1442 and 1451 some two and a half million bricks were supplied to the College.<sup>1</sup> A second way was to pay for the labour and material and to have the bricks burnt at a kiln belonging to a brickmaker. This appears to have been the case at Kirby Muxloe, the expenses incurred upon "John Eles Kylene" being set out in the accounts.<sup>2</sup> The situation of the kiln is not indicated but 5d. or 6d. per 1000 was paid for carriage.<sup>3</sup> A third way was to purchase the bricks, as was done, for example, at the erection of Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540, where approximately 150,000 bricks were used. The price paid was generally 4s. 4d. per 1000.<sup>4</sup>

#### TRANSPORT OF BUILDING MATERIALS.

Apart from the selection of suitable stone, probably the most important problem in connection with the supply of building materials was that of carriage. Even where the materials were nearly on the doorstep, the cost of land transport appears to have been a very serious item. The case of sand at Kirby Muxloe in 1480-1484, which cost  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per load to dig and 2d. per load to cart, has already been mentioned. At Vale Royal in the three years 1278, 1279, and 1280, 35,000 loads of stone were carted from the quarries at Edisbury some 4 or 5 miles to the site of the Abbey, the quarriers' wages amounting to £104 and the carters' remuneration to £347.<sup>5</sup> Timber which cost 13s. to fell and prepare in Llanrwst wood cost 55s. 6d. to transport by land and water to Beaumaris in 1330.<sup>6</sup> In 1368, at the repair of Rochester Castle, 2290 tons of Bocton and Maidstone stone, costing £119, were carried from Maidstone some dozen miles down the Medway to Rochester for 5d. per ton or

<sup>1</sup> *W. and C.*, I., 384, 385.

<sup>2</sup> *K.M.*, p. 307. At the rebuilding of Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1636, the Bursar paid £12 for the "use and earth" of an acre of brickland (*W. and C.*, I., 93).

<sup>3</sup> *K.M.*, pp. 228, 229, 307.

<sup>4</sup> *V.R.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sandgate*, pp. 235, 236.

<sup>6</sup> *B. and C.*

£47 14s. in all.<sup>1</sup> At York Minster cost of carriage was particularly serious, as all stone had to be carried by cart from the quarry to a river port,<sup>2</sup> thence by boat to York and finally by sled from the river to the Minster. In 1400 the wages paid to quarriers at Thevesdale amounted to £18 whilst the cost of carriage of stone to York amounted to £18 6s. 4d.; in 1403 the corresponding figures were £13 and £15 13s. 10d. and in 1415 £12 8s. and £22 7s. At Huddleston in 1415 quarriers' wages amounted to £9 14s. and cost of carriage of stone to York amounted to £21 13s. 4d.<sup>3</sup> In the case of Eton College in the middle of the fifteenth century, Huddleston stone worth about 12d. per load at the quarry, cost about 6s. 6d. per load to transport to Eton by cart, ship and barge; Caen stone cost about 5s. 4d. per load and Taynton stone 5s. per load for transport. Even relatively nearby stone from Merstham, worth 20d. per load at the quarry, cost 2s. 8d. per load to convey to Eton.<sup>4</sup>

In view of the high cost of transport, it is to be assumed that those responsible for building operations gave the problem of carriage very careful consideration. In some cases, they organised transport departments of their own, in other cases they hired men with carts and teams, or sailors with ships. So far as carting is concerned, the usual method appears to have been to hire carters with vehicles and teams as required, as no doubt in most cases the quantities of materials to be moved would be too variable to keep teams and carters steadily employed week by week and month by month.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, cases of this kind did occur. At Westminster, in 1351, the Sacrist had carts which carried stone from the water to the church free of cost to the building fund.<sup>6</sup> At Adderbury in 1414-1415, the Building Account under the

<sup>1</sup> *Rochester*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Tadcaster in the case of Thevesdale and Bramham, Wheldale in the case of Stapleton, and Cawood in the case of Huddleston. There seems to be a tradition, however, that the Bishop's Dyke was widened and straightened, and that stone was floated down it on rafts to Cawood (*V.C.H. York*, II., 377).

<sup>3</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*

<sup>4</sup> *Eton*.

<sup>5</sup> If it happened to be a royal job, carts and teams would no doubt be "pressed" into service; in other cases manorial tenants might be called upon to do the carting, in which event there might be little or no pay. Thus at the repair of Sheffield Castle in 1446-1447 we read in the Account: "And for the expenses of 120 persons with 60 waggons, and their draught oxen, coming to do boon work (*precaria*) and carrying limestone from Roche Abbey to Sheffield, as for bread, beer and other victuals given to them at the same time, 19s. 3½d." (*Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.*, II., 357).

<sup>6</sup> Scott, p. 256.

heading "Carts and other requisites A/c" shows purchases of straw for horses, of peas for horse fodder and of hay, and payments of 15s. for carter's salary for 9 months and 19s. 10d. for carter's commons for 9 months.<sup>1</sup> At Rochester in 1445, the bridge wardens purchased two oxen and a timber tug for £4 6s. 8d. in order to procure materials quickly on an occasion when the bridge broke.<sup>2</sup> At Kirby Muxloe Castle in December, 1480, when building operations were just commencing, two wains and sixteen oxen were purchased, and two wainmen engaged, each being paid 10d. a week for board and 5s. a quarter for salary. The wains were used for the carriage of roughstone and of sand and occasionally of wood.<sup>3</sup>

The more normal arrangement appears to have been to hire carters, carts and teams, either by the trip or by the day. At Vale Royal in 1278-1280, carts were hired by the trip, 2d. or 2½d. being usually paid for a one-horse cart and 3d. or 3½d. for a two-horse cart, for the journey from the quarry to the abbey, a distance of 4 or 5 miles. Not infrequently, according to the Building Account, a cart made 2 journeys per day and 12 journeys per week. The number engaged at any one time varied from 14 to 48, the average being 31. There were frequent changes amongst the carters; no fewer than 261 names appear on the pay sheets during the 36 months. A few of the carts were hired from masons employed on the building operations, but the majority were no doubt obtained by scouring the country for some distance around.<sup>4</sup> That is certainly what appears to have happened 250 years later at the erection of Sandgate Castle, when carting operations on a similarly large scale were called for to carry stone from the quarry to the castle. The carts came from places as far as 16 or 18 miles away such as Chart, Ashford, Old Romney, New Romney and Lydd. In the spring of 1540 no fewer than 110 different carts were used in a period of 4 weeks, the average number employed each day being 40. Most of the carts were hired for 16d. per day, but some engaged in the transport of timber and lime were paid at the rate of 2d. per mile for the ton load.<sup>5</sup>

At building operations where relatively little carting was required, as for example, at Beaumaris and Caernarvon (it

<sup>1</sup> *Adderbury*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Becker, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *K.M.*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the carts almost certainly belonged to manorial tenants of the Abbey; others very likely were obtained by purveyance, as Vale Royal was a royal work.

<sup>5</sup> *Sandgate*, p. 240.

being mostly a question of water transport there), the same carters appear to have been hired week after week. This also happened at Rochester Castle in 1368, when 4 carters with their own carts were hired for 176 working days each at 10d. per day and 4 other carters for 125½ days each at 8d. per day.<sup>1</sup> In cases where those responsible for the building operations had carts and teams of their own to do the regular work, carts and teams were nevertheless hired to do special jobs. Thus at Westminster, in 1388, carts were hired at 2s. a journey to carry stone from the quarry to Battersea.<sup>2</sup> At Adderbury in 1413 and 1414, the vicar, the bailiff and another carted most of the freestone from Taynton to Adderbury at a charge of 2s. 6d. per load, whilst two other men were paid for carting timber from the Forest of Wychwood to Adderbury.<sup>3</sup>

In what concerns water transport, which played a very important part in the carriage of heavy and bulky building materials in the Middle Ages, the usual arrangements appear to have been either to pay freight at so much per ton, or to hire a ship and sailors at so much per trip, though occasionally those responsible for building operations had their own boats. Thus, at the repair of Rochester Castle in 1368, £19 10s. were paid to Thomas Makerel and his fellows for freight for carrying 195 tons of Farleigh stone from Winchelsea to the said castle,<sup>4</sup> and many similar items of freight occur in the same Fabric Roll. At York in 1415, 108s. 4d. were paid to John Blakburn, "shipman," for carriage of Huddleston stone from Cawood to York, whilst in 1419 he received £6 10s. for carrying stone from Tadcaster to York.<sup>5</sup> In 1459-1460 the Eton College authorities paid John Perrison de Medilbourgh in Selandia, "Ducheman et schipman," £10 6s. 0½d. for carrying 47½ doliates of stone from Cawood to London.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, at Caernarvon the method of hiring ships was adopted, and we find in the first week of October, 1304, boats holding 20, 17 and 12 tons being hired for various trips. In addition there were four boats belonging to the Prince, the wages of the crews being charged to the Building Account. In 1320 some timber was carried from Trefriw to Beaumaris "in the King's Caernarvon barges." In other cases of timber being carried

<sup>1</sup> *Rochester*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Scott, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> The vicar and the bailiff (who was responsible for the building accounts) were paid for cartage, but presumably sent a man in each case to drive the cart, the same no doubt being true of the masons who hired out carts to the Master of the Works at Vale Royal Abbey.

<sup>4</sup> *Rochester*, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 34, 37.

<sup>6</sup> *Eton*.

from Trefriw to Beaumaris or Caernarvon, substantial sums were paid to David Da and Simon of Cardigan for "carrying." Two other cases of those responsible for building operations maintaining their own boats occur at London and Rochester. In 1350 the London Bridge wardens owned "one great boat and one small boat,"<sup>1</sup> whilst the Rochester Bridge wardens in 1450 not only owned boats but apparently built them themselves, the necessary shipwrights being engaged and sent into the woods to choose the timber required.<sup>2</sup>

#### DEALINGS IN BUILDING MATERIALS.

Where a permanent or semi-permanent works department was established in connection with the construction or repair of a big building, it was by no means uncommon for such a department to engage in trading operations and to dispose of surplus stocks of materials and of stores of various descriptions. Thus, in many of the York Minster Fabric Rolls we find receipts entered under the heading "sale of stores."<sup>3</sup> In ten rolls between 1399 and 1458 in which such receipts occur, they vary from £3 3s. 5d. to £28 2s. 7½d. and amount in all to £142 1s. 1½d. or, on the average, to £14 4s. 1d. per annum. Ashlar was sold to the City of York in 1433, stone to Kirkham Priory and to the Keeper of the Fabric of St. Sampson's, York, in 1444, and to the Keeper of Beverley Minster in 1456; timber was disposed of in 1404 and 1415, whilst lime, old images and glass were sold in 1399 and 1458. Similarly, the accounts of the keepers of the fabric at Wells<sup>4</sup> and Hereford<sup>5</sup> several times show receipts from the sale of stores as items of revenue. So also do the accounts for the building of Bodmin Church.<sup>6</sup> In the Eton College Computus Rolls, under the heading "foreign receipts," the revenue obtained from the sale of stores is shown. In 1443-1444 the foreign receipts amounted to £9 16s. 5d. and included £5 8s. for Caen freestone sold at London and smaller sums from the sale of tiles, lime, bark and "lop and crop" of felled trees. In 1444-1445 the foreign receipts were £9 10s. 11d. In 1448-1449 Caen stone was sold to the wardens of St. Bride's,

<sup>1</sup> Riley, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Becker, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 13, 25, 32, 49, 51, 55, 59, 62, 66, 70.

<sup>4</sup> Preserved for 1390-1391, 1457-1458, 1480-1481, 1492-1493, 1500-1501, 1505-1506, 1549-1560, and for later years (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Calendar MSS., Dean and Chapter of Wells*, Vol. II.).

<sup>5</sup> *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*: fabric accounts for 1290-1291 and 1412.

<sup>6</sup> *Bodmin*.

London, for £4 5s. 6d., whilst in 1449-1450, 18,000 bricks were sold at 5s. per 1000 and 10 quarters of lime at 16d. per quarter.<sup>1</sup>

In the fifteenth century, the Rochester Bridge wardens sold old boats, lead, bricks, wood and, above all, lime; they also obtained revenue from hiring out their boats.<sup>2</sup> At Westminster Abbey in 1356, 20s. were received from the cellarer of Westminster for stone sold to him for making a new furnace for lead and 40s. for stone sold and taken for the king's work at Windsor.<sup>3</sup> In 1444-1445 the clerk of the work at Sion sold Huddleston stone to Eton College at 6s. per doliate at London.<sup>4</sup>

Quite apart from the sale of surplus stores, there appears to have been a trade in second-hand building materials. As the scappling and cutting of stones were comparatively expensive processes, those responsible for building operations were quite willing to obtain dressed stone second-hand when it was feasible. Thus at the repair of Rochester Castle in 1368, stone from the doors, windows and chimneys of a house called "The Gore," near Upchurch, was used;<sup>5</sup> at Eton College in 1444-1445 some of the rag employed was the gift of the king, from the old walls of the Savoy Palace at London;<sup>6</sup> at Trinity College, Cambridge, materials from the great hall of Cambridge Castle are said to have been utilised,<sup>7</sup> though according to another authority they were granted to King's College<sup>8</sup> at an earlier date.

The use of second-hand building materials led from time to time both to theft of dressed stone and to illicit dealings in such stone. At Leicester several cases of theft and sale of stone from the town walls are entered in the Municipal Records; e.g., in January, 1292, Richard of Thorpe, Canon of the Abbey, pleaded mercy because he bought stone from the town wall from Robert of the Dovecote, foreknowing that it was from the town wall.<sup>9</sup> At London in 1310, a royal writ was issued for the punishment of certain persons

<sup>1</sup> *Eton*. For Computus Roll, 1449-1450, see p. 241 below.

<sup>2</sup> Becker, pp. 63, 64. We are informed by Dr. Helen Chew, the highest authority on the London Bridge Records, that the wardens also sold surplus materials and stores.

<sup>3</sup> Scott, p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> John Vady's Account, 1444-1445.

<sup>5</sup> *Rochester*, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> John Vady's Account, 1444-1445. Twopence a load was paid for carrying this stone to the waterside. In August, 1448, 4d. was paid for the carriage of a doliate of plaster of Paris from the house of Sir John Falstaff of London, knight, to the waterside (Roger Keys' Account, 26-27 Henry VI.).

<sup>7</sup> *W. and C.*, II., 450 n.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I., 323.

<sup>9</sup> Bateson, *Leicester*, I., 96, 217, 218.

who had deliberately broken the city wall and carried away the stone.<sup>1</sup> At York in 1344, this abuse was a cause of loss to the Chapter, whose timber, stone and lime vanished unaccountably.<sup>2</sup>

The more or less complete disappearance of many mediæval abbeys and castles bears witness to the legitimate or illicit use of second-hand building materials. Every stone of a great abbey like Vale Royal in Delamere Forest, Cheshire, has been removed and presumably utilised for the erection of walls and of other buildings, so that only by excavation has it been possible to find any traces of the abbey.<sup>3</sup> What happened on a great scale after the dissolution of the monasteries,<sup>4</sup> took place on a small scale at a much earlier date.

#### LODGES AND LIVING ACCOMMODATION.

Simultaneously with arrangements being made for securing a supply of stone, timber, etc., and for transporting these materials to the site of the building, steps would have to be taken to provide workshops and, in some cases at least, living accommodation for the masons. It so happens that the available Accounts relating to the building of Vale Royal Abbey are in respect of the first three years of the operations and that the first entry in January, 1277-1278, under the heading "for wages of carpenters," is a payment of 45s. for making lodges (*logias*) and dwelling-houses (*mansiones*) for the masons and other workmen. Other cases where information is available about the erection of lodges or workshops relate to Catterick Bridge in 1421 and to Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1481: cases of repairs to lodges occur at Beaumaris Castle in 1330, and at Westminster Abbey in 1413; casual references to lodges occur at Caernarvon Castle in 1316, at London Guildhall in 1337, at Canterbury Priory in 1429 and at Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540. By far the most comprehensive information about early lodges is contained in the Fabric Rolls of York Minster where the Masons' Ordinances for 1352, 1370 and 1408-1409, and a Lodge Inventory for 1399, have very fortunately survived. So far as living accommodation for masons is concerned, the Eton College Accounts for 1448-1449 are probably the most informative. In endeavouring to build up a picture

<sup>1</sup> Riley, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, p. 162, and p. 32 above.

<sup>3</sup> See Basil Pendleton, *Notes on the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, Vale Royal, Cheshire, with a brief account of Excavations done on the site of the Abbey Church in 1911 and 1912.*

<sup>4</sup> See p. 189 below.

of the lodge, both as a building and as an organisation, reference will be made to all these cases.<sup>1</sup>

(i) *Size of the Lodge.*—In June, 1279, 1400 boards were purchased for the erection of a new lodge at Vale Royal Abbey, whilst in April, 1280, a further 1000 boards were purchased for the erection of yet another lodge. About that time the average number of masons employed increased from 41 to 51, but there is nothing to show whether the new lodges erected in 1279 and 1280 were to replace the original lodges or whether they represented additional lodges. It would seem almost certain, however, that there were two or more lodges in existence at the same time at Vale Royal. Assuming that there were three, that would give an average of 17 masons to each, or approximately 14 if masons receiving less than 2s. a week were excluded on the assumption that they were layers.<sup>2</sup> At York Minster in 1412, the old lodge had accommodation for 20 masons and a second one which was then erected had accommodation for 12 masons.<sup>3</sup> At Westminster Abbey in 1413 there were two lodges on the repair of which a sum of 26s. 8d. was expended. There is no specific information concerning the size of these lodges, but it may be noted that in 1413 wages were paid to 20 regular and 4 casual masons.<sup>4</sup> In the Register of the Prior of Canterbury there is an entry in 1429 relating to 16 masons of the lodge, in addition to whom there were three apprentices.<sup>5</sup> Thus such evidence as is available would seem to point to a lodge normally accommodating from 12 to 20 masons.

(ii) *Purpose of the Lodge.*—At Vale Royal in 1278-1280, 6 barrowmen were paid for taking stones to be cut at the masons' lodge;<sup>6</sup> at Beaumaris Castle in 1330, timber was purchased for a tumble-down house *in which the masons ought to work*;<sup>7</sup> at London, in 1337, 23 unwrought stones and many other wrought stones lying in the lodge in the garden of the Guildhall (where the stones had presumably been wrought) were removed to the cellar;<sup>8</sup> in 1421, in the contract for the erection of Catterick Bridge, the trustees undertook to erect a wooden lodge *in which the masons should work.*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Except the Caernarvon reference in October, 1316, of sand being carried from the lodge of the King's masons to the new work of the quay, as this does not seem to throw any light on the problem of the lodge.

<sup>2</sup> *V.R.*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> Scott, p. 214.

<sup>5</sup> *V.R.*

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Letter-Book E.*, p. 304, and Riley, p. 195.

<sup>7</sup> *B. and C.*

<sup>8</sup> *Arch. Journal*, VII. (1850), p. 58. The italics are ours in each case.

This and other evidence, such as the tools kept in the lodge at York and the duties of the supervisor, leave no doubt in our minds that lodges were primarily masons' workshops, though not all the work could be done there, as in some cases stones had to be cut or carved after being placed in position.<sup>1</sup> Although lodges were generally erected at the site of a building operation, occasionally they were to be found at quarries.<sup>2</sup> It is possible, too, that where a mason set up as an independent craftsman or little master, his workshop might be described as a lodge.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, at York Minster it is clear from the Masons' Ordinances of 1370 that the "loge" served the further purpose of being a place of sleep for the masons at mid-day and a place of refreshment for them during the afternoon break.<sup>4</sup> In no case with which we are acquainted, however, can we find any indication that a lodge served as a residence for the masons, although such an interpretation has sometimes been placed upon the word.<sup>5</sup>

Where big buildings were erected in country districts it was probably necessary to provide living accommodation for the masons and other workmen. This certainly was the case at Vale Royal, where lodges (*logias*) and dwelling-houses (*mansiones*) for the masons and other workmen were erected at the outset. There are other references in the accounts to a masons' workshop (*asteleria*) and masons' houses (*domos*), but in each case there is a distinction drawn between the lodge or workshop on the one hand and the house or dwelling-place on the other. Another large building operation at which living accommodation was provided for

<sup>1</sup> At Westminster in 1332, fifty beech boards were purchased in order to cover the stone masons at work on the front of the chapel and protect them from wind and rain (Brayley and Britton, *History of the Ancient Palace . . . at Westminster*, p. 200).

<sup>2</sup> The cases of Huddleston and Sandgate are mentioned on p. 76 below.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Cal. of Letter-Book C.*, p. 239 (A.D. 1312): "John le Wallere holds a small place without Alegate near the foss, in a certain small house called 'Loge' 12 feet long and 7 feet broad by grant of John de Gysors, Mayor, etc. for 12d. by the year."

<sup>4</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Canon Raine, in his glossary to the Fabric Rolls of York Minster, defines lodge as "the shed or temporary residence put up for the masons and quarrymen," a definition which Cunningham (*Organisation*, p. 3) apparently accepted as he quotes it without comment. Mr. Rutton, in his article on Sandgate Castle (*Arch. Cant.*, XX., 235), refers to the hardhewers as "also called lodgemen from living in the lodge built for them at the quarry." It is more likely that they were so called because they worked in the lodge. For the same reason, the hewers at Nonsuch Palace in 1538 are distinguished from the setters by being called *lodgemen*, or *lodgemen freemasons* (*Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII.*, vol. 13, pt. ii., pp. 130, 131).

the masons was Eton College in the middle of the fifteenth century. In that case it does not appear to have been houses but a masons' hostel (*hospicium lathomorum*) "in which the masons live" (*inhabitant*).

In 1448-1449, when the number of masons employed was unusually large, 2 carpenters were paid £9 by contract for making a chamber (*camera*) "60 feet long and 18 feet broad with convenient height" to provide the masons with living accommodation. This was presumably in addition to, or in substitution for, the then existing accommodation. The College provided the masons' hostel with fuel and also provided the masons with the services of a cook, who received a wage of £2 per annum and a livery. There can be no question that the cook carried on his avocation in the masons' hostel, as in one place in the accounts he is referred to as "cook for the masons' hostel." It is almost equally certain that the masons worked in lodges to cover which (and the walls of the church in winter) 14 cartloads of straw were purchased according to the same account.<sup>1</sup> At Westminster Abbey in 1394-1395 a house was built for the masons, roofed with tiles, which was called the masons' "logge"; this was probably on the north side of the nave. Another house was built for the masons in Tothill Street.<sup>2</sup> Thus the masons would seem to have had a "logge" (in which presumably they worked) and a house (in which presumably they lived), an arrangement similar to that which prevailed at Westminster in 1292, when there appear to have been both a lodge and a hostel for the masons.<sup>3</sup>

(iii) *Structure of the Lodge*.—In most cases there is no evidence to show the exact nature of the structure which served as a lodge, though it always appears to have been made of wood. That this was the case with the various lodges erected at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-1280 is clearly shown in the Building Accounts. At Westminster Palace in 1292 timber was purchased to make a lodge for the masons.<sup>4</sup> At Beaumaris Castle in 1330 a substantial amount of timber

<sup>1</sup> John Vady's Account, 1445-1446. Usually the cook is referred to as the masons' cook (*coocus lathomorum*). *W. and C.*, I., 382, refer to the freemasons having a cook for themselves, but we feel that it is safer to speak of the masons' hostel and the masons' cook, for reasons explained in our *Eton* paper.

<sup>2</sup> Rackham, p. 10. By a contract of 1395, whereby Richard Washburn and John Swalwe, masons, undertook work at Westminster Palace, the king was to find *herbergage* for them and their fellows while employed on the work (Rymer, *Fœdera*, III., iv, 105).

<sup>3</sup> See extracts from Fabric Roll printed in *Masonic Magazine*, I., 318.

<sup>4</sup> Brayley and Britton, *op. cit.*, 424.

was purchased for the repair of the house in which the masons ought to work; at Catterick Bridge in 1421 the trustees undertook to erect a wooden "luge" in which the masons should work, such lodge to consist of four rooms and two "henforkes" (? lofts), to be covered and suitably closed in.<sup>1</sup> At Exeter Cathedral in 1405 a running bar for the door of the lodge was purchased at a cost of 5d.<sup>2</sup> At Kirby Muxloe in 1481, carpenters were employed making *le shulde* (*shold*, *shoolde*) for "le ffreemason" and for putting "ffrestone" in, whilst four cartloads of straw were purchased for covering *le shold*.<sup>3</sup> At Westminster in 1413, one lodge was covered with tiles, the other with reeds.<sup>4</sup> At Vale Royal, too, boards were bought "for covering the masons' workshop." The picture we get of a lodge is a closed wooden shed covered with boards or straw or reeds or tiles. At Catterick it was definitely divided into several compartments; in the other cases with which we are acquainted there is nothing to show whether or not there were any divisions. In view of the very heavy materials upon which the masons worked, we take it for granted that the lodge was in all cases a one-story building, though possibly there may have been a loft over the lodge. Such a loft, if it existed, would at least have provided more facilities for the mid-day siesta at York than the lodge itself would have been likely to do.

(iv) *Equipment of the Lodge*.—The York Fabric Rolls contain an inventory of the lodge, showing a list of the tools etc., which were in the custody of the Keeper of the Fabric at the end of the year 1399.<sup>5</sup> It shows that in the lodge there were, *inter alia*, 69 stone-axes, 1 big gavel, 96 iron chisels, 24 mallets, 1 compass, 2 tracing boards, 1 small hatchet, 1 handsaw, 1 shovel, 1 wheelbarrow, 2 buckets, 1 large truck with 4 wheels and 2 smaller trucks. The next section of the memorandum shows that the tools or implements more definitely associated with laying stones were kept, not in the lodge, but in the crypt, e.g. 6 stone-hammers, [ ] large setting chisels, 10 *bering barwes* (? hods) and appliances for winding up stone. Whether the York masons owned some of their own tools or not (and it will be noted that there were no squares, levels or plumb rules amongst those enumerated), we assume that the tools set out in the inventory belonged to the Chapter and that they were for the use of the masons and not merely

<sup>1</sup> Indenture printed in *Arch. Journal* (1850), VII., 58.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, XLI., 218.  
Scott, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> *K.M.*, pp. 243-246.

<sup>5</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, p. 17.

a stock from which tools were sold to the masons as required. Further reference is made to this matter in a later section of this chapter relating to tools.

(v) *Organisation of the Lodge*.—At York as early as 1352, and very probably earlier, elaborate rules existed for the governance of the masons connected with the lodge.<sup>1</sup> We have been unable to trace similar sets of rules elsewhere, but at Eton College in the middle of the fifteenth century offences and faults, such as late arrival at work or absence without licence, were punished by deductions from wages.<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible, therefore, that written regulations existed at Eton and that they have not survived. The regulations at York were made by the Chapter, and it was the Chapter, according to an Ordinance of 1408, which decided doubtful points in connection with the regulations. Masons unwilling to keep the regulations had no alternative but to seek other employment. The governance of the masons was in the first instance the business of the principal and of the second master masons, who, upon assuming office, were required to take oath to cause the regulations to be observed.<sup>3</sup> The master mason was to see that work started promptly, and to report to the master of the works and the keeper of the counter-roll (who were the clergy in charge of the finances and of the administration of the fabric) any faults and defects of the workmen. Fines for defective work were imposed according to his report, and the hiring of workmen was done with his advice. The master mason of the fabric, in short, stood between the Chapter and the masons, in more or less the same way as a bailiff between a lord and his tenants. He was appointed by the Chapter, which did not consider itself bound at the death or retirement of one master mason to promote one of the senior masons (*majores latomi*) then working upon the fabric.<sup>4</sup> Ordinarily, no doubt, the master

<sup>1</sup> They comprise ordinances of the Dean and Chapter made in 1352, 1370 and 1408-1409 (*F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 171, 181, 198), but as the Ordinance of 1352, which requires the observance of regulations, refers to them as *consuetudines antiquae quibus cementarii . . . uti solebant*, they were clearly not new in that year.

<sup>2</sup> *Eton*.

<sup>3</sup> According to the 1352 version, only these two (and the master carpenter) were to take the oath. In October, 1370, however, Robert de Patrington, master mason, and twelve other masons are said to have come before the Chapter and to have sworn to observe the regulations (*F.R.Y.M.*, p. 181 n.). A regulation of 1408 required the oath to be taken by the master mason (*magister latamus*), the wardens (*gardiani*) and the senior masons (*majores latomi*). Later in the same ordinances it is provided that all masons (*omnis latomus*) shall swear.

<sup>4</sup> There was trouble when William Colchester was brought in from Westminster in 1415, and he was grievously maltreated (*F.R.Y.M.*, p. 201).



mason would have very great authority over all the workmen and the Chapter would need to intervene only rarely. There was, however, a risk that the master mason, through sympathy with his fellow craftsmen, or through negligence or incapacity, might fail to maintain order and discipline to the satisfaction of the Chapter, and in the Ordinance of 1408 that is made the business of a special officer, a clergyman called the supervisor, who was required so far as possible to be present continually in the lodge in order to note all defects and to stimulate the masons to diligence. His appointment was clearly much more in accord with manorial or monastic traditions than with those of craft guilds: we may fairly see in him a mediæval anticipation of the modern "speed boss," and in the conditions which produced him a similarity, in all but scale of operations, to those of modern capitalist factory industry.

#### TOOLS AND SMITHIES.

The information available concerning masons' tools, both with reference to supply and to maintenance, is somewhat contradictory in character, and it may quite well be that different practices prevailed in different parts of the country, at different building operations and possibly at different times. The fact, too, that the masons' "customs" as set out in the Old Charges,<sup>1</sup> although so explicit on many working practices, contain no references to tools, may be regarded as confirmation of the absence of any generally accepted practice on the subject. The earliest reference with which we are acquainted is the purchase of grindstones, entered in the Westminster Fabric Roll of 1253,<sup>2</sup> the stones being presumably for sharpening the masons' tools. Much fuller are the particulars entered in the Vale Royal Abbey Building Accounts, 1278-1280. At the very outset of the building operations, there was entered under the heading "necessary expenses" the purchase of 24 hatchets for the masons at 5d. each and 20 hatchets for the masons at 4½d. each, as well as hammers, wedges, picks, hoes, spades and trowels for use in the quarry. In July, 1278, the following entry occurs:

Paid to . . . , masons, carrying their tools with them, to wit, 20 hatchets and 48 irons for carving (? cutting) stones, 10s., because it is the custom that their tools, if they bring any, shall be bought.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter VI., p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Scott, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> *Ledger-Book*, pp. 195, 196. Eleven masons are enumerated by name in the Account. The italics are ours.

The authorities also paid 6d. "for lines for the layers of the walls," used no doubt to mark out the foundation of the intended structure. Other purchases of tools relate to buckets and sieves for making mortar.

There would seem to be no question that at Vale Royal those responsible for the building operations provided tools for the masons and quarriers. It is also clear from the Building Accounts that they were likewise responsible for the repair of the tools. Both at the quarry at Edisbury and at the site of the monastery, a smithy was erected by the carpenters to provide the means of keeping the quarry men's and masons' tools in order. When the smithies were fully staffed, there were associated with each a smith and his servant, a charcoal burner, a worker described as "servant of the bellows and striker" and a "portehache" described as "carrying the irons and hatchets of the masons and other tools back to the smithy to be repaired." Even at the present day, notwithstanding more scientific methods of hardening tools, boys are employed in quarries "carrying planing tools and picks from the rock face to the blacksmith's shop."<sup>1</sup> At Vale Royal during the three years 1278-1280 there were on the average 7 workers employed in connection with the smithies as compared with 40 masons and 15 quarrymen. It was probably the quarrying, much more than the dressing of the stone, which blunted the tools and called for so many smiths at a period in the building operations when iron work for hooks, bands and general purposes could hardly be required in considerable quantities. This perhaps partially explains why smiths were relatively few at some building operations, e.g., at Eton College,<sup>2</sup> where there was little or no quarrying and relatively numerous at others, e.g., Vale Royal Abbey and Caernarvon Castle,<sup>3</sup> where there was much quarrying.

At Beaumaris Castle in the winter of 1316-1317, where one smith and one assistant were employed,<sup>4</sup> it is quite clear from the Building Account that they were engaged in making pieces of iron, big "gadds" and little "gadds" and in "sharpening the instruments of hewers (*cementarii*), layers

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Labour, *Report on Apprenticeship and Training, 1925-1926*, III., 8.

<sup>2</sup> There never appear to have been more than two smiths between 1442 and 1460, whilst the number of hewers employed rose on occasion to over 70.

<sup>3</sup> In October, 1304, there were 5 smiths, at a time when there were 32 hewers, 25 layers and 34 quarriers.

<sup>4</sup> At a time when there were 10 hewers, 6 layers and 9 quarriers.

(*cubitores*) and quarriers." When working at task, the smith was paid 2d. for each iron and ½d. for sharpening each "gadd."<sup>1</sup> A Westminster Fabric Roll of 1350-1353 shows that money was spent on making and sharpening masons' and quarriers' tools; <sup>2</sup> at Rochester Castle in 1368, the smith did various jobs including "repairing, battering and steeling axes and other masons' tools."<sup>3</sup> The inventory on the back of the Fabric Roll sets out numerous stores for which the master of the works was responsible, including a grindstone for sharpening the masons' tools and 7 setters' hammers.<sup>4</sup> At York Minster in 1371, 1400 and 1415, sums of 77s., 82s. and 81s. were paid to smiths (mostly by way of wages) for the repair of masons' tools, whilst in 1432 a sum of 31s. 9d. was paid to a smith for the making of masons' tools.<sup>5</sup> That the Chapter owned a large number of tools is shown by the inventory of tools in the lodge in 1399 referred to in the previous section.<sup>6</sup> At London Bridge during the period 1404-1418 there is nothing in the accounts to indicate who provided the masons' tools, but there are numerous entries which show that the bridge wardens paid for mending and sharpening the tools. There was not sufficient work to provide full-time employment for a smith, and the job of battering masons' axes and battering and steeling tools for masons was given out to various smiths in the city.<sup>7</sup> A similar practice was followed at the building of Adderbury Chancel in 1413-1414 and 1414-1415.<sup>8</sup> At the repair of Sheffield Castle in 1447 a smith was paid 13d. for making 1 "mall," 1 stone-axe, 2 picks and 6 iron wedges forged by him to serve in the quarry for breaking and lifting stones.<sup>9</sup> At the erection of Kirby Muxloe Castle a forge was erected in 1481,<sup>10</sup> and a smith, who was paid entirely by the task for all the work he did, received 2d. per dozen for sharpening freemasons' axes and chisels.<sup>11</sup> In all, there are 46 such entries between August, 1481, and November, 1484, in respect of 318½ dozen tools; the number of working weeks during that period being 173,<sup>12</sup> it gives an average of 22 axes and other tools sharpened each week. As the average number of masons employed each week was approximately 4, the average number of axes and

<sup>1</sup> See *B. and C.*<sup>2</sup> Scott, p. 256.<sup>3</sup> *Rochester*, p. 125.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.<sup>5</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 6, 20, 33, 50.<sup>6</sup> See p. 60 above.<sup>7</sup> See *L.B.*<sup>8</sup> *Adderbury*, pp. 61, 67.<sup>9</sup> *Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.*, II., 356.<sup>10</sup> *K.M.*, pp. 241, 243.<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*. In most cases it was axes only which were sharpened.<sup>12</sup> During several weeks in the summer of 1483 work was at a standstill.

chisels sharpened for each mason was 5½ per week or roughly 1 per day.<sup>1</sup> From this it follows that the cost of repairing tools was approximately 1d. per week per freemason (hewer) at a time when the wage was 3s. per week in summer and 2s. 6d. per week in winter. At Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540, numerous tools were supplied by the smith; amongst other items in his monthly accounts we find 9 laying hammers, 1 mason's axe, 2 brick axes, 7 masons' points and 12 "poynts and chesellys" to work hardstone.<sup>2</sup> From other sources trowels, plumb rules, squares and a grindstone were purchased.<sup>3</sup> So far as repairs were concerned, one month the smith was paid for sharpening 900 masons' irons or points at 10d. per 100, for battering 108 hammers at 2d. each, for battering masons' axes at 2d. each, for steeling 15 masons' axes at 3d. each, and for steeling masons' irons or points at 3d. each.<sup>4</sup>

Whilst the evidence we have quoted points to those responsible for the building operations both providing and repairing the masons' tools, there is other evidence which points in the opposite direction. Thus in May, 1282, an order was issued to the Sheriff of Gloucestershire to choose 15 good masons who were to be conducted to Bristol *with their tools*, ready to set out for Llanbadarn, and a like order was sent to the Sheriff of Somerset.<sup>5</sup> In June, 1295, the Justice of Chester was ordered to choose 100 masons and to send them *with their tools*<sup>6</sup> to Caernarvon.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, in 1361, orders were sent to the Sheriffs of Lincoln and of Norfolk and Suffolk to choose 40 freestone masons and 40 masons to lay stone, and to send them *with their tools*<sup>8</sup> to the king's castle of Windsor.<sup>9</sup> In 1350 the Wage Regulations issued in the City of London, contain the following paragraph:—

In the first place, that the masons . . . shall take no more by the working day than 6d. . . . *And for the making or mending of their implements they shall take nothing.*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Excluding the master mason, but including his apprentice, 706 mason-weeks were worked at Kirby Muxloe from May, 1481, to November, 1484, during which period 3822 axes and other tools were sharpened, an average of 5.41 per mason-week. If the master mason is included, 742 mason-weeks were worked, and the average number of tools sharpened was 5.15 per mason-week.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandgate*, p. 241.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Welsh Rolls, 1277-1294* (in *Chancery Rolls, Various, 1277-1326*), p. 250.<sup>6</sup> The italics are ours<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls, 1288-1296*, p. 413.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1360-1364, pp. 178-179.<sup>9</sup> Riley, p. 253. The italics are ours.

The only interpretation which we can place upon the last sentence quoted is that masons were to pay for the making and mending of their own tools. In 1418 Walter Walton, citizen and mason of London, bequeathed a hewing axe and 6 irons for masonry to his apprentice at the end of his time and a compass to each of 2 other masons, which points to masons possessing at least some of their own tools.<sup>1</sup> At Eton College in the 1440's the Building Accounts show that the chief smith paid the clerk of the works for masons' tools which he had made with iron belonging to the College and which he had sold, apparently to masons employed by the College,<sup>2</sup> which implies that they had to provide at least certain of their own tools. That masons did possess some of their own tools in the sixteenth century is definitely shown by the cases of 8 Norwich apprentices who were bound to "masons" or "rowmasons" from 1550 to 1560.<sup>3</sup> In each case at the end of his term, the apprentice was to receive from his master a sum of money (varying from 20s. to £3), double apparel and a set of tools, but in no cases were the tools identical. They are summarised in the following table:—

	Hammer-axe.	Brick-axe.	Pick-axe.	Trowel.	Square.	Level.	Plumb-rule.
1. Mason	I		I	I			I
2. Rowmason			I <sup>4</sup>	I	I		I
3. Mason	I		I			I	I
4. Rowmason	I	I	I	I			
5. Mason	I			I			I
6. Mason	I	I	I				
7. Mason	I	I	I <sup>5</sup>	I	I	I	
8. Roughmason	I	2 <sup>6</sup>		I			

The master in cases 6 and 7 was the same (Bartholemew Bell of Norwich, mason)<sup>7</sup>; the two indentures were executed within a few months of each other and enrolled on the same day, although the tools to be provided differed so con-

<sup>1</sup> Will printed in *A.Q.C.*, XLI., 146-147.

<sup>2</sup> We discuss the problem in our *Eton* paper.

<sup>3</sup> *Extracts from the Records of the Corporation of Norwich*, communicated by Walter Rye, *A.Q.C.*, XV., 211, 212.

<sup>4</sup> Hand-axe.

<sup>5</sup> Hand pick-axe.

<sup>6</sup> One brick-axe repeated twice, perhaps the second should read "pick-axe."

<sup>7</sup> Admitted a freeman in 1559, being described in the Calendar of Freemen as "mason, not apprenticed." (See John L'Estrange, *Calendar of Freemen of Norwich*.)

siderably. From the tools which the 5 "masons" and 3 "roughmasons" were to provide for their apprentices, it is difficult to deduce any marked difference in the work which masons and roughmasons might be expected to do; rough or fairly rough dressing of stone appears to be the implication in all cases. Possibly training in skilled work with hammer and chisel was given to none except "freemasons," but the fact that only 12 freemen were admitted at Norwich in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries under the description of "freemason" compared with 111 admitted under the description of "roughmason," and 135 admitted under the description of "mason," makes it difficult to believe that some of those described as "mason" were not taught the higher grades of work with hammer and chisel. If that is so, it follows either that none of the 5 apprentices bound to "masons" between 1550 and 1560 were taught the higher branches of the craft, or that masons were not expected to provide their own hammers and chisels, as a consequence of which the apprentices did not receive any when their terms finished. We incline to the latter explanation.

Attention may also be drawn to two other cases belonging to this same period. At the erection of Loseley Hall in 1561, Sir William More paid for the sharpening of all masons' tools and for the making of the tools of such masons as served him by the year.<sup>1</sup> At Sheffield in 1574, 2 masons hired for the year by the agent of the Earl of Shrewsbury, agreed to provide at their own cost all tools appertaining to their science, the Earl giving them 2 stone of iron towards their tools.<sup>2</sup>

If one examines closely the various pieces of evidence, it will be noticed that the statement relating to Vale Royal about tools brought by masons being paid for "because it is the custom that their tools, if they bring any, shall be bought," recognised both the possibility of masons bringing their own tools and the responsibility of the clerk of the works to provide tools. It does not, therefore, conflict with the orders to send masons with their tools from Gloucester, Somerset and Chester to Wales. Very possibly those masons were paid for their tools on arrival at their destination. The London Wage Regulations of 1350, like so much labour legislation subsequent to the Black Death, may very well have been a statement of the ideal (from an employer's point of view) rather than a statement of

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, XXXVI., 303.

<sup>2</sup> Agreement printed in *Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.*, II., 192.

the practice commonly followed. At York Minster the inventory of 1399 shows the existence in the lodge of a large stock of tools, presumably the property of the Chapter, which disposes one to believe that the Chapter provided the masons with some tools at least, though it is also conceivable that they sold them to the masons; on the other hand, we cannot trace receipts from such a source in the published Fabric Rolls. It has to be noted, however, that at least the master masons possessed some of their own tools, as William Hyndeley, master mason from 1472 to 1505, bequeathed his masons' tools to the work of St. Peter when he died in 1505, whilst his successor, Christopher Horner, on his death in 1523, left "to Sanct Petur wark all my tuyllis within the mason lughe."<sup>1</sup> At Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540, the clerk of the works was buying tools, including trowels, plumb-rules and squares, whilst at Norwich, a few years later, the apprentice masons, on completing their terms, were being supplied by their masters with tools, which in several cases included trowels, plumb-rules and squares. On the other hand, even at Eton, nothing is said about the repair of tools being a charge upon the masons,<sup>2</sup> and in most of the Building Accounts quoted it is repairing of tools (battering or sharpening or steeling) which appears to have been done by the smiths at the expense of those responsible for the building operations. When any of these smiths made masons' tools, such tools, if specified, are nearly always described as "points" or "gadds" or "irons"; the only exception which we can call to mind is the case of the maul, stone-axe and picks at Sheffield Castle mentioned above.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst unable to harmonise all the evidence and recognising that different practices probably prevailed at different building undertakings and at different dates, we are disposed to think that the most usual arrangements were

(i) for those responsible for the building operations to bear the cost of sharpening, battering and steeling the tools;

(ii) for those responsible for the building operations to provide the "irons," "points," "gadds," "chisels," etc., the making of which from rods of iron cannot have been very different from the "mending" or battering of the same;

<sup>1</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, p. 208 n.

<sup>2</sup> The College paid 11d. to the smith for battering 110 little iron instruments at 10 for 1d. on 24th December (? 37 Henry VI.), besides his wage of 3s. 1d. per week (Medehill's undated Account Book).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 64 above.

(iii) for the masons (in many cases at least) to provide the more expensive tools, such as trowels, squares, levels, plumb-rules and various axes. It may be noted, for what it is worth, that the Chapter at York does not appear to have possessed any squares, levels or plumb-rules when the inventory of the Lodge was taken in 1399.

*Gloves.*—Whilst the conferment of a dress or livery or gown by those responsible for building operations was a mark of approval usually granted only to men occupying the more responsible positions (and appertains therefore to the problem of rates of remuneration) gloves were needed to protect the layers' hands from splinters<sup>1</sup> and should, therefore, be regarded as adjuncts to masons' tools, rather than as a badge of office.<sup>2</sup> In some cases at least those responsible for the building operations seem to have supplied the masons with gloves. Thus at Ely, in 1322, the Sacrist bought gloves for the masons engaged on the "new work."<sup>3</sup> At York, gloves, and less frequently aprons, were purchased for the masons on various occasions.<sup>4</sup> On the last occasion, it is definitely stated that the masons concerned were working on the tower. At Eton College in April, 1456, a payment was made to John Glover de Eton for 5 pairs of gloves for layers of the walls "as custom may have required."<sup>5</sup> Similar purchases were made in May, 1458, and in May, 1459.<sup>6</sup> At Exeter the Dean and Chapter provided gauntleted gloves, which were used in scaffold work to protect the hands from splinters.<sup>7</sup>

#### MASONS' SERVANTS AND LABOURERS.

Associated more or less closely with the masons and their work on most building operations were usually various "servants" or "labourers." In the smaller building accounts or contracts a man may be described as servant of a particular mason; e.g., at Ely in 1359-1360 wages were paid to John Stubbard, *cementarius*, and to "John Lenne, servant of the said John Stubbard";<sup>8</sup> in the Norwich Guildhall Fabric Roll of 1410-1411<sup>9</sup> there occurs the item:

<sup>1</sup> Carpenters also used gloves for a similar reason. E.g., six pairs were purchased at the building of Bodmin Church (*Bodmin*, p. 22).

<sup>2</sup> At Westminster in 1342, Walter le Bole, mason, was provided with dress, boots, gloves and food in addition to his pay, and possibly in this case the gloves should be regarded as a mark of approval (Scott, p. 256).

<sup>3</sup> Chapman, II., 34.

<sup>4</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 11, 25, 48, 50, 54.

<sup>5</sup> Medehill's Account, 1456-1457.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1458-1459 and 1459-1460.

<sup>7</sup> *A.Q.C.*, XLI., 218.

<sup>8</sup> Chapman, II., 194.

<sup>9</sup> *Norf. and Nor. Arch. Soc.*, XV., 164 seq.

"Paid to the same Thomas [Marwe, mason] for the hire of three servants;" in a contract of 1436 between the Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds and John Wode of Colchester, mason,<sup>1</sup> it was agreed that "the seyd John Wode schall have hys bord in the Couentys halle for hym and hys man, for hymself as a gentilman and for his servaunt as for a yoman." In the building account of Kirby Muxloe Castle, 1480-1484, we find the following entry:—<sup>2</sup>

*Rough-masons*.—W. Taillour, W. Wyso, J. Paille, 5 days @ 18d.  
T. Sandur, 2 days @ 6d.  
J. Crosse, 3 days @ 6d.  
*Servants of the said masons*.—J. Stedman, J. Boolt, 5 days @ 8d.  
R. Langton, servant of J. Paille, 2 days @ 4d.  
J. Graunt, servant of J. Crosse, 3 days @ 4d.

The Kirby Muxloe Accounts provide us not only with examples of particular masons having their own servants, but also of masons' servants in general. The latter arrangement can also be illustrated from the London Bridge Accounts: e.g., from 6th February, 1416-1417, for some 2½ years William Warde is entered in the weekly accounts well down the list of workers and described as *famulus* of the masons (*cementarii*); on 4th October, 1421, there is entered immediately after the names of the masons: "John Dove and Robert Chirche, labourers of the masons (*laborarii cementariorum*)"; on 3rd October, 1422, the entry runs "John Dove and Robert Chirche, labourers, hired for the whole year to serve the masons."

Whilst it is probable that some of the masons' servants assisted their masters in their ordinary work and might ultimately hope to learn their employers' craft and themselves become masons, as we know, for example, that William Warde did at London Bridge,<sup>3</sup> we are disposed to think that in a good many cases masons' servants or men serving masons, were labourers to the layers, mixing the mortar and carrying that and the stones to the layers. This certainly appears to have been the case at Kirby Muxloe where it was not the freemasons but the rough masons (= layers) who had servants. Incidentally it may be noted that the bricklayers too had servants. When the rough masons disappear from the accounts in winter, so, too, do the "servants of the said masons." Such servants were, at least occasionally, female. At Durham, about 1337, payment was made to a certain woman for making mortar and serving the mason(s?).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, XXIII., 330-332.

<sup>2</sup> *K.M.*, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> See *L.B.*, also p. 86 below.

<sup>4</sup> *Durham Account Rolls*, II., 534.

At Caernarvon the names of Juliana filia fabri, Emmota filia fabri, Elena de Engelond and Juliana uxor Ade occur among *hottarii* and *falconarii*.<sup>1</sup>

At many of the bigger building operations no one is described as servant of the masons or of a particular mason. Instead, we find a large group of labourers whose functions are to some extent discoverable from entries in the accounts. At Vale Royal Abbey, in 1278-1280, there was a group of "diggers and other common workmen," the members of which, *inter alia*, levelled the ground, made mortar, carried mortar, worked with hand-barrows taking large stones to the masons' workshops, wheeled barrows, dug and laid the foundations of the Church.<sup>2</sup> At Beaumaris and Caernarvon, in the early fourteenth century,<sup>3</sup> there was a large body of "minor workers" of whom, from time to time, some were described as lime burners, some as *portehaches*,<sup>4</sup> some as *baiardores*,<sup>5</sup> some as *hottarii*,<sup>6</sup> some as *faukonarii* or *falconarii*,<sup>7</sup> some as *cinararii*, or *cinerarii*.<sup>8</sup> At Eton, in the middle of the fifteenth century, numerous labourers were employed, but the accounts throw less light on the exact functions they discharged. At the repair of Sheffield Castle in 1447, 9 labourers were paid "for breaking stone in the quarry, and for taking down the old tower within the castle . . . and for breaking stone for the limekiln and likewise for carrying out rammel and stone from the said tower, and also for making mortar and for supplying the . . . masons with the same and with stone when they were working on the . . . battlement of the Hall and on the . . . wall next to the kitchen."<sup>9</sup> At Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540,<sup>10</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *Exch. K.R.*, 486/29. <sup>2</sup> *Ledger-Book*, pp. 226-229. <sup>3</sup> See *B. and C.*

<sup>4</sup> Persons who carried masons' tools to the forge to be repaired. Cf. *portemartel*, Linlithgow Accounts, *Exch. K.R.*, 482/20.

<sup>5</sup> Labourers who helped to carry the baiard or hand-barrow used for carrying building stones.

<sup>6</sup> Men carrying a hot (= basket fixed on the back) or a hod, presumably for the conveyance of mortar.

<sup>7</sup> Either (i) carriers of mortar or plaster (on the assumption that *falconarius* means hawk-boy, *hawk* being a small quadrangular tool used by a plasterer (*N.E.D.*)). (The expression "le haukes for lime" occurs in the Kirby Muxloe Account, p. 240.) Or (ii) 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 (on the assumption that *falconarius* means a person who worked a *fauconneau*, which in French meant, 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"). For fuller discussion and an illustration see *B. and C.*

<sup>8</sup> Ashmakers who were probably engaged in the production of cinders for the manufacture of black cement.

<sup>9</sup> *Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.*, II., 355, 356.

<sup>10</sup> *Sandgate*, p. 239.

labourers were engaged in digging, carrying water and slacking lime, making mortar and carrying mortar in boxes and stone in hand-barrows to the masons. They also worked in the quarry.

In general, the various labourers who assisted the masons were engaged principally in digging, in mixing mortar, and in carrying. In the early stages of a big building operation, as at Vale Royal in 1278-1280, digging appears to have predominated; in the later stages of a big building operation, as at Caernarvon in the early fourteenth century, carrying appears to have predominated. Most of the labourers at the big undertakings were probably of local origin, frequently recruited by impressment and only too anxious to return to their ordinary work, which would mostly be agricultural. At the Welsh castles, the position was presumably somewhat different, and we do find one or two English labourers employed there, who rose to be layers. On the other hand, where a man became servant to a particular mason or to a small group of masons, the labouring work was probably less specialised and called for less of his time, so that there would seem a chance of his receiving some training in masonry. Questions of promotion, however, appertain to labour conditions prevailing at building operations and are discussed in Chapter V.

#### CHAPTER IV.

#### THE MEDIÆVAL MASON.

UNDER this title it is not our intention to discuss leaders of the craft, great artists or distinguished administrators such as Walter of Hereford, Henry de Elerton and Henry Yevele, king's master masons whose careers can to a greater or less extent be followed by means of records relating to their offices or to the works with which they were connected, but to consider the ordinary mason of the Middle Ages, who, with chisel, axe or hammer, prepared the stone which he or another mason then set or laid in order to erect windows, doorways or walls. With the great increase in the use of stone for building purposes which began shortly after the Norman Conquest, there must necessarily have been a simultaneous increase in the number of masons. As buildings in the towns were principally constructed of timber and clay by carpenters and daubers, it would seem very unlikely that the expanding stone building industry could draw its new supplies of labour from the very few existing urban areas. Even in the fourteenth century, the number of masons in such important towns as Norwich, Oxford and York appears to have been very small, probably not more than a dozen in each case.<sup>1</sup> When, in 1295, the Justice of Chester was ordered to impress 100 masons in the town of Chester and in other parts of his bailiwick for the king's work at Caernarvon, we surmise that he found only a very small fraction of the required number in the town of Chester itself. The bulk of the new recruits to masonry in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries must certainly have come from the country districts.<sup>2</sup> In view of the fact that many of the new stone

<sup>1</sup> See *Apprenticeship*, p. 349. With this very small number may be contrasted the 104 masons and 12 stone-cutters said to have been included in the Paris guilds in 1292. See E. M. Saint-Léon, *Histoire des Corporations de Métiers* (3rd edition), p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Instances are occasionally met with in charters and deeds. Thus a charter of 1175 (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Middleton MSS.*, pp. 13-14) has no less than three masons among the witnesses—Paganus, *cementarius* de

buildings were erected at a distance from towns, it would seem likely that much of the labour was obtained locally, being given such training as was needed. Where a fairly permanent staff of masons was required, as in connection with a cathedral church, this was probably the case, as at Exeter.<sup>1</sup> Where a large new building, or a big extension of an existing building, was being erected, this was by no means necessarily the case; of the 131 masons employed at the building of the Cistercian Abbey of Vale Royal at Delamere, Cheshire, during the three years 1278-1280, we estimate that only 5 per cent. or 10 per cent. were local.<sup>2</sup> Further, we are disposed to the view that only about the same percentage of the masons employed at Beaumaris and Caernarvon Castles in the early fourteenth century were of Welsh origin; <sup>3</sup> the great majority, to judge by the names, appear to have come from various parts of England. At Vale Royal, many of the names, such as Hereford, Dore, Cockersand, Furness, Lincoln, Battle, Oxford, Roche, St. Albans and Salisbury suggest abbeys or minsters, and the same is true at Beaumaris and Caernarvon where we find masons from Christchurch, York, Salisbury, Neath, Hereford and Cockersand. Other masons' names which occur there such as Conway, Rhuddlan and Northampton suggest castles. Even in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries all the masons required at the building of a big abbey or castle could not be drawn from other abbeys or castles, and this must obviously have been much more the case in the eleventh and twelfth centuries before there was any substantial body of trained masons.

We have very little doubt that important nurseries for stone-workers in the Middle Ages were to be found in the various quarries from which building stone was obtained. In support of this contention three considerations may be advanced.

Pointona [Pointon with Sempringham, Lincs.], who may have been attached to a monastic house, Hugo, *cementarius* de Binnebroc [Binbrooke, Lincs.], and Alan, *cementarius* de Billesbi [Bilsby, Lincs.]. A deed of 1274 in the same collection (*ibid.*, p. 75) has a reference to the land of Walter, *cementarius*. By an agreement of 1229 (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Wells*, II., 551-552), Thomas Lok and Agnes, his mother, sold houses in Wells and half an acre of land in Stoberg, "late of Master Adam Lok, mason." John Swalowe, one of two partners to a contract for work at Westminster Palace in 1395 (*Rymer's Fœdera*, III., iv, p. 105), was a Gloucestershire mason (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1396-1399, pp. 239, 264).

<sup>1</sup> Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, who has examined the Fabric Rolls, states (*The Cathedral Churches of England*, p. 143) that "the numerous names of masons given in the Exeter Accounts are for the most part local."

<sup>2</sup> V.R.

<sup>3</sup> B. and C.

(i) In the first place, many thirteenth and fourteenth-century masons bore the names of places in quarrying areas. In those Building Accounts which we have studied more closely, Vale Royal Abbey (1278-1280), Caernarvon (1316-1317 and 1319), and Beaumaris (1316-1317, 1319-1320 and 1330), we find various masons bearing names of places where building stones were quarried. For example, at Vale Royal we find masons from Hereford (the seat of quarries as well as of a minster), Leckhampton, Mount Sorrel, Norton (Somerset) and Stoke; at Beaumaris and Caernarvon, the names of 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, such as Ross, Dorset, Luston, Hope (Bowdler) and Denbigh. At Westminster in 1292, amongst the masons we find Edmund Corfe, John de Corfe, Hugo de Corfe and Peter Corf,<sup>1</sup> Corfe being the centre of the Isle of Purbeck, one of the most famous quarrying areas in the Middle Ages. At Leicester in 1325-1326, the name Peter de Barnack<sup>2</sup> occurs amongst the masons, Barnack being another famous quarrying area.

(ii) In the second place, much stone was worked up partially or completely in the quarries.

(a) Where in connection with big building operations employers worked quarries which they either owned or leased (a common arrangement, as was shown in the previous chapter), we find them from time to time sending their masons to work in the quarries, or arranging that masons should be regularly employed there. Thus at Vale Royal Abbey, in January, 1277-1278, before any quarrymen were engaged, 3 masons with their fellows and labourers were paid 100s. for 1000 stones which they dug out of the quarry, cut, prepared and finished.<sup>3</sup> The fact that this transaction is entered in the account under the heading "For wages of masons," and that at a later date two of the men in question drew wages as masons, leaves no doubt with regard to the category of workers concerned. From the Caernarvon Building Account of 1316-1317, we learn that during January and February, 1316-1317, all the layers (*cubitores*) were employed as scapplers (*batrarii*) in the quarry at Aberpwl (one of the quarries which served Caernarvon Castle), whilst in April, 1317, 3 of the lower paid hewers (*cementarii*) worked as cutters (*taylatores*) in the quarry at

<sup>1</sup> Fabric Roll printed in *Masonic Magazine*, IV., 616.

<sup>2</sup> Bateson, *Leicester*, I., 351.

<sup>3</sup> V.R.

Aberpwl preparing "coynes et assler."<sup>1</sup> At the erection of Bodmin Church in 1469-1472, the masons frequently worked in the quarry.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the regular employment of masons in quarries, in 1377-1378 Ralph Riddell and 10 other *latomi* called "rough masons and quarreours" were hired at 6d. a day to dig, shape and prepare stones in a Purbeck quarry;<sup>3</sup> an Eton College Account of 1450 relating to the college quarry at Huddleston in Yorkshire, shows that John Wells, the purveyor of Huddleston stone, (*provisor petrarum apud Hudleston*) paid wages to masons (*cementarii*) and "scapelers" who rough-dressed the stone.<sup>4</sup> It should further be noted that at the quarry there were lodges<sup>5</sup> in which the masons presumably worked. Another case of a lodge at a quarry occurred at Sandgate in 1539.<sup>6</sup> In an indenture of 1479 William Orchard, master of the works at Magdalen College, Oxford, in contracting to supply stone for that college and for Eton College, undertook to employ "quarryours," "masones" and labourers in a quarry he farmed from the king at Headington, near Oxford.<sup>7</sup> A contract between John Marsler, mason, and the Edinburgh authorities in 1502 provides that he is to be rewarded reasonably for brooching and dressing stone at the quarry.<sup>8</sup>

(b) The purchase of finished or partly finished stone from the quarries was not uncommon. At Westminster in 1253, and in subsequent years, those responsible for the building operations bought considerable quantities of dressed stone. Some came from the king's quarry<sup>9</sup> and some by boat from John of Oxford.<sup>10</sup> Large quantities of stone were supplied by one Roger of Reigate to whom considerable payments are recorded week after week. Whether John of Oxford or Roger of Reigate were mason contractors or dealers or quarrymasters it is not possible to determine from the accounts, but it is not improbable that Roger owned or leased quarries at Reigate, a well-known quarrying area. In the late fourteenth century, several marble pillars were pur-

<sup>1</sup> B. and C.

<sup>2</sup> V.C.H. Dorset, II., 334.

<sup>3</sup> In John Medehill's Account for 38-39 Henry VI., under 23rd June, we find, "Paid to John Kechener for thatching (*teitura*) of lodges (*logiarum*) in the quarry—5d."

<sup>4</sup> Sandgate, p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> Text in R. S. Mylne, *The King's Master Masons*, p. 9. Cf. Accounts of Dunkeld Bridge, 1513 (R. S. Mylne, *op. cit.*, p. 24), a payment of 24s. to John Anderson, mason, "before he was hired, being in the quarry and cutting stones." Also cf. "eight masons breaking stone at a quarry at 8d. per day" (*Acts of Privy Council, 1547-1550*, pp. 389-390).

<sup>6</sup> Scott, pp. 248, 249.

<sup>7</sup> Bodmin, *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> W. and C., I., 397.

<sup>9</sup> W. and C., I., 410.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

chased for Westminster at a cost of £40 each;<sup>1</sup> one is definitely stated to have been bought of a mason of Couf (= Corfe), and the fact that on one occasion the expenses of the sacrist while going to Purbeck were paid makes it practically certain that the pillars came from that part of the country.<sup>2</sup> As these pillars must have been very awkward to move with the primitive appliances then available, it is highly probable that they were shaped and dressed by masons in the quarries. Of one thing we can be quite sure: anyone in a position to undertake to supply one or more marble pillars at £40 a piece must have been a person of very considerable substance, whether he was a mason or a quarrymaster or a dealer in stone, or whether he combined these functions, as is quite likely.

The master of the works in charge of the repair of Rochester Castle in 1367-1368 purchased large quantities of "newel," "square ashlar," "skew ashlar," "tablement" and other dressed stone of Ralph Crompe of Bocton.<sup>3</sup> This particular stone is hard and strong and would bear the journey in a finished state without much risk of injury. Furthermore, it is said to be worked with least difficulty immediately after it is dug. As the sums paid to Crompe amounted to £119 12s. 3½d., equivalent to the wages of 20 men for about 40 weeks, it is clear that a substantial amount of stone cutting was being done at the quarry at Bocton.<sup>4</sup> In 1430-1431 the wardens of Rochester Bridge bought 1000 ashlar from John Cartere for £8 16s. 8d.<sup>5</sup> In 1442, and again in 1445, the Eton College authorities were purchasing stone ready for use from the quarries of Kent.<sup>6</sup> Amongst the quarries named are Maidstone, Farleygh and Boughton.

(iii) In the third place, we have come across several instances of quarryers being promoted to be layers (*cubitores*) as well as of layers being promoted to be hewers (*cementarii*). Thus of the 51 layers named in the previously mentioned Beaumaris and Caernarvon Building Accounts, we know that 4 had worked as quarryers and 1 as a "porte-hache" in a quarry before they became layers. Of the

<sup>1</sup> Scott, pp. 258-260.

<sup>2</sup> Rackham (pp. 9, 10) states that the marble came from Purbeck, and that the "mason of Corfe" was "John Mahu (or Mayew) marberer," who received every year a robe.

<sup>3</sup> Boughton, a quarrying area about 4 miles south of Maidstone.

<sup>4</sup> Rochester, p. 111. A further sum of £47 13s. 11½d. was paid for the carriage of the stone.

<sup>5</sup> Becker, p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> W. and C., I., 385, and John Vady's Account, 24-25 Henry VI., fo. 6.



47 hewers named in those accounts, 4 worked at one time as layers. When in the same accounts we find examples of hewers (*cementarii*) working in the quarry as cutters (*taylatores*) preparing "coynes et assler," of layers (*cubitores*) working in the quarry as scappers (*batrarii*) and of a quarrier "digging and breaking stone, each stone in length two feet, height one foot, breadth one foot and a half," we feel that the boundaries between one stone working occupation and another were by no means rigid, and that the conversion of a skilled quarrier who worked with an axe and hammer, into a roughmason who also worked with an axe and hammer could not have been uncommon in the days before guilds (if such ever existed in country districts) with their definite ideas of industrial demarcation.<sup>1</sup> In remote districts the differentiation might be very slow in developing. Innocent,<sup>2</sup> in 1916, could remember having seen masons in South Caernarvonshire breaking up boulders on the surface of the land and using the same materials to build a farmhouse. These workmen were both quarriers and wallers.

Whilst stressing the importance of the quarry as a nursery for mediæval masons, it must be recognised that in many cases only the rough hewing could be done at the quarry; that the rough hewing should be done there if the quarry was at a distance from the site of the building would be essential in order to reduce the cost of carriage, a very heavy item in mediæval building costs. On the other hand, the establishment of recognised standard sizes in rough-dressed and finished stone, which could be prepared either at the quarries or in masons' workshops for distribution over a wide area, appears to have made considerable headway during the Middle Ages, more particularly after the Black Death. Delicate tracery, mouldings and carvings might have to be prepared on the spot and in many cases finished when already in position, but images and figures, whether of alabaster or freestone, were largely carved in shops at Nottingham, Chellaston quarries, York and London, and dispatched to wherever required.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two other cases of the close connection between quarriers and masons may be quoted. At Conway Castle in 1302, a quarrier worked with the masons (see Building A/C., printed in *Arch. Camb.*, V. (1854), 7). At Adderbury in 1413, five labourers were paid "digging in the quarry and working for the masons" (*Adderbury*, p. 65). With regard to guilds, see p. 151 below.

<sup>2</sup> Innocent, *Development of English Building Construction*, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Gardener, "Alabaster Tombs of the Gothic Period," *Arch. Jour.*, 1923 (esp. 4 n. and 23), and Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 244 and 545.

At the first expansion of the stone-building industry, whilst the supply of masons was still to a considerable extent dependent upon quarry-trained workers, the quality of the craftsmanship was not very high, more especially in the chiselling of stone. Norman building of the eleventh century bears witness to rough tools and want of training.<sup>1</sup> By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the number and skill of the masons must have increased considerably, more particularly as a result of the monastic demand for high-class masonry. It was presumably in the workshops or lodges attached to abbeys and cathedrals that the experience and training were gained which turned rough stoneworkers into finished masons capable of achieving the most splendid examples of mediæval craftsmanship. Even in the hey-day of the stone-building era in the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the number of highly skilled masons must have been small compared with the total number of masons; a cathedral or abbey called for a good deal of rough work, and a castle called for comparatively little else. It thus seems probable that even at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century a good many of the men classed as masons at big building operations had acquired such knowledge of stone working as they possessed either as quarriers or as labourers serving masons on some constructional work. In the case of the better qualified masons, it is likely that they had been taught by fathers, uncles or elder brothers. In what concerns masons' labourers acquiring a knowledge of hewing, the Vale Royal Abbey Building Accounts for 1278-1280 do not distinguish masons from masons' labourers, but group all masons together, indicating, however, the different rates of pay, which varied from 30d. to 10d. per week, so there can be little doubt that some of the low-paid masons were in reality masons' labourers, 9d. a week being the rate commonly paid to general labourers at Vale Royal. In several cases these low-wage masons received advances in pay, one rising by steps from 12d. to 18d. in 2½ years, one from 12d. to 16d. in 18 months, and one from 10d. to 16d. in 2 years.<sup>2</sup> The Beaumaris and Caernarvon Accounts previously quoted also show cases of masons in receipt of wages below the general rates, who were from time to time given

<sup>1</sup> Regarding rough work at Ely Cathedral, for example, see Prior, *Cathedral Builders in England*, p. 32; and Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 143, 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Apprenticeship*, p. 363.

higher wages. We feel no doubt that these were cases of learners or inexperienced stone-workers who were rewarded with higher wages as they gained in experience and in the quality of their work. That instruction was sometimes provided for labourers is clearly shown by a contract of 1359 by which the Dean and Chapter of Hereford appointed John of Evesham, mason, to work on the fabric for the rest of his active life, it being a condition that he should instruct the labourers under him in the arts of masonry and carpentering.<sup>1</sup> That masons' servants or labourers were from time to time promoted to the position of full mason is clearly shown by a case which occurred at London Bridge in 1419.<sup>2</sup> After William Warde had figured in the Bridge Accounts for some 3 years as *famulus* of the *cementarii* at 2s. a week, we find the following entry on 1st July :

Paid to William Warde, *famulus* of the said masons,  
because he works well as a sufficient mason . . . 3s. od.

The following week the entry runs :

William Warde, mason . . . . . 3s. od.

By pay and by description he had become a fully qualified mason.

*London Masons in the Thirteenth Century.*—Although most masons prior to the fourteenth century appear to have been of country origin, and to have worked in the country or in small towns where castle or ecclesiastical building was taking place, yet there must have been some masons in the cities, and in particular in London. In 1189 Fitz-Elwyne's Assize of Building had been issued, which contemplated the erection of stone walls 3 feet thick and 16 feet in height between neighbours,<sup>3</sup> whilst at the end of the twelfth century the old wooden London Bridge was replaced by a stone structure.<sup>4</sup> Another indication that masons were employed in London in the thirteenth century was their inclusion in an Assize of Wages issued in 1212, as well as in other municipal wage regulations issued towards the end of the century.<sup>5</sup> One other early reference to masons in London which one might have expected to find, would be in connection with apprenticeship, as it was in London that the system first developed in this country ; so far as we have been able to ascertain, however, there is no record of a masons' apprentice in London prior to the Black Death.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Apprenticeship*, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> *Liby Albus* (Ed. Riley), p. 379.

<sup>6</sup> The subject of apprenticeship, and also of guilds is discussed in Chapter VI.

<sup>2</sup> *L.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *L.B.*

<sup>5</sup> See p. 124 below.

*Diversity in Wage Rates and in Skill.*—In this chapter we are concerned with the mediæval mason primarily before the Black Death, in the hey-day of monastic, cathedral and castle building. To judge by such evidence as is available, there was no systematic method of training masons during this period. That this was so, is borne out both by the diversity in the rates of pay and by the great variety of grades amongst mediæval masons. At Caernarvon Castle in October, 1304, there were 53 masons on the pay roll in receipt of 17 different rates of pay ; in October, 1316, there were 24 masons in receipt of 12 different rates of pay. At Vale Royal Abbey the diversity was nearly as great : in the summer of 1280, 51 masons were employed at 13 different rates. Both at Caernarvon and at Vale Royal much of the labour had probably been impressed, and the sheriffs had no doubt collected stone-workers of very varying degrees of skill, so that both these illustrations might be regarded as special cases, were it not that we find a very similar diversity both at Ely Cathedral and York Minster. At Ely in 1359-1360, there were 9 masons at 7 different rates of pay ; at York in 1371, there were 29 masons at 5 different rates of pay.<sup>1</sup> Whilst this diversity of wage rates seems to point (i) to an absence of any strong organisation amongst the masons, (ii) to freedom from any effective wage regulation by an assize of wages, and (iii) to individual contracts between employers and workers, we are inclined to think that the fundamental consideration was diversity in skill amongst masons, due to the absence of any uniform or systematic method of training. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was far greater uniformity in wage rates and probably much less diversity in skill.<sup>2</sup>

The variety in the grades of masons in the Middle Ages is also indicated by the numerous words used in the manuscripts, but the exact nature of the work performed by each category of mason raises a problem to which no definite solution appears to be possible. To judge by the conflicting ways in which from time to time the various mediæval Latin, Norman-French and English words were used, they had no universally accepted meaning ; local custom, the habit of the clerk responsible for the particular manuscript, and the period to which

<sup>1</sup> For details and references *re* wages, see *Masons' Wages*, pp. 474-476.

<sup>2</sup> This point is referred to again later ; cf. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, p. 22 : " the last two centuries before the Reformation were an age of shop-work as compared with the real originality of the 12th and 13th centuries."

the document relates, each tended to exercise an influence on the choice of words and the meaning attributed to them. The three foreign words commonly used in the Middle Ages to indicate masons in a general way were the Latin words *cementarius* and *lathomus*<sup>1</sup> and the Norman-French word *masoun*.<sup>2</sup> *Cementarius* was the word in almost universal use in the thirteenth and earlier centuries and in frequent use at a later date.<sup>3</sup> *Latomus* is found in the London Municipal Records as early as 1281,<sup>4</sup> but was most widely used in the fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup> *Masoun*, in the form *mazon*, occurs as early as the twelfth century,<sup>6</sup> but was perhaps used most frequently in the fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Normally, the words *cementarius* and *lathomus* appear to have been used indifferently; the chief mason at Eton College in the middle of the fifteenth century is sometimes described in the accounts as *capitalis cementarius* and sometimes as *capitalis lathomus*. But in the order of 1444 authorising Reginald Ely, *capitalis cementarius* at King's College, Cambridge, to impress workmen, *lathomi* and *cementarii* are mentioned separately as if they were two distinct categories in the sequence indicated,<sup>8</sup> whereas in a Westminster Palace Account of two years previously, John Wynwyk, warden of the masons, is described as being in charge of the works of *cementarii*, *positores* and *lathomi*,<sup>9</sup> thereby differentiating between *cementarii* and *lathomi*, but placing them in the reverse order of importance to the King's College document, and incidentally excluding the interpretation "layers," as *positores* are mentioned separately. It is quite likely, however, that there was no intention of drawing any real distinction between *cementarii* and *lathomi*, but that the clerk

<sup>1</sup> Both words should have been familiar to clerks, since they occur in the Vulgate, e.g. octoginta [milha] *latomorum* in monte, "fourscore thousand that were hewers in the mountain" and *caementarii* Salomonis et *caementarii* Hiram, "Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders," 1 Kings v 15 and 18.

<sup>2</sup> The term *lapicida* is used in the Leicester records in 1376 (Bateson, III, 158).

<sup>3</sup> E.g., it is used in the London Wage Regulations of 1212, and in the Vale Royal Abbey Building Accounts, 1278-1280, and in the Beaumaris and Caernarvon Building Accounts of the early fourteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Letter-Book B*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., at Adderbury in 1408-1418, at Kirby Muxloe, 1480-1484. The London Masons' Regulations of 1481 are headed *Ordinacio Lathamorum* (*Cal. Letter-Book L*, p. 183).

<sup>6</sup> Pipe Roll, 1165-1166.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Master Thomas, *masoun*, was master mason at Ely in 1359. The London Masons' Regulations of 1356 are described as *les ordenaunces et les articles touchantz le mestier des masouns* (*Cal. Letter-Book G*, p. 51).

<sup>8</sup> Printed in *W. and C*, I., 594.

<sup>9</sup> MS. in *P.R.O. Exch. K.R.*, 473/18.

who drafted the legal documents wanted in each case to be quite sure of covering all masons, regardless of any possible local variations in the use of particular words.

Apart from these wide terms indicating masons, there are several special terms with narrower meanings; they fall into three groups: (i) words indicating the operation to be performed, (ii) words indicating the object to be achieved, and (iii) words indicating the material worked upon. (i) Division by operation to be performed provides the commonest classification of masons—hewers or cutters on the one hand, and setters or layers on the other. The former are *cissores*<sup>1</sup> or *taylatores*<sup>2</sup> (*tailleurs*)<sup>3</sup> in the MSS. (at a later date we find "enteiler,"<sup>4</sup> "intailer,"<sup>5</sup> and "intayler,"<sup>6</sup> but these are "carvers" rather than "cutters"); the latter are *cubitores*<sup>7</sup> (*couchours*)<sup>8</sup> or *positores*.<sup>9</sup> One other operation, namely that of preparing stone by means of hammering or scappling, instead of by cutting with an axe or chisel, provides a third division amongst the masons in some cases, the *batrarii*<sup>10</sup> or "scapellers."<sup>11</sup> This particular operation was often performed in the quarries and, in some cases at least, by layers.<sup>12</sup> (ii) Division by object to be achieved does not provide a complete classification of masons, but only enables certain types of worker to be separated. Thus we get wallers<sup>13</sup> (or *muratorii*),<sup>14</sup> paviors (*pavours*),<sup>15</sup> who dressed and very possibly laid paving stones, and image makers (*imagours*,<sup>16</sup> or *imaginatores*).<sup>17</sup> (iii) Division by material worked upon gives us marbler (marbeler,<sup>18</sup> *marmorarius*),<sup>19</sup> alabasterer<sup>20</sup> and,

<sup>1</sup> Westminster, 1253 (Scott, pp. 239 seq.).

<sup>2</sup> Caernarvon, 1317 (*B. and C.*)

<sup>3</sup> Beaumaris, 1296 (Morris, *Welsh Wars of Ed. I*, p. 268).

<sup>4</sup> York, 1515 (*F.R.Y.M.*, p. 96).

<sup>5</sup> York, 1530 (*F.R.Y.M.*, p. 104).

<sup>6</sup> King's College, Cambridge, 1509 (*W. and C*, I., 475).

<sup>7</sup> Caernarvon, 1317 (*B. and C.*) *Cubatores* at Eton in the 1440's.

<sup>8</sup> Beaumaris, 1296 (Morris, *loc. cit.*). Cf. the phrase "al fyn de chescun . . . serront couchez pieres appelez endestones" in a contract of 1389 to be printed in *A.Q.C.* XLIV.

<sup>9</sup> Rochester, 1368 (*Rochester*, p. 123).

<sup>10</sup> Caernarvon, 1316-1317 (*B. and C.*).

<sup>11</sup> Eton, 1450-1451 (*W. and C*, I., 397).

<sup>12</sup> See p. 78 above.

<sup>13</sup> London, 1313 (*Cal. Letter-Book C*, p. 239).

<sup>14</sup> Westminster, 1311-1315 (quoted in Lethaby, p. 186).

<sup>15</sup> London, 1281 (*Cal. Letter-Book B.*, p. 14).

<sup>16</sup> London, 1312 (*Cal. Letter-Book D*, p. 289).

<sup>17</sup> Westminster, 1292-1294 (quoted in Lethaby, p. 245).

<sup>18</sup> London, 1281 (*Cal. Letter-Book B.*, p. 9).

<sup>19</sup> Westminster, 1253 (Scott, p. 239).

<sup>20</sup> Nottingham, 1479 (*alablasterer*), 1495 (*alablasterman*). See *Records of Nottingham*, II., 302, and III., 28.

above all, freestone masons (*sculptores lapidum liberorum*,<sup>1</sup> *mestre mason de franche peer*,<sup>2</sup> *magister lathomus liberarum petrarum*).<sup>3</sup> We are disposed to think that "hardhewers," for which there does not appear to be any corresponding Latin or Norman-French word, should also be placed in this group. They dressed a variety of hard stone found in Kent.<sup>4</sup>

In many cases the grade of mason was distinguished, not by using some of the more specialised words quoted above, but by qualifying one of the general words. Thus at Westminster in the early fourteenth century we have the terms *cementarius ent[ailor?]* and *cementarius cubit[or]*.<sup>5</sup> In the London regulations for the trade of masons, 1356, we find *masouns hewers* and *masouns legers et setters*.<sup>6</sup> In a licence authorising the Archbishop of Canterbury to impress masons in 1396, he is permitted to take 24 *lathomos vocatos ffre maceons* and 24 *lathomos vocatos ligiers*.<sup>7</sup> At Eton College in 1445-1446, the descriptions employed are *lathomi vocati ffreasons*, *lathomi vocati hardehewers* and *positoires vocati rough leyers et brekemen*;<sup>8</sup> at Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1481, the terms used are *lathom[i] ffre* and *lathom[i] rough*.<sup>9</sup>

Probably the most common method of classifying masons in the various building documents is to use one general word for masons in conjunction with one special word, or with a general word which has been qualified. Thus at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in 1316-1317, we have *cementarii* and *cubitores*; at Windsor in 1362,<sup>10</sup> *cementarii* and *positoires*; at York in 1404, *cementarii* and *cementarii vocati setters*; at Eton in 1444-1445, *lathomi*, *hardehewers* and *positoires petrarum*; and in 1453-1454, *cementarii*, *positoires* and *cubatoires*.<sup>12</sup> In each case, by implication, the meaning of the word *cementarii* or *lathomi* is restricted by the exclusion of setters or layers (or hardhewers) and presumably implies hewers or cutters.

So far as English words for mason are concerned, several

<sup>1</sup> London Assize of Wages, 1212.

<sup>2</sup> Statute of Labourers, 1351.

<sup>3</sup> Oxford, 1391 (Salter, p. 22).

<sup>4</sup> Eton College, 1442-1450, and Sandgate Castle, 1539-1540 Accounts.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Lethaby, p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> *Letter-Book G.*, fo. 41, which Mr. A. H. Thomas kindly examined for us. *Setter* also occurs in a bond of 1415 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Wells*, II., 659).

<sup>7</sup> License reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, XLIII., 88, from Patent Roll, 19 Richard II., 14th June, 1396.

<sup>8</sup> *Eton*.

<sup>9</sup> *K.M.*, p. 234 n.

<sup>10</sup> Account Book of Wm. Mulsho, *P.R.O. Exch. K.R.*, 493/10.

<sup>11</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 25, 50. Masons' wages are referred to as *stipendia cementariorum*, whilst aprons and gloves were provided for the *cementarii vocati setters*.

<sup>12</sup> *Eton*.

have already been mentioned; the words, however, which occur most frequently are freemason and roughmason. These two categories are enumerated both in statutes<sup>1</sup> and in wage assessments.<sup>2</sup> The Eton College Building Account of 1442<sup>3</sup> groups masons as *ffr'masons*, *rowmasons* and *hardehewers*, and a statute of 1548<sup>4</sup> refers to "fremason," "roughmason" and "hardhewer" among other occupations. Whatever the exact significance of the word "rowmason" or "roughmason" in statutes and wage assessments, it is quite clear from an examination of a series of Eton documents that "rowmason" was equivalent to "layer," and that in 1442 they laid not only stones but bricks. In the account of 1444-1445, the men, who were described as *ffr'masons* and *rowmasons* in 1442, were designated *lathami* and *positoires petrarum*, whilst in 1445-1446 the descriptions employed were *lathomi vocati ffreasons* and *positoires vocati rough leyers et brekemen*. In the Eton Accounts of 1453-1454, 1456-1457, 1458-1459 and 1459-1460, the term for rowmasons or layers is *cubatoires*, which is distinguished from the term *positoires* occurring in the same accounts and applied to certain freemasons temporarily employed in setting. Whereas the rowmasons or layers received rather less favourable financial conditions than the freemasons, the *positoires* or setters received 4d. per week more than the freemasons, or than they themselves received when employed as freemasons.

Cases of "setters" receiving more than other classes of masons also occur at King's College, Cambridge, in 1509,<sup>5</sup> and at Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540.<sup>6</sup> Very possibly the term "setter" was used with reference to setting tracery, archmoulds or vaulting, which would be highly skilled work, whilst the term rowmason or layer was used with reference to laying ashlar or walling stone.

At Kirby Muxloe in 1481 and 1482, where the masons were divided into freemasons (*lathom' ffre*) and roughmasons (*lathom' rough*), there can be little doubt that the roughmasons were the layers; they did not work in winter, and when employed, had servants or labourers attached to them, doubtless to carry the stones and the mortar.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g., 11 Hen. VII. c. 22 (1495), and 7 Hen. VIII. c. 5 (1515). In an earlier statute of 1445 (28 Hen. VI. c. 12) the terms used are "frankmason" and roughmason.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Wiltshire assessment of 1604 and Kendal assessment of 1719 (*Apprenticeship*, p. 358).

<sup>3</sup> *Eton*.

<sup>4</sup> 2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *W. and C.*, I., 475.

<sup>6</sup> *K.M.*, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> *K.M.*, *passim*.

At Norwich in 1559 and 1560, three roughmasons' indentures of apprenticeship were enrolled.<sup>1</sup> In each case the master was to provide his apprentice with certain tools at the end of the term: the first was to have a trowel, a hand-axe, a plumb-rule and a square; the second, a trowel, a hammer-axe, a brick-axe and a pick-axe; the third, a trowel, a brick-axe, a hammer-axe and a brick- (? pick-) axe. The trowels, as also the plumb-rule, would suggest laying, the brick-axes the hewing of brick,<sup>2</sup> the other axes the scappling and rough dressing of stone. The stone dressed may have been only walling stone or "rockies," but the square suggests ashlar, which we understand can be prepared reasonably well either with an axe or with a hammer.

At Caernarvon the layers (*cubitores*) were employed in the winter of 1316-1317 as scapplers (*batrarii*) in the quarry; at Eton (1442-1460) the rowmasons (*cubatores*) appear to have laid brick as well as stone, but like the roughmasons (*lathom' rough*) at Kirby Muxloe (1481-1482) do not appear to have been employed in winter, and there is nothing to show whether they ever dressed stone; at Norwich in the second half of the sixteenth century roughmasons apparently laid brick as well as stone and also hewed brick and dressed stone with axe and hammer.<sup>3</sup>

Leaving aside the "hardhewers," who were concerned with preparing the hard varieties of stone found in Kent, the masons who were differentiated from the "roughmasons" were the "freemasons." In its origin, the word freemason would undoubtedly seem connected with freestone,<sup>4</sup> which is the name given to any fine-grained sandstone or limestone that can be freely worked in any direction and sawn with a toothed saw.<sup>5</sup> Such stone can be undercut and lends itself therefore to the carving of leaves and flowers in relief for the purpose of decorating capitals and cornices, to the cutting of tracery and archmoulds, and to the carving of images and gargoyles. Further, it can be dressed into practically any regular geometrical shape with a chisel and hammer

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, XV., 211, 212.

<sup>2</sup> In the winter of 1481-1482 several men previously described as bricklayers are described as brick-hewers at Kirby Muxloe (see *K.M.*, pp. 291 *seq.*).

<sup>3</sup> To-day, roughmason would seem to have a narrower meaning—a man who prepares walling stone or "rockies" with a scappling hammer, and who acts as "waller" of "rockies" or "rubble." The *N.E.D.* definition is "a mason building only with unhewn stone."

<sup>4</sup> Translation of Old French *franche peve*, where the adjective means "of excellent quality."—*N.E.D.*

<sup>5</sup> John Watson, *British and Foreign Building Stones*, p. 9.

and is consequently used for window frames, doorways and vaulting, even where no ornamentation is called for. Thus the skilled worker in freestone would be both an artist in his capacity as carver,<sup>1</sup> and a precision worker in his capacity as cutter of the very exact parts which, when assembled, produced, for example, a rose window or a fan vaulting. The high-class freemason had not only to be an adept with the mallet and chisel and in the making of his own moulds or templets, but had also to be an expert in the art of setting; if the carving was partly or wholly executed in the lodge before being placed in position it would obviously require the most careful handling when being set, whilst the slightest slip or carelessness in the matter of too much or too little mortar in setting an elaborate window would destroy the symmetry, if it did not entirely spoil the work. The skilled freemason, therefore, in many cases, set his own work and would thus not only be an artistic carver and exact hewer of stone, but also an expert setter.<sup>2</sup> Beneath these high-class craftsmen of varying degrees of skill would be freemasons who were skilled in straight moulded work and freemasons who prepared ordinary square ashlar with a chisel. Straight moulded work and ordinary square ashlar were probably set by the layers (or roughmasons), though the freemasons were no doubt qualified to do the work.

One job at which the higher grades of roughmason or layer would tend to overlap with the lower grades of freemasons, apart from the question of setting, would be in the dressing of stone by means of an axe. Whilst the freemason worked with a mallet and chisel and the roughmason or layer, in so far as he prepared "rockies," with a scappling hammer, both types of mason frequently dressed stone with axes, either roughly with a view to its being finished with a chisel or in a relatively finished manner intended for immediate use.<sup>3</sup> In the former case it was probably a freemason who rough-hewed the stone with an axe to reduce it to the approximate shape required before commencing the final dressing with the mallet and chisel. In the latter case, it might be a freemason or a roughmason who dressed the

<sup>1</sup> At Eton in 1445-1446, Thomas Glasier, one of the men classed with the freemasons, receives a "reward" of 20s. as a carver.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 85 above for cases of freemasons at Eton acting as setters (*positores*).

<sup>3</sup> Roughmasons' axes at Norwich were referred to above (p. 86). The stone axes in the Lodge at York in 1399 are mentioned in the previous chapter (p. 60). At Kirby Muxloe (1480-1484) the freemasons blunted large numbers of axes, as the smith sharpened many dozens of axes at periods when freemasons were the only masons employed (*K.M.*, *passim*).

stone ready for use with an axe, instead of chiselling it (if a freemason) or scappling it (if a roughmason). We understand that nowadays layers are often capable of dressing stone, and we think it probable that the same was true formerly. At Caernarvon in 1316-1317, layers (*cubitores*) worked in the quarry as scapplers (*batrarii*),<sup>1</sup> whilst it would certainly appear from the first article of the London Regulations for the trade of masons, 1356,<sup>2</sup> that mason hewers and mason layers were to some extent interchangeable. Whilst mediæval masons varied enormously in the quality of their craftsmanship, especially in the great era of stone building prior to 1350, there is no evidence to show that they fell into water-tight groups or grades. On the contrary, there are distinct indications that masons changed from one type of work to another, and that from time to time they were promoted from lower to higher categories.<sup>3</sup>

In thinking of higher and lower categories among masons, however loosely those categories may be defined, it is customary to think of the freemason as occupying the premier position. It is not the freestone which he worked, but the skill he exhibited and the class of work he executed which attract attention; what we feel to be the original connection of the "free" in "freemason" with the "free" in "freestone"<sup>4</sup> tends to be overlooked and various explanations have been advanced as to the exact import of the word "free" in "freemason."<sup>5</sup> We do not propose to discuss

<sup>1</sup> *B. and C.*

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II., p. 249 below.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 77-80 above.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, p. 123: "It is probable that *freemason* means *worker in freestone*, for *freestone* is mentioned in much earlier documents than *freemason*."

<sup>5</sup> L. Vibert, *Freemasonry before the Existence of Grand Lodges*, p. 12, summarises the matter thus: "Exactly what *free* meant has been much discussed. That the original meaning was a mason who worked in freestone is one explanation, but it is not without philological difficulty. Another interpretation is that the *free* mason was the workman out of his indentures, and so free of his gild or his borough. Another is that he was independent of the gild; free from it and its restrictions; free, for instance, to travel and work where he liked; or he may even have been free from certain restrictions of the borough, by reason of his having to work outside of the city as well as in it."

To Vibert's summary may be added one other possibility. It is perhaps significant that the Irish word *saor* means both "free," "noble," and "craftsman, artificer": thus *saor cloiche* is a mason, *saor crainn* a carpenter. Similarly, in Welsh *saer* means craftsman; *saer maen*, artificer in stone, mason; *saer coed*, artificer in wood, carpenter. Commenting on the double meaning of *saor*, MacNeill (*Phases of Irish History*, p. 229) says that "a skilled craftsman of unfree race became by virtue of his craft a free man." It is possible that, not only in Ireland, but in England as well, skilled craftsmanship was felt to be rightly associated with free status: at any rate, the *Regius* Poem requires that an apprentice shall not be a bondsman. (See pp. 169, 261 below.) Cf. pp. 107, 108 below.

these explanations, partly because the discussion would presuppose a knowledge of the organisation of, and of the conditions prevailing in, the mediæval stone-building industry which it is our endeavour to set forth in this book, and partly because the word freemason does not appear to have existed so far as the early mediæval mason was concerned. The earliest occurrence of the word with which we are acquainted is in 1376,<sup>1</sup> well after the close of the great era of stone building. Practically all masons in those days were referred to as *cementarii* or *masouns*. Some *cementarii* were obviously much more skilled than others, and the best work was undoubtedly done in connection with ecclesiastical buildings, which has led some writers to treat of "cathedral builders," forerunners of the later freemasons, as forming a special category of masons in the Middle Ages, a body of superior craftsmen, as compared with the general body of stoneworkers, and possibly possessing special privileges. We have to confess to being unable to find any evidence which supports the view that ecclesiastical masons were a distinct and privileged body, either in the matter of conditions of employment or in the matter of immunity from impressment. All mediæval masons seem to have been subject to impressment, and if in some cases they were not taken for the works of the king, it was not the recognition of any privileges possessed by them, but the influence of the Church which protected them. At Beaumaris and Caernarvon Castles in the early fourteenth century,<sup>2</sup> there were several masons bearing names suggesting abbey or cathedral origin. High-grade as well as low-grade masons were undoubtedly "pressed" for such royal undertakings as Westminster Palace in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and Windsor Castle in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the very earliest uses of the word "freemason" in 1396 was in the licence of the Archbishop of Canterbury to impress 24 freemasons to work on his college at Maidstone. Whilst the letters patent authorising impressment often made

<sup>1</sup> In the list of persons of divers misteries elected to the Common Council in London in that year (*Letter-Book H.*, fo. xlvi, reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, XLI., oppo. p. 136) the word "freemasons" was originally entered opposite four names, but was cancelled and replaced by the word "masons." The licence to the Archbishop of Canterbury to impress 24 *lathomos vocalos ffre maceons* in 1396, was mentioned above (p. 84). It is noteworthy that the Middle English MSS. (the *Regius* and the *Cooke*, see Chapter VI.), dating from about 1390 and 1430, which give the earliest statements of the "customs" of the masons, do not contain the word "freemason"; in each case the word used is "mason."

<sup>2</sup> See p. 74 above.

special exceptions for workmen "in the fee of the Church" this was by no means always the case.<sup>1</sup> The subject of impressment, however, is so important in the case of masons, as to call for special consideration.

*Impressment of Masons.*—At the beginning of this chapter we gave reasons for supposing that mediæval masons were mainly drawn from rural areas where, since agriculture and, later, the manufacture of textiles, absorbed most of the workers, the number of recruits to masonry must have been relatively small. If it be borne in mind also that stone-cutting, especially within the confined space of a lodge or workshop, can hardly have been a healthier occupation than it is at the present time, when deaths from silicosis are by no means unknown, it will be realised that the comparative shortness of the lives of masons, who daily drew into their lungs the grit and stone-dust among which they worked, must have intensified the scarcity in the supply of their labour. That scarcity was made more acute, from time to time, by increases in the royal demand for masons to build palaces, castles, abbeys or colleges or for service with the army.<sup>2</sup> In such cases the numbers required were frequently large: about 140 masons were employed at Westminster in the summer of 1253<sup>3</sup> and 145 in 1292:<sup>4</sup> the Beaumaris Castle works employed 400 in 1295 and the authorities were trying to secure 100 for Caernarvon.<sup>5</sup>

The procuring of such numbers would have been quite impossible without an extensive use of the Crown's prerogative power of impressment, a power comparable to the rights of purveyance used in mediæval and early modern times<sup>6</sup> and to the use of the press gang to recruit the army and navy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The method in the thirteenth century was to instruct the sheriffs of particular counties to choose a stated number of masons, carpenters, smiths or other workmen and send them to a

<sup>1</sup> E.g., at Eton College in 1441 (Maxwell-Lyte, *History of Eton College*, 1911, pp. 11-13). At Ely in 1359, the sacrist paid 10s. to the undersheriff of Cambridge on the recovery of some masons who had been impressed for the king's works (Chapman, II., 191). In 1479 masons working at York Minster were impressed for service at Nottingham Castle (*F.R.Y.M.*, p. 84).

<sup>2</sup> For instances of masons impressed for service with the army see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1350-1354, p. 606.

<sup>3</sup> Scott, pp. 239 seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Masonic Magazine*, IV., 616-618.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 3, 65 above.

<sup>6</sup> Purveyance was much used in order to obtain timber and other stores as well as transport for building operations. The name of purveyor became so hateful that it was changed by statute in 1362 without, however, lessening the burden of this service, which was ended by law in 1660.

particular building operation where they were needed.<sup>1</sup> The same officer was also frequently used in the fourteenth century, especially to provide workmen for the large-scale operations directed by William of Wykeham at Windsor. On 13th April, 1360, e.g., the Sheriffs of London were instructed immediately on sight of the order to take 40 freestone masons in the city and suburbs and send them to Wykeham at Windsor by Sunday after feast of St. George at the latest, to serve at the king's wages for as long as they should be needed.<sup>2</sup> A similar order, on this occasion as on others,<sup>3</sup> was sent to the sheriffs of several counties, and the number of craftsmen required from each of these, as compared with the number demanded from London, is probably to be taken as still another indication of the rural provenance of most masons. Forty masons were, in 1360, to be provided by each of the following counties or pairs of counties: Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire, Gloucester, Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset, Leicester and Warwick, Northamptonshire Cambridge and Huntingdon, making 320 masons in all. In 1362 Nottinghamshire, Derby and Lancashire were required to supply 24 masons each, Yorkshire, Salop and Devon to provide 60 each, and Hereford to send 40. How exactly the sheriff in each of these counties made up his quota we do not know: probably he sent to building works then in progress and to quarries and demanded so many men from each, being prepared to imprison workmen refusing to go.

The workmen impressed by the sheriffs probably varied considerably in skill and experience, matters on which the sheriff, who was likely to be more interested in quantity than quality, might be little qualified to judge. For this reason, perhaps, another method of impressment was sometimes preferred: commissions were made out to a master mason or to a surveyor or clerk of works to take craftsmen where they could be got. This method was used in the fourteenth century<sup>4</sup> and appears to have been the chief means of

<sup>1</sup> In 1282, e.g., the Sheriff of Gloucester was ordered to choose 15 good masons and send them to Bristol, en route to Llanbadarn (*Cal. Welsh Rolls*, in *Chancery Rolls, Various*, V., 250). When such an order was sent to the county palatine of Chester it was, at least at times, addressed to the Justice, as, e.g., in 1295, when 100 masons were to be sent to Caernarvon (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1288-1296, p. 413). An example of such an order to take masons is given on p. 245 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1360-1364, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 88, 89, 178-179, 391-392, 397.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g., the commissions to Robert de Gloucester, the king's master mason (*Cal. Pat. R.*, 1358-61, p. 313); to Stephen Lote and Simon Lawyn, masons, in 1397 (*ibid.*, 1396-1399, p. 82); to Robert de Bernham, king's clerk, surveyor of works at Windsor in 1351 (*ibid.*, 1350-1354, p. 128). It is probable that the workmen brought to London by Master Walter de Hereford in 1306 (Thomas, *Early Mayor's Court Rolls*, p. 251) were

recruiting the masons employed at Eton College in the middle of the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup> and those employed at Sandgate Castle in the sixteenth.<sup>2</sup>

How far, if at all, either sheriffs or other officials made use of craft associations in finding or selecting the masons we do not know. The first instances we have of any such responsibility being thrust on to trade associations occurred in the seventeenth century. The accounts of the London Masons' Company show that the company pressed men for the king's service in 1629<sup>3</sup> and 1636,<sup>4</sup> whilst in 1667 the Lord Mayor of London was commanded to call before him the authorities of the Masons' and Bricklayers' Companies in order to get men for the royal works at Sheerness.<sup>5</sup> Whatever the method used, the impressment was a sufficiently arbitrary business for opposition to be expected and it was thus customary to confer on the purveyors power to imprison those who resisted. Security was also required to be taken, on some occasions at least, from the men impressed that they would not quit the king's service without leave, and the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk was told in 1361 that it must be such security as he would answer for himself.<sup>6</sup> It is probable that the period of service counted from the time when the men were taken: the sheriff was sometimes required to pay them, and it is known that the men collected for the works at Sandgate were paid a bonus of 6d. for every 20 miles they had to travel.<sup>7</sup> The length of service was not, so far as we are aware, precisely stated, the men being taken for as long as their labour should be necessary.<sup>8</sup>

pressed men. An example of such an order to take masons is given on p. 244 below.

<sup>1</sup> See e.g., the commissions to Robert Westerley, mason, in 1441 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-1441, p. 573) and John Wynwyke, stone-cutter, in 1442 (*ibid.*, 1441-1446, p. 70).

<sup>2</sup> *Sandgate*, p. 235.  
<sup>3</sup> *Item*.—Paid in expenses in pressing of men for the King's work, 1s. 8d. (Account Book of the Company, quoted in Conder, p. 153).

<sup>4</sup> *Item*.—Paid which was spent after a meeting before the Lord Mayor with His Majesty's Lieut.-Colonel touching six masons to be impressed for His Majesty's service in the repairing of the Castle Cornett in the Isle of Garnesey, 15s. 2d. (Conder, p. 161).

<sup>5</sup> *S.P.D.*, 1667, p. 408. The Company's Account Book has the following item relating to the Order: *Item*.—Paid for charges of impressing men, and going to Sheerness, £3 13s. 5d. (Conder, p. 187).

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-1364, p. 179.

<sup>7</sup> *Sandgate*, p. 235. The same rate was paid to men travelling to Non-such Palace in 1538. See *Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII.*, Vol. 13, pt. ii., pp. 131, 132.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the patent to Geoffrey Chaucer, clerk of the works at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1390 (printed in Tighe and Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, I., 245): ". . . assignavimus te . . . ad latomos, carpentarios et alios operarios . . . eligandos et capiendos . . . ibidem ad vadia nostra, quamdiu indiguerit, moraturos."

This system of impressment did not work smoothly enough to solve all difficulties for the Crown, and it certainly created difficulties for private persons. Occasionally the Crown found itself with too many men on the pay roll, a disadvantage in winter, when craftsmen were least unwilling to remain but when some operations, such as laying stone, might be impossible for weeks together, owing to bad weather. In 1252, e.g., Henry III. had to send orders for the dismissal of men at Windsor for whom no work could be found.<sup>1</sup> At times also the eagerness of purveyors to take men for one royal building tended to hinder the progress of other work in which the Crown was interested: the servants of King's College, Cambridge, in 1446 were specially exempted from liability to be taken for building operations elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The chief sufferers were nevertheless ecclesiastical and private builders, whose men were apt to be seized unless that were prevented by letters of protection from the Crown or by a payment to the purveyor. Archbishop Chicheley in 1441 had to obtain a royal order exempting the workmen employed at All Souls College from being taken for Eton,<sup>3</sup> and in 1479 the University of Oxford requested that the men who had just finished Magdalen College should be left in the University's employment and not impressed for the works at Windsor.<sup>4</sup> In the same year the master mason at York Minster was endeavouring to procure the release of his men taken for the building of Nottingham Castle.<sup>5</sup> How great a scarcity might be created by the royal demand is indicated by the statement of one chronicler that Wykeham, about 1359, impressed nearly every mason and carpenter in England so that hardly any good craftsmen, except deserters, were available for other people.<sup>6</sup> In 1362, a year when many of the craftsmen in the royal service died of the plague,<sup>7</sup> the sheriffs of London and of twenty-four counties were ordered to make proclamation prohibiting both lay and ecclesiastical employers from hiring hewers or layers of stone without the express permission of the King.<sup>8</sup> At times of less pressure, however, the Crown would allow other employers not only to hire but occasionally to impress masons.

<sup>1</sup> See St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, I., 47 n., 87.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1427-1516, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Maxwell-Lyte, *History of Eton College* (1911), p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistolae Academicæ Oxoniensis*, p. 448.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 90 n. above.

<sup>6</sup> Continuator of Higden; see *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), VIII., 39.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-1364, p. 397.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 391-392.



Such concessions were made to the Earl of Rutland<sup>1</sup> and the Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>2</sup> in 1396, to the municipal authorities of Newcastle in 1386,<sup>3</sup> and to those of Norwich<sup>4</sup> in 1407.

Of the inconvenience caused to masons, sometimes taken to work on buildings at great distances from their homes and families, we have little record, but it is known that it was often difficult to keep such craftsmen from escaping. We shall consider elsewhere what is to be learnt from building accounts with regard to the length of time they remained at the works to which they were sent and also how their wages compared with those generally paid. Here we wish to draw attention only to the fact that desertion occurred<sup>5</sup> and also to the possibility, in some instances, of local craftsmen, not in the royal service, objecting to impressed men from outside being brought in to work at lower rates. In 1306, e.g., London masons are said to have threatened the masons and carpenters brought to the capital by Master Walter of Hereford that, if they accepted lower wages than those paid in the city, they would be beaten.<sup>6</sup> A similar case relating to carpenters occurred in 1339.<sup>7</sup> The maintenance of a wage rate was also perhaps the aim of the men who, in 1351, assaulted the carpenters impressed by the Sheriff of Kent for the works at Hertford Castle and "chased them from the King's service."<sup>8</sup>

*Economic Position of the Mediæval Mason.*—Masons, like carpenters, plasterers, tilers and other artisans connected with the building trades were wage-earners at a period when most artificers were independent craftsmen or little masters, but with this difference as compared with the other building crafts: that owing to houses in the Middle Ages being constructed largely of wood and clay, and often covered with tiles, there were considerably more opportunities for carpenters, plasterers, and tilers to establish themselves as

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1396-1399, pp. 82, 103.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 84 above.

<sup>3</sup> Brand, *History and Antiquities . . . of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Howlett, *Fabric Roll of Norwich Guildhall (Norfolk Archaeology*, XV., 164).

<sup>5</sup> See e.g., *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1350-1354, p. 80, for a commission to arrest and imprison 17 men who, after receiving the king's wages had withdrawn without licence. Cf. also, probably, *ibid.*, p. 79, a commission to arrest 9 men, including masons, for contempts against the king. See also *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-1364, p. 21, for orders to the Sheriffs of London to arrest men certified by Wykeham as deserters from Windsor.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas, *Cal. Early Mayor's Court Rolls*, p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas, *Plea and Memo. Rolls*, 1323-1364, p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1350-1354, p. 80.

independent craftsmen than was the case with masons.<sup>1</sup> Thus, whilst many carpenters were employed as workmen on big building operations, others, no doubt, had jobs as journeymen under small master carpenters in the towns and could entertain a reasonable hope of themselves becoming small master carpenters in due course. In the case of the mason, the prospects of advancement to the position of a small master must have been exceedingly slight, as the number of small stone building jobs, the contracts for which might be let to independent craftsmen, must have been very few and far between before the end of the fifteenth century. Mediæval stone-building operations were essentially large undertakings which in nearly all cases were carried out with what we should now call "direct labour" by the Crown or by the Church, the two chief building employers in the Middle Ages.

Although we have no hesitation in saying that the mediæval mason was essentially a wage-earner, in receipt of a daily or weekly wage, yet it has to be recognised that there were a number of ways in which his position might differ, either slightly or substantially, from that of a wage-earner pure and simple.

(i) In the first place, the tenure, remuneration or status of his post might be so improved as to raise him to some extent, if not entirely, out of the category of wage-earner.

(a) The mason might be hired "by the year" instead of by the week, even though the remuneration was quoted as so much per week. For example, at Ely Cathedral, in 1359-1360, whilst 7 masons were hired by the week, for a number of weeks varying from 8 to 30, at rates varying from 2s. 3d. to 3s. 4d. per week, John Stubbard, mason, was hired by the year at the rate of 2s. per week and a robe, and was paid £5 4s. (= 52 × 2s.) for the year.<sup>2</sup> At London Bridge in 1422, several of the masons were "hired for the whole year" at a wage of 3s. 9d. per week, but no wage was paid to one of these masons in a week in which he was "absent on his own affairs."<sup>3</sup>

(b) The mason might be hired for several years or even for life. Examples of both these types of engagement occur at the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus: in 1485 John, the mason, was hired for 5 years; in 1492 Thomas Mowbray,

<sup>1</sup> The specification, for the building of a house at London in 1308 by Simon de Canterbury, carpenter, is printed in Riley, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Chapman, II., 194.

<sup>3</sup> London Bridge Accounts, 3rd vol., paper books, entry for 3rd October, 1 Henry VI.

mason, was hired for 5 years, whilst in 1497 he was hired for the term of his life.<sup>1</sup> An earlier example of a life contract occurs at Hereford: in 1359 a contract was made between the Hereford Cathedral authorities and John of Evesham, mason, of Worcestershire, by which he was obliged to live in Hereford, to work diligently on the fabric, to teach others placed under him, and not to work elsewhere without leave of the Dean and Chapter. In return, he was to have a house let to him at 10s. a year, and to receive a white loaf daily and 3s. a week for life. If illness should prevent him from working for 1 or 2 weeks, he was to draw his full pay during that time; but if his absence from work should be longer, he was to receive only 12d. per week.<sup>2</sup> A somewhat similar contract at Durham was entered into by the Prior and John Bell, mason, in 1488. John Bell was to receive £7 3s. 4d. a year for life; he was to have a youth as apprentice for 10 years, and as one youth completed his apprenticeship another youth was to be taken and trained. In great age or continued infirmity, Bell's pay was to be reduced to 4 marks per annum.<sup>3</sup> The condition in the agreement of John of Evesham at Hereford and John Bell at Durham, with regard to reduced payment in case of incapacity, a payment which would practically amount to a pension, may be compared with a stipulation in an agreement between the Chapter at York and William de Hoton, master mason, in 1351, that if he should become blind or incurably diseased, half his stipend of £10 per annum was to be taken to provide a deputy (*magister secundarius cementariorum*).<sup>4</sup>

(c) The mason might hold a more responsible position carrying with it better pay and possibly greater security of tenure than that of an ordinary mason. In 1278-1280 John de la Bataile was "undermaster" at Vale Royal Abbey at a wage of 36d. a week, compared with 28d., 27d., 26d. and 24d. per week paid to most of the masons.<sup>5</sup> At Westminster in 1292, Michael the "overseer" (*apparator*) received 3s. 6d. per week compared with 2s. 9d., 2s. 6d. and 2s. 3d. received by the great majority of the masons.<sup>6</sup> At Caernarvon Castle in 1304, Henry de Elerton, "undermaster,"

<sup>1</sup> *Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus* (London, 1880), I., 307, 304, 309.

<sup>2</sup> *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, pp. 230-231.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres.* (Surtees Soc.), p. cclxxxiii; cf. *A.Q.C.*, XXI., 225-226.

<sup>4</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 166-167. A very similar patent was issued to Robert Patryngton, master mason, in 1368 (*F.R.Y.M.*, p. 180).

<sup>5</sup> *V.R.*

<sup>6</sup> Fabric Roll printed in *Masonic Magazine*, IV., 616.

received 4s. per week compared with 30d., 29d. or 28d. paid to the skilled masons.<sup>1</sup> At Windsor Castle in 1362, Thomas Kympton the "overseer" (*apparator*) was paid 3s. 4d. per week as compared with 6d. per day paid to the most skilled grade of masons.<sup>2</sup> At York in 1422, William Waddeswyk the "warden" (*gardianus*) received 3s. a week, the same as the more skilled masons, but, unlike them, held a life appointment.<sup>3</sup> At Eton College in the 1440's, at a time when the freemasons were paid 3s. a week, there were three higher posts beneath that of the master mason, viz., one "wardenship" at £10 per annum and two "purveyorships" at 6d. per day (365 days per annum = £9 2s. 6d.).<sup>4</sup> At Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1480-1484, the "warden" received 3s. 4d. per week, whilst the freemasons and roughmasons received 6d. per day.<sup>5</sup> If to what we may call the "second posts," we add the (financially if not technically) minor "first posts" such as master mason at York Minster (£10 per annum), master mason at Adderbury (3s. 4d. per week), chief mason at London Bridge (3s. 9d. per week *plus* 20s. per annum), master mason at Kirby Muxloe (4s. per week *plus* about six payments of 10s. during the year), we considerably increase the number of responsible positions held by masons.

As to how masons were selected to fill these superior posts, the information available is unfortunately but slight. In some cases they appear to have been directly promoted; in others they appear to have been brought in from outside. At York Minster, William de Hoton succeeded his father as master mason in 1351. Robert de Patryngton, master mason from 1368 to 1371, Thomas Pak, master mason in 1432, and Christopher Horner, master mason in 1505, were all freemen of York for a dozen years or more before becoming master masons, so that we are disposed to assume that they represent cases of direct promotion. On the other hand, William Colchester was brought from Westminster in 1415, John Porter from Lincoln in 1456, and William Hyndeley from Norwich in 1472, to occupy the post of master mason at York Minster.<sup>6</sup> At London Bridge, Richard Beek had been a mason on the establishment for some eight years before he succeeded John Clifford as chief bridge mason in

<sup>1</sup> *B. and C.*

<sup>2</sup> *Account Book of Wm. Mulsho, P.R.O. Exch. K.R. 493/10.*

<sup>3</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 46, 199.

<sup>4</sup> *W. and C.*, I., 378.

<sup>5</sup> *K.M.*, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, *passim*, and *Register of Freemen of City of York* (Surtees Society).

1417.<sup>1</sup> At Eton College in 1445-1446, Peter Palmer, one of the freemasons, became a purveyor of stone; when, however, a new warden was appointed there early in 1449, Robert Janyns was brought in from Merton College, Oxford. On the other hand, in 1457, Richard Philpot, who had worked many years at Eton as a freemason, was promoted to be warden at the College.<sup>2</sup> With regard to some of the other cases mentioned, John de la Bataile was brought to Vale Royal from outside (? from Battle Abbey) about six months after the building operations had commenced in 1278. Henry de Elerton, who was undermaster at Caernarvon in 1304, and very possibly a good deal earlier, succeeded Walter of Hereford there as master of the works in 1315. At Kirby Muxloe in October, 1481, Steynforth, the first warden, was reduced from warden at 3s. 4d. per week to be an ordinary freemason at 6d. per day and was replaced by John Lyle, freemason, who had not previously worked there.

It is obviously extraordinarily difficult to trace the early careers of masons who ultimately came to occupy responsible positions; the chances of their being named in their younger days in documents which have survived is but very slight, and even if it does so happen, one can never be positive that the same man is in question in two or more different documents. These cases being so rare, we quote four possible ones suggested to us by our study of the Eton College Building Accounts. From July, 1445, to the following February, Robert Spillesby, freemason (*lathomus*), worked at Eton; from 1466 to 1472 a Robert Spillesby was master mason at York Minster.<sup>3</sup> From October, 1444, to August, 1446, Thomas Jordan was a hardhewer at Eton; in 1464 a Thomas Jordan was safeguarded in his office of "sergeant of our masonry within our realm of England."<sup>4</sup> During the winter of 1453-1454 Henry Janyns (or Jannings) apparently was apprentice to John Clerk, warden of the masons; in 1476 a Henry Jennings was master mason at the erection of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.<sup>5</sup> John Coupere, who appeared to be serving an apprenticeship at Eton in 1453-1454,

<sup>1</sup> *L.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *Eton*. Prof. E. F. Jacob informs us that the All Souls Building Accounts, 1438-1443, show that Robert Janyns was employed at All Souls College as one of the two Chief Masons, being paid 3s. per week. At Merton College in 1448-1449 he received 8d. per day (Rogers, III., 720 *seq.*), whilst a warden at Eton College in 1449 he received £10 per annum.

<sup>3</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 72, 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Parl.*, V., 547b.

<sup>5</sup> Tighe and Davis, I., 375.

1456-1457 and 1458-1459, may very possibly be the same as John Couper, master mason at Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1480-1483.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) In the second place, we think it very probable that some at least of the masons, more especially the married ones, must have had agricultural holdings or other by-occupations at which they themselves worked during slack periods in the building trade and at which their women-folk and younger children, or possibly their servants, worked at all times. The by-occupations presumably provided maintenance for wives and families when husbands and fathers had jobs away from home either voluntarily or as a result of impressment, and would at other times supplement the masons' wages, about the adequacy of which, even in the fifteenth century, we feel some doubt. With regard to the character of these by-occupations, the evidence we have collected points to farming,<sup>2</sup> the hiring out of horses and carts,<sup>3</sup> (itself perhaps a by-occupation of farming), ship-owning,<sup>4</sup> innkeeping,<sup>5</sup> brewing,<sup>6</sup> and dealing in stone. So far as dealing in stone is concerned, what we have in mind here is a working mason supplementing his income by dealing in stone (dressed perhaps in his spare time) and not a mason-quarry-owner or stone merchant, whom we consider shortly. We are thinking of cases where in the same building

<sup>1</sup> *K.M.*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> At the repair of Rochester Castle in 1368, three trusses of hay were bought from Wm. Sharnhale, who, we surmise, was the same as a setter of that name employed there (*Rochester*, pp. 120, 123). In London in 1341-1344, Rd. de Lynne, mason, left his daughter 1 acre of arable land and one moiety of his sheep at Enefield, as well as 40 quarters of malt and six quarters of grout-malt, and to his son all his sheep at Brixton to the number of 35 (Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, I., 452). Cf. p. 107 below.

<sup>3</sup> At Vale Royal, 11 of the 131 masons employed in 1278-1280 supplemented their wages by hiring out horses and carts to carry stone from the quarry to the site of the Abbey (*V.R.*). In 1457-1458 at Wells Cathedral the same man was paid for rough hewing and for hauling (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Wells*, II., 86).

<sup>4</sup> Licence for John Hardy, mason, of London, himself or by deputies for seven years for the expedition of the works of the monastery of St. Saviour Syon to use his ship, called *le Christofre*, therefor without hindrance of the king's purveyors or ministers.

The like for James Palden, mason, of Laughton, co. York, to use his ship, called *la Marie*, as above (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-1446, p. 312).

<sup>5</sup> At Oxford in 1391, John Walsyngham appears to have been both mason and innkeeper (Salter, pp. 41, 48).

<sup>6</sup> It is possible that Henry Hook, mason, who worked at London Bridge from 1405-1408, was the same as Henry Hook, brewer, who at this period from time to time carted stone for, and sold stone to, the Bridge Wardens (*L.B.*). Henry Yevele, "masoun," citizen and freeman of the City of London, at his death in 1400 left, amongst other property, a brewery called "le glene" in the parish of St. Magnus (Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills*, II., 346).

account a man sometimes figures both as a "mason" and as a seller of stone. For example, Richard Beek, whilst a mason in the employ of the London Bridge wardens, sold ragstone to the wardens. Shortly after the death of John Clifford, chief bridge mason, in 1417, the wardens bought prepared "pavynston" from his widow, which points to his having been a dealer in stone.<sup>1</sup> At Rochester the bridge wardens in 1435-1436 purchased a cartload of freestone from William Champeneys, their bridge mason, for 6s. 8d.<sup>2</sup> At the building of the Bell Tower of Merton College, Oxford, in 1448-1450, John Atkynys, who worked for several weeks as a mason at the rate of 4s. a week, appears to have sold Taynton stone to the college on various occasions.<sup>3</sup> The Church Wardens' Accounts of St. Mary at Hill show that small quantities of stone were purchased from Thomas Wade, mason, in 1487-1488, and from Robert Mawndy, mason, in 1504-1505;<sup>4</sup> in view of the small quantities concerned we are disposed to think that they were working masons. They may, however, be examples of the independent craftsmen and little masters referred to in the next paragraph. The Wells Fabric Roll for 1390-1391 shows John Mason as purchaser of timber and freestone from the cathedral authorities.<sup>5</sup> In 1492-1493 a quarryman bought 50 loads of freestone.<sup>6</sup> These purchases were probably made for the purpose of resale.

(iii) In the third place, masons might be (a) independent building contractors, (b) dealers in undressed or dressed stone and/or quarry-owners, or (c) dealers in images and figures.

(a) Even at a relatively early period there was a certain number of masons who were independent craftsmen, willing and able to contract to do a stipulated piece of masonry or building. Thus by an indenture of 1321 between Sir Geoffrey de Say and John Rengwyne of Wogham, mason, Rengwyne undertook to build a hall at Hammes, in Sussex, according to specifications set out in some detail.<sup>7</sup> Rengwyne was to dig, draw and cut all the stone, except stones for hearths and backs of fireplaces; also to dig sand and lime at his own charges. Geoffrey de Say was to provide carriage. Rengwyne was to receive 35 marks *plus* one quarter of wheat; he was to be paid from month to month as the work went

<sup>1</sup> L.B.

<sup>2</sup> Becker, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Rogers, III., 723, 726, 727.

<sup>4</sup> *Mediæval Records of a London City Church* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 136, 257.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm., Wells*, II., 180.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>7</sup> *Archæological Journal*, XXIV., 56-58.

on, and the work was to be completed in 18 months. This would seem to have been a relatively small contract, implying a payment of about 26s. 8d. a month, and would suggest that the work was being done by Rengwyne with one or two assistants.

An example of a larger contract of the same type was that to which Sir Richard le Scrop and John Lewyn, mason, were parties in 1378:<sup>1</sup> Lewyn undertook to build part of Bolton Castle in Wensley Dale; he was to do at his own cost all the masonry work, finding his own stone and his own lime, but Sir Richard was to provide carriage and the wood required for burning the lime. Lewyn was to receive 100s. per perch *plus* a payment of 50 marks. The sum of £10 laid out at the time of sealing the indenture was to be deducted from the sum to be paid to Lewyn.

Two other examples of small contracts may be quoted from Durham and Hereford. In 1398 John de Middleton entered into an agreement with the Prior of Durham to complete a certain section of building in three years. During this time he was to have a robe provided by the Prior, and he and his *garcio* were to have honourable maintenance when working at Durham. He was to be paid at the rate of 10 marks for every rood, each 6 roods being paid for in advance. The price did not cover stone and lime, but included the scaffolding, iron for tools, burning of the lime and carriage, the cost of carriage, however, being limited by the Prior's obligation to find stone and lime quarries within three miles of Durham.<sup>2</sup> At Hereford, Thomas Denyar, mason and citizen of Hereford, was engaged to do work requiring six years to complete. He was to have two robes annually, or 41s. in silver instead, for himself and his partner (*socio suo*). He was to receive 23½ marks for his labour and to be paid 12d. per *sothin* for stone and carriage which he was to find.<sup>3</sup>

In comparing these four contracts it may be noted that Rengwyne and Lewyn undertook to provide stone but not carriage; Middleton was to provide carriage but not stone; Denyar was to provide both stone and carriage. He obviously took more risk than the other three contractors,

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *A.Q.C.*, X., 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres.*, p. clxxx. In 1401 there was a contract in similar terms with Peter Dryng, mason, for the reconstruction of the walls of the dormitories (*ibid.*, p. clxxxvii).

<sup>3</sup> *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, pp. 232-233 (date uncertain).

but his risk was apparently limited by a clause which provided that should he lose 20s. or less on the operation he was not to have any claim against the Dean and Chapter, nor they against him should they lose the like sum. Presumably if more than 20s. was lost, the party losing might make a claim against the other party.

As an example of a contract in which the mason undertook to provide everything, without any reservation such as existed in Denyar's agreement, the indenture of July, 1432, between the municipal authorities at Norwich and "John Marwe, citizen of Norwich, freemason," referred to in Chapter II., may be quoted.<sup>1</sup> Marwe undertook to rebuild a quay at Conesford, finding all labour, material and other things required (which presumably included any carriage needed). The authorities were to find Marwe and his workmen a house to work in. The job was expected to take about nine months and Marwe was to be paid £53 6s. 8d. by four equal instalments of £13 6s. 8d., the first payment to be made three weeks after the signing of the contract; further, at Christmas he was to receive cloth sufficient for a gown. He had to give security for the due performance of the contract, and Richard Reyner of Thornegge, freemason, is named as his surety.

In character Middleton's contract, and to a lesser extent Denyar's, resemble contracts for staff appointments, such as that of John Evesham at Hereford,<sup>2</sup> rather than ordinary building contracts with their substantial speculative element, although the possibility of profit or loss was obviously not absent in the case of Middleton and Denyar. Lewyn at Bolton Castle, and Marwe at Norwich, were to find considerable amounts of material and labour, so that they must have been capable of estimating quantities and costs; further, they must have possessed at least some working capital, for even though the employer found £10 at once at Bolton and £13 6s. 8d. very soon at Norwich, and the work was paid for by instalments (which seems implied in the Bolton contract and is explicit in the Norwich contract), a not inconsiderable sum was payable only on the completion of the work. Masons able to take on contracts of this type must certainly have been men of some substance. This is brought out very clearly in connection with Sir John Cobham's castle at Cowling in Kent, which was erected about the same time as Bolton Castle. No building con-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *A.Q.C.*, XXXV., 37. See p. 41 above.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 80 above.

tract appears to have survived, but a number of receipts have been preserved, the principal one being an acknowledgment by William Sharnhale on 23rd July, 1382, of a sum of £270 10s. 4d. as a payment on account of a total sum of £456 due in respect of work certified by Henry Yevele.<sup>1</sup>

William Sharnhale and John Marwe may be regarded as representatives of what we believe to have been a relatively very small class of masons in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, namely, the independent master mason of the town, comparable to the master goldsmith or the master tailor, a man employing two or three assistants to carry out such building jobs as were entrusted to him. William Sharnhale<sup>2</sup> was probably a Kent mason, very possibly of Rochester. In 1368 he was engaged on the repair of Rochester Castle as a setter, being the first setter named on a list of eleven who were paid at 6d. per day each for 180 days. Even at that time he showed some signs of being more than a simple wage-earner, for in the same account he received 106s. 8d. for setting a vault within the inner gate of Rochester Castle, according to a certain agreement, by task work. To do this work he very likely employed one or more assistants. In the same year he also sold three trusses of hay to the authorities for plastering the wall of the castle, which leads us to suppose that he engaged in farming as a by-occupation. Fourteen years later we find him building Cowling Castle, as mentioned in the previous paragraph. In the receipt of 1382 no description follows his name, but in a receipt of 1384 connected with the same castle, Thomas Crompe and William Sharnhale, *massonz*, acknowledge a payment of £3 18s. from Sir John Cobham for burning lime. About John Marwe a little more is known.<sup>3</sup> John Marwe, mason, was admitted a freeman of Norwich in 1400. In 1410-1411 the Fabric Roll shows that he was engaged on the building of Norwich Guildhall, with which he had probably been associated from its commencement in 1407. He was paid 6d. per day for himself, 5d. per day for his brother, Thomas Marwe, mason, and 4d. per day for the hire of labourers or for the hire of his two servants.

<sup>1</sup> Receipt printed in *Arch. Cant.*, II., 98. The transactions were referred to in Chapter II. (see p. 42) in connection with the administration of private building operations.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 98-101, 120, 123.

<sup>3</sup> See G. W. Daynes, *A Masonic Contract of A.D. 1432 (A.Q.C., XXXV., 34-38)*; Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*; L'Estrange, *Cal. of Freemen of Norwich*; Blomfield, *History of Norfolk*; and Howlett, *Fabric Roll of Norwich Guildhall, 1410-1411 (Norf. Arch., XV.)*.

During 1410-1411 John Marwe received wages for 68 days' work on the Guildhall; for 59 days his brother worked with him; for 47 days he had 3 labourers working under him, and for 15 days he had 2 labourers working under him. In 1432 he took the contract to rebuild Conesford quay, as mentioned above. He was a member of the Guild of St. George, the most important gild in Norwich, and also a member of the common council of the city. The last time he is mentioned in any official document is in 1442.

(b) In an earlier portion of this chapter, in discussing how stone might be partially or entirely prepared by masons in quarries, we touched on the same problem as that which now confronts us, but from a different angle; then we were thinking of stone-hewers and cutters working in the quarry; now we are thinking of masons who were owners or tenants of quarries or stone-yards and who dealt in dressed or undressed stone on a fairly substantial scale, men such as the Canons of Corfe in the fourteenth century, who appear to have supplied marble both to Westminster and to Exeter,<sup>1</sup> Ralph Crompe of Bocton and his partners who sold stone on a large scale to the master of the works at Rochester Castle in 1368,<sup>2</sup> the Kent quarry-owners who sold stone to Eton College in 1442 and 1445,<sup>3</sup> and William Orchard, architect and builder of much of Magdalen College, Oxford, who contracted to supply stone from his quarry at Headington to Magdalen College and to Eton College in 1479, and who sold stone to the School of Canon Law at Oxford in 1482.<sup>4</sup> An even better-known master mason who dealt in stone was Henry Yevele. In 1368 he supplied 13 tons of Stapleton freestone at 8s. per ton for the repair of Rochester Castle.<sup>5</sup> Ten years later he was tenant in possession of the manor of Langton in the Isle of Purbeck, which seems to point to his being a quarry-owner also.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A [Westminster] Roll of 1337-1339 shows that . . . Richard Canon of Corfe was paid for marble and William Canon worked at the Chapel. We know . . . about these Canons of Corfe from the Exeter Cathedral Accounts. In 1332 William Canon was paid for a large quantity of wrought marble supplied for the Cathedral by his father and himself. In 1352 Master Edward Canon, master stone-cutter, working on the stalls of St. Stephen's Chapel, was paid the large wage of 1s. 6d. per day" (Le'haby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 192).

<sup>2</sup> *Rochester*, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> *W. and C.*, I., 385, and *Eton*.

<sup>4</sup> *Mediæval Archives of the University of Oxford*, Vol. II. (*Ox. Hist. Soc.*), pp. 291-292; and *W. and C.*, I., 410.

<sup>5</sup> *Rochester*, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> W. Wonnacott, *Henry Yevele, The King's Master Mason, A.Q.C.*, XXI., 246.

(c) In Chapter I. reference was made to the use of Purbeck marble and of alabaster for internal decoration and sculpture, and at the beginning of this chapter to the conveyance for considerable distances of images and figures prepared in quarries or masons' workshops. Just as a freemason in some cases was a dealer in dressed stone, so a carver might be a dealer in images and figures and sell statues and tombs, either of standard pattern or of special design, made in his own workshop, instead of being paid a wage as carver or sculptor whilst employed at the place where the work was to be erected. Thus Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton of Chellaston, "kervers," who undertook in 1419 for the sum of £40 to make and carve a tomb of alabaster in accordance with the specifications in the contract and to set it up in the parish church of Lowick in Northants, were clearly doing work to order,<sup>1</sup> whilst Nicholas Hill of Nottingham, image maker, who sued his agent in 1491 with regard to the sale of 58 heads of John the Baptist, was presumably concerned in the production of figures of standard pattern.<sup>2</sup> Richard Railey and his son, Gabriel, carried on the trade of tomb makers at Burton-on-Trent in the second half of the sixteenth century, and amongst other work erected a tomb at Somerton in Oxfordshire, it being especially provided in the contract that the buyer was to provide the carts and cattle to convey the parts from Burton to Somerton.<sup>3</sup> In the early seventeenth century the statues on the great gate of Trinity College, Cambridge, were carved in London by John Smith and Mr. Ouer and sent to Cambridge when finished, as the Senior Bursar's Accounts clearly show.<sup>4</sup>

*Status of the Mediæval Mason.*—Any consideration of the status of the mediæval mason, a matter on which it is neither easy nor safe to generalise, must raise two chief problems: first, the relationship of the mason to the Church, especially to the monasteries; and secondly, if it be true that the majority of masons were laymen, whether they were personally free or servile. Recognising that the evidence at our disposal is far scantier than we should like, we shall attempt an answer to each of these questions in turn.

At first sight there would appear to be two strong reasons for expecting the monks to take an active part in building. In the first place they possessed the arithmetical and geometrical knowledge without which arches, vaulting and

<sup>1</sup> See contract printed in Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Stevenson, *Records of Nottingham*, III., 19; and *Archæologia*, LII., 679.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæological Journal*, VIII., 185-186.

<sup>4</sup> *W. and C.*, II., 487.

window tracery could hardly be designed, and among them were to be found draughtsmen whose skill in illuminating missals would be useful in providing architects' drawings. In the second place, the insistence of the Benedictine rule on the spiritual value of manual labour might be expected to induce some at least of the monks to exercise the craft of mason, carpenter, glazier or plumber with their own hands. Some instances could be cited of monks who were craftsmen, but they are so exceptional as to be negligible. Nor is that strange, for in its earlier phase monasticism aimed at puritan simplicity, in which the luxury crafts might be judged inappropriate, as, indeed, St. Bernard clearly regarded them. In the second phase, when the Cistercians were possessed with a rage for building and had money to pay for it, it might be expected that the loss of primitive simplicity would be accompanied by a distaste for manual labour. In this phase there was a tendency to specialisation of function: the monks proper concentrated on the service of the choir, while the monastic population was increased by the addition of persons insufficiently literate for the choir but necessary for the cultivation of land and for other work which the monks had neither the time nor, it would appear, the humility, to perform. The question, therefore, is whether the masons who built and maintained the fabric of the monasteries are to be sought among the *conversi* or lay brethren.

In some Orders the number of lay brethren was quite insufficient for any such purpose. Among twenty Cluniac houses in England<sup>1</sup> in 1245-1246, there were nine lay brethren; among the same houses there were three in 1262 and none in 1279. Among the Cistercians the number of lay brethren was much greater: in the early thirteenth century they usually outnumbered the monks and were sometimes twice as numerous. With this Order also, however, the tendency was for the *conversi* to decline in numbers and ultimately to disappear: most of them were employed in agriculture and, as the monks (especially after the Black Death) tended to become rentiers rather than managers, they had less need of lay brethren, who, in any case, had not always been easy to control.<sup>2</sup> Though it would be rash to assert that no masons were to be found among the *conversi*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the figures see Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the later Middle Ages*, Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> On the lay brethren generally, see Snape, *op. cit.*, 6-11.

<sup>3</sup> In 1351 an indulgent to choose a confessor was issued to John Latomus, lay brother of Worcester (*Cal. Papal Letters*, III., 380). It is doubtful whether this John was a mason by trade; Latomus may be a Latin rendering of his surname.

it is in the highest degree improbable that any considerable amount of building was carried out by them.

There is better evidence of the existence of masons among the class which ultimately superseded the lay brethren, namely hired servants. In 1492, e.g., Thomas Mowbray, mason, was hired by the Abbot of Cupar for five years, during which he was to be paid 5 marks per annum and to have his house and toft, with 2½ acres, free of rent.<sup>1</sup> Earlier instances of a similar method of obtaining services occur in the survey of the possessions of the See of Durham made in 1183.<sup>2</sup> There we read that—

In South Sherburn, Christian, the mason (*cementarius*) holds 60 acres, which the Bishop gave him out of the moor, for 5s., and 2 oxgangs, which were Arkill's, for 14d., but he shall be quit of these payments so long as he is in the Bishop's service in mason work.

In Stanhope . . . Lambert, the marble-cutter (*marmorarius*), 30 acres for his service, so long as he shall be in the Bishop's service, and when he shall have left the Bishop's service, he renders 2 besants or 4s.

Similarly, smiths and carpenters on the Bishop's estates are found holding land in virtue of their calling and this was common elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> To what extent masons held land in this way in other parts of England we do not know, but the probability is that they did so far less frequently than other craftsmen, since an ordinary manor, on which there was plenty of work for carpenters and smiths on carts, ploughs and horses, could provide little, if any, employment for masons. That many, and perhaps most, mediæval masons did hold land is no doubt probable,<sup>4</sup> but since manorial buildings were generally of wood the mason would normally have to carry on his trade in places outside the manor where his holding, if he had one, lay, and he must have been more mobile than the blacksmith.

Whether this mobility implied free status is not clear, for though freedom was an aid to mobility it was not indispensable, since a bondman could get his lord's licence to leave the manor in order to learn or to ply his trade.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. Rogers, *Rental Book of . . . Cupar-Angus*, I., 304.

<sup>2</sup> W. Greenwell, *Boldon Buke* (Surtees Soc., 1852), see pp. 10, 30, 49, 65.

<sup>3</sup> Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records*, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g., *Percy Chartulary* (Surtees Soc.), p. 87, for the release of rights in a carucate of land held by Hugo, *cymentarius*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 107—Richard, *cementarius*, of Tadcaster, quitclaims a rent of 2d. received from an acre of land sold by him to the reeve of Tadcaster. Cf. p. 99 above.

<sup>5</sup> Among the amounts entered under the heading of chevage in the reeve's accounts for Crawley, Hampshire, in 1448-1449 (N. S. B. Gras, *Economic and Social History of an English Village*, p. 476), is 8d. per annum from John, son of Stephen Couche, a villein, for licence to use the craft of smith with John Starlynge, and to stay with him as an apprentice.

Some instances are known of masons who were apparently bondsmen and could be transferred from one lord to another: William, Earl of Surrey, e.g., gave to Castleacre Priory, Wilmar the mason, with his land, *ad opus novae ecclesiae*,<sup>1</sup> and in 1295 there was confirmed to Peterborough the gift of the service of Aluric the mason.<sup>2</sup> In general, however, it is probable that the migratory character of his work and his liability to impressment must have tended to loosen the connection between the mason and the manor even before the disturbances of the fourteenth century made it easier for other kinds of workmen to escape. Towards the end of the century and in the earlier fifteenth we find the *Regius* poem and the *Cooke MS.*<sup>3</sup> laying stress on free birth as a qualification for the craft, but whether this has some special significance or was merely an imitation of a common provision in gild ordinances we cannot determine.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale-Caley, Vol. V., p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Papal Letters*, I., 558.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 169 below.

## CHAPTER V.

### CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

#### A. WAGES, HOURS AND HOLIDAYS.

IN view of the fact that masons were predominantly wage-earners throughout the Middle Ages, the subject of their wages is obviously one of great importance. It is also one of considerable complexity, and it raises a variety of problems which we shall endeavour to review in turn.

1. *Diversity*.—Reference has already been made to the great diversity of wage rates which prevailed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Attention having also been drawn to the very varied grades or categories of masons which existed at that period, it might be assumed that the two phenomena were closely connected, and that each grade or category had its own rate of pay. Generally speaking, hewers received rather more than layers, and layers substantially more than masons' labourers or servants (where these can be distinguished), but the great diversity to which we refer, and for which we endeavoured to account in the last chapter, was that within the groups of hewers and layers themselves. The figures relating to Caernarvon Castle in October, 1316, may be quoted as an example:—

Hewers ( <i>cementarii</i> ).	Layers ( <i>cubitores</i> ).
2 @ 33d. per week.	2 @ 28d. per week.
4 @ 30d. "	3 @ 25d. "
3 @ 29d. "	2 @ 24d. "
1 @ 28d. "	1 @ 22d. "
2 @ 27d. "	1 @ 21d. "
	1 @ 20d. "
	1 @ 16d. "
	1 @ 14d. "

If adequate information were available about such craftsmen as image makers, marblers, paviors and wallers, still greater diversity might be revealed. Actually, we have deliberately

<sup>1</sup> P. 81 above. Cf. *Masons' Wages*.



ignored isolated figures for odd jobs, showing, for example, that two wallers (*muratorii*) worked at Leicester for three and a half days at 3½d. per day in 1351-1352, making the wall of the garden of the Moot Hall, or that a sum of 2s. 10d. was paid to two masons (*lapicidis*) who worked at Whetstone on the common oven for three and a half days in 1376-1377.<sup>1</sup> The information which we have collected and tabulated all relates either to substantial building operations (occasionally only for a single week) or to small building operations for a considerable number of weeks.<sup>2</sup> It refers primarily to hewers and layers, who were much the most important and numerous categories of masons. From this information we have endeavoured to obtain a picture of wage levels and of local variations in wages.

2. *Predominant Rates.*—In attempting to form an estimate of the general level of masons' wages in the Middle Ages, we have been obliged to merge hewers' and layers' wages, partly because in several cases the accounts do not permit of classification, and partly because the information is not available when we come to utilise the material collected by Thorold Rogers; and to obtain a general picture of masons' wages in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it is essential to supplement the scattered figures we have obtained from the study of a limited number of building accounts by Rogers's more widespread statistics.<sup>3</sup> So far as our own first-hand material is concerned, we have endeavoured to overcome the great diversity of the earlier wage-payments by a somewhat rough and ready method of selecting what appears to us to be the predominant figure or range of figures in each case. Thus, we reduce the detailed figures quoted above for hewers and layers at Caernarvon in October, 1316, to the bald statement that the predominant rates for masons were 4d. to 5d. per day. Whilst in all cases relating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (with the exception of Beaumaris in 1330) the position can only be represented by a predominant range, in the fifteenth century, thanks to the striking uniformity of wage rates, it is possible in every case to give a single predominant figure.

In the upper half of Table I. (see Appendix, p. 236), (a) the general average figures, (b) the Oxford predominant figures, (c) the Cambridge predominant figures, (d) the London

<sup>1</sup> Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, II., 79, 158.

<sup>2</sup> A good many details, with references, will be found in *Masons' Wages*. In the table printed in the Appendix to this book (p. 236) we give only the predominant rates for the various building operations.

<sup>3</sup> Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, Vols. II. and III.

Bridge predominant figures based on the Bridge Accounts, and (e) our own miscellaneous predominant figures for a mason's daily money wage (without food, in summer) from 1280 to 1510, are set out side by side, in so far as they are available. The figures in each column tell more or less the same story: from 1280 to 1350, ignoring for a moment the Westminster figures, the general level of masons' wages was 4d. per day, or slightly over; from 1350 to 1370 wages were rising, as a result, no doubt, of the effects of the Black Death, and finding a new level at 6d.; from 1370 until the commencement of the sixteenth century, 6d. per day appears to have been the commonest wage outside London, though from the middle of the fifteenth century 3s. 4d. per week was being paid to freemasons on certain important jobs in the provinces.

As statistics of money wages without reference to changes in price-levels are liable to be very deceptive, brief reference may be made here to the subject of alterations in real wages, a problem of enormous importance in the second half of the sixteenth century, and throughout the seventeenth, a subject to be fully discussed in Chapter VII. So far as we are concerned here, whilst prices undoubtedly rose after the Black Death, yet the rise in money wages from about 4d. to about 6d. (outside London) was apparently more than sufficient to compensate for the rise in food prices, as a consequence of which real wages were higher in the period 1371-1510 than in the period 1301-1350.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Local Variations.*—Taking the miscellaneous predominant rates set out in Table I. (p. 236) the most striking thing about them is the almost entire absence of local variations at any given period. This we are inclined to attribute to two causes: (i) The fact that the figures mostly relate to relatively important jobs, to which masons were drawn from far afield, a point to be discussed later under the head of mobility of labour. In one case, which was obviously a small job, the repair of Sheffield Castle in 1447, 5d. was being paid compared with the normal 6d. (ii) The fact that with the exception of Westminster in 1292, we have quoted no London figures prior to 1400. In the fifteenth century London wage rates were approximately 2d. per day

<sup>1</sup> On the assumption that real wages at Oxford, Cambridge and London Bridge in 1501-10 = 100, the average level of real wages from 1301 to 1350 was equal to 97.6, and from 1371 to 1510 to 115.7. For figures for each decade see Table II. in the Appendix (p. 238). For explanation of the figures, see p. 237.

higher than those prevailing on important building operations in other districts, though it is quite possible that the London Bridge figures quoted in our table are slightly on the low side. They represent rates paid to masons who were in very regular, if not permanent, employment. On jobs of a less permanent kind a rate of 8½d. per day was possibly more usual than a rate of 8d.<sup>1</sup>

That wages were lower in some parts of the country than others in the fifteenth century and in the beginning of the sixteenth century is implied by the statutes of 1444-1445,<sup>2</sup> 1495<sup>3</sup> and 1514,<sup>4</sup> which in laying down a legal rate of 5½d. (1444-1445) or 6d. (1495 and 1514), provided that in places where less had been paid in the past, the lower rates were to continue. The last statute led to a petition from the freemasons, roughmasons and other building trade workmen in London, who complained that the rates were too low "in consideration of the great charge of their house rent, their victual" and the fact that they were liable to serve in divers offices. A statute<sup>5</sup> was therefore passed allowing them to take wages as before 1514, while they were at work in the City. Those wages, as indicated above, would be 8d. or 8½d. per day.

4. *Methods of Paying Wages. (a) Time Rates and Piece Rates.*—A study of those building documents with which we are more intimately acquainted shows that the great majority of masons were paid time wages. Even when work was paid for by task, as was fairly common, for example, at Westminster Abbey in 1253,<sup>6</sup> it does not follow that the individual craftsmen who actually dressed the stone were remunerated by the piece. Frequently such substantial sums were paid for wrought stone to individuals as to make it almost certain that they were sub-contractors employing artisans to do the hewing, very possibly at time rates. Where task work (*opera ad tascam*) occurred, even if there were no sub-contractor, the fact that lump sums were commonly entered in the accounts without any definite indication as to the exact numbers employed or the exact

<sup>1</sup> Masons employed by the London Brewers Company in 1423 received either 8d. or 8½d. per day (Chambers and Daunt, *A Book of London English*, p. 153, quoting a book of the Brewers Company). Rogers has fifteen London examples in the fifteenth century, 1 @ 7d., 2 @ 7½d., 5 @ 8d., and 7 @ 8½d.

<sup>2</sup> 23 Henry VI. c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> 6 Henry VIII. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Fabric Roll printed in Scott, 239 seq.

<sup>5</sup> 11 Henry VII. c. 22.

<sup>6</sup> 7 Henry VIII. c. 5.

time taken,<sup>1</sup> makes it impossible in most cases to learn anything definite about the earnings of individuals whilst employed on task work. The most informative cases with which we are acquainted occurred at Beaumaris and Caernarvon when some layers (*cubitores*) worked for a period as scappers (*batrarii*) at task; the workers so employed were entered each week by name in the accounts, and as their time rates in previous and succeeding weeks are known, it is possible to calculate what the various groups of men would have earned had they been employed at their usual time rates instead of working at task. In both cases the results are practically the same: the piece rates appear to have been so calculated as to yield the usual time rates. The particulars are as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

Wage-Earners.	Week Ending	Actual Earnings as <i>batrarii</i> at Task.	Estimated Earnings as <i>cubitores</i> at Day Rates.
11 Caernarvon layers	9 Jan., 1316-1317	17s. 10d.	17s. 10d.
12 " "	16 " "	20s. 4d.	19s. 9½d.
12 " "	23 " "	19s. 9d.	19s. 9½d.
13 " "	30 " "	21s. 6d.	21s. 6½d.
13 " "	6 Feb., "	25s. 8d.	25s. 3d.
13 " "	13 " "	27s. 9d.	25s. 3d.
12 " "	20 " "	24s. 6d.	23s. 2d.
9 " "	27 " "	18s. 2d.	18s. 10d.
4 " "	6 Mar., "	8s. 1d.	8s. 1d.
2 " "	13 " "	4s. 0d.	4s. 1d.
4 Beaumaris layers	9 Dec., 1319	6s. 11d.	6s. 11½d.
5 " "	16 " "	8s. 10d.	8s. 10d.
4 " "	23 " "	6s. 4½d.	7s. 0d.

The extraordinarily 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 of the overseer, could be completed without the quality suffering, at a task rate which would enable the layers to earn their normal weekly remuneration.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., a sum of 100s. was paid at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278 to three masons "with their fellows and servants" for 1000 stones which they dug out of the quarry, cut, prepared and finished (*Ledger-Book*, 207); a sum of 106s. 8d. was paid at Rochester Castle in 1368 to William Sharnhale for setting a vault (*Rochester*, p. 123); a sum of 44s. was paid at Eton in 1445-1446 to Edmund Knight for working 166 feet of ashlar (*Eton*).

<sup>2</sup> B. and C.

(b) *Payments With or Without Food.*—Although most municipal wage regulations and statutes fixing wages in the Middle Ages laid down one rate of wages with meat and drink and another, and higher rate, without meat and drink, we have actually found very few cases of employers paying masons their wages partly in kind. The system adopted at the building of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1292,<sup>1</sup> appears to have been an exception, and the same practice seems to have been followed on a smaller scale at later dates at Westminster Abbey.<sup>2</sup> Small contracts sometimes stated that a mason (and his servant) were to be fed as part of their remuneration.<sup>3</sup> As a general rule, on big building operations the masons appear to have been paid their whole wages in money, though occasionally ale and, very rarely, bread, may have been supplied as a kind of bonus or special allowance.

(c) *Bonuses and Rewards.*—Master masons, wardens and, from time to time, other masons received extra payments over and above their ordinary remuneration, sometimes so regularly in respect both of time of payment and amount of payment as to constitute very possibly part of their official remuneration. Thus John Clifford, chief bridge mason at London Bridge, received in the last pay week of September every year from 1405 to 1416 inclusive, 20s. as a reward in addition to his regular weekly wage of 3s. 9d.;<sup>4</sup> John Couper, master mason at Kirby Muxloe Castle, received 10s. at somewhat irregular intervals, six times in each of the two years 1481-1482 and 1482-1483, "as a reward, by my lord's command," quite apart from the wage of 4s. a week which he received when actually working at Kirby Muxloe.<sup>5</sup> The following are examples of more occasional rewards. Richard Beek, one of the masons at London Bridge received extra payments of 13s. 4d. (above his ordinary weekly

<sup>1</sup> See summary of Fabric Rolls printed in *Masonic Magazine*, I., 318.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., in 1365, "three masons at 2s. per week and their livery of bread and ale" (Scott, p. 258).

<sup>3</sup> E.g., John Loose, mason, working for Corpus Christi College in 1459, was to have a chamber, bedstead and bed in the College, "and his mete to be dyght in the kechyn," at the cost of the College while he was working there (*W. and C.*, I., 308-310). Richard Mason, engaged on divers works of masonry in the kitchen of Sheffield Castle in 1447, received 3d. per day in addition to his food given him outside the guest house of John Talbot, Knight (*Hunter Arch. Soc.*, II., 355). The contracts of John Middleton and Peter Dryng at Durham and of John Wode at Bury St. Edmunds, quoted previously (pp. 70, 101), provide other examples.

<sup>4</sup> *L.B.*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *K.M.*, *passim*.

wage of 3s. 9d.) in September, 1411, "for his great labour on the work of le Stokk and elsewhere for the whole year," and in December, 1412, "as reward for his diligence."<sup>1</sup> At Eton College<sup>2</sup> in 1448-1449, Peter Palmer, mason, received 20s. "in reward for his diligence, by precept of the Provost," and on another occasion 6s. 8d. Henry Roo, mason, similarly received 6s. 8d. In 1445-1446 there is an entry under "Rewards" which may be quoted more fully:—

In various rewards made to the setters of stone . . . for their diligent labour in the said works in hot weather by consideration of . . . the Provost of Eton College, viz., Henry Roo, 12s. . . . 5/8 . . . 6/4 . . . 2/8 . . . 3/4 . . . 3/4, setters of freestone; . . . 3/4 . . . 12d., layers of breke, and . . . carver, 20s.

Sometimes a reward, instead of being paid in money, took the form of a robe or livery. Generally, it was masons in the more responsible posts who received liveries, but apparently there were exceptions. Reference was made previously<sup>3</sup> to the dress and gloves supplied to Walter le Bole, mason, whilst repairing and making four windows and one great pillar at Westminster Abbey in 1342. At the same building in 1354-1355 four masons, two being casual, were "provided with winter dresses beside their own," in 1388 the sum of 100s. was expended for the fee of Master Yevele, chief mason, and the sum of 15s. for his dress and furs,<sup>4</sup> whilst during the reign of Henry V. in the early fifteenth century annual robes were supplied for the masons, over twenty in number.<sup>5</sup> At Ely in 1359-1360, John Stubbard, *cementarius*, received a robe in addition to his wage of 2s. per week.<sup>6</sup> At Eton College in 1445-1446, cloth was purchased for the liveries of the chief mason, of the warden, and of the purveyors.<sup>7</sup>

For the general body of masons, bonuses, if any, usually took a more modest form. On occasion beer was supplied; e.g., at Leicester in 1314 and 1325-1326,<sup>8</sup> at Adderbury in 1413-1414,<sup>9</sup> and more frequently at London Bridge from 1404 to 1418. Practically every Ash Wednesday<sup>10</sup> 3s. 4d. appears in the accounts for beer (= 20 gallons) either for "the bridge workers" or for "the masons and carpenters."

<sup>1</sup> *L.B.*

<sup>2</sup> *Eton*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 69 *n.* above.

<sup>4</sup> Scott, pp. 256, 257, 258.

<sup>5</sup> Rackham, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Chapman, II., 194. Stubbard was *not* the master mason.

<sup>7</sup> *Eton*.

<sup>8</sup> 6d. for beer on one occasion, and 1s. 3½d. on the other (Bateson, I., 283, 351).

<sup>9</sup> *Adderbury*, p. 65

<sup>10</sup> *In die carniprivii*, possibly Shrove Tuesday.

Apart from the commencement of Lent, which appears to have been marked by a special celebration, beer was also provided from time to time; on some occasions, at least, the supply was associated with extra work which was being done, but so far as we have traced these entries, the amounts supplied were on a much less generous scale than on Ash Wednesdays. On one particular occasion when the masons appear to have worked at night at the erection of the so-called "ffaux brigg," bread as well as ale was supplied.<sup>1</sup>

Reference was made in Chapter III. to one other "extra," namely, to living accommodation which was sometimes provided for the masons (without any entries in the accounts to show that they were charged for it), and appears to have been free and in addition to the ordinary remuneration. Thus houses were provided at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-1280, and a hostel at Eton in the 1440's. In the latter case, fuel for heating and the services of a cook were also provided free of charge. At London Bridge, too, the authorities paid the wages of a cook for the bridge workers. At King's College, Cambridge, in 1480, the masons appear to have been provided with a house.<sup>2</sup>

5. *Hours of Labour.* (a) *Daily Hours.*—Mediæval wage rates being generally expressed as so much per day or so much per week or so much per fortnight, or occasionally as so much per annum, and never, so far as we are aware, as so much per hour,<sup>3</sup> there is a great dearth of information about the length of the working day in respect of which the daily wage was paid. The earliest implicit references to hours appear to be contained in the differentiation between summer and winter rates of pay in early wage regulations and in early building accounts. Thus, the London Regulations of 1275-1296 fixed the masons' daily wage without food as 5d. in summer (Easter to 29th September), 3d. in winter (11th November to 2nd February) and 4d. in spring and autumn,<sup>4</sup> thus implying three lengths of working day. In the Vale Royal Abbey Building Account of the same period, we find in the margin at the beginning of November, "Here the payments are decreased on account of the short days" and at the beginning of February, "Here the pay-

<sup>1</sup> *L.B.* At London in 1339 carpenters received 6d. per day, and an after-dinner drink (Thomas, *Plea and Memo. Rolls*, 1323-1368, p. 108), and it is not unlikely that masons were employed on the same terms.

<sup>2</sup> In that year, timber was purchased *ad domum lathamorum* (*W. and C.*, I., 473 n.).

<sup>3</sup> Except in the case of certain overtime rates referred to on p. 208 below.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Albus*, I., 728.

ments are increased on account of the longer days."<sup>1</sup> At Adderbury in 1414-1415, winter rates also applied in November, December and January. At York Minster in 1352 winter rates applied from Michaelmas to Easter, whilst in 1370 they applied from Michaelmas to the first Sunday in Lent. The Masons' Ordinances of that date<sup>2</sup> fixed the winter hours as from daylight until dark, with 1 hour for dinner and 15 minutes for "drinking" in the afternoon. The summer hours were from sunrise to 30 minutes before sunset, with 1 hour for dinner, 30 minutes for "sleeping" and 30 minutes for "drinking." Assuming a mason could see to work from half an hour before sunrise to half an hour after sunset, the average daily working hours would be about 8¾ in the five winter months and 12¼ in the seven summer months. A statute of 1495<sup>3</sup> laid down that masons were to work in summer (mid-March to mid-September) from before 5 a.m. to between 7 and 8 p.m., with intervals of half an hour for breakfast and one and a half hours for dinner, which included the time for a siesta when that was allowed (i.e., from mid-May to mid-August). The winter hours, as at York, were not precisely stated but were to be from "the springing of the day" until night.<sup>4</sup> To judge by the preamble to the Act, it is doubtful if the hours were very strictly observed, as it complains that "divers artificers and labourers . . . retained to work . . . waste much part of the day . . . in late coming unto their work, early departing therefrom, long sitting at their breakfast, at their dinner and noon-meat, and long time of sleeping after noon."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ledger-Book*, pp. 212, 213.

<sup>2</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 181, 182.

<sup>3</sup> 11 Henry VII. c. 22, repeated in 6 Henry VIII. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Statute for governance of masons working on the Fabric of St. Giles, Edinburgh, in 1491, which required them to work in summer from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m., with an interval for breakfast (*disione*) from 8 to 8.30, for dinner from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., and for "recreation" from 4 to 4.30 p.m. The winter hours were from dawn till dark, with a break for dinner only. (Text in D. Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, p. 37.) Similar hours were prescribed in a contract of 1537 for George Boiss, a mason serving the kirk and town of Dundee, but his dinner hour was from 11.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. (Text in Mylne, *Master Masons to Crown of Scotland*, pp. 63-64.)

<sup>5</sup> That the midday siesta was considered desirable from the point of view of health appears, e.g., from *Secreta Secretorum* (*E.E.T.S.*, Extra Series, lxxiv., p. 71): "Whanne thou hast wel etyn, goo lye upon a neshe bed and sleep atemprely, and rest an hour upon thy right side & after turn the upon thy left syde. . . . And wetith that slepyng byfore mete makyth a mannys body lene and dryes his moystures, but after mete it filleth him, stryngthes hym and norscheth hym." The later view of Andrew Boorde in his *Dyetary* (*E.E.T.S.*, Extra Series, x., p. 246) was less favourable: "Whole men, of what age or complexyon soever

With regard to the effect of the change of hours on wages: at York in the fourteenth century the weekly reduction of the wage in winter was equivalent to one day's pay. At Vale Royal in 1278-1280, Caernarvon in 1316-1317, Beaumaris in 1316-1317, Adderbury in 1413-1415 and Merton College, Oxford, in 1448-1450, the reduction in wages in winter was also approximately one-sixth. At London Bridge from 1404 to 1418 the masons received 3s. 9d. per week throughout the year; about 1441 a distinction was introduced between summer and winter rates and from 1442 onwards for a time the summer rate was 8½d. per day, and the winter (November, December and January) rate 7½d. per day. In the later part of the fifteenth century the summer rate was 8d. and the winter rate 7½d. At Eton College from 1442 to 1454 no distinction was made between summer and winter rates, the wage of 3s. per week or 6d. per day being paid all the year round. In 1456-1457, 1458-1459 and 1459-1460, the freemasons were paid 3s. 4d. per week in summer and 3s. per week in winter (November, December and January). Thus, both at London Bridge and at Eton College when differentiation between summer and winter rates was introduced it was effected, not by reducing the winter rates, but by increasing the summer rates. At Kirby Muxloe Castle freemasons received the summer rate of 3s. per week during the winter of 1481-1482, but in the winter (November, December and January) of 1482-1483 and 1483-1484 their rate was reduced to 2s. 6d. per week.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *Weekly Hours and Holidays*.—If the determination of the average daily hours of work in winter and in summer is but an estimate, the determination of the average weekly hours of work is even more uncertain. The extent to which the numerous Saints' Days and Church Festivals were observed and the practice of paying or not paying wages in respect of such days, appear to have differed from one building operation to another. The number of feast-days and holidays observed at Vale Royal was twenty-seven in 1279<sup>2</sup> and twenty-two in 1280.<sup>3</sup> The number observed at

they be of, shuld take theyr natural rest and slepe in the nyght & to exchew merydyall slepe," but if sleep they must, they should do so standing and leaning against a cupboard or sitting upright in a chair.

<sup>1</sup> The reason for the change of practice at London Bridge is referred to later (p. 128). We know of no particular reason why the change was introduced at Eton or at Kirby Muxloe.

<sup>2</sup> 24th February (St. Matthias), 1st May (St. Philip and St. James), 2nd November (All Souls), together with 24 days at New Year, Easter, Whitsun and Christmas.

<sup>3</sup> Four between Easter and Christmas (probably including 3 at Whitsun), together with 18 days at New Year, Easter and Christmas.

the repair of Beaumaris Castle from October, 1319, to September, 1320, was twenty.<sup>1</sup> Both at Vale Royal and at Beaumaris the masons received no wages in respect of feast-days or holidays, and the same was true at Caernarvon Castle in 1316-1317. At York Minster we do not know how many feast-days were observed by the masons, but according to the regulations of 1352 if two feasts fell in the same week, the masons lost one day's pay: if three feasts occurred they lost half a week's pay.<sup>2</sup> A somewhat similar rule obtained at Westminster Abbey in 1253,<sup>3</sup> and at Exeter Cathedral.<sup>4</sup> At London Bridge from 1404 to 1418 the masons regularly employed received their ordinary weekly wage of 3s. 9d. per week at Christmas, New Year, Easter and Whitsun, as well as in respect of any other week in which feast-days occurred. This being so, the accounts do not directly indicate which feasts were actually observed as holidays, and it is only possible to trace six with certainty.<sup>5</sup>

At the erection of Eton College, the holidays observed in certain years are clearly indicated in the accounts. Thus, in 1444-1445 and 1445-1446, forty-six different days in all were observed as holidays,<sup>6</sup> but as in each year some of the days normally observed fell on Sundays, the actual week-

<sup>1</sup> Probably 2nd November, 24th February, 1st May, either 20th July (St. Margaret the Virgin) or 25th July (St. James), and 8th September (Nativity V.M.), together with 15 days at Easter, Whitsun and Christmas.

<sup>2</sup> *F.R.Y.M.*, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> The feasts were assigned alternately to the king (the employer) and the masons, which seems to imply that masons were paid for alternate holidays observed (Scott, p. 232).

<sup>4</sup> See Regulations of 1380-1381 quoted in Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, pp. 385-386.

<sup>5</sup> Pay-day was altered when holidays happened to fall on a Saturday, viz., 1st January, 6th January (Epiphany), 2nd February (Purification V.M.), 24th June (St. John Bap.), 1st November (All Saints), and 25th December. Probably one or two days were observed at Easter and Whitsun.

<sup>6</sup> 29th September (St. Michael), 13th October (St. Edward), 18th October (St. Luke), 28th October (St. Simon and St. Jude), 1st November (All Saints), 2nd November (All Souls), 17th November (St. Hugh), 30th November (St. Andrew), 6th December (St. Nicholas), 8th December (Conception V.M.), 21st December (St. Thomas), 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1st January, 6th January (Epiphany), 2nd February (Purification V.M.), 24th February (St. Matthias), 25th March (Annunciation V.M.), 23rd April (St. George), 25th April (St. Mark), 1st May (St. Philip and St. James), 3rd May (Invention of Holy Cross), 5th June (Feast of Dedication of Church), 24th June (St. John Bap.), 29th June (St. Peter and St. Paul), 7th July (St. Thomas), 22nd July (St. Mary Magdalene), 25th July (St. James), 10th August (St. Lawrence), 15th August (Assumption V.M.), 24th August (St. Bartholomew), 8th September (Nativity V.M.), 14th September (Exaltation of Holy Cross), 21st September (St. Matthew), together with Good Friday, Easter Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, Ascension, Whit Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Corpus Christi.

days on which no work was done by the masons varied and amounted to thirty-eight in 1444-1445 and to forty-three in 1445-1446.<sup>1</sup> In what concerns payment of wages in respect of holidays, the *freemasons* both in 1444-1445 and 1445-1446 were paid for all holidays except nine (*viz.*, three each at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun); the *hard-hewers* in each year were paid only for five holidays; <sup>2</sup> the *layers* were paid only for three holidays in the first year and four holidays in the second year.<sup>3</sup> More or less the same feasts appear to have been observed at Eton in the 1450's, with an occasional addition just for one year. The most interesting innovation, however, was the observation of the feast of the Quatuor Coronati, which was entered in the registers on 8th November, 1453, 1456, 1458 and 1459, as a day on which the masons did not work. Unlike other feast days, this was one for which the freemasons were not paid wages.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to half-holidays, the York Minster Regulations of 1352 provided that work should cease at noon on the vigils of feasts and on Saturdays, whilst the Regulations of 1370 provided for stopping of work at noon "when halyday falles atte none." Nothing is indicated in the Fabric Rolls about the effect of the half-holiday on wages. A London Wage Regulation of 1362 provided that "masons . . . shall take . . . for Saturday, if they work by the week, a whole day's pay."<sup>5</sup> This seems to imply a Saturday half-holiday, for had masons worked a whole day on Saturday

<sup>1</sup> One of the extra days was due to the addition of St. Edward to the list of Saints' Days observed. It was not observed in 1444-1445, although it fell on a weekday.

<sup>2</sup> In 1444-1445, for St. Hugh (17th Nov.), one day in the week 28th December-2nd January; one day in the week 22nd-27th March; one day in the week 3rd-8th May, and 5th June. In 1445-1446, for St. Edward (13th Oct.), one day in the week 1st-6th November; St. Hugh, one day in the week 6th-11th December, and one day in the week 20th-25th December.

<sup>3</sup> Compared with hardhewers, they lost pay for St. Hugh and for a day at the end of December in 1444-1445, and for St. Edward in 1445-1446.

<sup>4</sup> The position which the Four Crowned Martyrs occupied among English masons has always been somewhat uncertain, although they were undoubtedly the patron saints of German masons. The *Regius* poem of c. 1390 (see p. 169 below), devotes some forty lines under the heading of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* to the subject of the Four Crowned Martyrs, without any definite statement, however, that they were the patron saints of masons. The London Masons' Ordinances of 1481 (see Appendix, p. 251), required every freeman of the craft to attend Christchurch on the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati to hear mass under penalty of 12d., which would seem to imply a definite recognition of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Letter-Book G.*, p. 148.

there would have been no call for such a regulation. A Statute of 1402<sup>1</sup> prohibited masons (*cementers*), amongst other artisans, from being hired by the week and forbade them to receive more than half a day's wage when they only worked on the eve of a festival till the hour of "none." We think that the statute may be accepted as evidence that half-holidays were a recognised institution; in view of what we have to say below about the observation of official rates, etc., we doubt whether a half-holiday implied a half-day's pay in practice.

(c) *Holiday and Night Work.*—Occasional references to these practices in the fifteenth century can be found in building documents.<sup>2</sup> A case of night work at London Bridge in 1406 was referred to in connection with the provision of bread as well as beer; <sup>3</sup> in 1411 three of the bridge masons received 2s. "for their great diligence one night." At Eton College in 1445-1446, the following entry appears in the accounts:—

Rewards made to the carpenters . . . setters . . . for their diligent labour both in holiday time and at other times at night towards the Feast of Assumption of the B.M. by consideration of the Provost of the said College . . . £6 2s. 2d.

6. *Wage Rates on the King's Works.*—As so much of the detailed information about building operations in the Middle Ages, upon which we have relied, relates to royal works, e.g., the Palace and Abbey of Westminster, Vale Royal Abbey, Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Windsor, Rochester and Sandgate Castles, Eton College, and King's College, Cambridge, and as there is considerable difficulty in finding adequate records relating to private undertakings on a similar scale, it is practically impossible comprehensively to contrast conditions on private and public works. So far as we can tell, however, conditions did not vary very materially on royal and on private jobs in similar areas, though private jobs were probably much more frequently let out to contractors, very possibly just because they were smaller than were most royal jobs. The main difference appears to have been the system of impressing labour (and materials) which was very commonly applied to royal jobs. We described this system in the last chapter,<sup>4</sup> and here it only remains to discuss one point:

<sup>1</sup> 4 Henry IV. c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Candles were purchased for the masons at Bodmin Church, both before and after Christmas, 1470 (see *Bodmin*, pp. 14, 15), but it is quite likely that this was to facilitate work towards dusk, rather than at night.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 116 above.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 90 above.

masons who were impressed had to abide on the King's works *at the King's wages*, and we have to ask ourselves how these compared with wages paid by private employers. With regard to the period before the Black Death, wages at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-1280, at Caernarvon Castle in 1304 and in 1316-1317, and at Beaumaris in 1316-1317, in 1319-1320 and in 1330, appear to have compared favourably with the average rates for the country as a whole and with the predominant rates at Oxford.<sup>1</sup> The rates paid at Rochester Castle in 1368 seem to have been slightly higher than those paid at York Minster in 1371.<sup>2</sup> At the former, 37 masons received on an average 33d. per week, whilst at the latter, 29 masons received on the average 30½d. per week. At Eton College in 1448-1449 freemasons received 3s. a week throughout the year, whilst at Merton College, Oxford, at the same date the wage was 3s. 4d. in summer and 2s. 9d. in winter. These figures suggest a small advantage in favour of the freemason in private employment at Oxford,<sup>3</sup> but if holidays without pay are taken into account we are inclined to think that the position was very slightly in favour of the Eton freemason.<sup>4</sup> It certainly must have been so in the 1450's when a summer rate of 3s. 4d. and a winter rate of 3s. were paid at Eton.

It would not be safe to assume, however, that wages on royal works were always up to the rates paid on private buildings. When by the Statute of 1515<sup>5</sup> masons were allowed to take wages as before 1514 while at work in the City, it was expressly provided that if they were engaged on the King's work in the City, their wages were to be as

<sup>1</sup> See Table I., p. 236 below.

<sup>2</sup> Rochester, 1368. (*Arch. Cant.*, Vol. II., pp. 122-123.)

19 masons	@	36d.	per week.
6 "	@	33d.	"
7 "	@	30d.	"
1 "	@	27d.	"
1 "	@	24d.	"
2 "	@	21d.	"
1 "	@	18d.	"

York, 1371. (*F.R.Y.M.*, pp. 3-4.)

15 masons	@	36d.	per week.
2 "	@	30d.	"
3 "	@	28d.	"
5 "	@	24d.	"
4 "	@	20d.	"

<sup>3</sup>  $39 \times 3s. 4d. + 13 \times 2s. 9d. = \text{£}8 \text{ 5s. 9d.}$ ;  $52 \times 3s. = \text{£}7 \text{ 16s. 0d.}$

<sup>4</sup> In the 1440's an Eton freemason would have nine holidays without pay, thus being able to earn  $50\frac{1}{2} \times 3s. = \text{£}7 \text{ 11s. 6d.}$  in a full year. At Merton College the holidays without pay cannot be definitely traced from the Building Account; only a mason named Thomas Wykes appears to have worked for a complete year, and so far as we can tell, he was never absent when work was being done. His actual earnings from the beginning of the third week in June, 1448, to the end of the second week of June, 1449, were  $\text{£}7 \text{ 10s. 4d.}$  (Rogers, III., 721 seq.).

<sup>5</sup> 7 Henry VIII. c. 5.

laid down in the Statute of 1514.<sup>1</sup> If this condition was enforced, it implied working on the King's work for 6d. per day whilst the customary rate in the City was 8d. or 8½d. At an earlier period in 1353, shortly after the Black Death, we find the King complaining to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex that his workmen at the Palace of Westminster had withdrawn from such work without leave and had been received to work for divers men of the City and county aforesaid,<sup>2</sup> which strongly suggests that the King was paying wages below the rates then prevailing. The orders to various sheriffs in 1362 previously quoted forbidding any religious person or other master, clerk or layman, to hire or retain masons without the King's special command, definitely stated that the masons had secretly left the King's employ at Windsor, Hadleigh and Sheppey to work for other masters at higher wages.<sup>3</sup> The wages paid in 1398-1399 at the Palace of Westminster and at the Tower, viz., 6d., 5½d. and 5d. per day,<sup>4</sup> would seem to be almost below the country rates, let alone the rates generally paid in London at that date.

To sum up, it would seem that at times when prices were increasing fairly rapidly, as after the Black Death, royal wages adapted themselves less promptly to the changed conditions than did private wages.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, when a royal work was urgent, as at Caernarvon and Beaumaris Castles, or when the King was particularly keen about it, as at Vale Royal Abbey or at Eton College, wages fully up to the competitive level and, as we shall see in the next section, without reference to statutory maxima, appear to have been paid.<sup>6</sup>

7. *Official Rates and Conditions.*—The practice of fixing wages by municipal regulation and by statute is an old one; in fact, the earliest information we have about wage rates in the building industry is contained in a London

<sup>1</sup> 6 Henry VIII. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Riley, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 91 above, and *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-1364, p. 391.

<sup>4</sup> See *P.R.O. Exch. K.R.*, 473/11.

<sup>5</sup> This was probably true of the second half of the sixteenth century as well.

<sup>6</sup> In *Masons' Wages* (p. 476), we quoted wages from the "Account Book of William Mulsho, 1362," and, struck by the fact that they were mostly above the statutory rates, grouped Windsor Castle with Vale Royal Abbey and Eton College in our concluding paragraph (p. 499). Subsequently, we found the orders to the sheriffs in March, 1362, quoted above, which showed us that however the King's rates compared with the statutory rates, they were clearly below the rates paid by private employers.

Assize of Wages of 1212. According to that Assize, summer wages without food were to be as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

Masons ( <i>cementarii</i> ) . . . . .	4½d. per day.
Hewers of freestone ( <i>sculptores lapidum liber- orum</i> ) . . . . .	4d. „
Servants of masons . . . . .	3d. „

At some date between 1275 and 1296 the summer rate for masons was fixed at 5d.<sup>2</sup> A Regulation of 1350<sup>3</sup> fixed the summer wage (Easter to Michaelmas) at 6d., the winter wage at 5d. ; it also provided that no wage was to be paid in respect of feast-days when the masons did not work. These various provisions of 1350 were confirmed in 1362,<sup>4</sup> 1372,<sup>5</sup> 1378,<sup>6</sup> and 1382.<sup>7</sup>

The provisions of the various Statutes of Labourers and other statutes relating to wages may be summarised as follows:—

*Statute of Labourers, 1351.*

	Easter to Michaelmas.
Master freestone mason ( <i>mestre mason de franche peer</i> ) . . . . .	4d. per day.
Other masons . . . . .	3d. „
(From Michaelmas to Easter less, accord- ing to the rate and discretion of the Justices.)	

*Statute of Labourers, 1360.*

Chief masters of masons ( <i>chiefs mestres de maceons</i> ) . . . . .	4d. per day.
Other masons . . . . .	3d. or 2d. per day as they be worth.

23 *Henry VI. c. 12* (1444-1445).

	Easter to 29th September.	29th September to Easter.
“ Frankmason ” . . . . .	5½d. per day.	4½d. per day.
Roughmason . . . . .	4½d. „	4d. „

No artificer to take anything for any holiday.

11 *Henry VII. c. 22* (1495).

Freemason and roughmason	6d. per day.	5d. per day.
Master masons taking charge of work and having under them six masons . . . . .		7d. per day. <sup>8</sup>

6 *Henry VIII. c. 3* (1514).

Re-enacted the provisions of 11 *Henry VII. c. 22* (1495).

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Hudson Turner, *Domestic Arch. in England*, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Albus*, I., 728.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Letter-Book G.*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, H., p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>6</sup> Riley, p. 253.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301.

<sup>8</sup> Summer and winter.

The fixing of official rates raises two problems, firstly, the extent to which they were observed and, secondly (if not observed), the efforts made to enforce them. The problems may best be considered under three chronological heads: (i) The period before the Black Death, (ii) The second half of the fourteenth century, (iii) The fifteenth century.

(i) *Period before the Black Death.*—At Westminster Abbey in 1292, the predominant rates for hewers were 4½d., 5d. and 5½d. per day, the average of which, in any case, was equal to the official rate of 5d. In 1342 two masons at the Abbey were paid 10s. 6d. in respect of twenty-one days, or at the rate of 6d. per day.<sup>1</sup> As the Regulations of 1350 imply that masons were wont to take 6d. before that time, it would seem as if regulation rates and actual rates did coincide fairly well. This conclusion is strengthened by two further considerations: firstly, the fact that the predominant rate prevailing at Oxford from 1301 to 1350 was 4d. per day, which would lead one to surmise a rate of about 6d. in London; secondly, the fact that there is an absence of complaints in the *London Letter-Books* concerning failure to observe the regulations.<sup>2</sup> Thus we conclude that the London Wage Regulations were more or less observed prior to the Black Death, not improbably because the rates were fixed at an economic level.

(ii) *The Second Half of the Fourteenth Century.*—After the Black Death the position was entirely different. The London Regulations endeavoured to enforce the old London rates, which in view of the scarcity of labour and the sharp rise in prices were below the competitive level. The Statutes of Labourers of 1351 and 1360 attempted to enforce what appear to have been the predominant rates outside London in the years immediately prior to the Black Death. Relatively, they were probably somewhat less out of touch with the new economic conditions than were the London rates, because outside London masons would still be in closer contact with the land<sup>3</sup> and would have less occasion to buy food supplies from dealers.

As to whether the official rates were observed after the

<sup>1</sup> Scott, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> The only reference to the subject which we have found occurs in 1283-1284 (*Cal. Letter-Book A.*, p. 184), where it is ordained 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 a 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.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 99, 107 above.



Black Death, two kinds of evidence are available : (a) In the preamble to the London Wage Regulations of 1350 masons were said within the past year to take unreasonably more than they had been wont to take. The London proclamation of 1362 reaffirming the rates, states that for a year past masons had taken exceedingly more than they ought. The royal order of the same year addressed to a score of sheriffs refers to the excessive gains and gifts taken by masons for salary and wages in divers parts of the realm, contrary to the statute.<sup>1</sup> The London Proclamation of 1378, in reaffirming the wage rates, refers to divers labourers who continue to make excessive charges for their work. (b) The rates actually paid at Ely in 1359, at Rochester in 1368, and at York in 1371,<sup>2</sup> were clearly very much above those laid down in the Statutes of Labourers, 1351 and 1360.

To judge by both these pieces of evidence, the official rates were not effectively observed, and the fact that both regulations and statutes were repeated on several occasions would seem to confirm the conclusion. The question therefore arises as to what attempts were made to enforce them. In London, at least, some efforts were made to enforce the Ordinance of Labourers, issued in 1349 and supplemented by the Statute of Labourers, 1351, which attempted to keep both wages and prices at the old level.<sup>3</sup> Steps were taken against various artisans in the autumn of 1349, including a mason, William Amery, who was committed to prison for refusing to do some work appertaining to his trade in the Church of St. Christopher for less than 5s., which another mason then performed for 12d.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, on 6th December, 1349, the mayor and sheriffs were reproved, possibly somewhat unjustly, for laxity in exacting the penalties mentioned in the Ordinances, and ordered to inflict due punishment under pain of the King's displeasure.<sup>5</sup> In August, 1357, the mayor and sheriffs received a regular commission as Justices of Labourers. Two years later, on 4th November, 1359, they were ordered to suspend operations and to forward the records of their sessions to Chancery. The return showed that some seventy-five persons including eighteen masons<sup>6</sup> had been fined sums between 12d. and 40d. during the two years.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-1364, p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 122, n. 2, and Table I., p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> See *Cal. Letter-Book F.*, p. 192, and Thomas, *Cal. of Plea and Memo. Rolls*, 1323-1364, p. 225 n.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxx.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxi, and *Cal. Letter-Book G.*, pp. 115-118.

The only other positive evidence we have of prosecutions of masons for breach of official wage rates is in 1391, 1392 and 1393 at Oxford, where masons, as well as other artisans in private employment, were being fined for receiving wages above the statutory rates.<sup>1</sup> Three points are deserving of attention :—

(a) Some of the masons came up time after time for judgment, paid their 8d. or 12d. as the case might be, went away and repeated the offence and were again fined. The fines almost appear to have been of the nature of arbitrary taxes rather than effective means of enforcing a statutory rate of wages.

(b) Nobody appears to have been fined for giving too high wages to the masons—the jurors professed not to know from what persons the masons took excessive wages.

(c) Twice, by the discretion of the justices, the case against a certain John Sampson was dismissed, “because he is a master mason in freestone (*magister lathomus liberarum petrarum*) and capable and skilled in that art and in carving (*et de entaille*), and because on account of the high discretion and knowledge of that art, the wages of such a mason cannot be assessed in the same way as the wages of masons of another grade and status.”<sup>2</sup>

(iii) *The Fifteenth Century*.—In London in 1382, a precept was issued to the aldermen to see that the ordinances concerning wages were observed.<sup>3</sup> We know of no evidence which shows that these prescribed conditions had been modified by the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and so far as we can tell they were still in force at that period. Assuming that that was the case, the rates and conditions which applied to the masons employed by the London Bridge authorities from 1404 to 1418 did not comply with the official regulations in three respects :—

(a) In the first place, 3s. 9d. per week, the standard wage of masons working for the bridge, was in excess of the 6d. per day which according to the regulations was to be paid from Easter to Michaelmas.

(b) In the second place, the bridge masons suffered no reduction of wages in winter, although the regulations prescribed a reduction from 6d. to 5d.

(c) In the third place, all the regular bridge masons appear to have been paid for feast-days and holidays when they did not work, again contrary to the regulations.

<sup>1</sup> “Courts held under the Statutes of Labourers,” printed in Salter, *Mediæval Archives of the University of Oxford*, II., 1-128.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22, 44, 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Letter-Book H.*, p. 184.

If the Bridge Wardens, who were appointed by the municipality and whose accounts were audited by auditors appointed by the municipality, broke the municipal regulations in at least three respects and made no attempt in their accounts to hide these contraventions of the ordinances, we are forced to conclude that the imposition of the regulations and their confirmation from time to time were little more than formalities carried out very possibly to satisfy the various Statutes of Labourers or as a result of pressure exerted by the Government. The Bridge Accounts afford an example of this in 1425. On 10th February, 1424-1425, as a result of the King's mandate about the enforcement of the Statute of Labourers (*de nova execucione statuti mandato domini Regis*), a new arrangement was started: the masons were paid 7d. per day for five and a half days per week, but within a year or so of the endeavour to enforce the Statute of Labourers, conditions appear to have reverted very much to what they were before, except that a daily wage of 8d. had taken the place of a weekly wage of 3s. 9d., as a consequence of which, for a time at least, the weekly earnings were five and a half days at 8d. = 3s. 8d., but before very long, the masons appear to have been paid for six days at 8d., or 4s. a week.<sup>1</sup>

In 1515, according to a volume of Annual Bridge Accounts, several masons ordinarily paid 8d. per day were paid for six days at 6d. per day "accordyng to the affecte of a statute thereof made," which was presumably the Statute of 1514 (6 Henry VIII. c. 3), re-affirming the rate of 6d. per day laid down in the Statute of 1495 (11 Henry VII. c. 22). It so happens that an Account Book in weekly statement form exists for the same period: there we find on 23rd June, 1515, under the heading "Statut wage," 3s. was entered against the names of several masons who had previously received 4s. For the next few weeks the masons were paid piece wages, yielding roughly 4s. a week, and from 11th August onwards the normal weekly wage of 4s. was resumed.<sup>2</sup>

If wages and other conditions of employment which prevailed at Eton College from 1442 to 1460 are compared with the official rates and conditions, one is obliged to conclude

<sup>1</sup> See *L.B.*

<sup>2</sup> The explanation of this belated effort to enforce the 1514 statutory wage is not clear, for as previously indicated (see p. 112 above) an amending Statute was passed in 1515 (7 Henry VIII. c. 5) allowing masons to take wages as before 1514 while at work in the City, unless on the King's work.

that no attempt was made to enforce the statutory wages. Gradually, towards the end of the century, official rates and conditions and actual rates and conditions appear more nearly to have coincided outside the London area, but, so far as we can tell, that was due to the fact that the official rates were raised from 4d. and 3d. to 5½d. and 4½d. in 1444-1445, and to 6d. in 1495, rather than to any success in enforcing statutory rates.

#### B. REGULARITY AND CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT.

Under this heading there are three problems to be considered, namely, the extent to which masons' employment was (1) casual, (2) seasonal, and (3) semi-permanent or permanent.

1. Casual employment is essentially associated with short-term engagements, but it would be a mistake to think that such engagements necessarily imply casual employment. The Statute of Labourers, 1360, provided, *inter alia*, that masons should take wages by the day and not by the week; that statute, as well as other statutes, municipal wage regulations, and many building documents, quoted wages by the day. The possible consequences of doing so would seem to be threefold:—

(a) In the first place, daily wages would seem to imply that holidays, when no work was done, would not be paid for, and that, so far as we can tell, was generally the case. On the other hand, though those in receipt of weekly wages no doubt enjoyed more favourable treatment in the matter of holidays, weekly wages by no means exempted those who received them from stoppages of pay in respect of feasts when no work was done.<sup>1</sup>

(b) In the second place, masons might only be paid for those days (or even half-days) during which they actually worked; days (or half-days) when they were idle for want of material or owing to bad weather might be unremunerated. We are inclined to think that the roughmasons (i.e., layers) at Kirby Muxloe Castle in the summer of 1481, whose wages were at the rate of 6d. per day, must have been engaged on such terms, to judge by the number of days each week for which they were paid. The records of four roughmasons for three months may be given as an example:—<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of holidays, see p. 118 above.

<sup>2</sup> *K.M.*, *passim*.

Week Commencing	Tailloure.	Wyso.	Paille.	Crosse.
7 May, 1481.	5 days.	5 days.	5 days.	3 days.
14 " "	6 " "	6 " "	6 " "	6 " "
21 " "	3½ " "	3½ " "	3½ " "	3½ " "
28 " "	3 " "	4 " "	4 " "	3½ " "
4 June, "	3½ " "	3½ " "	3½ " "	3½ " "
11 " (Whitweek)	2½ " "	2½ " "	2½ " "	2½ " "
18 " "	4 " "	4 " "	4 " "	4 " "
25 " "	2½ " "	2½ " "	2½ " "	2½ " "
2 July, "	4 " "	4 " "	4 " "	4 " "
9 " "	6 " "	5 " "	6 " "	6 " "
16 " "	5 " "	6 " "	6 " "	6 " "
23 " "	3½ " "	3½ " "	3½ " "	3½ " "
30 " "	5 " "	4½ " "	5½ " "	5½ " "

Although the wages of roughmasons and layers elsewhere were frequently quoted by the day, they certainly did not always receive the treatment accorded to them at Kirby Muxloe. The records of four roughmasons (layers) at Eton College, in the summer of 1446, when their wage rate was 6d. per day, may be quoted by way of example, the holidays not paid for being indicated in the last column:—

Week Commencing	Morell.	Cook.	Martyn.	Herford.	Holidays.
2 May, 1446	5 days.	5 days.	5 days.	5 days.	Inv. of Cross.
9 " "	6 " "	6 " "	6 " "	6 " "	—
16 " "	6 " "	6 " "	6 " "	6 " "	—
23 " "	5 " "	5 " "	5 " "	5 " "	Ascension.
30 " "	6 " "	2½ " "	6 " "	6 " "	—
6 June, "	3 " "	—	3 " "	3 " "	Whit Mon., Tues. and Wed.
13 " "	5 " "	5 " "	2 " "	5 " "	Corpus Christi.
20 " "	5 " "	5 " "	5 " "	5 " "	St. John Baptist.
27 " "	5 " "	5 " "	5 " "	3 " "	St. Peter.
4 July, "	5 " "	5 " "	5 " "	5 " "	St. Thomas.
11 " "	6 " "	6 " "	6 " "	6 " "	—
18 " "	5 " "	5 " "	5 " "	5 " "	St. Mary M.
25 " "	5 " "	—	5 " "	5 " "	St. James.

Thus in 13 weeks at Eton, Morell lost 11 days' pay which was entirely accounted for by 11 holidays, and the same would have been equally true of any other period selected from the Eton Accounts. In 13 weeks at Kirby Muxloe, Paille, who was apparently never absent when work was

available, lost 22 days' pay, some of which was no doubt accounted for by holidays, though almost certainly to a smaller extent than at Eton. If the 3 months at Kirby Muxloe contained 6 holidays, which is a generous estimate for a castle-building job, it would mean that 16 days' work and pay were lost owing to bad weather or for other reasons. It is inconceivable that Eton never suffered from bad weather during the various periods for which the accounts are available, and we are forced to conclude, therefore, either that layers were paid when not able to lay owing to bad weather (notwithstanding the wage being quoted as 6d. per day) or that other work was found for them which could be done under shelter, an alternative which we discuss later.<sup>1</sup>

(c) In the third place, masons might be employed quite casually for a few days and paid for the exact number of days they worked. This happened from time to time at London Bridge where masons were employed for odd days or odd weeks at 7½d. or 8d. per day, on jobs connected with property belonging to the bridge or in preparing stone for the bridge. Of the 47 masons named in the Bridge Accounts from 1404 to 1418, 18 may be placed in this category.<sup>2</sup> In London there would presumably be no difficulty in engaging men for quite short periods, and the system of casual labour in the building industry might be expected to flourish there, if anywhere. We have also found traces of such a practice elsewhere. Thus at Sheffield in 1447, when the castle was being repaired, 6 masons were engaged at 5d. per day, 1 for 25½ days, 1 for 26 days, 1 for 24½ days, 1 for 9½ days, 1 for 20 days, and 1 for 3 days.<sup>3</sup> In the same year another mason was employed for 8½ days working in the kitchen of the castle.<sup>4</sup>

2. One of the chief causes of seasonal unemployment being the weather, it follows that unless climatic conditions in this country were very different in the Middle Ages from what they are at present, active building operations must frequently have been held up owing to frost or the risk of frost: in practice, building appears often to have been entirely suspended during the winter, the walls being covered or thatched to protect the mortar from frost. Thus at

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 132, 133 below.

<sup>2</sup> L.B.

<sup>3</sup> *Hunter Arch. Soc.*, II., 355.

<sup>4</sup> It may be noted that the masons' "customs" (see p. 169 below) appear to have envisaged some casual employment, as according to the *Regius MS* (Point V.) it was apparently sufficient if the master warned a worker before noon that his services would no longer be required (see p. 266 below).

Westminster Abbey reeds were purchased to cover the walls in 1267-1268 and stubble for the same purpose in 1269-1270.<sup>1</sup> At Vale Royal Abbey in 1278, sixty thraves of straw were purchased "for working plaster *and for covering the work in the winter.*"<sup>2</sup> In the Accounts of the building of Bodmin Church, 1469-1472, there occurs the item "to Alic. Pole for strawe for thecth the walls iij d."<sup>3</sup> If building operations were stopped in winter, as undoubtedly appears to have been frequently the case, it follows, either that layers were dismissed or suspended, or that alternative work was found for them, which could be done notwithstanding the weather, unless we are to suppose that they were paid their wages whilst not working, which, in view of the non-payment of their wages during holidays, we rule out as highly improbable over a number of weeks, though not inconceivable where work was interrupted by the weather for odd days. At some places the first solution, at others the second solution, appears to have been adopted. At Rochester Castle in 1368, whilst the majority of the masons were paid for 252 working days, no setter was paid for more than 180 working days,<sup>4</sup> the difference of 72 working days representing approximately three months during which presumably no laying was undertaken. At Eton College in 1442, most of the layers were dismissed at the beginning of November, though six remained until December, and two of these reappeared immediately after Christmas. In 1444-1445, when not many layers were employed, they ceased work for two or three months in winter, but in 1445-1446 the few layers worked almost continuously during the year.<sup>5</sup> At Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1481, the roughmasons (layers) commenced work at the beginning of May and finished at the end of October. In 1482 four roughmasons worked for an odd week in March, and two for an odd week in April, but regular work did not begin until May. The servants of the masons were affected in the same way as the masons, except that labouring jobs were found for most of them in November and December, 1481, and for one of them right through the winter of 1481-1482.<sup>6</sup>

Caernarvon Castle in 1316-1317, and Beaumaris Castle in 1316-1317 and 1319-1320, afford examples of building operations where at least a considerable proportion of layers

<sup>1</sup> *Pipe Rolls* of 52 and 54 Henry III, quoted in Scott, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Ledger-Book*, p. 197. The italics are ours

<sup>3</sup> *Bodmin*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Eton*.

<sup>4</sup> *Rochester*, p. 123

<sup>6</sup> *K.M.*, *passim*.

were continued in employment during the winter. At Caernarvon we learn from the Building Account that layers worked as scappers (*batrarii*) in the quarry at Aberpwl in January, February and March, 1316-1317, whilst at Beaumaris layers worked as scappers in December, 1316, though the Account does not state where the work was done.<sup>1</sup> At Vale Royal Abbey, where the Building Accounts do not separate mason-hewers from mason-layers, there was a substantial drop in the number of masons employed in the winter of 1278-1279, which suggests dismissal of layers, but on the contrary, in the winter of 1279-1280, there was a definite increase in the number of masons employed.<sup>2</sup> In the early stages of a big building operation there would probably be plenty of stone to be rough-dressed with a scappling hammer and little difficulty, therefore, in providing layers with winter employment. We are given to understand that it would require a fairly severe frost to interfere with scappling and even more frost to interfere with hewing done in a lodge, in both cases the danger being that the stones would become brittle owing to any moisture in them freezing. Thus in a normal English winter hewers could continue to work regularly, and masons engaged in scappling would probably suffer few interruptions.

3. There could be no possibility of semi-permanent or permanent employment for masons in the Middle Ages unless either (a) there were building contractors who by dovetailing together a number of larger or smaller jobs were in a position to maintain at least a staff of artisans in being continuously, or (b) there existed building departments of State or Church or feudal lord which had a long-continued existence and carried a number of artisans, including masons, on their establishments.

(a) In what concerns the first possibility, we have to remember that the number of stone buildings erected in the Middle Ages was relatively small, as houses were still being built almost exclusively of wood and clay; that of the stone buildings, the more important were erected by what we should nowadays call "direct labour"; and that the small jobs like repairing town walls, erecting dividing walls between neighbouring holdings or paving a length of roadway, though probably done by contract, would in most cases be executed entirely by independent craftsmen or little masters, with perhaps one servant, men of the calibre of

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 113, and *B. and C.*

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix to *V.R.*

a certain John Oubrey, mason, who was convicted in July, 1341, of forestalling a boatload of paving-stones in London to the common prejudice of the city, and committed to prison, from which he was released on payment of a fine of 20s.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, contractors like John Lewyn, who erected Bolton Castle in Wensley Dale in 1378, and William Sharnhale, who erected Cowling Castle in Kent about the same date,<sup>2</sup> must have been quite large employers of masons for the time being, but there is no evidence to show that they were responsible for a series of contracts (comparable to master masons, or masters of the works, who can be traced as holding a series of responsible posts at different building operations),<sup>3</sup> let alone that they kept a number of masons regularly in their employ over a period of years. Taking all the circumstances and conditions into account, we are disposed to think that there is very little likelihood that in the Middle Ages many masons enjoyed semi-permanent employment under building contractors.

(b) In what concerns the second possibility, there can be no question that many big building operations in the Middle Ages were very protracted, and that on that account, and also because they and other large structures called for continual maintenance, frequent repairs and occasional rebuilding, various semi-permanent or continuous organisations, involving more or less regular staffs of artisans under master masons, were established in different places. Thus at Vale Royal Abbey, building operations continued for some fifty years.<sup>4</sup> Caernarvon Castle took thirty-eight years to complete;<sup>5</sup> when building at Eton College ceased for the time being in 1460, the work had been in progress nineteen years.<sup>6</sup> The erection of the great cathedral churches and of a castle such as Windsor, was much more protracted.<sup>7</sup> Stone bridges like those erected at London in the late twelfth and at Rochester in the late fourteenth century, called for constant attention.<sup>8</sup>

Granted the existence of numerous semi-permanent or continuous building departments, associated with castles, colleges, cathedrals and bridges, it remains to consider

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, 1323-1364, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> For Lewyn and Sharnhale, see pp. 101, 103 above.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 20 above.

<sup>4</sup> The new monastery, commenced in 1278, was opened in 1330 (*Ledger-Book*, p. 6).

<sup>5</sup> Lewis, *Mediæval Boroughs of Snowdonia*, Chapter II.

<sup>6</sup> *Eton*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. H. Thompson, *Cathedral Churches of England*; and W. St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*.

<sup>8</sup> See L.B. and Becker.

(a) to what extent these departments provided steady employment for any given number of masons, and (b) to what extent such number of masons was composed of the same individuals over a period of years.

(a) With regard to the first point, building activity undoubtedly fluctuated very considerably from period to period on protracted and continuous undertakings due to various causes, such as changes in financial resources, in the enthusiasm of the responsible authorities, in the predilections of a king, in the political situation, in the supply of labour, or in the urgency with which repairs were needed. A number of cases illustrating this contention may be briefly examined; unfortunately anything approaching complete information is seldom available.

(i) The nave of Westminster was 150 years in building from 1376 to 1528, and a very fair idea of the fluctuations in building activity can be obtained from the average annual expenditure at different periods:—<sup>1</sup>

*Table showing the Average Annual Expenditure on the Nave of Westminster.*

Period.	Average Annual Expenditure.	Period.	Average Annual Expenditure.
1376-1387 . . .	£79	1455-1467 . . .	£99
1387-1399 . . .	248	1467-1471 . . .	188
1399-1413 . . .	68	1471-1497 . . .	195
1413-1422 . . .	495	1497-1500 . . .	144
1422-1455 . . .	77	1500-1532 . . .	139

In what concerns the number of masons employed, the many gaps in the Fabric Rolls render the story very incomplete. Five were employed for seventeen weeks in 1387-1388 and for the whole year in 1388-1389 and 1389-1390. The numbers then increased until twenty were employed in 1397. When Henry IV. succeeded Richard III. in 1399 he was naturally not very keen about an undertaking closely associated with his predecessor, and work at Westminster practically ceased.<sup>2</sup> In 1403-1404 four labourers worked for

<sup>1</sup> See R. B. Rackham, "The Nave of Westminster" (*Proceedings of British Academy*, Vol. IV.), on whom we rely entirely for this paragraph. Our figures are calculated from the table given in his Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> The average annual expenditure of £68 shown above from 1399 to 1413 appears to be partly accounted for by the purchase of certain marble pillars, and partly by the wiping out of a deficit incurred in previous years.

six weeks; in 1404-1405 absolutely nothing was done. The reign of Henry V. saw building activity at its highest point. Commissions to impress masons were issued in August and November, 1413, and in the following March. During the three years, 1413-1416, 20 masons were at work all the time and 6 casual masons for 70 weeks. The death of Henry V. was followed by a long period of relative inactivity; Henry VI. when he came of age, was far more interested in Eton College and in King's College, Cambridge, than in Westminster. From 1422 to 1440, on the average 3 masons were employed, whilst from 1440 to 1450 the average was only 2. From 1467 onwards more progress was made. In 1468 the average number of masons employed was 10 or 11, in the 1470's about 6; in 1482, 6 or 7; from 1494 to 1497 the average rose from 5 to 8. From 1505 to 1528 as a rule only 2 masons were employed.

(ii) For twenty-five years in the fifteenth century the sums expended on masons' wages at York Minster and (with two exceptions) the numbers of masons employed are available.<sup>1</sup> We have arranged the material by decades:—

*Table showing Building Activity at York Minster in the Fifteenth Century.*

Years.	No. of Fabric Rolls Extant.	Average Annual Expenditure on Masons' Wages.	Number of Masons Employed.
1401-1410	2	£200	?
1411-1420	3	244	39
1421-1430	2	138	20
1431-1440	2	78	16
1441-1450	5	69	12
1451-1460	2	31	7
1461-1470	1	43	23
1471-1480	4	40	11
1481-1490	2	41	11
1491-1500	2	38	12

In the decade 1421-1430, when 20 masons earned on the average approximately £7 each (£138 ÷ 20) it would seem as if that number of masons was more or less regularly employed throughout the year.<sup>2</sup> In the previous decade,

<sup>1</sup> *F.R.Y.M., passim.*

<sup>2</sup> In 1422 the warden was paid for 48 weeks at 3s. (*F.R.Y.M.*, p. 46), which were presumably the number of working weeks in the year; thus he received £7 4s. The hewers received the same weekly rate as the warden, but his appointment was for life.

when 39 masons earned on the average £6 each, employment must have been less regular, at least so far as some men were concerned. In the later decades, when the average annual earnings varied from £5 15s. to £1 18s. each, the number of masons must either have consisted of a few regular men *plus* several casuals working for short periods, or entirely of men working for short periods. Thus the 11 masons earning £40 in some year between 1471 and 1480 might have been composed of:—

3 masons working for 48 weeks at 3s.	=	21	12	0
4 " " " 22 " " 3s.	=	13	4	0
4 " " " 8½ " " 3s.	=	5	4	0
		<hr/>		
		£40 0 0		

or it might have been composed of 11 masons at 3s., each working for approximately 24 weeks. We are disposed to think that the former surmise is more probable, to judge by what happened at other big ecclesiastical buildings in similar cases. At Westminster in 1482, when 6 or 7 masons were employed *on the average*, the *total* number of masons employed was 23, who worked for varying periods, amounting to 374 weeks in all.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Mr. Rackham does not state the length of the varying periods of employment. At Ely in 1359, however, complete information is available: 9 masons earned £27 6s. 4d.; they worked for varying periods, amounting to 253 weeks in all, the periods being as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

2 mason(s) worked for 52 weeks.	
1 " " " 30 "	
2 " " " 26 "	
1 " " " 24 "	
1 " " " 19 "	
1 " " " 16 "	
1 " " " 8 "	

To reduce the average annual earnings per mason as low as £4 or under (and in view of the fact that the master mason's remuneration of £10 is included in the totals, the real averages are even lower than appears at first sight),<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rackham, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Chapman, II., 194. The rates of pay varied—we quote them in *Masons' Wages*, p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> The real average for an ordinary mason when 11 masons earned £40 is not £40 ÷ 11 = £3 12s., but (£40 - 10) ÷ (11 - 1) = £3, i.e., £10 is deducted from the total earnings and 1 from the number of masons before dividing.

temporary masons must have predominated at York Minster in the second half of the fifteenth century.

(iii) Eton College from 1442 to 1460 represents a big building operation which enjoyed the favour and financial support of the King throughout the period, yet nevertheless building activity ebbed and flowed considerably, as is indicated by the average monthly outlay on wages and the average number of masons employed each week in so far as this information is available :—

*Table showing Building Activity at Eton College, 1442-1460.*

Year.	Monthly Wage Bill.	Number of Masons.	Year.	Monthly Wage Bill.	Number of Masons.
1442	£60	66	—	—	—
—	—	—	1451-1452	£27	—
1443-1444	£79	—	1452-1453	£47	—
1444-1445	£34	42	1453-1454	£21	22.5
1445-1446	£40	46	—	—	—
1446-1447	£41	—	1456-1457	—	22.5
1447-1448	£65	—	1457-1458	£20	—
1448-1449	£76	58.5	1458-1459	£19	20
1449-1450	£35	—	1459-1460	£15	14

(iv) With regard to castle building at different periods, our information is very fragmentary. At Beaumaris the average number of masons employed was 16 in 1316-1317, 11 in July, 1319, 9 in 1319-1320, and 9 in the autumn of 1330. At these particular dates repairs or additions were being carried out and there was probably little or no building activity in the intervening years. At Caernarvon 57 masons were employed in October, 1304, 24 on the average during 1316-1317, and 15 in July 1319. As the castle, commenced in 1283, was not completed until 1321 or 1322, building, on an unknown scale was doubtless being carried out in the intervening years.

(v) The last undertaking to which we wish to draw attention is London Bridge from 1404 to 1418, a period during which only maintenance and repairs were involved. We have averaged the number of masons employed to the nearest round number, quarter by quarter :—<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The statistics, obtained from the London Bridge Accounts, were used to prepare a diagram in *L.B.*, showing the period of services of each mason separately during the 14 years. Here we have summarised them in tabular form.

*Table showing Number of Masons Employed at London Bridge, 1404-1418.*

Year.	October-December.	January-March.	April-June.	July-September.
1404-1405	3	3	3	3
1405-1406	5	5	5	5
1406-1407	5	5	5	5
1407-1408	5	5	5	4
1408-1409	4	4	4	8
1409-1410	6	4	5	6
1410-1411	6	6	7	11
1411-1412	10	8	11	9
1412-1413	10	6	6	4
1413-1414	5	6	4	4
1414-1415	4	4	5	5
1415-1416	4	5	5	5
1416-1417	5	5	6	6
1417-1418	4	3	3	3

Extra work was undertaken in 1409 in connection with the drawbridge and in 1410 and 1411 in connection with building operations at the market called the Stocks, which belonged to the Bridge.

(b) With regard to the second question as to how far the body of masons employed from year to year on continuous or semi-permanent building operations consisted of the same individuals or of different individuals, we are obliged to restrict our examination to cases where the names of individual masons are available over a substantial period. Unfortunately, neither Canon Raine's edition of the *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* nor Mr. Rackham's paper on *The Nave of Westminster* serves for this purpose. We are satisfied that both at York and at Westminster there were some regular masons and some casual masons, but as to how long the regular masons worked at their jobs, nothing but a first-hand examination of the Fabric Rolls could show, always assuming that the length of service could be traced there.<sup>1</sup>

Although we have the masons' names at Beaumaris for 1316-1317, 1319-1320 and 1330, i.e. for periods as much as fourteen years apart, we are satisfied that there was little

<sup>1</sup> By no means all building accounts give the names of the masons employed; e.g., the Building Account for Caernarvon Castle for 1304-1305 gives the numbers at different wage rates but no names; the Eton College *Comptus Rolls* give total wages paid, but no names or wage rates, which is the reason why it is only possible in the table above to state numbers employed in the years for which *Account Books* (which include wage registers) survive.

or no building in the intervening years, so that Beaumaris Castle is no use for our present purpose. Thus, unfortunately, we are left with only two building operations at which we can trace continuity of employment for periods of half a generation or so, London Bridge, 1404-1418, and Eton College, 1442-1460.

Although London Bridge was a small undertaking as an employer of labour, it offers the longest unbroken set of records and may therefore be considered first. Excluding 18 casuals working for odd days or odd weeks, 29 masons worked on the Bridge for periods of one month or upwards during the fourteen years from October, 1404, to September, 1418. These 29 masons may be divided as follows:—

12	worked on the Bridge	for less than 1 year.
6	“ “ “	“ from 1 to 2 years.
3	“ “ “	“ from 2 to 3 “
3	“ “ “	“ from 3 to 4 “
2	“ “ “	“ from 5 to 6 “
1	“ “ “	“ for 9 years.
1	“ “ “	“ for 13 “
1	“ “ “	“ for 14 “

Eton College was a large undertaking, but unfortunately the surviving Building Accounts cover only about eight and a half out of eighteen and a half years between 1442 and 1460, and it has been necessary to make certain assumptions and estimates to fill in the gaps.<sup>1</sup> The estimated periods of service of 293 freemasons who are known to have worked at Eton College between 1442 and 1460 can be analysed as follows:—

40	worked for	1-4 weeks.	13	worked for	3-5 years.
55	“ “	5-13 “	11	“ “	5-7 “
57	“ “	14-26 “	8	“ “	7-10 “
45	“ “	27-52 “	3	“ “	10-13 “
36	“ “	1-2 years.	3	“ “	13-16 “
19	“ “	2-3 “	3	“ “	18½ “

Thus, both at London Bridge, and more especially at Eton College, the majority of the masons were temporary or short-service men. At London Bridge 41 per cent. of the masons served under 1 year, 31 per cent. from 1 to 3 years and 28 per cent. over 3 years. At Eton College no fewer than 67 per cent. served under 1 year, 19 per cent. from 1 to 3 years and only 14 per cent. over 3 years. Although this method of representing the position gives an accurate idea of the large number of masons who were,

<sup>1</sup> Explained in *Eton*.

so to say, floating about and moving from one job to another, it probably gives a wrong impression as to what type of mason kept London Bridge in repair or built Eton College, because it takes a large number of temporary or short-service men to constitute the equivalent of one permanent man on these long-period jobs: e.g., at Eton it would have required 56 masons serving for 4 months each to be equivalent to 1 mason serving for 18½ years.

At London Bridge the number of masons employed each week during the 14 years varied from 3 to 13, the average number being 5½; at Eton the number of freemasons employed each week during the 18½ years varied from 9 to 77, the average number being 30. If we divide the masons or freemasons employed on these jobs into four categories, (i) temporary (under 12 months), (ii) short-service (1-3 years), (iii) long-service (3-12 years) and (iv) permanent (over 12 years), we can then analyse the average 5½ masons at London Bridge and the average 30 freemasons at Eton as follows:—

*Analysis of Masons Employed at London Bridge, 1404-1418, and at Eton College, 1442-1460.*

Categories	Average Number of Masons Employed.			
	At London Bridge.		At Eton College.	
	Number.	Percentage.	Number.	Percentage.
Temporary (under 1 year)	½	5	6	20
Short-service (1-3 years)	2	38	7	23
Long-service (3-12 years)	1	19	10	34
Permanent (over 12 years)	2	38	7	23
All categories	5½	100	30	100

To sum up and to put the matter quite broadly: at any one time on these continuous or semi-permanent jobs 3 masons out of 5 were permanent or long-service men, and 2 masons out of 5 were short-service or temporary men.



## C. MOBILITY OF LABOUR.

Under this heading, there are three problems to be considered: (i) movement from place to place or geographical mobility, (ii) movement from one occupation to another within a group or grade, and (iii) movement from one group or grade to another. To all these problems reference has to some extent already been made, but it is desirable to gather the scattered discussions together, so that a clear view of the whole subject may be presented.

(i) *Movement from Place to Place.*—As building activity tended to vary from time to time and from place to place in the Middle Ages probably even more than it does in modern times, it would seem that masons would have had to be content with very unsteady employment and that those responsible for building undertakings would have had great difficulty in manning their works, if masons had not moved about the country. To show that movement from place to place actually did occur, we drew attention (a) to the indication of masons' places of origin given by their names in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries;<sup>1</sup> (b) to the journeys undertaken on behalf of private employers in search of masons;<sup>2</sup> and (c) to the system of impressment by which royal works (and very occasionally private works) were manned when the supply of labour was inadequate.<sup>3</sup> Here we may content ourselves with enlarging somewhat upon the methods of recruiting masons at Windsor Castle in 1360-1362.<sup>4</sup> In April, 1360, leaving a sort of central area round Windsor untouched, presumably either in the hope that masons would be drawn thence without being pressed, or because it had already been combed, orders were sent to sheriffs of nine areas which formed a sort of inner circle round Windsor—London, Kent, Essex and Hertford, Cambridge and Huntingdon, Northampton, Leicester and Warwick, Gloucester, Wiltshire and Somerset, and Dorset—each to send to Windsor 40 freestone masons or 360 in all. Nine months later, in January, 1360-1361, the sheriffs of the same nine areas, together with the sheriffs of the central area—Bedford and Buckinghamshire, Oxford and Berkshire, Southampton and Surrey and Sussex—and the sheriffs of two counties on the outskirts of the inner circle—Staffordshire and Worcestershire—were each ordered to send to Windsor 40 freestone masons and 40 masons

<sup>1</sup> See p. 74 above.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 34 above.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 90 above.

<sup>4</sup> See *Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-1364*, pp. 21, 88, 178-179, 397.

for laying stone, or 1200 in all. Three months later, the sheriffs of two other areas on the outskirts of the inner circle—Norfolk and Suffolk and Lincoln—were each ordered to send 40 freestone masons and 40 layers, or 160 in all, making the compulsory recruitment for Windsor in 1361 no less than 1360 masons. A year later in March, 1361-1362, we learn that "the masons . . . of the King's works in Windsor . . . are for the most part dead of the last plague so that the King has need of more." Having apparently exhausted in the previous year what we called the central area, the inner circle, and the outskirts of that circle, orders were sent to the sheriffs of seven counties forming an outer circle to supply masons as follows: Devon, 60; Hereford, 40; Salop, 60; Derby, 24; Lancashire, 24; Yorkshire, 60; Nottinghamshire, 24; or 292 in all. On this last occasion every mason impressed would have to travel from 100 to 200 miles to reach his new sphere of activity, and the sheriffs were ordered to pay the masons their wages until they reached the castle.

The evidence with regard to geographical mobility of masons points, firstly, to the existence of much movement about the country, and, secondly, to its taking place as a result of the search for masons by private employers or as a result of impressment. It remains to be considered how often the initiative in the matter of movement was taken by the mason. We have already stressed the fact that masons or their families frequently had agricultural holdings or other by-occupations,<sup>1</sup> and we shall have occasion to emphasise the point again when discussing how the mason lived during the period of rapidly rising prices from 1550 to 1650.<sup>2</sup> That he had ties of this character in some particular area is borne out by two features of some of the orders of impressment, viz., firstly, that such orders contemplated masons returning to the city, suburbs or county where they had been chosen and taken, and secondly, that such orders required the sheriffs to take security from the masons not to withdraw without leave (which seems to imply a holding or home of some description). Granted that masons had such economic and social ties in particular districts, these would tend both to keep them in the locality and to remove the economic necessity to seek out new stone-working jobs in other districts, as jobs in their own district failed. The likelihood that masons, if left to their own devices,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 99 above.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 214 below.

would tend to remain in their own districts, or in the immediate neighbourhood, would be enhanced by the cost of travel and loss of wages which would fall on those masons who moved of their own accord. If our view is correct, mobility from place to place was probably much more due to would-be employers seeking masons, than to masons of their own initiative moving about in search of work, unless it be younger masons without home ties. The chief cause of geographical mobility was undoubtedly the system of impressment.

Before considering the second and third types of movement, it is necessary to explain what we understand by groups or grades.

*Classification of Occupations into Groups or Grades.*—Nowadays in classifying occupations for the purpose of discussing mobility of labour, workers are divided into four groups or grades: (a) automatic manual workers, e.g., porters, navvies; (b) responsible manual workers, e.g., masons, bricklayers, carpenters; (c) automatic brain workers, e.g., clerks, shop assistants; and (d) responsible brain workers, e.g., architects, building contractors. This classification places all skilled workmen in the group "responsible manual workers," which is convenient for many purposes, though probably contrary to the estimation in which various skilled occupations within any particular industry are held by those intimately acquainted with the industry in question. Thus a cotton-spinner and a cotton-weaver are both responsible manual workers and skilled artisans, but nobody with a knowledge of the cotton industry would suggest that they were of equal standing either from an economic or from a social point of view; the former differentiation in favour of the spinner is capable of quantitative measurement, the latter differentiation in his favour is something intangible and indefinable. It is not always the better paid work, however, among skilled artisans, which has the higher standing; in an iron and steel works responsible men on a rolling mill commonly earn more than fitters or turners, but their standing is undoubtedly lower.

With this kind of consideration in mind, we can examine the various occupations connected with stone building in the Middle Ages.

(a) *Automatic Manual Workers.*—Labourers engaged in digging foundations, or digging sand, or digging stone, or in carrying tools, stones or mortar, whether described offici-

ally as labourers, or masons' labourers, or masons' servants, would all belong to this group; so, too, would many quarriers, though the rates of pay of the different workers within this group would tend to differ somewhat.

(b) *Responsible Manual Workers.*—Those concerned with dressing or laying stone would presumably all have to be placed inside this group, although the skill, remuneration and social prestige might vary considerably. The dressing might be done with scappling hammers, with stone-axes or with hammer and chisels. By means of the last-named tools square ashlar, straight moulded work, arch moulds, an elaborate tracery or a most delicate carving or image might be produced. At some indefinable point the skilled artisan and carver might come to be regarded as an artist or sculptor, belonging to the group of responsible brain workers. This had probably come to pass in the case of Master Edward Canon, master stone-cutter, working on the stalls of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1352, at the very high rate of 1s. 6d. a day.<sup>1</sup> The laying might also vary greatly in character and skill, from building a straight wall to setting a rose-window.

If we attempt to determine the standing of the various craftsmen by applying a financial test, we can trace a certain change in the course of time so far as hewers and layers were concerned. At London in 1212, masons (*cementarii*) received  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day more than hewers of freestone,<sup>2</sup> whilst subsequent London Wage Regulations accorded the same rate to all masons. In the statutes, freestone masons were given 1d. more per day than other masons in 1350, and "frankmasons" 1d. more than roughmasons in 1444-1445, whilst in 1495 freemasons and roughmasons were treated alike, the only differentiation being in favour of master masons taking charge of the work and having under them 6 masons.<sup>3</sup> On actual building operations hewers received more than layers at Westminster in 1292 (on the average 5d. per day against 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.), at Caernarvon in 1316-1317 (on the average 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per week against 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.), and at Rochester in 1368 (on the average 6d. per day against 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.).<sup>4</sup> At Eton College in the 1440's freemasons, owing to the more generous payment for holidays, could earn £7 11s. 6d. a year against £6 16s. 6d. in the case of layers. In the 1450's the differentiation was accentuated when the summer rate

<sup>1</sup> Lethaby, *King's Craftsmen*, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 124 above.

<sup>4</sup> See *Masons' Wages*, pp. 474-476.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 124 above.

of freemasons was raised from 3s. to 3s. 4d. per week (= 12s. 8d. per annum), while layers' wages remained unchanged. At Kirby Muxloe in 1481, freemasons and rough-masons each received 6d. per day. At King's College, Cambridge, in 1508-1509, and at Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540, the great majority of masons were employed at uniform rates, 3s. 4d. per week in the former and 3s. 8d. in the latter case.

In addition to some financial differentiation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in favour of hewers, we are inclined to think that there was also some social differentiation in their favour, that intangible something the existence of which it is so extraordinarily difficult to demonstrate so long after the event. In support of this view, we would mention four considerations: (i) The names of freemasons commonly appear first on all wage lists. (ii) They were normally kept on throughout the year, whilst many, if not all, layers, were discharged for the winter. (iii) It was a skilled hewer of freestone whom the Oxford magistrates declined to convict, as being outside the wage-fixing clauses of the Statute of Labourers.<sup>1</sup> (iv) So far as we are aware, master masons and wardens rose out of this class, and so probably did most mason contractors.<sup>2</sup>

(c) *Automatic Brain Workers*.—Whether any mediæval building workers can be regarded as having fallen within this group is a little doubtful, unless, perhaps, it be an occasional store-keeper. So far as clerks were concerned, on jobs where only one or two were employed, each would be likely to have some work to do involving responsibility. Prior to the erection of Sandgate Castle (1539-1540) at which 6 clerks were employed, we know of no building operation to which more than 2 clerks were attached; in most cases with which we are acquainted, there appears to have been only 1 clerk. The status and remuneration of clerks would tend to vary according to the size and importance of the works on which they were engaged. Thus, for example, whilst Nicholas de Radwell who was clerk at Beaumaris Castle in 1316-1317 received 20d. a week, about two-thirds

<sup>1</sup> See p. 127 above.

<sup>2</sup> William Sharnhale, mason, who took the very large contract to build Cowling Castle about 1380 had originally been a setter (see p. 103 above). This is the only big exception with which we are acquainted. Other exceptions are, John Loose, layer, who took small contracts at Peterhouse and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in the 1450's (*W. and C.*, I., 259, 261); Scott, "the ruyghe mayson" (*W. and C.*, II., 562 n.), who took small contracts at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the 1550's.

of the pay of the most skilled mason, William of Shaldeford, who was clerk at Caernarvon Castle at the same period, drew 2s. 7½d. a week. It is not even certain that this was his whole salary, for he may have received fees charged on some other account.<sup>1</sup> In most cases, if not in all, clerks would have to be regarded as belonging to the group of responsible brain workers.

(d) *Responsible Brain Workers*.—In this group we should place specialists in administration and organisation such as masters of works, master masons, clerks of works, building contractors, stone merchants (and quarry masters), image and moulding workshop proprietors, and specialists in art, skilled either in stone-working (sculptors) or in designing ("devisors" and architects), in so far as these can be separated from administrators and organisers.

(ii) *Movement from one Occupation to another within a Group*.—Labouring jobs among automatic manual workers not being specialised, there can have been no serious difficulty in a worker moving from one type of labouring job to another, apart from the fact that some of the jobs called for greater physique than others. E.g., the "portehaches" who carried tools were probably boys or youths to judge by their wage rates, and by modern experience, whilst the "bayardors" who helped to carry heavy stones must have been men of considerable strength. At Beaumaris in 1316 and 1320, there were cases of a "portehache" at 7d. per week becoming a *falconarius* at 9d. per week, and of a "bayardor" at 12d. per week becoming a quarryman at 16d. per week.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to movement from one form of responsible manual work to another, both marble workers and hard-hewers appear to have constituted separate and relatively water-tight occupations: the former, partly because of the special skill and training required to do the high-class work for which marble was mostly used, and partly because the marble practically all came from the Isle of Purbeck, which gave the inhabitants of those parts almost a monopoly in marble working; <sup>3</sup> the latter primarily because they learned their craft in Kent, where the hard varieties of stone, which they worked, were found. We have traced a few cases of marblers, or in any case of men from the marble quarrying area, and of hardhewers who became hewers or freemasons,

<sup>1</sup> See *B. and C.*

<sup>2</sup> *B. and C.*

<sup>3</sup> The case of Thomas, son of Hugh le Peyntour of Durham, who was apprenticed to Thomas Canoun, marbler, in London, 1386, was doubtless an exception (see p. 166 below).

but no movement in the opposite direction. Thus, at Westminster Abbey in 1292,<sup>1</sup> there were four hewers (*cementarii*), Edward, John, Hugo and Peter de Corf, who had presumably gained their early experience of stone-dressing in the marble quarries of their native place, whilst at Eton College in 1448 two hardhewers became freemasons, and on occasions both in 1442 and in 1445, two other hardhewers worked as rowmasons and stone-layers. Paving, we are disposed to think, was done from time to time by masons: e.g., at London Bridge casual masons were paid on one occasion for "paving at the Raven near Old Conduit," and on another, "for scappling stones for the bridge pavement." Interchange of work between layers of stone and layers of brick was quite common at Eton in the 1440's, and occasionally bricklayers acted as roughmasons at Kirby Muxloe in 1482. But the really big problem is the movement, if any, between the two chief categories of masons, hewers and layers. In the early fourteenth century there certainly was such movement, and four of the forty-seven hewers (*cementarii*) named in the Beaumaris and Caernarvon Building Accounts worked at one time as layers (*cubitores*). It may also be noted that the London Masons' Regulations of 1356, which relate to mason hewers and mason layers or setters, provided that "every man of the trade may work at any work touching the trade, if he be properly skilled and knowing in the same,"<sup>2</sup> though there is some ground for supposing that before the end of the fourteenth century hewers refused to lay.<sup>3</sup> However that may be, at Eton in the 1450's several freemasons (i.e., hewers) worked for a time as setters, but the fact that they received extra wages whilst so working suggests that some specially high-class work had to be done.<sup>4</sup> We have also traced one layer at Eton who became a freemason there. Notwithstanding the cases we have mentioned, we are disposed to think that there was a well-defined dividing line between layers and

<sup>1</sup> Fabric Roll printed in *Masonic Magazine*, IV., 617.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 250 below. We noted previously that the municipal authorities in London ignored the distinction between hewers and layers in their wage regulations, although practically everywhere else it appears to have been recognised in the fourteenth century, and we cannot help asking ourselves whether the London authorities were possibly trying to insist upon an interchangeability between hewers and layers which hardly existed in reality.

<sup>3</sup> "The Grete Sentence of Curs Expounded" (see Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, III., 267 seq.): "For they conspiren togidere . . . that non of hem schal do ouzt but only hewe stone, thouz he myzt profit his maister . . . bi leggyng on a wal."

<sup>4</sup> See p. 85 above.

roughmasons on the one hand, and hewers and freemasons on the other,<sup>1</sup> which was recognised in the statutes, in royal orders of impressment and in most building accounts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and which was not very frequently crossed.

With reference to responsible brain workers, we may point out that the dividing lines between master of the works, master mason and building contractor were not always sharply drawn: at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-1280, and later at Caernarvon Castle, Walter of Hereford was both master of the works and master mason; at Caernarvon in 1316-1317, whilst Henry de Elerton was master of the works at the castle he took a contract to build a new quay at Caernarvon for £40; at Westminster Abbey in 1488-1489, Robert Stowell, the master mason, entered into an agreement (*convencio*) to finish three severies and the arch at the top of the nave for £120.<sup>2</sup> It is also probable that some masters of the works or master masons, as the case might be, were the architects who designed the buildings or extensions, for the construction of which they were responsible.<sup>3</sup> Other cases illustrating movement within the group of responsible brain workers occurred when a man occupying a relatively subordinate position as clerk of the works under a master of the works rose to fill the very responsible office of clerk of the works at some important undertaking at which there was no master of the works, or in very exceptional cases rose to become master of the works at some big building operation. Thus William de Shaldeford, who was clerk of the works at Caernarvon Castle under Henry de Elerton in 1316-1317, was the official in charge of the building operations at Beaumaris Castle in 1330, having risen to be lieutenant of Roger Mortimer, Justice of Wales, in the interval. In the 1450's at Eton College, when building operations were on a smaller scale than in the previous decade, John Medehill, clerk of the works, appears to have been clerk in charge. The most striking instance, however, of the rise of a clerk is probably afforded by the case of William of Wykeham, to which reference was made in Chapter II.<sup>4</sup>

(iii) *Movement from Group to Group*.—This type of movement was by no means uncommon in the Middle Ages. As has already been pointed out,<sup>5</sup> one important method of recruiting masons was from quarriers, the more expert of whom were doubtless competent to scapple stone with a

<sup>1</sup> See p. 85 above.

<sup>2</sup> Rackham, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 20 above.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 24 above.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 77 above.

hammer and to cut stone with an axe, as stone sent any distance was rough-dressed at the quarry. They would thus tend to possess a sufficient knowledge of stone working to make the transition to layers or roughmasons comparatively simple, but very possibly this should be regarded as movement from occupation to occupation within a group. The various steps, however, by which a labourer, from being a mere carrier or digger, might become a semi-skilled and finally a skilled quarrier and ultimately become qualified to pass into the ranks of the masons, undoubtedly represented movement from the group of automatic manual workers to the group of responsible manual workers.<sup>1</sup>

Movement from the group of responsible manual workers to the group of responsible brain workers occurred whenever a man after working for a time as an operative mason became either a stone dealer or a building contractor on a fairly large scale on the one hand, or was promoted to be a master mason or possibly a master of the works on the other. In the former case there was probably a period of transition during which he took small contracts whilst still an operative mason.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case, he may have been advanced by regular stages to positions of the highest trust, but our information about the early careers of master masons does not enable us to draw a detailed picture.<sup>3</sup> The possibility that some at least of these men were specially trained from an early age to fill such positions as those of designers or architects is discussed in the next chapter in connection with apprenticeship.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 77 above; and *Apprenticeship*, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g., sketch of career of William Sharnhale, given on p. 103 above.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 20-24, 97-99 above.

## CHAPTER VI.

### ORGANISATION OF MASONS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

#### A. MUNICIPAL GILDS OF MASONS.

WHILST many fine sets of municipal records dating back to the Middle Ages are extant and have been published, the amount of direct evidence about masons' craft guilds in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is extraordinarily slight; even if the indirect evidence is taken into account, the information amounts to very little. The gild regulations of more than forty trades are preserved in the *York Memorandum Book*,<sup>1</sup> but there are no regulations for the masons. The same is true at Norwich,<sup>2</sup> Leicester,<sup>3</sup> Bristol,<sup>4</sup> Coventry<sup>5</sup> and Nottingham,<sup>6</sup> so far as the published records are concerned. The gild of masons at Lincoln, founded in 1313, was a social or religious fraternity in 1389, and not a craft gild.<sup>7</sup>

*London.*—Some trace of organisation among the journey-men masons in London is found in 1306, when the London masons threatened to beat certain newcomers brought by Walter of Hereford for "the queen's work," if they should take lower wages than the city craftsmen.<sup>8</sup> We learn from the Municipal Records of 1356 that there had been disputes between hewers and layers in the city and that

<sup>1</sup> Printed by the Surtees Society in two vols., Nos. 120 and 125.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson and Tingey, *The Records of Norwich*. Certain masons at Norwich appear to have been associated with a religious gild established by the carpenters in 1375 (Toulmin Smith, *English Guilds*, pp. 37-39). The Corporation approved of some regulations in 1469 to reform abuses, but they do not appear to have survived (see below, p. 158, and Tingey, *Some Notes upon the Craft Guilds of Norwich with particular reference to the Masons*, *A.Q.C.*, XV., 198).

<sup>3</sup> Bateson, *Records of the Borough of Leicester*.

<sup>4</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book of Bristol*.

<sup>5</sup> *Coventry Leet Book* (E.E.T.S.).

<sup>6</sup> Stevenson, *Records of Nottingham*.

<sup>7</sup> *P.R.O.*, Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle 41, No. 154; text in *A.Q.C.*, XLII., 65-67.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas, *Cal. of Early Mayor's Court Rolls*, p. 251.

the trade had not been regulated in due manner by the government of the folk of the trade,<sup>1</sup> which implies that there was no craft guild amongst the London masons at that date. The regulations then imposed by the municipality closely resemble those approved for the government of other trades at that period, and might perhaps be regarded as marking the inauguration of a craft guild for masons in London, but for two considerations. (i) The Masons' Regulations provided no machinery for the administration of a guild and the preamble, unlike the preambles of the somewhat similar regulations for other trades, precluded the previous existence of a guild with rules for its administration. (ii) In some cases, at least, articles approved by the mayor and aldermen provided for half of any fine imposed to go to the use of the Chamber of the Guildhall and half to the use of the trade (e.g., Spurriers, 1345)<sup>2</sup> or to the common box of the craft towards the support of its charges (e.g., Masons, 1481).<sup>3</sup> Had a guild been inaugurated at the same time that the regulations were approved in 1356, it is not improbable that half the fines might have been allotted to such guild.

The first explicit reference to an organisation of masons occurs in 1376, when four masons were elected to the Common Council to represent the mistery.<sup>4</sup> We are disposed to think that the guild was established at some date between 1356 and 1376, rather than in 1356 at the time the regulations were approved; working under such regulations very likely provided a stimulus to the folk of the trade to establish a definite organisation. After 1376 the municipal records show that masters or wardens were sworn from time to time.<sup>5</sup> Early in 1389, William Hancock, mason, made a bequest of 12d. to the Fraternity of Masons, London, founded at St. Thomas of Acres,<sup>6</sup> whilst thirty years later Walter Walton, citizen and mason of London, gave a legacy of 6s. 8d. to "the Fraternity of my Art" and left "my livery cloak of my old and free mistery" to a certain Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Preamble to Regulations for the Trade of Masons, printed in Appendix, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Riley, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, p. 251 below.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Letter-Book H.*, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274; *ibid.*, K., pp. 97, 256. "Master" in this connection does not refer to the Master of the Guild, but to the masters who were chosen and sworn to oversee that the regulations were carried out, as provided in the regulations.

<sup>6</sup> *Item, lego fraternitati de masons Londoni fundatae apud sanctum Thomam de Acres xiiid.* The will, dated 12th February, 1388-1389, is printed in W. J. Williams, *Archbishop Becket and the Masons' Company of London*, A.Q.C., XLI., 130, 131.

Perpoynts, mason.<sup>1</sup> In 1472 a grant of arms was made to the Masons' Company,<sup>2</sup> and in 1481 Masons' Ordinances were approved.<sup>3</sup>

The Regulations of 1356 and the Ordinances of 1481 call for more detailed consideration.<sup>4</sup> The former, formulated as already stated for want of any proper system of government in the trade, were a comprehensive code for the government of the craft in London, drawn up in very general terms, and bearing very sharply the mark of municipal influence in their drafting. The latter were drawn up apparently because of particular difficulties which had arisen in the trade; they were primarily concerned with special problems and they show very definitely signs of being drafted by people intimately acquainted with the administration of the Fellowship and the practices of the members of the trade. It must be noted, however, that they do not refer at all to certain important matters, such, for example, as apprenticeship; it seems to follow that they were only a body of supplementary or amending ordinances and that they must be regarded as constituting only part of the rules governing the craft in 1481. With regard to the remaining rules, the Regulations of 1356 may still have been in operation, but, as will be pointed out shortly, there was at least one problem not touched upon either in the Articles of 1356 or in those of 1481, viz., the means by which so-called "foreyns" were licensed, which makes us feel that some of the rules governing the craft in 1481 are missing.

An analysis of the Regulations of 1356 suggests that they were built up out of five separate elements. (i) The first article reflects the attitude of the municipal authorities towards masons, which, as previously pointed out,<sup>5</sup> was also reflected in their wage regulations, namely, a desire to ignore as far as possible the distinction between hewers and layers, a distinction which was recognised by the Statutes of Labourers and which undoubtedly existed, as is shown by various building documents. We can only suppose that the municipal authorities as employers of masons either

<sup>1</sup> *Item lego fraternitati artis mee vjs. viijd.*, and *item lego Thome Perpoynts Mason meum capucium de vetere liberata mistere mee.* The will, dated 16th August, 1418, is also printed in W. J. Williams, A.Q.C., XLI., 146-147.

<sup>2</sup> Text in Conder, pp. 84, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Letter-Book L.*, pp. 183-184.

<sup>4</sup> They are both printed in Appendix II., pp. 249, 251, the former in translation, the latter in the original Middle English. It should be noted that the latter is a transcript of *Letter-Book L.*, fos. 165 seq., and not a copy of the summarised version printed in the *Calendar*, pp. 183, 184.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 148 n. above.

casually or regularly on various small works, objected to specialisation and found it more advantageous if all their masons were interchangeable. Certainly at London Bridge where three or four masons were normally employed, no distinction appears to have been made, a bridge mason presumably dressing or laying stone as required.<sup>1</sup> We take it that the first article "that every man of the trade may work at any work touching the trade . . ." was definitely inserted either by, or to meet the wishes of, the municipal authorities. (ii) The sixth article, which attempts to control the wages of journeymen had no counterpart in Gild Ordinances approved prior to the Black Death, but resembles an article found in the Glovers' Ordinances approved in 1349.<sup>2</sup> It is not without interest to note, in view of what is said at the end of this chapter about illegal congregations, that it does not resemble an article of the Shearmen's Ordinances of 1350, which stated that a serving man in case of dispute with his master, formed a covin or conspiracy with all the other men of the same trade not to work until the master and servant had come to an agreement, and ordered that in future such disputes should be settled by the wardens of the trade.<sup>3</sup> (iii) The fifth, seventh and eighth articles, which require a seven years' apprenticeship "according to the usage of the City," that persons unwilling to be ruled by the sworn masters of the trade should be brought before the mayor, and that no one should take the apprentice or journeyman of another, until his term was fully expired, were typical gild ordinances of the period, which might have been borrowed from almost any set of ordinances. The incorporation of these articles into the Masons' Regulations must not be regarded as implying that the matters thus legislated for were of much (if any) practical importance in the masons' trade at that time. (iv) The second article and the first part of the third article, which attempted to protect employers from losses due to incompetent workers and contractors, are concerned with a problem which some-

<sup>1</sup> In 1460 Reginald Knight, chief mason of the bridge, was paid 18s. in respect of Thos. Hall, his apprentice, "working with him in making & hewing and in placing of new stone-work at south end of bridge" (London Bridge Accounts, 1460-1484).

<sup>2</sup> "Also—that every servant of the said trade who works by the day shall not take more for his labour and work in the trade than he was wont to take two or three years before the time when these points and ordinances were accepted . . ." (Riley, p. 246).

<sup>3</sup> Riley, p. 247. A petition of the Master Shearmen a few months later with regard to the scale of wages seems to show that the new system was not very successful (see Riley, pp. 250-251).

times arose in other contemporary industries. A rule of a somewhat similar import is to be found in the Furbishers' Articles of 1350,<sup>1</sup> so that there was some precedent for drafting such a regulation. (v) The second part of the third article which requires sureties to be provided in the case of a mason taking a contract, and the fourth article about not setting an apprentice or journeyman to work except in the presence of the master, were probably especially framed, as the particular problems would only arise in one or two other industries, e.g., amongst carpenters or plasterers, for which trades we cannot trace any early craft ordinances at all in London.<sup>2</sup>

The preamble to the Ordinances of 1481 clearly suggests that the Fellowship at that date was not efficiently administered, and that certain of its rules were not properly observed; consequently the new articles were directed, firstly, to improve the administration, and secondly, to correct certain undesirable practices. A final article aimed at extending the powers of the Fellowship.

(i) In what concerns administration, the first article clearly implies that the money, jewels and goods belonging to the Fellowship had not been properly accounted for by the then wardens, Thomas Hill and Richard Rede, who had long continued in their office; it provided for the biennial election of two new wardens to whom the accounts were to be presented within a month of their election by the old wardens, in the presence of six honest persons of the trade; a warden failing to present accounts within the stipulated period was to be fined 20s.<sup>3</sup> and a further 40s. in respect of every additional fortnight's delay. There was a special saving clause in favour of Hill and Rede, however, who were

<sup>1</sup> "Also, that no one of the said trade shall take any manner of work for working at, from any great lord or other person, if he be not a man perfect, and a man knowing his trade, by testimony of the good [folks] of the same trade; by reason of the perils which may befall the lords of the land and others among the people, through false workmanship, to the great scandal of the folks of the said trade" (Riley, p. 258).

<sup>2</sup> Adam the Plasterer made an agreement for plastering the Hall of John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, in 1317. He was to receive £24, paid in advance, the work to be completed within eight weeks; for the faithful performance of the agreement he bound himself and all his goods, moveable and immoveable, namely his land, houses and tenements within the City of London (Riley, p. 125). At a later date (1422) the York Plasterers had a regulation that the masters should be fined if they allowed either apprentices or servants to work except in the presence of their masters, unless with the consent of the searchers (*York Memo. Book II.*, lix).

<sup>3</sup> The fines in these ordinances may be roughly converted into present-day money by reading *pounds* for *shillings*.

to have a whole year in which to present their accounts, which strongly suggests that the accounts were in a chaotic condition. The next article, which provided for a fine of 40s. in the case of a member who was elected warden and refused to accept office, probably explains why Hill and Rede had so long continued in office—because most members were not anxious to serve as warden.

Another matter in which the wardens had apparently been lax was in admitting persons to the Fellowship by redemption without ascertaining that they were properly qualified; it was now provided that no one was to be so admitted without first being duly examined by the wardens and by four or six other honest persons of the craft (who in this case, too, were thus to serve as a check on the wardens) and found proficient, a warden acting contrary to this article to forfeit 40s. The explanation of this particular laxity probably lay in the somewhat expensive style in which the Fellowship was being run; whilst the quarterage was fixed at 3d., a not unreasonable sum at a time when masons were earning 4s. or 4s. 3d. per week in London, there was an extra 2d. to pay towards any recreation provided; further, there was the wearing of a livery or clothing by those appointed by the wardens, the biennial attendance at mass, clad in livery, and at a subsequent dinner (costing 12d. for members and 8d. for their wives), and the annual attendance at church on the Feast of the *Quatuor Coronati*. Fines were fixed for those in default: 12d. for failure to attend on quarter days, 6s. 8d. for refusing to take the livery, 3s. 4d. for failure to attend biennial mass, and 12d. for failure to attend church on the Feast of the *Quatuor Coronati*. We doubt whether a working mason could aspire to belong to a Fellowship conducted on such lines and certainly not to the clothing or livery. Recruits for the higher positions in the Fellowship, and possibly for ordinary membership, might have to be sought to some extent amongst building contractors, men not necessarily very well versed in operative masonry. If we are right in this surmise, the object of these new ordinances was to stop this type of man from being admitted to the privileges of the Fellowship.

(ii) The practices which it was desired to correct by these ordinances also point to freemen of the craft being mason contractors rather than working masons. According to one article, no freeman or brother of the craft was to take any "foreyn or allowe" from any other freeman or brother, until such "foreyn or allowe" had completed his covenant

of service with his former master, or, with the permission of such master, had been assigned by the wardens to another master, who was busy or short-handed, the penalty for enticing servants away from their masters being 40s. A "foreyn," or foreign mason, would be one who was not a mason freeman of the city;<sup>1</sup> an "allowe" was a hired man.<sup>2</sup> Very probably the ordinances which those of 1481 amend and supplement, regulated the position of "foreyns" and "allowes."<sup>3</sup> The enticing away of apprentices and journeymen was forbidden by an article of the 1356 Regulations, but as pointed out above, that was probably one of the articles borrowed from the ordinances of other guilds without particular reference to conditions among the masons; this re-enactment in more specific terms, relating to "foreyns or allowes" instead of apprentices and journeymen, shows that enticing was taking place, and what class of workers was affected.

According to a further article, no freeman or brother of the craft was to hire another freeman or brother of the craft "out of his hous, shop, logge or dwellyng place," under penalty of 40s. The exact meaning of this article is not very clear, but it would seem to imply either (a) that one member was not to seek out a fellow member at home or in his workshop and induce him to accept a job, but was only to engage him if he offered his services in the ordinary way, which would presumably be by applying for a job on the site of the actual building operations, or (b) that one member was not to hire a fellow member except at home or in the workshop, the underlying idea being that there would then be no secrecy about the hiring. Whatever the exact interpretation placed upon this article, we feel that it certainly aimed at restricting one member from hiring another member, and, if read in conjunction with the previous article about enticing, would seem to point to an effort to prevent the stronger members from prejudicing the weaker members by depriving them of their men or of their independence. Very possibly it should be read in conjunction with the article restricting admissions by redemption

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Masons' Ordinances of 1521*, Appendix II., p. 257 below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *alloué*, "serviteur," Hatzfeld and Darmestater *French Dict.*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Norwich Masons' Ordinances of 1572* (printed in *A.Q.C.*, XV., 205 *seq.*). Item, that no person being a foryner shall worke in the said occupacion w<sup>th</sup>in the said Cittie w<sup>th</sup>out the lycens of the seyd Wardens and hedeman of the same occupacion for the tyme being except by the lycens of M<sup>r</sup> Maior for the tyme being, oneles it be in souche workes as the artificers of the same occupacion dwelling in the said Cittie cannot artificially make and fynyshe upon payne to forfeit for every defalte Xs.



(actually that article immediately precedes the one about "foreyns or allowes"), the three articles taken together giving the impression that unqualified persons had got into the Fellowship, thanks to the laxity of the wardens, and that these persons were the freemen of the craft engaged in enticing the "foreyns and allowes" and in illicitly hiring other freemen of the craft. There may have been a danger of the industry getting into the control of such building contractors and these articles may have been devised to try and stop it.

(iii) The final article appears to have represented a very definite extension of the powers of the Fellowship; the wardens were to have a right of search and the oversight and correction of all manner of work appertaining to the science of masons within the city and suburbs, in conjunction with an officer of the mayor assigned to them for the purpose. The Regulations of 1356 had certainly granted no such power to the masons' organisation, although the officials of various guilds at that period were given powers of search, all false or defective work being brought before the mayor and aldermen.<sup>1</sup> So far as masons' work was inspected, we are inclined to think that the right of search had rested with the city's sworn masons or viewers who, in addition to advising the mayor and aldermen in disputes relating to party-walls, encroachments and other matters arising under Fitzaylwin's Assize of Building, on occasion at least reported about a building that had not been satisfactorily erected.<sup>2</sup> It may be that at some date subsequent to 1356 and prior to 1481, a power of search had been granted to the masons' wardens, though we have not been able to trace such a grant; in any case, the power vested in them in 1481, whether it was a new grant or a renewal of an old grant, was drawn in very wide terms; actually, as we shall see in the next chapter, it appears chiefly to have been used to check the size of dressed or partly dressed stones coming into London from outside.

*Other Centres.*—Nowhere except in London have we been able to trace any masons' craft ordinances in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, though indirect evidence points to some organisation at Norwich, where wardens of the masons

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Cutlers, 1344 (Riley, p. 218), Whittawyers, 1346 (Riley, p. 233), and Hatters, 1347 (Riley, p. 239).

<sup>2</sup> Such a report by the sworn masons with regard to a stone building was made in September, 1391 (Thomas, *Plea and Memoranda Rolls*, 1381-1412, p. 178).

were elected in 1440, and where there are references in 1469 to irregularities practised by masons and in 1491 to failure to swear masters to search for defects.<sup>1</sup> At York,<sup>2</sup> Beverley<sup>3</sup> and Coventry,<sup>4</sup> the masons took part in the Corpus Christi pageants in the fifteenth century, whilst they probably did so at Chester, though the earliest reference to such action appears to be in 1531.<sup>5</sup> Such participation points to some kind of organisation, but not necessarily to a craft guild.

We have to ask ourselves, is it a chance, an unfortunate coincidence, that there is such a paucity of references to municipal guilds of masons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, compared with references to other misteries, or is it rather that there were few craft guilds of masons and that those which existed were small and relatively unimportant? We cannot see any reason why masons' ordinances should have been lost whilst others have been preserved, and we feel compelled to conclude that local guilds of masons were not strongly developed in the boroughs before the days of Elizabethan labour legislation. In support of this conclusion, several considerations can be advanced. (i) Craft guilds were municipal institutions, whereas most of the early stone buildings were erected outside the boroughs.<sup>6</sup> (ii) The stone-building industry had a capitalistic organisation practically from the outset,<sup>7</sup> quite compatible with an oligarchical livery company of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century type, but not easily reconciled with a democratic craft guild of the fourteenth or early fifteenth-century variety. (iii) Considerable specialisation of labour characterised the industry in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; hewers, layers, wallers, marblers, image-makers and paviors are found amongst others, all at very varying rates of pay.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, craft guilds were originally organisations of persons engaged in one trade only, e.g., blacksmiths, bladesmiths, cutlers, or heaumers, and the merging of different crafts in one organisation was only a late phase of gild development.<sup>9</sup> (iv) Some masons were employed under life

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Tingey, *Notes upon the Craft Guilds of Norwich with particular reference to the Masons*, A.Q.C., XV., 198.

<sup>2</sup> *York Memo. Book II.* (Surtees Society, vol. 125), p. xlix.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com., MSS. of Beverley Corporation*, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Coventry Leet Book (E.E.T.S.)*, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> See R. H. Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns*, pp. 306, 317.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Chapter III.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. pp. 7, 8 above.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. pp. 81, 109 above.

<sup>9</sup> See Unwin, *Industrial Organisation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, *passim*.

appointments,<sup>1</sup> which would not seem easily compatible with gild organisation. (v) The Crown and the Church were the chief employers of masons in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whilst the municipalities gradually gathered some importance in this respect. As one or other of these authorities would have to approve craft gild ordinances, it would be somewhat surprising if any great enthusiasm had been shown to foster gilds of masons. Crown, Church and Municipalities as builders would probably prefer to deal with unorganised labour. (vi) The fact that masons were frequently "pressed" by the Crown,<sup>2</sup> and sometimes by other bodies with the authority of the Crown,<sup>3</sup> is difficult to reconcile with the existence of well-organised craft gilds among masons. (vii) Finally, it may be pointed out that the author of *The Grete Sentence of Curs Expounded*<sup>4</sup> (circa 1383), when condemning commercial and industrial acquisitiveness, refers separately to "fraternytes or gildis" and to "men of sutel craft, as fre masons and others," which may perhaps suggest, though it certainly does not prove, that this late fourteenth-century author did not regard the masons, of whose conspiracy he complains, as organised in gilds.

#### B. APPRENTICESHIP.

In view of what has been said in the previous section with regard to the absence of masons' craft gilds in the towns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it follows automatically that apprenticeship, in so far as it was an avenue of membership to a gild and to freedom of a borough, was not so likely to develop amongst masons as amongst other craftsmen. On the other hand, in so far as apprenticeship was a system of technical training, one might have expected to find it prevalent amongst masons. Actually this does not appear to have been the case.

The system of apprenticeship probably dates from the early thirteenth century. The first mention in London appears to be in certain statutes of the city of about 1230 with reference to the enrolment of apprentices, but it was not common in London in the thirteenth century and steps were not taken to enforce enrolment until 1300. Even in

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 80, 96 above.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 90 *seq.* above.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 94 above.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, III. The passage referred to will be found on pp. 333-334. The ascription of the work to Wyclif is doubtful.

1309-1312, of 909 persons admitted to the freedom of the city, only 253 were admitted by apprenticeship.<sup>1</sup> Outside London the earliest references to apprenticeship with which we are acquainted are a Norwich indenture of 1291,<sup>2</sup> an account relating to the building of Llywelyn's Hall in Conway Castle, 1302-1306,<sup>3</sup> and the York Girdlers' Ordinances of 1307.<sup>4</sup> None of the early building accounts of that period known to us—Vale Royal Abbey, 1278-1280, Westminster Abbey, 1292, Conway Castle, 1302-1306, Caernarvon Castle, 1316-1317, and 1319, and Beaumaris Castle, 1316-1317, 1319-1320 and 1330—contain any reference to a mason's apprentice. The earliest references we have traced relate to the 1380's;<sup>5</sup> even during the fifteenth century the number of masons' apprentices appears to have been very small. Neither at London Bridge from 1404 to 1418 where 47 masons are named, nor at Eton College from 1442 to 1460, where 293 freemasons, 61 hardhewers and 90 roughmasons or layers are named in the accounts, does the word "apprentice" or its equivalent appear.<sup>6</sup> Further evidence as to the relative absence of apprenticeship amongst the masons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is afforded by the fact that in none of the official wage regulations of this period with which we are acquainted<sup>7</sup> does there appear to be any reference to the wages of a mason's apprentice although the wage assessments fixed after the Statute of Artificers, 1563, contain such references.<sup>8</sup> Our feeling is that had apprentice masons been at all common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provision would have been made for them in the wage regulations of that period, as it was in wage assessments fixed after the Statute of 1563 had made apprenticeship practically universal.

*The Problem of the Journeyman's Apprentice.*—The reason

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Cal. of Plea and Memorandum Rolls*, 1364-1381, pp. xxx, xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, I., 245.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *Arch. Camb.*, new series, 1854, vol. v. The reference (p. 7) is to a carpenter's apprentice in respect of whom a wage of 1s. was paid, compared with 2s. a week paid to his master.

<sup>4</sup> *York Memo. Book I.* (Surtees Society, vol. 120), p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 166 below.

<sup>6</sup> Our analysis of the Eton Accounts does suggest the possibility, if not probability, that three or four of those named were apprentices. See *Eton* and p. 98 above. There were apprentices at London Bridge in the second half of the fifteenth century (see p. 163 *n.* below).

<sup>7</sup> See p. 124 above.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Kent, 1563 (*E.H.R.*, Apr., 1926), Wilts, 1603 (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, I., 162-167), and Kendal, 1719 (*A.Q.C.*, X., 32, 33), reprinted in *Apprenticeship*, p. 358.

why apprenticeship was not common amongst masons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has probably to be sought in the fact that it was closely associated in the Middle Ages with the system of small masters or independent craftsmen; in other words, it was a stepping-stone to master-ship, whereas in the masons' craft the problem was primarily one of training future journeymen. Under the gild system, the normal arrangement was for an apprentice to be bound to a master, who, in addition to teaching the apprentice his trade, undertook to provide him with board, lodging and clothing, and possibly a little pocket-money. We very much doubt whether a journeyman moving about the country either voluntarily in search of work, or compulsorily as a result of impressment, would be in a position to train an apprentice properly or to take him to live with him in his household.

In addition to the question as to whether a journeyman mason could do his duty adequately by an apprentice, there is the much more fundamental problem of the probable attitude of employers towards journeymen's apprentices (if such existed). So long as the employer set the journeyman mason to work at task and paid the journeyman for the joint output of himself and his apprentice, it would be indifferent to the employer whether his journeyman had an apprentice or not, provided that a satisfactory check could be maintained on the quality of the work done by the apprentice and provided that an undue quantity of materials belonging to the employer was not spoilt by the apprentice. In those big building operations with which we are acquainted, most of the masons were in receipt of daily wages. In that case, either the employer would have to pay the mason a joint wage to cover the services of himself and his apprentice, as was the case with the master mason and his apprentice at Adderbury in 1412,<sup>1</sup> or he would have to pay separate wages in respect of the mason and his apprentice, as was generally the case with the master mason and his apprentice at Kirby Muxloe in 1481,<sup>2</sup> and with the chief bridge masons at London Bridge and their apprentices in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The courts have long held that

<sup>1</sup> *Adderbury*, pp 7 seq

<sup>2</sup> *K M*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., "Wages of Reginald Knyght, chief mason of the bridge, 6 weeks @ 4/- 24/- To same for Thos Hall his apprentice working with him . 6 weeks @ 3/- 18/- . And to Thos Jurdan chief mason of the bridge, 37 weeks @ 4/- £7 8s. od. To same for wages of Thos Danyell his apprentice working with him 36 weeks @ 2/6 £4 10s od." (*Comptus* from 39 Hen. VI. to 1 Ed. IV.).

an apprentice's master is entitled to what an apprentice earns,<sup>1</sup> and there can be no doubt that in earlier times, too, the wage paid in respect of an employee's apprentice would have belonged to the employee, who in his turn would have been responsible for the board, lodging and clothing of his apprentice. The balance, if any, after meeting the expenses, would be the craftsman's remuneration for his trouble in looking after and teaching the apprentice.

The problem is whether it would have been a matter of indifference to an employer paying daily wages to all his journeyman masons whether these men had apprentices (if such existed) or not. We find it very difficult to believe that an employer would have wanted many, if any, of his journeymen to have apprentices who would be learning the trade, to some extent at least, at his expense. It can hardly be doubted that an apprentice would cost his master or his employer more than he was worth in the early years of his term; that is, allowing for spoilt work, he would not produce work or render services equivalent to the value of his board, lodging and clothing, or to the money wages paid in respect of him. We are inclined to think that had the payment in respect of a young apprentice been fixed at half of the craftsman's rate, and that appears to have been below rather than above the rate generally fixed in respect of master masons' apprentices,<sup>2</sup> the whole loss would have fallen upon

<sup>1</sup> *English and Empire Digest*, XXXIV, 519, §4354 Cf Norwich Masons' Ordinances, 1572 (printed in *A Q C*, XV, 208) "Itm that no persons of the same occupacion and felowshipp shall make eny covenant w<sup>th</sup> his apprentyce to gyve hym eny wages or recompence for his worke "

<sup>2</sup> The lowest rate with which we are acquainted occurred in the case of John Reyne, apprentice (1467-1474) to Thos Jurdan, chief bridge mason at London Bridge. Jurdan received 16d a week (against a craftsman's 4s) in respect of this apprentice for about 2½ years, 20d for about one year, 2s. for about 3½ years and 3s for about the last six months. In respect of his next apprentice, Thos. Burbage (1478-1482), he received 20d a week throughout four years (see *L B*) Half the craftsman's rate was paid in respect of a mason's apprentice at Durham in 1449-1450 (*Durham Account Rolls*, I, 239), but most master masons appear to have received two-thirds, or an even higher proportion of the craftsman's rate for their apprentices. Even at London Bridge the commencing rate paid in respect of Thos. Danyell, Jurdan's first apprentice (1461-1465) was 2s 6d per week, rising after 4 years to 3s for the last 19 weeks, whilst the commencing rate paid in respect of Robert Oliver, apprentice (1488-1492) of Maister Wade, chief bridge mason, was 6d per day, rising in the second year to 3s 4d per week, at which figure it remained till the end. In view of Danyell and Oliver being apprenticed about 4 years only, it is possible that they had served two or three years elsewhere (at lower rates) before being bound to the chief bridge masons. It is not improbable, too, that the Bridge Wardens, with questions of precedents to bear in mind, looked more closely at the rate at which the chief bridge masons wished to assess their apprentices, than did private employers engaging a master mason (and his apprentice) on some relatively temporary job.

the employer and none upon the journeyman. If, however, the journeyman had lost at the outset, he would no doubt have recouped himself in the later years of the term, when the value of the apprentice's output or services would have been greater. Whether an employer could hope to recoup himself during the later part of an apprentice's term is problematical. It would depend upon whether the (increasing) wage he had to pay the journeyman in respect of the apprentice's services was sooner or later surpassed by the value of those services. Even if it were possible for the employer to recoup himself, the apprentice being bound to the journeyman, the journeyman and his apprentice might depart before the apprentice's services were a net advantage to the employer.

We can conceive of only three ways which would make the system of the journeyman's apprentice at all tolerable to a building employer: (a) that he should pay a wage in respect of such apprentice which commenced quite low and varied with the age and experience of the apprentice;<sup>1</sup> or (b) that the craftsman taking the apprentice should himself be permanently in the service of the employer; or (c) that the apprentice should be the employer's apprentice and that the employer should arrange for a craftsman to teach him.

With regard to the first alternative, as already indicated, we have found only one case where the rate paid in respect of the master mason's apprentice was as low as 33 per cent. of the craftsman's rate; in one other case it was 42 per cent.;<sup>2</sup> in most cases it appears to have been well over 50 per cent. and even as high as 100 per cent.<sup>3</sup> With regard to variations, the rates paid in respect of the chief bridge masons' apprentices at London Bridge in the second half of the fifteenth century were raised in one case from 33 per cent. to 42 per cent., from 42 per cent. to 50 per cent. and from 50 per cent. to 75 per cent.; in a second case from 62 per cent. to 75 per cent.; in a third case from

<sup>1</sup> At the present time, the proportion of a journeyman's rate of wages received by an apprentice is roughly as follows (Ministry of Labour, *Report on Apprenticeship and Training, 1925-1926, II., 38*):—

16 year old apprentice	.	.	.	.	17 to 20 per cent.
17	"	"	.	.	20 " 25 "
18	"	"	.	.	25 " 33 "
19	"	"	.	.	33 " 50 "
20	"	"	.	.	50 " 75 "

<sup>2</sup> See note 2 on page 163.

<sup>3</sup> *K.M., passim.*

75 per cent. to 83 per cent.; the rate paid in respect of the master mason's apprentice at Adderbury in 1412-1414 was raised first from 75 per cent. to 83 per cent. and then from 83 per cent. to 92 per cent.; at Kirby Muxloe, whilst 100 per cent. was paid in respect of the master mason's apprentice throughout 1481 and 1482, 83 per cent. was paid in respect of the warden's apprentice throughout 1483-1484. In other cases we cannot trace the variations (if any) for want of continuous records. So far as we can judge, there was no recognised practice about originally assessing or subsequently increasing the rate to be paid in respect of a master mason's apprentice, and we know of no case of a journeyman having an apprentice on this system at this period. On the other hand, the second and third alternatives were actually put into practice, as we shall endeavour to show shortly.

*Early Examples of Apprenticeship.*—We may now turn from the more theoretical considerations concerning the likelihood of a system of apprenticeship among masons during the Middle Ages to an examination of such positive facts as we have been able to ascertain.

1. At the end of the last chapter we referred to the possibility that masons who were promoted to responsible positions involving planning and designing might have been specially trained for the work at an early age. Actually, the earliest apprentices in the craft that we have been able to trace were bound to master masons; whether these apprentices were learning to become skilled stone-cutters and carvers, or whether they were seeking a training in planning and designing buildings and in organising building operations is problematical. In the latter case, it is possible that they were already experienced hewers and that they were endeavouring to qualify themselves for the higher branches of masonry. The relatively high wages paid to the apprentices might appear to lend support to the view that they were not raw recruits to the art of stone-dressing; on the other hand, the wage (to be paid by the employer) in respect of the apprentice was assessed and retained by the master, so that a high wage paid in respect of an apprentice would not necessarily imply high qualifications on his part.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In our paper on "Apprenticeship," we inclined to the view that it was to the master mason as working architect rather than to the master mason as a skilled stone-cutter that the apprentices were bound. Since writing that paper we have found four more early examples of masons' apprentices. It is practically certain that Thomas, son of Hugh the Peyntour apprenticed to Thomas Canoun, marbler, was to learn stone-cutting and carving; the fact that he was first apprenticed to a barber

Examples of early apprentice masons are as follows: Robert Lesyngham, master builder of the new cloisters at Exeter Cathedral, took one apprentice in 1382 and another seven years later.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Canoun, marbler, no doubt a member of the famous Corfe marble-quarrying and working family of that name, took an apprentice named Thomas, son of Hugh le Peyntour of Durham in 1386.<sup>2</sup> Richard Winchcumbe, master mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel, had an apprentice from 1412-1417;<sup>3</sup> Stephen Lote, *maceon*, who succeeded Henry de Yevele in 1400 in the office of disposer of the king's works at Westminster and the Tower,<sup>4</sup> had two apprentices, Richard and John Stothley when he made his will in 1417;<sup>5</sup> Walter Walton, citizen and mason of London, who was appointed to be chief surveyor of all stone-cutters and masons for the king's works in England in 1397,<sup>6</sup> had an apprentice called John Oldland when he made his will in August, 1418;<sup>7</sup> John Bell, *latamus*, at Durham Priory, whose wage of 3s. 4d. per week implies a post of some responsibility, being the same as that of R. Winchcumbe at Adderbury, had an apprentice in 1420.<sup>8</sup> Cases of the chief bridge masons' apprentices at London Bridge in the second half of the fifteenth century have already been mentioned<sup>9</sup> and need not be repeated here.

makes it unlikely that he had any previous knowledge of stone working. Stephen Lote and Walter Walton were both master masons of considerable standing, and the fact that they had apprentices helps to confirm our general analysis of the problem, but the tools bequeathed by Walton to his apprentice—one hewing axe and six irons for masonry—as contrasted with the compasses bequeathed to two masons, seem more appropriate for a stone-cutter than for a potential architect.

<sup>1</sup> The publication of the Exeter Fabric Rolls, edited by Professor Hamilton Thompson, being unfortunately delayed, we rely upon Bishop and Prideaux, *The Building of Exeter Cathedral*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, *Cal. of Plea and Memo. Rolls, 1381-1412*, p. 125. The example is a little unusual; it illustrates the case of an apprenticeship being sold. The entry runs: Deed witnessing that John Shepeye, barber, who had taken . . . as his apprentice for 7 years by indentures dated 2 Apr. had now sold to Thomas Canoun, marberer, all his rights to the apprentice and the remainder of the term of apprenticeship, with the consent of the said apprentice, who appended his seal to the document. Dated 27th July, 1386.

<sup>3</sup> *Adderbury, passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1399-1401*, p. 361.

<sup>5</sup> We have to thank Mr. W. J. Williams for very kindly drawing our attention to Lote's will in which he gives legacies to his two apprentices.

<sup>6</sup> By Bill of Treasurer, 21 Richard II., part 2, m. 27, quoted by Williams in *A.Q.C.*, XLI., 135.

<sup>7</sup> Will printed by Williams in *A.Q.C.*, XLI., 146-147. Cf. p. 153 above.

<sup>8</sup> *Durham Account Rolls* (Surtees Society), I., 270. The apprentice received 2s. 6d. per week, compared with the craftsman's rate of 3s.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 163, n. 2.

2. In discussing the attitude of employers towards journeymen's apprentices, we indicated that one solution would be for the journeymen or craftsmen to be engaged for a term of years or for life. In 1488 John Bell, "special mason to the Prior and Chapter of Durham," was engaged for life by the Prior and authorised to have one apprentice of his own, for which apprentice he was to receive of the sacristan every year for the first three years of his apprenticeship, 4 marks, and every year of the three next, 6 marks, and the tenth (? seventh) and last year, 7 marks.<sup>1</sup> It was also part of his contract that he should teach and inform an apprentice of the Priory in the mason craft. Similarly, in 1359, John of Evesham, mason, was appointed by the Dean and Chapter of Hereford to work on the fabric for the rest of his active life.<sup>2</sup> It is not clear from the documents that he was entitled to have apprentices of his own; it is even improbable that he had apprentices at all, but he was required by his contract to instruct the labourers under him in the arts of masonry and carpentry.<sup>3</sup>

3. The third possible solution of the journeyman's apprentice problem was that the apprentice should be bound to the employer, who should arrange for a craftsman to give the necessary instruction. John Bell's obligation at Durham in this respect was referred to in the last paragraph; three instances of monastic apprentices at Durham occurred in 1483-1484 and 1485-1486.<sup>4</sup> The fact that several cases of monastic apprentices are recorded at the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus towards the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>5</sup> makes it quite possible, if not probable, that Cistercian abbeys in England had adopted a similar policy at a somewhat earlier date.

*Alternative Methods of Training Masons.*—In view of our

<sup>1</sup> *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*. (Surtees Society), cclxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Charters and Documents of Hereford* (Rolls Series), pp. 230-231.

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Capes, *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> *Durham Account Rolls* (Surtees Society), II., 415, 416.

<sup>5</sup> *Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus* (London, 1880), I., 304-310. In 1485 John the Mason was hired by the Abbot of Cupar for 5 years; in 1492 Thomas Mowbray, mason, was hired by the Abbot for 5 years, whilst in 1497 he was hired by the Abbot for the term of his life; it was agreed that "the said Thomas sal ken and informe the prentys that we or our successouris resawis al craft in masonry or ony uthur he can." The apprentices—or, as they appear to have been called at Cupar, *empticii*—were apparently regarded as bound to the Abbot and not to the craftsmen. Robert and Thomas Wrycht, carpenters, hired for one year in July, 1468, were required to instruct the apprentices (*empticios*) of the monastery, one or more assigned by the Abbot, in their craft of carpentry. In one case, instructor and apprentice were hired together—namely, John the Mason and his son in 1485.

conclusion that apprenticeship was not a common method of training journeyman masons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a brief reference to alternative methods by which masons could learn their trade is called for here.

(i) In the first place, as we have already emphasised,<sup>1</sup> we are convinced that quarries were very important recruiting grounds for masons.

(ii) In the second place, as we have likewise indicated,<sup>2</sup> we think that in some cases the servant or *famulus* of a mason might in course of time become a fully qualified mason.

(iii) In the third place, to judge by the advances in wages accorded to some low-paid masons at Vale Royal Abbey during the period 1278-1280,<sup>3</sup> and by the appointment of a mason like John of Evesham to give instruction in masonry to labourers at Hereford,<sup>4</sup> we think that there were young men who, without being apprenticed, were learners receiving a certain amount of instruction and that as they gained in experience and in the quality of their work, they were rewarded with higher wages.

(iv) In the fourth place, a father might teach a son, an elder brother might teach a younger brother, an uncle might teach a nephew without any system of indentures.

Whatever method of training was adopted, we are satisfied that a great many masons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did not serve apprenticeships; even as late as 1512, we find the warden of the roughmasons at Norwich complaining that some masons had served less than seven years and that others had never been apprenticed at all.<sup>5</sup> It would be a mistake, however, to think that masons were the only artisans at this period who did not serve apprenticeships: whilst some London guilds required that no one should be set to work who had not been apprenticed,<sup>6</sup> the ordinances of several others imply the existence of journeymen who had not served apprenticeships.<sup>7</sup> It was not till 1563 that all journeymen were required to have served an apprenticeship of seven years, and even then it does not necessarily follow that they all did serve apprenticeships, as we shall have occasion to show later.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 74 *seq.* above.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 79, 80 above.

<sup>3</sup> See *V.R. and Apprenticeship*, p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 80 above.

<sup>5</sup> See extract from Assembly Book, printed in *A.Q.C.*, XV., 202.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Pewterers, 1348 (Riley, p. 244); Harberdashers, 1371 (Riley, p. 354); and Leathersellers, 1398 (Riley, p. 547). Wives and children were excepted.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Braclers, 1355 (Riley, p. 278); Cutlers, 1380 (Riley, p. 439); Founders, 1389 (Riley, p. 513); Bladesmiths, 1408 (Riley, p. 569).

## C. MASONS' "CUSTOMS."

In the year 1288 the Sheriff of Derby was directed by writ to assist in finding out what the customs of the lead-miners were, and the return of the writ gives the customs as they were then claimed.<sup>1</sup> Numerous later versions are known and in 1653 they were "composed in meeter by Edward Manlove."<sup>2</sup> The preservation of the lead-miners' laws and customs from generation to generation was no doubt largely due to the holding of two great courts every year, in addition to the barmaster's court every three weeks in which the customs were administered. The problem which we have now to consider is whether the masons had not recognised and established "customs," analogous to those of the lead-miners.

The only positive reference to masons' "customs" as such with which we are acquainted, occurs in 1539 in connection with the erection of Sandgate Castle. In the fifth month of the Building Account (August, 1539) we find under the head of expenses of William Baker, Jurat of Folkestone, for certain business concerning the king's great works at Sandgate:—

item, ij times Rydyng to the Downes to have certayn communicacon with master controller there concernyng th[e] use and custome of ffre masons and hard hewars, ijs.<sup>3</sup>

We suggest that "the use and custome of ffre masons and hard hewars" existed long before 1539, and that they served as a basis for the Articles and Points of the so-called *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS.<sup>4</sup>

The various MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* (commonly called the "Old Charges"), of which the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. are the oldest known versions, consist of a body of regulations, i.e., the Charges properly speaking (described in the MSS. either as Articles and Points or as Charges General

<sup>1</sup> *The Liberties and Customes of the Miners*, 1645, pp. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> His version is printed by T. Tapping in *English Dialect Society, Reprinted Glossaries, Series B.*, 1874. For earlier versions, see *The Liberties and Customes of the Miners*, 1645.

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. Harleian MS., 1647, fo. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Constitutiones Artis Gemetrivæ Secundum Euclidem*, now in the British Museum (Bibl. Reg., 17 A.I.), commonly referred to as the *Regius* MS. (but formerly as the Halliwell MS. from the fact that Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps first drew attention to it), and *The History and Articles of Masonry*, also in the British Museum (Additional MS. 23,198), commonly referred to as the *Cooke* MS. after the name of the editor who printed it in 1861. We quote from Cooke's edition of the *Cooke* MS., and the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, *facsimile* reproduction of the *Regius* MS.

and Charges Singular), prefaced by a legendary account of the origin of the building industry and the supposed manner in which the regulations came into being.<sup>1</sup> Our concern here is with the regulations as contained in the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS.; we shall consider the revised form of the regulations as embodied in the Charges General and Charges Singular of the later versions of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* in Chapter VII.

With regard to the dating of these MSS., we accept the view now generally taken that the *Regius* MS. (which is in verse) belongs to the last decade of the fourteenth century, say *circa* 1390, and the *Cooke* MS. (which is in prose) to the early part of the fifteenth century, say *circa* 1430. Although the *Regius* MS., as a document, is thus older than the *Cooke* MS., competent critics are satisfied that the Articles and Points of the *Cooke* MS. were a copy of a document of perhaps a century earlier and that they are therefore really older than the Articles and Points of the *Regius* MS. This transposition, by which the *Cooke* version of the Articles and Points is placed about the middle of the fourteenth century and the *Regius* version near to the end of the fourteenth century, makes the nine relatively simple Articles and Points of the *Cooke* MS. older than the fifteen rather more elaborate Articles and Points of the *Regius* MS., and as the latter contain every regulation set out in the former and certain—on the whole unimportant—additions, this seems not unreasonable. We accept this emendation, but it is in no way material to our argument, because we treat both versions as belonging to the same period, and as representing the regulations as they prevailed in the second half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries.

The Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. are a body of regulations concerning masters, craftsmen, apprentices, wages, and other matters.<sup>2</sup> So far as we can tell, they do not appear to have been taken bodily from any masons' gild ordinances. They certainly bear no very close,

<sup>1</sup> As all serious students of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* nowadays accept the view that the legendary matter was "fabricated by learned men" (Begemann, *A.Q.C.*, V., 38) we do not propose to examine it here. (It is briefly referred to in Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 127 *seq.*) Much work has been done in classifying the MS. *Constitutions* into groups, families or branches, according to textual similarities or differences, in examining the various forms of the legend and in discussing the uses to which they may have been put. The best introduction to this line of study is *The Old Charges* (The Masonic Record Limited, London, 2s. 6d.), by the Rev. H. Poole, a leading authority on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II., pp. 261 *seq.*

let alone verbal, resemblances to the London Regulations for the Trade of Masons of 1356<sup>1</sup> or the York Minster Masons' Ordinances of 1370,<sup>2</sup> whilst they are quite different in character from those of the Masons' Gild at Lincoln, as set out in the return made to the Government inquiry of 1389.<sup>3</sup> This is obviously purely negative evidence; they may have been closely based upon, if not actually taken bodily from, various contemporary Masons' Gild Ordinances with which we are not acquainted. We venture to think, however, that they do not bear the stamp of gild ordinances at all. In support of this assertion, we would urge that the following features which characterise gild ordinances—including those of the London Masons of 1481<sup>4</sup>—are entirely missing from the Articles and Points:—

(i) Provision for the appointment of wardens or other officers to administer the affairs of the gild. This would apply to a social or religious gild, as well as to a craft gild.

(ii) Indication that the regulations had the approval of the Crown and Municipality or other authority, so that the necessary powers might be secured to enforce craft ordinances.

(iii) Powers of search for false work.

(iv) Penalties for breach of ordinances.

If, as we believe, the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. were based, not on masons' gild ordinances, but on the masons' "customs," the problem still remains as to whether the "customs" were the original version, which might be quite archaic by the second half of the fourteenth century, or a revised version incorporating any new usages which might have crept in in the course of time. We take the view that they were based on a revised version of the "customs." On the assumption that the masons' "customs" existed at least as early as the twelfth century, a great period of ecclesiastical building in this country, it is almost inconceivable that the original version of the customs should have contained any reference to apprenticeship, let alone detailed rules for a seven years' apprenticeship. Even in London, apprenticeship was not a well-established practice in the thirteenth century, and its adoption outside London was undoubtedly a later development, and there is no evidence to show that the masons were amongst the first craftsmen to adopt it; rather does the contrary appear to

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II., p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II., p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *A.Q.C.*, XLII., 64-67.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix II., p. 251.

have been the case.<sup>1</sup> If the Articles and Points were set down in writing in the second half of the fourteenth century, we feel that the various rules they contain concerning apprenticeship must have represented a recent development, and that the "customs" had already undergone modifications since they were originally formulated, even as during the next 150 or 200 years they underwent many further changes if the Charges General and Charges Singular of the later versions of the MSS. are accepted as embodying contemporary masons' "customs." To these changes, attention will be drawn later;<sup>2</sup> for the moment it suffices to say that the pictures of the stone-building industry given by the Articles and Points of the early MSS. and by the Charges General and Charges Singular of the later MSS. do accord with the facts ascertained from other contemporary sources. These facts also show, what the existence of a body of "customs" would suggest, viz., that the conditions of the stone building industry were very similar in different parts of the country.

The manner in which relative uniformity of masons' "customs," such as we believe existed, came to prevail over wide stretches of country, and the changes that were gradually introduced also spread over the whole country, in an age when local customs rather than national customs were the order of the day in most spheres of activity, can only be surmised. We suggest that four probable influences were at work. In the first place, the intermingling of masons coming from various parts of the country<sup>3</sup> would undoubtedly lead to a unifying of usages and practices. In the second place, the association of masons over long periods with particular ecclesiastical foundations was not likely to have been without some effect; lodges in places like York or Westminster, being semi permanent institutions, might easily develop rules and customs of their own, influenced to some extent at least by an institution of great importance to their employers, namely, the chapter. In the third place, legislation may have had some influence; the Statutes of Labourers, for example, may perhaps account for the articles about paying masons such wages as they deserve. In the fourth place, the policy of the Crown in moving royal officers from one building to another, or in placing them in charge of more than one work at the same time is also likely to have had a unifying influence; the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 161 *seq.* above.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 142 *seq.* above.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 215 *seq.* below.

career of a king's master mason such as Walter of Hereford<sup>1</sup> illustrates this point; the appointment of William Walton, mason, in 1397 to be chief surveyor of all stone-cutters and masons of the king's works in England, mentioned above in a different connection,<sup>2</sup> is another example. In the sixteenth century in Scotland, quite apart from the king's master masons, there was a royal official described as master of the king's works or general warden of the masons, who was neither an architect nor a mason. At the end of the sixteenth century the post was held by William Schaw, whose name will always be associated with two codes or statutes issued in 1598 and 1599. Many masons' "customs"<sup>3</sup> embodied in the Charges General and Singular are incorporated in the Code of 1598, but there are also some additions of a practical character about the erection of scaffolding and the use of marks.<sup>4</sup> So far as England and Wales are concerned, we have been unable to trace anyone occupying a position exactly corresponding to that of general warden, but in some instances, as previously indicated,<sup>5</sup> one individual acted as clerk for several works at once, which possibly exercised some unifying influence.

The Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. may now be examined with a view to ascertaining the picture which they present of the conditions prevailing in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Both MSS. divide the regulations into Articles, which are principally addressed to Masters, and Points, which are principally addressed to Craftsmen,<sup>6</sup> thus emphasising a distinction which undoubtedly existed in the stone-building industry of that period.

*The Master.*—The master would normally be the master mason or master of the works in charge of some big building operation for the King,<sup>7</sup> or for the Church,<sup>8</sup> or for some large landowner,<sup>9</sup> The employer or owner behind the master is the "lord" frequently referred to in the MSS. If the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 20 *seq.* above.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 166 above.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 215 *seq.* below.

<sup>4</sup> The Schaw Statutes of 1598 are printed in Appendix II., p. 258. The Statutes of 1599, which deal *inter alia* with the authority certain lodges exercised over other lodges, are printed in Murray Lyon, *Lodge of Edinburgh*, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 26, 27 above.

<sup>6</sup> For a different view, see L. Vibert, *The Legislation of the Craft*.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Walter of Hereford at Vale Royal in 1278-1280 and later at Caernarvon Castle. See pp. 20, 21 above.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., William Colchester at York Minster in 1416. See p. 97 above.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., John Couper at Kirby Muxloe Castle, 1480-1483, when it was erected by Lord Hastings. See p. 43 above and *K.M.*, p. 193.



master was not the master mason or master of the works of the Crown or of the Church or other body or person, he was probably a man of some substance erecting a building by contract for some landowner<sup>1</sup> or municipality.<sup>2</sup> This latter type of master, whom we should to-day call the building contractor, is no doubt the man referred to in Article IX. of the *Regius* MS. which provides that no master shall undertake work which he cannot perform and complete (presumably owing to insufficient skill rather than to insufficient capital), and in Article X. of the *Regius* MS. (Article IX. of the *Cooke* MS.) which lays it down that no master shall supplant another—unless the work be so wrought as to turn to nought. It may be noted that Article IX. of the *Regius* MS. is on all fours with an article in the London Regulations for the Trade of Masons, 1356, which provides that no one shall take work in gross (i.e., by contract) if he be not of ability in a proper manner to complete such work.<sup>3</sup>

The eighth Point for craftsmen bears out the suggestion that the master was a relatively important personage, because it contemplates a craftsman being appointed warden under the master.<sup>4</sup>

*Wages.*—The masters employed “masons” or “fellows” to whom the Points were addressed. They were to be paid such wages as they might deserve, according to the dearth of corn and victual in the country (Article I.). This stipulation suggests that wages were paid entirely in money, which, so far as we can tell, was actually the case at most of the big building operations of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> So far as wages varying “after the dearth of corn and victual” is concerned, there is no doubt that money wages did rise after 1350, the advance corresponding, or even more than corresponding, to the rise in prices after the Black Death, but from 1360 or 1370 money wages remained practically stationary until the middle of the sixteenth century, whilst prices of wheat and other food products varied considerably, so that real wages fluctuated quite substantially.<sup>6</sup> As previously indicated, it is not improbable that this particular provision about wages was due to the influence of the Statutes of Labourers.<sup>7</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> E.g., John Lewyn, who contracted to build part of Bolton Castle for Sir Richard Scrope in 1378. See p. 101 above.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., John Marwe, who contracted to build Conesford Quay for the Corporation of Norwich in 1432. See p. 102 above.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix II., p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> For examples of wardens, see p. 97 above.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 114 above.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 172 above.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 238 below.

that is so, it is hardly surprising to find that it was apparently no more effective than the Statutes of Labourers themselves were.<sup>1</sup>

If any mason was “imperfect and uncunning” the master was to take the first opportunity of replacing him by a more perfect worker (Article VIII.). Apparently it was sufficient if the master warned a worker before noon that his services would no longer be required (*Regius* MS., Point V.). These regulations, implying a complete lack of any security of tenure, suggest a distinctly autocratic system of management quite in harmony with the conditions which appear to have prevailed at York Minster.<sup>2</sup>

Another wage regulation related to apprentices and provides one of the best indications of the intimate knowledge of the industry which is shown by the Articles and Points. We have already discussed the difficulty which would arise where a wage-earner, instead of a little master or independent craftsman, had an apprentice. If the master mason, being in receipt of a wage or salary, had an apprentice, this problem would arise, a contingency which is provided for in both MSS. The *Regius* MS. (Article VI.) states that the master shall not take of the lord for his apprentice as much as for his fellows “who in their craft are quite perfect, which he is not.” The *Cooke* MS. (Article V.) provides that the master is not to take so much of the lord of the place that the apprentice is taught in, that the lord shall have no profit by the teaching of the apprentice. These Articles may be compared with a London Masons' Ordinance of 1521 which provided that no master should take a full mason's wage in respect of an apprentice until he had served at least four years and been approved by the wardens of the Fellowship, prior to which time the wage was to be rated by the wardens,<sup>3</sup> and with a Norwich Masons' Ordinance of 1577, which stipulated that “no master of the same art shall take any greater wage for his apprentice's work the first year of his apprenticeship than is used to be paid for a common labourer.”<sup>4</sup>

*Apprentices.*—With regard to other articles about apprenticeship, there is nothing unusual. Both MSS. (Articles III., IV. and V.) provide that a master's apprentice shall serve for not less than seven years, that he shall not be a bondsman

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 125-127 above.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 61, 62 above.

<sup>3</sup> *Letter-Book N.*, fo. 176; see Appendix II, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> Text in *A.Q.C.*, XV, 210. Examples of fourteenth and fifteenth-century practice were given in the section on Apprenticeship; see p. 163 n. above.

and that he shall be of lawful blood and whole of limb. The first condition is to be found in the London Regulations of 1356,<sup>1</sup> and the others correspond to those of various craft guilds.<sup>2</sup> Neither the *Regius* MS. nor the *Cooke* MS. appears to contemplate an ordinary craftsman or mason having an apprentice; both MSS. definitely refer to the master's apprentice. Thus, the position, as represented in the Articles and Points, corresponds with what actually happened, so far as we have been able to ascertain; such apprentice masons as we have been able to trace at the end of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth centuries were bound to master masons.<sup>3</sup> If masters were the only men who could take apprentices in those early days, apprenticeship could not have been the chief system of training craftsmen, though there is no indication in the *Regius* or *Cooke* MS. of any other method of becoming a mason.

*Night Work.*—The *Regius* MS. (Article XI.) states that masons are not to work at night—except in study. Many municipal guild ordinances prohibited night work on account of the danger of defective workmanship and the difficulty of supervision.<sup>4</sup> The search for “false work” was essentially a device of municipal authorities to control local guilds, and the problem of night work seems in a sense a little out of place in the *Regius* MS. No similar provision occurs in the *Cooke* MS. nor in any of the later versions of the “Old Charges”; nor have the ordinances of any municipal guild of masons with which we are acquainted any reference to night work. Actually, as pointed out above,<sup>5</sup> the building accounts show that night work did occur—though probably very infrequently—both at London Bridge and at Eton College in the first half of the fifteenth century.

*Holidays.*—The *Regius* MS. (Point II.) which requires a mason to work truly upon a work-day that he may deserve his hire for the holiday, clearly implies payment of wages for holidays, which, as we saw, was the practice at certain undertakings.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II., p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., London Cutlers, 1420 (*Cal. Letter-Book I.*, p. 250), London Founders, 1455-1456 (*Cal. Letter-Book K.*, p. 375), and York Bowyers (*York Mem. Book I.*, p. 61).

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 165, 166 above.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., London Pewterers, 1348 (Riley, p. 243), London Hatters, 1347 (Riley, p. 239), and London Bowyers, 1371 (Riley, p. 348).

<sup>5</sup> See p. 121 above.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 119, 120 above. The *Tew, Wm. Watson* and *Henery Heade* versions of the *Constitutions of Masonry* which probably constitute, so far as the period to which their charges refer, a group intermediate between the *Cooke* and *Regius* MSS. on the one hand and the large group of the remaining MSS. on the other hand, have a somewhat similar provision to the *Regius* MS. *re* holidays. (See *Tew* MS. in Appendix II., p. 271.)

*Craftsmen.*—The Points for craftsmen are rich in admonitions to work hard, to receive pay meekly, to obey the assembly, to be faithful to the master, and to lead a moral life. The position of the craftsmen thus portrayed is not unlike that which can be gathered from the York Minster Masons' Ordinances of 1370.<sup>1</sup> In the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. surprisingly little is said about the craftsmen working for the profit of the “lord,” though there is one Point (*Regius* XI., *Cooke* IX.) which requires a skilled mason seeing a fellow about to hew a stone badly, to help him without loss of time, so that the lord's work may not be lost.<sup>2</sup>

The precepts with regard to leading a moral life throw some light on another problem. The seventh Point of the *Regius* MS. says that no person is to lie with the master's wife, nor with the wife or concubine of any of his fellows, whilst the corresponding Point of the *Cooke* MS. says that a mason is not to covet the wife or daughter of his master nor of his fellows. These Points certainly seem to imply that in connection with some building operations at least, masons lived with their families. This was very possibly the case at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-1280, where we know that houses were erected for the masons and that some of the masons possessed horses and carts in which they might have transported their families.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the ninth Point of the *Regius* MS. speaks of stewards of the hall whose duty it was to pay for all victuals consumed, to keep proper accounts and to see that every man was charged alike.<sup>4</sup> Unless this Point refers to stewards at an annual feast, common enough among municipal guilds, it suggests communal rather than family life, which actually appears to have been the case amongst the masons at Eton College in the 1440's, and at Westminster Abbey in 1292 and in 1395.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the two systems were not incompatible; at York, where masons would be almost certain to live with their families, the Minster Ordinances for Masons of 1370 provided for masons “drinking” and “sleeping” in the lodge at certain periods of the afternoon, though it was further laid down that at time of meat at noon masons were not to be absent from the lodge for more than an hour, which strongly

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 61, 62 above and Appendix II., p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> The only other versions of the Old Charges containing a similar provision appear to be the *Tew, Wm. Watson* and *Henery Heade* MSS.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 58, 59 *n.* above.

<sup>4</sup> The only other versions of the Old Charges containing a similar provision appear to be the *Tew, Wm. Watson* and *Henery Heade* MSS.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 59 above.

suggests that they went home for dinner in the middle of the day.

*Government of the Craft.*—In what concerns this both the *Regius* and the *Cooke MSS.* contemplated a system of congregations or assemblies, to the discussion of which we devote the next section.

#### D. THE ASSEMBLY.

General assemblies of the members of a trade in a particular town to choose overseers and to transact other business were quite common among craft guilds,<sup>1</sup> so that the "assembly" of itself would present little difficulty were it not for the description of the assembly contained in the *Regius MS.* (Point XII.) which suggests that it was attended not merely by masters and fellows, but by great lords, knights and squires, as well as by the sheriff of the county, the mayor of the city and the aldermen of the town in which it was held. The *Cooke MS.* (ll. 901 *seq.*) contemplates a rather less comprehensive body consisting of masters, together with the sheriff of the county *or* the mayor of the city *or* the aldermen of the town in which it was held. This distinctly unusual body portrayed in the *Regius MS.* was to make ordinances for the craft. It was quite usual for the overseers or reputable men of a trade to appear before the mayor and aldermen to have their ordinances approved. Thus, for example, on 15th October, 1481, "came good men of the art or mistery of masons of the City of London . . . before the Mayor and Aldermen and prayed that certain articles for the better regulation of the mistery might be approved."<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, meetings of leaders of a craft, of municipal authorities and of great lords, knights, sheriffs, etc., were assemblies for which we can find little or no analogy among craft guilds.

(i) *Great Lords in the Assembly.*—It is possible that the author of the *Regius Poem* when first describing the assembly in the legendary matter as an institution established by Athelstan, had in mind the estates of the realm and by an anachronism described the King as having provided the masons' craft with a parliamentary foundation. There are two objections to such a view, namely, (a) that the burgesses said to have been present were not drawn from all boroughs, but only from *that city* in which the

<sup>1</sup> E.g., London Cutlers, 1380 (Riley, p. 440); Beverley Minstrels, 1555 (Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Guild Life*, p. 134).

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Letter-Book L.*, p. 183.

assembly was held, and (b) that the assembly mentioned in the twelfth Point is evidently a local, not a national gathering. If this very unlikely solution be rejected, there remain, so far as we can see, three other possible ways of accounting for the presence of people other than masons at a gathering concerned with masons' affairs. These may be briefly considered in turn:—

(a) *The Merchant Guild.*—One mediæval institution in which it was possible for great lords, or their officers, to be fellow members with humbler folk was, in some instances at least, the merchant gild. This, though mainly consisting of burgesses in a particular town, did not necessarily include all the burgesses or exclude non-burgesses. The gild merchant of Ipswich, for example, admitted to membership many landowners in the neighbourhood, the Earl of Norfolk<sup>1</sup> among them. The annual assembly of such a gild might thus contain great burgesses, squires and lords, and it is not impossible that the author of the *Regius Poem* attempted to glorify the masons' assembly by attributing to it a membership which added social distinction to quite a different kind of gild. On the other hand, he describes the sheriff as being present, and unless in the character of an honoured guest at a feast, or in some personal and non-official capacity, the sheriff would not attend the meeting of a gild merchant.

(b) *The Religious Gild.*—Similarly, though there might be diversity of social rank among the membership of some religious gilds, the sheriff would not attend the annual meeting of such associations in an official capacity. The line between a craft gild and a religious gild may not always have been easy to draw in the Middle Ages, but the absence of any reference to corporate religious objects or to any introductory religious ceremony in the *Regius Poem* account of the assembly makes it in the highest degree unlikely that the assembly was the professional counterpart of an ostensibly religious gathering.

(c) *Minstrels.*—If we cannot find a counterpart of the masons' assembly in the annual gathering of any kind of localised gild, religious or secular, we must look for it in the organisation of some profession the condition of which was more like that of the masons than was the condition of weavers or of cutlers. Such was the trade of the minstrel who, like the mason, found a market for his skill outside his own immediate locality and was, at least in some periods

<sup>1</sup> See Lipson, *Economic History of England*, I., 250.

of the year, migratory. The regulation of this profession, so far as it was possible, was therefore necessarily on a territorial, not merely a municipal basis. Jurisdiction over minstrels and artificers in the Earldom of Chester is said to have been conferred by Ranulph, the last earl, on his constable, De Lacy, who transferred the governance of minstrels to his steward, Dutton, whose family had a recognised title thereto as late as 1597.<sup>1</sup> Dugdale thus describes the procedure at the annual gathering of minstrels at the time of the midsummer fair:—

. . . all the minstrels of that countrey resorting to Chester do attend the heir of Dutton, from his lodging to St. John's Church (he being then accompanied by many gentlemen of the countrey) one of the minstrels walking before him in a surcoat of his arms depicted in taffata; the rest of his fellows proceeding (two & two) and playing on their several sorts of musical instruments. And after divine service ended, give the like attendance on him back to his lodging; where a court being kept by his steward, and all the minstrels formally called, certain laws and orders are usually made for the better government of that Society with penalties on those who transgress.<sup>2</sup>

A similar jurisdiction is believed to have been acquired by John of Gaunt, in virtue of which he established in 1381 a court at Tutbury in Staffordshire, which

like a Court-Leet or Court-Baron, had a legal jurisdiction, with full power to receive suit and service from the men of this profession within five neighbouring counties, to enact laws & determine their controversies; and to apprehend & arrest such of them as should refuse to appear at the said Court, annually held on the 16th of August. For this they had a charter, by which they were empowered to appoint a King of the Minstrels with four officers to preside over them. . . .<sup>3</sup>

So far as is known, no record of the legislative proceedings of these courts has survived, and we cannot compare the organisation of the minstrels' craft in detail with that of the masons.<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting, however, (i) that the

<sup>1</sup> 39 Eliz. c. 4, sec. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Percy's Reliques* (1900), I., xxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Rules relating both to prosody and to the functions and training of various kinds of bards and minstrels exist in Welsh, but they are of uncertain age and authority. It is believed that an *Eisteddfod*, i.e., session, was held at Caermarthen, to regulate the craft in 1451, and that similar sessions or assemblies took place in later times, e.g., at Caerwys in Flintshire in 1523 and 1567 (*Llyvyr Sion Brooke*, a MS. in the National Library of Wales, fos. 473-476). It may be noted that at the former, the Sheriff of Flintshire is said to have presided, and that prominent local gentry and lawyers seemed to have formed the court in both instances, an indication perhaps that the main object of the meetings was to reduce the number of vagrants.

minstrels' assembly, like that of the masons, had jurisdiction over a wide area and that attendance was compulsory for members of the profession in that area, and (ii) that, at Chester at least, knights, esquires and great burgesses probably took part in the ceremony connected with the meeting of the court. If the masons' assembly ever was held, there can be little doubt that it resembled the midsummer gathering of the minstrels at Chester.

These courts do not complete the tale of minstrels' associations: there were, besides, local gilds, as at Beverley,<sup>1</sup> and the minstrels in the royal service appear to have been separately organised.<sup>2</sup> The masons had at least one local gild in London; <sup>3</sup> whether there was an organisation of the masons in the royal service, we do not know.

(ii) *The Sheriff and the Masons*.—It is important to notice that the *Cooke MS.* gives a more reasonable account of the presence of the sheriff at the assembly than does the *Regius Poem*. In the poem the dignitaries present include "the sheriff . . . and also the mayor . . ."; whereas in the prose account the sheriff is present not in addition to the mayor, but as an alternative—"the sheriff of the county or the mayor of the city or the alderman of the town." This is much more nearly what we should expect in view of that immunity from the sheriff's jurisdiction which it was the object of mediæval towns to obtain and preserve.<sup>4</sup> On this point, therefore, we follow the *Cooke MS.* and conclude that the sheriff would be present at an assembly only when it was held outside the limits of municipal jurisdiction.

Nothing can be clearer than that on frequent occasions the sheriff would come into contact with the masons of his county. It is unlikely that they were professionally subject to his court, though instances can be found of some trades being subject to its jurisdiction.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, building work and repairs were often committed to the sheriff,<sup>6</sup> and he was frequently required to find workmen

<sup>1</sup> For rules of the Beverley gild, see Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*, pp. 134 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g., Rymer's *Fœdera*, IV., iv, 93; V., ii, 119; V., ii, 169; VI., i, 179.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 152 above.  
<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Charter of Henry III. to Gloucester: "We have granted to the same burgesses that none of our sheriffs intermeddle with them in ought touching any plea or plaint pertaining to the said borough" (Bland, Brown and Tawney, *Select Documents*, p. 119).

<sup>5</sup> Weavers and brewers, for example, in Anglesey in 1346 (see *Anglesey Antiquarian Soc. Transactions*, 1930, p. 39), but it was the accuracy of measures rather than the quality of work which was examined.

<sup>6</sup> For numerous instances, see *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1240-1245, passim*, and p. 17 above.

for royal building operations, and had at times to choose and despatch large numbers of masons.<sup>1</sup> His presence at a gathering of them in his county would, therefore, be in no way surprising; and, in any event, if such a gathering were legal at all, he would naturally be the officer responsible for its supervision.

(iii) *Was the Assembly actually held?*—The brief summary we have given of the organisation of mediæval minstrels will be enough to suggest that the author of the *Regius Poem*, in the account of the assembly, was not describing an unprecedented or impossible gathering; but his description does not amount to proof that such an assembly ever existed in fact. It will be noted that the *Regius Poem* (a) does not give the slightest indication of the date or location of the assembly or assemblies, and (b) does not cite any authentic charter or grant legalising such a gathering.<sup>2</sup> The masons, that is, were in a different position from the minstrels on the one hand, and from such organisations as those of tin and lead-miners on the other. The miners had charters of self-government, and their customs are extant; <sup>3</sup> the minstrels were subject to chartered jurisdiction, but their customs and rules have not survived; the masons had rules and customs, but no charter for their assembly, so far as we are aware. The lead-miners of Derbyshire, it is clear, had their customs from an early period, and the Crown recognised their liberties, we take it, as it might recognise the custom of the manor or some other similar immemorial usage. Whether the minstrels used to assemble and make rules for themselves, before the dates of the jurisdictions to which we have referred, there is nothing to show; but we think it not impossible, and the non-survival of written customs is no proof to the contrary, for the minstrels, who learnt their songs by rote and transmitted them orally, might do the same for their regulations. As to the masons, either the Articles and Points are a complete fabrication,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 90 *seq.* above.

<sup>2</sup> Athelstan's mythical regulation described in the legendary matter is perhaps to be regarded as a substitute. It is incidentally worth noticing that Athelstan is also mentioned early in the Beverley Minstrels' Rules (see Lambert *op. cit.*). According to the *Wm. Watson MS.*, the Charges were approved by Henry VI. and his Council. We have no independent evidence of such approval, but the recognition of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati as a holiday at the building of Eton College (see p. 120, above), in which Henry VI. was specially interested, may be some corroboration of the claim made in the *Wm. Watson MS.*

<sup>3</sup> On the tin-miners, see G. F. Lewis, *The Stannaries*, especially Chapters III. and VI.; on lead-miners, *The Liberties and Customes of the Miners*, 1645.

or else the masons, too, had customs before any question of the legal recognition of those customs was raised. It may be suggested that the absence of royal charters to the masons (assuming that they are not merely lost) is due either (a) to the dependence of the Crown on "pressed" labour for its large building works and its consequent unwillingness to sanction corporate privileges which might lessen its control, or (b) to the situation after 1348. Workmen who had not obtained sanction for their associations before the Black Death were not likely to obtain it easily afterwards.

Charter or no charter, we think it probable that an assembly of some kind was actually held. That master masons in rural areas were not completely isolated from one another appears from two references in the Fotheringhay Church Building Contract of 1434<sup>1</sup> to masters other than William Horwood, who undertook the contract. Horwood was required to "latlay" the groundwork "by oversight of maisters of the same craft," and, in case of doubt, the fitness of setters employed on the work was to be determined "by oversight of master-masons of the countre." This, if it does no more, suggests the existence of a professional body or tribunal of some kind with jurisdiction over individual craftsmen.

*Illegal Congregations.*—As evidence of the existence of masons' congregations and assemblies, the efforts of the Legislature to suppress congregations, confederacies and chapters by Statutes of 1360 and 1425 are sometimes quoted. The former<sup>2</sup> declared that congregations and chapters of masons and carpenters should be void and wholly annulled, the latter<sup>3</sup> prohibited yearly congregations and confederacies made by masons in their general chapters assembled which openly violated the Statutes of Labourers. In the light of the general character of these statutes, it must be assumed that the prohibited congregations existed with the object of maintaining or raising wages above the official rates, though this is not explicitly stated. That masons endeavoured to secure higher money wages at a time when prices were rising after the Black Death is highly probable, but in doing so they only did what other workers did individually or collectively. There are numerous records of fines imposed in different parts of the country on various kinds of labourers and artificers for infringing the statutes regulating

<sup>1</sup> Text in Appendix II., p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> 34 Edward III. c. 9.

<sup>3</sup> 3 Henry VI. c. 1.

wages.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, illegal congregations, which in some cases at least appear to have been casual meetings, rather than permanent organisations, were by no means limited to masons and carpenters as suggested by the statutes. In London in 1383, a proclamation was issued against congregations, conventicles, assemblies of people and alliances, confederacies, conspiracies or obligations to bind men together.<sup>2</sup> Four years later the overseers of the cordwainers charged certain serving-men of their trade under the proclamation of 1383 with bringing together a great congregation of men at the Friars Preachers and conspiring and confederating to hold together.<sup>3</sup> At York about 1430, the cordwainers complained that their servants held illegal conventicles, congregations and prohibited conspiracies at the Friars Preachers and in other places.<sup>4</sup>

In our opinion, it is very problematical whether these congregations of masons were the same as the congregations or assemblies contemplated by the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., as we find it difficult to believe that masters together with either the mayor of the city or the sheriff of the county, were present at gatherings which aimed at the maintenance or enhancement of wages above the official rates.

<sup>1</sup> Putnam, *The Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers, passim*, Thomas, *Cal. Plea and Mem. Rolls, 1323-1364*, pp. xxix seq., *Cal. Letter-Book G.*, pp. 115-118, and "Courts held under the Statutes of Labourers" in *Mediæval Archives of the University of Oxford*, II., 1-127.

<sup>2</sup> Riley, p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> Riley, p. 495.

<sup>4</sup> *York Memo. Book I.* (Surtees Society), pp. xlix and 191.

## CHAPTER VII.

### TWO CENTURIES OF TRANSITION.

THE discovery of the New World and of the sea route to India and the opening up of North and South America at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, marked the dawn of a new era. A vast fresh field for commercial expansion was revealed and a new orientation was imparted to the economic life of the community. The economic centre of the world was transferred from the Mediterranean and the Italian republics to the Atlantic and the countries which bordered on that ocean. First Spain and Portugal, then Holland, France and this country became actively engaged in exploiting the new maritime discoveries. Here we are only concerned with these discoveries in so far as the Spanish exploitation of Mexico, Central America and Peru led to a vast and continuous influx of silver, and to a lesser extent, of gold, into Europe, which in its turn brought about a great, prolonged and permanent rise in the prices of food and all other products. It undoubtedly added very substantially to the cost of building and almost certainly for a time, at least, helped to check building activity.

Ultimately the great increase in wealth which resulted from the new trading activities and overseas developments must have stimulated the demand for new building, more especially for domestic and civic purposes, and must also have provided the large capital necessary to finance building operations whilst under construction and thus have removed one serious impediment to practically all mediæval building operations. So far as immediate effects were concerned, it does not appear possible to isolate the temporary check to building activity caused by rising prices from checks caused by other influences, and we shall make no attempt to do so. There was, however, one very important effect of rising prices which especially affected the various sections of the building trade, because they relied so largely on wage-labour at that period already, whereas most industries did

not. In the town, the independent craftsman or little master working with an apprentice was probably more or less able to raise the charges for his products as the prices of his materials and the cost of his victuals rose, and was thus able to recoup himself. In the country, the agriculturalist working his holding with the assistance of his family and living very largely on the produce of the land, would be but little affected by the price changes, and the chances are that he would receive enhanced prices for what he sold as well as pay more for what he bought. The artisan dependent entirely on wages was in a much worse position in a period when trade unions did not exist and when any form of association amongst wage-earners to maintain or improve their economic position was strongly disapproved of by central and local authorities still imbued with the ideas which underlay the enactment and re-enactment of Statutes of Labourers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Apart from the influx of American silver which was a general change influencing not only masons but all sections of the community in a greater or lesser degree, there were other changes in the sixteenth century which were of greater concern to masons than to other craftsmen. Of such events, perhaps the most momentous was the dissolution of the monasteries. After 1540, the monks who had so often built and pulled down and rebuilt their churches, required the services of no more artificers in stone except perhaps, here and there, to carve *Hic jacet* on the last stone of all. Bearing in mind the great rise in prices after 1550 and the recognition by Mary Tudor that the monastic wealth could not be restored to its old possessors, we may regard the Middle Ages as ended by the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The long period of all but changeless wages and the age of splendid monastic building were then quite past.

The change was not sudden. Wolsey's sequestrations must have alarmed the heads of monastic houses, and it is probable that the monks had ceased to spend any considerable sums on building years before Thomas Cromwell turned them out of doors. Such building as was undertaken must have been mainly repair and maintenance work, for the last age of widespread enthusiasm for the monastic life, of new foundations and of large-scale constructions was over long before Henry VIII. came to the throne. This decline in monastic building was, to an extent that we cannot precisely determine, compensated by an increased activity in the building of parish churches, but it is probable that this move-

ment had almost worked itself out by 1500. The number of important churches erected in the sixteenth century is very small.<sup>1</sup> The maintenance of churches, great and small, continued to provide work for masons, as the fabric rolls of Wells, for example, and numerous entries in parish church warden's accounts make clear, but there can be little doubt that the importance of the Church as a provider of employment had been decreasing for generations and remained small throughout the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not until the restoration of London after the Great Fire did church building require, once more, the labour of a large number of masons.

Meanwhile, though parochial and capitular authorities had little need of masons, the Crown still required them and, at times, very urgently, for works that were sometimes carried on at vast expense and at a speed that can seldom have been achieved in the Middle Ages. That was especially so in the reign of Henry VIII. The repairs necessary at Guisnes in 1520 and the erection of temporary buildings for his meeting with Francis I. required, according to the Calais chronicler, 300 masons, 500 carpenters and 100 joiners besides other craftsmen and labourers, making a total of more than 2000 men.<sup>2</sup> In the works in progress at Guisnes and Calais in 1541,<sup>3</sup> which cost more than £2800 a month, there were employed 439 workmen and over 2000 labourers in addition to the administrative staff. Fortifications on a similar scale were constructed on the south coast of England, for example at Sandgate, where the castle was completed with extraordinary rapidity in eighteen months between 30th March, 1539, and 2nd October, 1540.<sup>4</sup> In addition to these defensive works the same monarch undertook vast enterprises of another kind. He commenced the palaces of Nonsuch, St. James's and Whitehall, and, after Wolsey's death, continued the building of Hampton Court

<sup>1</sup> Blomfield, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *The Chronicle of Calais* (Camden Soc., 1846), p. 17. For the dimensions of these buildings, of which the largest chamber was "bothe larger and wyder than the White hall" in Westminster Palace, see the letter from one of the Commissioners, printed *ibid.*, pp. 79 *seq.* Great difficulties were encountered in getting the materials and the labour. It would appear from one part of the letter, unfortunately damaged by fire, that the work was hindered by the discontent of the masons with their wages (*ibid.*, p. 81).

<sup>3</sup> A statement of the numbers employed, wages and costs of materials is printed in *The Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 197 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sandgate*. The article is based on two folio volumes of accounts, *Harleian MSS.* 1647 and 1651, in the British Museum.

on which, at one period, he was spending £400 a month.<sup>1</sup> His successors were, perhaps, less ambitious to build and, in any event, had less money to spare for the purpose, a reason which prevented, for example, the realisation of the grandiose plans of Whitehall prepared for Charles I.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the Crown had a good deal of maintenance work and some new building to occupy its office of works: it continued to require the services of masons, and from time to time, to use its old powers of impressment.

The conclusion is nevertheless hardly to be resisted that, by Elizabeth's reign, at least, the Crown, though more important than the Church, was losing its old predominance as an employer of masons and was being replaced by the nobility and gentry, enriched by court favour, monastic spoils, rising rents or connection with commerce. The mediæval equivalent of their class, when it built, erected manor halls or, when licences could be obtained or the lack of them ignored, castles or fortified houses. For such places of defence there was now less need. On the northern border, indeed, which was incompletely pacified even after the union of the Crowns in 1603, the peel might still be necessary, but in Wales and the marches, after the Act of Union in 1536 and the brutal but effective administration of Bishop Roland Lee, a relative peace was established. The nobility needed no strong houses for internecine war and the Crown required no permanently garrisoned castles to maintain order. In England also, after the wars of York and Lancaster, houses could safely be built with less attention than had previously been paid to strategy and more to light, space and comfort. Coincidentally a taste for magnificence and an acquaintance with continental models, as well as an increase in wealth, led to a use of brick and stone instead of timber and to the erection of larger and more ornate residences. As instances we may cite Somerset House, on which the Protector is said to have spent more than £10,000 in less than three years and a half;<sup>3</sup> Cecil's house at Burghley, with its "works of art of marble jasper"; Chobham in Kent and Hatfield, with their ponderous and elaborate chimney pieces; Loseley Hall in Surrey, Wollaton in Nottinghamshire, Kirby and Holdenby in Northamptonshire; Longford Castle in Wiltshire, completed only with the aid of gold from a sunken armada ship;<sup>4</sup> and Audley End, built between 1603 and 1616 at a cost of £190,000 in the money of that day.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Law, I, 161.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Blomfield, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Mention must yet be made of one other consequence of the dissolution of the monasteries, namely, the very large amount of dressed and undressed stone rendered available for use in such new building operations as were undertaken in the immediate neighbourhood, or within easy reach, of the disestablished monasteries. We referred to dealings in old stone in the Middle Ages in Chapter III. and drew attention to the great extension of this practice in the sixteenth century by quoting the case of Vale Royal Abbey as an example of a large mediæval building which entirely disappeared.<sup>1</sup> Here we would lay stress on a different aspect of the problem: if dressed and undressed stones were available in large quantities at a low price or for the cost of carriage, the demand for stone-cutters and quarriers must have seriously diminished as a consequence. The case of the convent of the Franciscans, or Friars Minors, commonly called the Grey Friars, at Cambridge, may be quoted by way of illustration. The convent was surrendered in 1538 to Henry VIII. who granted the site and buildings to Trinity College in 1546.<sup>2</sup> The college appears to have used the buildings as a quarry; in 1555-1556, for example, when the chapel was being erected, 2950 loads of stone were conveyed from the Friars to the college at a cost of carriage amounting to 3d. per load.<sup>3</sup> In 1562-1563 the Greyfriars supplied 108 loads of stone, part of which was "laide in the dores of the new chappell" and part of which was "new wrought by Peeres to ashler and quenynge," i.e., was used to make "coins" with.<sup>4</sup> When the site was made over to Sidney Sussex College at the end of the century, the church and the conventual buildings had been so completely destroyed that only one building could be made even partially available for the purposes of a college.<sup>5</sup>

Another building which supplied much stone to Cambridge Colleges was Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire. In 1560-1561 Trinity College paid "to William Aungier for A bargaine of Ramsaye stone to the nombre of 60 lodes @ 4s. 4d. ye lode £13," whilst in 1562-1563 when the college purchased 342 loads, they paid Aunger for three great buttresses at the east end of the chancel at Ramsey, £5 3s. 10d., and paid Williamson of Barnwell 20s. for casting down the three buttresses.<sup>6</sup> At the same period King's College rebuilt its hall from stone obtained from the conventual buildings of

<sup>1</sup> See p. 56 above.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 562.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 723.

<sup>2</sup> *W. and C.*, II., 724-725.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 567.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 566-568.



Ramsey Abbey.<sup>1</sup> When the chapel of Corpus Christi College was erected in 1579, amongst the benefactors were the Earl of Bedford who gave 146 tons of stone from Thorney Abbey and a Mr. Wendy who presented 182 loads of stone from Barnwell Priory, of which he was lay-impropriator.<sup>2</sup> The stones of dissolved monastic foundations at Faversham and Canterbury were carried overseas in 1541 and used in the fortification of Calais.<sup>3</sup> Merton Abbey, in 1538, supplied large quantities of stone for Nonsuch Palace.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the greatly increased use of old stone in the first part of the period, the whole period saw a considerable substitution of brick for stone as a building material so that the relative importance of the mason compared with the bricklayer must have declined. On the other hand, the growth in the use of both brick and stone in the building of houses may have compensated for the fall in the demand for masons due to the various reasons we have suggested.

#### ADMINISTRATION.

The administration of royal building works remained, in principle, much the same in the sixteenth century as it had been in the Middle Ages; that is, a distinction was preserved between the two sides of an undertaking, the technical and the financial, the one ordinarily under the supervision either of a freemason, designer or architect, and the other in the charge of officials who may have had some knowledge of architectural matters but were neither architects nor craftsmen by profession. By 1600, nevertheless, some important changes had taken place and others were in progress. These we shall next briefly review.

In the first place it is probable that the number of clerks employed on a sixteenth-century undertaking was larger than that employed on an undertaking of the same size in the Middle Ages, and also that these clerks were often more specialised. It is difficult to be certain of that, since we know so little about the clerks of the works whose salaries are given in the accounts relating to mediæval building operations. William de Shaldeford at Caernarvon, and Nicholas de Radwell at Beaumaris, to take but two instances, may have had subsidiary clerks writing for them in an office, though the accounts, which record merely a payment of

<sup>1</sup> *W. and C.*, I., 536.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 290.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronicles of Calais* (Camden Soc.), p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII.*, Vol. 13, Pt. ii., pp. 131, 132, 133, 134.

2s. 7½d. a week to the one and 20d. a week to the other, do not suggest such an arrangement.<sup>1</sup> In any event, the number of such under-clerks, if any, must have been small if their pay had to come out of the sums we have indicated. At Guisnes and Calais in 1541, on the other hand, there were no less than twenty-seven "clarkes of the workmen and labourers,"<sup>2</sup> that is, roughly, one clerk to every ninety men. These clerks were paid 6d. a day, the same rate as the labourers employed on the works; the account does not indicate what other and superior clerks were employed, possibly because it is a statement for one month only and the more important clerks would probably be paid quarterly. At Hampton Court, in the 1530's, there were certainly several grades of clerks. Eustace Mascall, clerk of the check, was paid 1s. a day for "makyng and engrossing as well the By-Boks as the Journall Boks of all the works," and had two assistants at 8d. a day each.<sup>3</sup> There were also connected with the works a surveyor, in whose presence the payments were made every month,<sup>4</sup> and the comptroller of His Majesty's works, whose duty it was to see how much was spent each month,<sup>5</sup> to keep count of the stores received and to see that "the men who had wages, by patent or otherwise, did not take double wages," duties which the surveyor, who resented the comptroller's interference, seems to have considered his own.<sup>6</sup> The name of the architect or designer of Hampton Court is not known. Mr. Law rejects the claims of Mascall, of Bettes, master of the works in Wolsey's time, and of Laurence Stubbes, paymaster in 1515 and 1516,<sup>7</sup> and inclines to regard Henry Williams, the surveyor in Henry VIII.'s time, as the architect, though admitting that certainty on the matter is impossible. Whoever the designer may have been, it is probable that the execution of whatever plans existed would be the business of the master mason. In December, 1535, that office was held by John Molton, paid at the rate of 12d. per day, who was assisted by the warden, William Raynald, at 4s. per week.<sup>8</sup> The administration at Hampton Court, therefore, was broadly similar to that of the Eton College works in 1442-1460,

<sup>1</sup> See *B. and C.*

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> *Law*, I., 155.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the character of the Guisnes and Calais account referred to above, the work, perhaps, of a similar official

<sup>6</sup> *Law*, I., 157. Some of the officers mentioned above may have been on the staff of the office of works.

<sup>7</sup> *Law*, I., 25.

<sup>8</sup> A facsimile of a page from the Accounts is given in *Law*, I., facing p. 127.

but apparently with a more numerous clerical staff and with some duplication of function.

At Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540,<sup>1</sup> greater complexity is evident. For the first nine months the works were in the charge of two commissioners, Thomas Cocks and Richard Keys, and thereafter of Reynold Scott, controller and surveyor, probably successor to Cocks, and of Richard Keys, now called paymaster. Both Scott and Keys had a clerk apiece to keep their books, and there were besides a clerk of the check, a clerk of the call, and a clerk of the ledger, whose functions we cannot explain.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the surveyor and paymaster there was a *devisor*, Stephen de Hashenperg, probably an expert in fortification and evidently of German or Dutch extraction: he, too, had a clerk of his own. The clerks' pay was generally 8d. per day. As at Hampton Court there was also a warden or master mason, Robert Lynsted, paid at the rate of 10d. a day, and an under warden, Nicholas Rychard, at 8d. a day. Lynsted signed the accounts for each month, adding his mason's mark. The purpose is not clear; it might be supposed that accounts with which so many clerks were concerned would not need his certification, but it may have been that he was required to sign as a guarantee that the masons for whom wages were entered had actually been at work and earned them.

Besides the officers appointed to take charge of particular works there were, as in the Middle Ages, others having a more general authority over royal buildings and constituting an Office of Works,<sup>3</sup> the headquarters of which, in the seventeenth century, were in Scotland Yard. The officers were the surveyor,<sup>4</sup> the comptroller, the master mason and the master carpenter, and the staff included certain chief artisans (plasterer, joiner, master matlayer, bricklayer and locksmith), and ministers (the purveyor, four clerks of the works<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Sandgate, passim*.

<sup>2</sup> The clerk of the call was perhaps a timekeeper, whose duty it may also have been to keep count of the number of days each man worked.

<sup>3</sup> Such remarks as we offer on this subject, the investigation of which would take us beyond the limits we have set ourselves in this book, are based mainly on an important paper of "Orders which our pleasure is shalbe observed by the Officers of our Workes . . . the same to begin from the first day of January last past 1662" in *State Papers, Charles II.*, Vol. 67. A history of the office of works in mediæval and early modern times is greatly to be desired.

<sup>4</sup> For grants of office, see e.g., *S.P.D.*, 1603-1610, pp. 145, 312, 317; *S.P.D.*, 1611-1618, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> One of these, the most highly paid, had charge of the palaces of Whitehall, St. James's and Westminster: the spheres of the others are not clearly indicated in the Orders but clerks of the works for Hampton Court and Greenwich are mentioned.

and a clerk engrosser).<sup>1</sup> The business of the Office was to inspect and report on the condition of royal residences,<sup>2</sup> to keep them in repair, to provide materials and labour<sup>3</sup> and to carry out such other work as might be entrusted to it.<sup>4</sup> Money was allocated for this purpose to the Office,<sup>5</sup> which kept account of expenses and stores. It also organised the supply for the king's buildings of both foreign stone and the Portland stone so extensively used in and after the days of Inigo Jones. For the importation of stone from abroad it required the assistance of the Navy Commissioners:<sup>6</sup> for the carriage of other stone it apparently had, in 1667, two hoys of its own.<sup>7</sup> How complete its control of Portland stone was we do not know. In 1620 the expediting of supplies therefrom was apparently managed by the Mayor of Lyme and several other gentlemen to whom the Privy Council wrote directly, payment of the outlays advised by them being made by the Office of Works at the Council's instruction.<sup>8</sup> From the Department's point of view there was a danger that supplies might run short if liberty to quarry Portland stone were too readily granted by the Crown, and in 1667 the Office suggested that all London requests for stone should be referred to the surveyor, who should be empowered to reserve some quarries and allow stone to be taken from others.<sup>9</sup> Whether the Office of Works then obtained such power is not clear, but it would appear from a petition in 1703<sup>10</sup> that the Surveyor-General of Works had

<sup>1</sup> To the officials named above there should be added the paymaster who, in the presence of the officers or some of them, was to make payments on two certain days in every week "at the Payhouse in Scotland Yard." Bills, if we understand the Orders rightly, were ordinarily to be met monthly, but the paymaster could occasionally, by order of the officers, make an advance. <sup>2</sup> See e.g., *S.P.D.*, 1667, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> For this purpose the officers jointly are, according to the Orders, to make out warrants to the purveyor. The same Orders require materials to be provided beforehand and at reasonable rates, not hurriedly and dearly. The purveyor is himself to provide workmen and not to leave that to the chief artisans. Any of the officers can dismiss an insufficient or excessively paid workman.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., repairing a house in Holborn in readiness for the Spanish Ambassador. See *Acts of Privy Council*, 1619-1621, p. 330.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g., *S.P.D.*, 1603-1610, p. 148; *S.P.D.*, 1611-1618, p. 160. Whether the Office regularly paid the salaries of the chief officials at particular works we do not know. In 1667 it was ordered to pay the assistant surveyor of Greenwich Palace his whole salary of £200 a year. *S.P.D.*, 1667, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 510.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

<sup>8</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1619-1621, p. 227. A pier was built at Portland for the loading of stone for the Banqueting House: the account of expenses in connection with the pier was kept by the paymaster of the works. See P. Cunningham, *Life of Inigo Jones*, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> *S.P.D.*, 1667, p. 140.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1703-1704, pp. 370-371.

some jurisdiction in the Isle of Portland, where the inhabitants claimed a privilege of monopoly, with his permission, to provide stone for public buildings, provided they would work at the same rates as others. In addition to the functions we have indicated, the office from time to time had others: it gave opinions on the liability for maintenance of particular premises,<sup>1</sup> and we find it consulted on the advisability of a patent for inventions in building.<sup>2</sup>

Without further investigation it would be dangerous to generalise on the efficacy of this centralised control, in which it may be noted Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren played important parts as surveyors. Abuses in the Office of Works were suspected and orders were drawn up for it in 1608.<sup>3</sup> The allowances then granted to the officers had, according to the petition which preceded the orders of 1662-1663, lost half their value in the following fifty-four years and were small in comparison with those enjoyed by officials of a similar grade in other branches of the king's service. In such circumstances the officers might be expected to make what they could out of "fees and availes" paid by suppliers of materials and from certain perquisites. These practices can hardly have tended to the making of the most advantageous contracts for the supply of building stores and the payments were abolished by the Orders of 1662-1663, the officers having their allowances substantially increased by way of compensation. The artisans had, perhaps, added to their salaries the profits on contract work undertaken for the Crown. The Orders, which increased their salaries, provided that in future the chief artisans should not take work at task or by the great without the consent of the officers and then only "soe as the same be performed as well and at as easie rates as any the other like artizan will doe the same."

As in the Middle Ages, the slowness with which money came in<sup>4</sup> was apt to hinder the progress of the works, and there is evidence to show that the system of control did not work well for the labour employed: a petition to the Privy Council in 1618 complained that the poor workmen on the king's works, whose pay was twelve months in arrears, had pawned their tools to buy food and had nothing left:<sup>5</sup> for a similar reason, perhaps, many of the masons

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.*, 1619-1623, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 464, 512, 657.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1611-1618, p. 537. For arrears in Middle Ages, see p. 5 above.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1603-1610, p. 412.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1667, p. 65.

employed on the new Banqueting Hall in 1620 deserted and others were thought likely to follow them:<sup>1</sup> in 1667 Sir John Denham, surveyor, recommended the crews of the stone hoys to the care of the Navy Commissioners for victuals, "whereof they have great need, being so long unpaid."<sup>2</sup>

#### THE REGULATION OF BUILDING.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Crown found it necessary to concern itself with building other than its own undertakings, especially in London and its suburbs, where new houses were hastily constructed and others divided into tenements to accommodate a rapidly increasing population. These tenements were believed to harbour a large number of beggars and to be in many cases insanitary, and, since the chief building material was timber, there arose a threefold danger to the city from fire, poverty and pestilence. Accordingly, by statute in 1593 and a series of proclamations and regulations<sup>4</sup> in 1605, 1607, 1611, 1615, 1620, 1624, 1625, 1630 and 1661, the erection of new houses was restricted, division of houses into tenements was prohibited, the use of brick or stone instead of timber was required and also uniformity in frontage level, so that protruding windows should not break the lines of streets and diminish their width. In part the carrying out of this policy depended on the city magistrates, who had, since the Middle Ages, attempted to regulate such matters,<sup>5</sup> but in addition a Commission was established to inquire into offences and remedy faults and, finally, the great engine of government, the Privy Council, used its power for the same purpose, informing the High Sheriff of Middlesex, e.g., in 1620, that certain undesirable erections existed under the wall of St. James's Park and in Longacre and requiring him, with a plenitude of authority that modern reformers might envy, "to cause all the said cottages, walls, sheddies and tentes to be prostrated and pulled down to the ground, so as there

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D.*, 1619-1623, p. 172. Cf. a letter of Inigo Jones printed in P. Cunningham, *Life of Inigo Jones*, pp. 23-24. For a warrant to bring some of the Whitehall workmen—eight carvers, two plasterers, a bricklayer and a carpenter—before the Privy Council, see *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1619-1621, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> For a general account of this subject, see Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II., 315-317.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, II., 316 n. See also *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, Nos. 1011, 1049, 1248, 1616, 3322.

<sup>5</sup> See C. Pendrill, *London Life in the Fourteenth Century*, Chapter I.

may be no memorie at all seene thereof, nor any thinge leaft for future habitacion there." <sup>1</sup>

It would be hard to say how effectively the policy was carried out. In 1619 the Privy Council declared that the diligence of the Commissioners had been "to some good issue and effect" and that men were "applying themselves readily to build with bricke and stone," <sup>2</sup> but the Council's list of houses and tenements built contrary to the regulations, the frequency of the proclamations and the statement in the Proclamation of 1661 <sup>3</sup> that previous injunctions had been disregarded all suggest that Stuart regulation in this matter, as in others, was fitful and, in the main, ineffective.

With the Great Fire in September, 1666, there came at once a great need for new housing and a great opportunity to substitute a dignified, planned and healthy city for the insanitary chaos that London had become, and Sir Christopher Wren, before the ashes were cold, was ready with a scheme. <sup>4</sup> He would have made London the finest capital in the world, with its public buildings admirably grouped, set so that they could be seen and admired, and with its chief streets, sixty feet wide, radiating from the centre of the city, but urgent need of housing, difficulties over compensation, lack of money and perhaps lack of vision prevented the adoption of his plan. In order to facilitate the rebuilding and to avoid a future catastrophe of the same kind, a statute <sup>5</sup> was passed whereby the outsidings of all buildings were to be of brick or stone, building trade artificers were made free of the city for seven years or as long as should be necessary and provision was made for the regulation of wages and of the prices of bricks. <sup>6</sup> The importation of building materials was facilitated by a relaxation of the Navigation Acts. <sup>7</sup> Funds were

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council, 1619-1621*, p. 266. For numerous other instances of similar action by the Council, often on information from the Commission, and with schedules of erections to be pulled down, see *Acts of the Privy Council, 1618-1619*, index under *buildings*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 490.

<sup>3</sup> In the following year a commission, of which John Evelyn was a member, sat for the purpose of reforming ways and streets and regulating hackney coaches (Bray, *Memoirs of John Evelyn*, pp. 284, 286). The Surveyor of His Majesty's Works was required to be one of the Commission by the Statute 14 Charles II. c. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 323 n.

<sup>5</sup> 18 and 19 Charles II. c. 8.

<sup>6</sup> In 1619 the Commissioners for Buildings had been instructed by the Privy Council to call the brickmasters before them and take measures to reduce the unreasonable price then prevailing (*Acts of the Privy Council, 1618-1619*, p. 490). In 1622 the supervision of brickmaking was entrusted to a Brickmakers Company. A new company was established in 1636 (see Cunningham, II., 305 n.).

<sup>7</sup> *S.P.D.*, 1667-1668, p. 295.

provided to buy the land necessary for widening and re-planning streets, and to pay for the reconstruction of St. Paul's <sup>1</sup> and other churches and public buildings, by a duty <sup>2</sup> of 1s., to which another duty of 2s. was subsequently added, on every chaldron of sea coal brought to London. The money collected was deposited with the City Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Player (followed in his office by his son, of the same name and rank), who paid it out either to the committees or commissioners concerned with particular buildings or to contractors and others in accordance with their orders. The sums raised by this duty, which was still being levied in 1710, <sup>3</sup> must have been considerable. In the year 1675-1676 the amount was more than £48,000, and the average for the years for which accounts are extant in the Public Record Office was over £31,700. The rebuilding was, moreover, expedited by the borrowing of great sums later repaid out of the proceeds of this tax. <sup>4</sup>

#### MASONS AND ARCHITECTS.

Our study of mediæval building accounts corroborates what is now the received doctrine that the designer of a building was, as a rule, a master mason, one trained in that craft even if he had ceased to ply his axe and chisel. In addition to skill with his tools, the mediæval mason-architect must have had some capacity to estimate quantities and costs and, if he were engaged on a large building, skill in directing the simultaneous labours of numbers of men. Some masons, no doubt, possessed these qualifications to a greater degree than others and found employment as salaried servants of the Crown or of an ecclesiastical employer or

<sup>1</sup> There had been a restoration problem for more than a century, since the steeple collapsed in the great storm of 1561, when a committee of six citizens and two canons was constituted to carry out repairs. The condition of the fabric was still bad in 1582, in which year the Bishop of London and the city authorities were in doubt as to their respective liabilities (see the correspondence in *Analytical Index to . . . Remembrancia*, pp. 322 seq.), and the Queen, offended at the delay in the reparations, appointed Sir Christopher Hatton and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to expedite them. Royal Commissions were appointed in connection with the same church in 1620, 1631 and 1663. As late as 27th August, 1666, John Evelyn, with Wren and others, surveyed it and reported. Eight days later "the stones of Paul's flew like granados."

<sup>2</sup> 18 and 19 Charles II. c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> By that year, according to Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 2823 (see *A.Q.C.*, XVII., 201), more than £600,000 had been contributed from this source to the rebuilding and furnishing of St. Paul's.

<sup>4</sup> More than £150,000 of borrowed money remained charged on the tax in 1710 (*A.Q.C.*, XVII., 201).

made a reputation as contractors, or did both. Others, if they could not themselves design a large building, could carry out plans made for them and could erect a small building without assistance. Plans and drawings, in any event, were not elaborate; many of the details were not written but were carried in the mind of the master mason and were decided either at his discretion or in accord with verbal, and perhaps very general, instructions from the employer.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in the Middle Ages, the mason-architect was to be found. A Surrey wage assessment of 1610<sup>1</sup> fixes a summer rate of 12d. without food for a "free mason which can draw his plot, work and set accordingly, having charge over others," and we shall have occasion to notice several instances of masons known to have been the architects of large buildings. In the seventeenth century, however, we meet a different kind of architect, quite untrained at the bench, possessing a wider acquaintance with classical and continental styles and more or less erudite in sciences that were almost a closed book to his mediæval predecessor. The first of this kind, if we leave out of account John Thorpe (about whose career and training next to nothing is known),<sup>2</sup> was Inigo Jones. There is a doubtful tradition that he served an apprenticeship to a carpenter, but it was as a continental traveller and a designer of settings for masques that he first became prominent, and there seems to be no evidence that he was connected with architecture until he was thirty-seven years old, when he was appointed surveyor of works to the Prince of Wales. He held the post from 1610 until the Prince's death in 1612: three years later he became Surveyor-General of the king's works: in 1618 he was one of the commissioners for laying out Lincoln's Inn Fields, and in 1620 one of the building commissioners whose work we have described.<sup>3</sup> Much of his work was thus administrative but he was also the architect and designer of numerous buildings and especially of the new Banqueting House at Whitehall, where "almost at one effort, and without previous failures, he was able to create a finished masterpiece of design in a manner that was as yet unfamiliar

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, XI, 200 seq. Cf. the Rutland assessment, 1563 (Rogers, IV., 122), "a freemason which can draw his plat, work and set cunningly, having charge over others."

<sup>2</sup> Blomfield, pp. 33 seq. Cf. Beresford Chancellor, *Lives of the British Architects*, pp. 26 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 195, 196 ante.

in England."<sup>1</sup> The second of the professional architects was John Webb, educated at Merchant Taylors' School and apprenticed at seventeen years of age to Inigo Jones, who taught him mathematics as well as architecture. As an architect, it used to be believed, he was an able and intelligent though unoriginal artist in the style taught him by Inigo Jones,<sup>2</sup> but there now seems to be reason for regarding him as an architect of the first rank, under-estimated on account of his own modesty, and possibly the author of the design for Whitehall submitted to Charles I., a design previously attributed to Inigo Jones.<sup>3</sup> He was, in any event, a prosperous architect with an aristocratic clientele, though he did not succeed his old master as Surveyor-General, being passed over in 1660 in favour of Sir John Denham, the poet, and in 1668 in favour of Denham's assistant since 1661, Sir Christopher Wren. That great master was at a still further remove from the bench, being the son of a Dean of Windsor, nephew of a Bishop of Ely, a Fellow of All Souls and Professor of Astronomy at Gresham's College and Oxford. Indeed, he was not only untrained as an craftsman; he was untrained as an architect, and, if there is any link between him and the mediæval mason-architects it must be his profound capacity in the art which they, little as they knew of it, took to be the foundation of their craft when they headed their rules *Constitutiones Artis Gemetrie Secundum Euclidem*.<sup>4</sup> Wren, in addition to his mathematical and scientific attainments, had mastered an art which his mediæval predecessors can have had few opportunities of acquiring, namely, the ability to see as a whole not only one building but a greater totality in the design of which each individual building had its part and place. Town planning was by no means unknown in the Middle Ages, but, in the main, such planning consisted rather in laying out streets and walls for convenience and security than in purposive grouping of structures to produce a satisfying impression of a harmonious whole. It is indeed true that Wren and others, who possessed such a capacity, were not given opportunities to use it fully: the practice of such an art requires more effective public control of land and regulation of building than was possible in Wren's day, or in the period of industrial change and individualist enterprise which followed. Nevertheless, though the new kind of professional architect was more or less circumscribed in

<sup>1</sup> Blomfield, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> See Briggs, p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> The full title of the so-called *Regius Poem* or MS. See p. 169 above.

this direction, he was busy enough in others, and as his activity grew that of the mason-architect declined.

The emergence of the type of architect represented by Webb and Wren, however, did not mean the disappearance of the other kind, more closely connected with the mason's craft. As an instance of the mason-architect there may be cited in the first place Nicholas Stone, born near Exeter in 1587, apprenticed to a London mason and subsequently taught sculpture in Holland by Hendrik de Keyser. In 1619 he was master mason, under Inigo Jones, at the Banqueting Hall, and in 1626 "master mason and architect" at Windsor. In addition to his stipend while in these offices he earned fees as architect and sculptor in private practice. Another instance, perhaps, is Robert Smithson, buried in 1614 and described on his tombstone as "gent, architector and survayor unto the most worthy house of Wollaston" <sup>1</sup> but referred to as "master free mason" in the building accounts relating to Longleat. <sup>2</sup> Huntingdon Smithson, designer of Bolsover Castle, was probably his son, but nothing appears to be known about his training. Still other instances of mason-architects are Ralph Simons, <sup>3</sup> employed in the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries on several Cambridge Colleges; Acroyde <sup>4</sup> and Arnold <sup>4</sup> employed on various works at Oxford, and the family of Strong, master masons, quarry-owners in Oxfordshire and builders of houses in the Cotswolds, <sup>5</sup> one of whom, Thomas Strong, was Wren's chief master mason at St. Paul's. In the last part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries Robert Grumbold appears to have been the leading mason-architect at Cambridge. <sup>6</sup> Born in 1639 at Raundes in Northamptonshire, a place famous for its quarries, he can first be traced at Cambridge at Clare Hall in 1669 when he and a partner named Bradwell as freemason-contractors were paid their bill every week from May to November. <sup>7</sup> In 1676 he was master mason at the building of the new library at Trinity College for which Sir Christopher Wren prepared the designs; <sup>8</sup> in 1684 he designed and executed the new hall at Clare Hall, <sup>9</sup> and from that time onwards until shortly before his death in 1720 he submitted various schemes or plans in connection with college or university

<sup>1</sup> See Briggs, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> See *W. and C.*, III., 529, 530.

<sup>3</sup> On these, see Blomfield, pp. 41-42.

<sup>4</sup> Briggs, p. 289; Conder, p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> *W. and C.*, III., 533.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 534 *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> Blomfield, p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I., 102.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I., 106.

buildings, several of which designs he executed as mason-contractor. Apart from mason-architects erecting buildings in town and country, there were also at this period carpenters and bricklayers supplying designs for houses and other buildings. <sup>1</sup>

#### MASONS AND CONTRACTORS.

The modification of the old system of "direct labour," by which the master mason occasionally took a contract to finish part of the work for which he had been responsible as master mason, <sup>2</sup> continued to occur from time to time in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1512 and 1513 John Wastell, who was master mason at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, in 1508-1509, took contracts which provided for the erection of the great stone vault, the vaults of the porches and sixteen of the chapels, the finials of the buttresses and the four corner towers. He was to provide the stone and the wages of the workmen, and in all was to be paid £2138. <sup>3</sup> At a much later date Robert Grumbold who, as previously mentioned, had been master mason at the erection of Trinity College Library, laid the pavement of that library by agreement for 2s. 3d. per foot in 1688. <sup>4</sup>

On the whole the system of utilising the services of contractors appears to have been growing, if we may judge from what happened at Cambridge. In 1598 the Second Court of St. John's College was (in the words of Baker, the seventeenth-century historian of the college), "put into the hands of two undertakers Wigge and Symons [freemasons] (a way of building not so allowable in works intended for posterity) who for the sum of £3400 obliged themselves in four years to erect a Court . . . the whole was finished in the year 1602, in a manner ruinous to the undertakers and not over advantageous to the college." <sup>5</sup> In 1617 the contract for erecting the Perse building at Caius College was entered into with John Atkinson of the town of Cambridge, yeoman, who was to provide all materials and to receive £500 in five instalments of £100. As the following year another contract was entered into for the erection of

<sup>1</sup> Blomfield, p. 42. It was Henry Man, carpenter, who drew the design for the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1623 (*W. and C.*, II., 267).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 149 above.

<sup>3</sup> *W. and C.*, I., 479-481 and 608-614.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 540. The price presumably included the cost of the black and white marble.

<sup>5</sup> *Baker's History*, (ed. Mayor), p. 191, quoted in *W. and C.*, II., 249.

the Legge Building, the presumption is that the authorities of Caius College were more pleased with the result of the contract system, than Baker, the historian of John's, appears to have been. In the John's and Caius contracts the contractors were responsible for all types of work; but there was another type of contract in which the masonry work was let by contract to a mason, the carpentry work to a carpenter and so forth. The erection of the great Tower of Trinity College, commenced in 1528-1529, was carried out on this system: the contract for the woodwork was let to Thomas Loveday, carpenter, who was to find timber, boards and workmanship, and the contract for the masonry to John Shereff, freemason, who was to find the masons' wages, the materials, however, being found by the college. This is said to have been the first time that a contract for masonry occurred in the history of the college, though contracts with carpenters go back to the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> At the rebuilding of Clare Hall in 1641, whilst some of the masonry work was done by direct labour, some was done by small bargains for particular jobs,<sup>2</sup> corresponding bargains also being made with the carpenter.<sup>3</sup>

Although the general contractor survived, it is probable that the tendency was to limit the contractor to particular parts of a building operation, as at Clare Hall. Thus Sir Balthazar Gerbier, the well-known painter and architect, writing in 1663,<sup>4</sup> advised that a man having his house built for him should pay an architect or surveyor to design it, a clerk of the works to supervise the erection and check the materials, and chosen master workmen to carry out the masonry, brickwork, carpentry and other parts of the work. The materials were to be supplied by the employer; the master mason, master carpenter and other chief workmen would thus be contractors for the supply of labour and skill in their particular crafts. In part this was the system on which St. Paul's was built.<sup>5</sup> The Commissioners employed Wren to design the building, to supervise its erection gener-

<sup>1</sup> *W. and C.*, II., 453-454.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., "November the 28, 1641 To Aristotle Drue and Rob<sup>t</sup> Heath upon a Bargayne of Eighteene pounds for paueing the Eastend of ye Chappell and facing the white wall where the Arras Hange . . . 10s." (*W. and C.*, I., 99). Drue is named as one of the masons sometimes in receipt of daily wages.

<sup>3</sup> *W. and C.*, I., 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Counsel and advice to all builders for the choice of their surveyors, clerks of their works, bricklayers, masons, carpenters, and other workmen therein concerned*, London, 1663. See more especially pp. 5, 24, 58 and 61.

<sup>5</sup> A. Cunningham, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* quoted in Briggs, pp. 291-292.

ally, examine accounts and make contracts for materials and parts of the work. To help him he had an assistant surveyor, John Oliver; a clerk of the works, Laurence Spence; and a clerk of the check, Thomas Russell. Some of the labour employed was casual, and it was Russell's business to call over these workmen "three times a day, viz., at six in the morning, one in the afternoon and at six at night." Contracts for masonry were made with Joshua Marshall and Thomas Strong, who were paid for work done and themselves, presumably, hired what labour was necessary and sometimes also provided materials. Both these men, as well as Edward Strong, brother of Thomas, together with Christopher Kempster<sup>1</sup> and several others, appear among the contractors to whom very large sums were paid for work done on the London churches rebuilt by Wren.<sup>2</sup>

Masons operating on this scale were, doubtless, exceptional, and the majority of contracts must have been small enough to be undertaken by master workmen with far fewer resources. In London, after the Fire, there were openings for these smaller contractors just as there were for the Strongs, but they were probably occupied in the main in domestic building, and there is evidence to show that they sometimes became involved in the schemes of speculators with few scruples. An instructive instance of the opportunities offered to speculative builders in London during the second half of the seventeenth century and of the kind of individual who might seize them occurs in the history of Nicholas Barbon,<sup>3</sup> whose father gave its name to the Parliament of 1653. The son's first trade was medicine but he abandoned it upon finding a better market for his abilities in the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire. He had no technical training or vision, and in one of his earlier ventures in Mincing Lane "all the vaults for want of strength fell in and houses came down most scandalously." On the

<sup>1</sup> Kempster was master of the Masons' Company in 1691 and Edward Strong in 1696. Thomas Strong was admitted to the Company in 1670. See Conder, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall was paid over £19,000, Edward Strong over £15,000, and Kempster over £8600, not counting one payment of £4424 made to Edward Strong and Kempster together. See L. Weaver, *Complete Building Accounts of the City Churches in Archæologia*, LXVI. Joshua Marshall also received large sums for other work, including the memorial column, done after the Fire (*Exch. K.R. Accounts*, 474/30, 475/2, 475/3). He was the son and successor of Edward Marshall, royal master mason (*S.P.D.*, 1660-1661, p. 13; *S.P.D.*, 1673, pp. 599-600).

<sup>3</sup> See the account of him and of his connection with the rebuilding of the Temple, burnt in 1678, in Roger North's *Autobiography* (Jessopp, *Lives of the Norths*, III., 53 seq.).

other hand, he had a keen eye for the most profitable way of covering ground with house property, being, according to Roger North, "the inventor of this new method of building by casting of ground into streets and small houses, and to augment their number with as little front as possible." His method of getting the houses erected was commonly to sell as much of the ground as possible, at so much per foot-front, to building contractors on a small scale,<sup>1</sup> he himself building only on the frontage he could not dispose of. It was not worth his while, he explained, "to deal little: *that* a brick-layer could do. The gain he expected was out of great undertakings" in which, apparently, his function was chiefly to acquire land or project a building scheme and then allocate the work in small contracts at a profit to himself. He did not perform the service of lending his own money or even of organising credit properly for these schemes, for he could not borrow at less than 10 per cent., which, apparently, would have left him no profit. Instead, he ran into debt, that is he let suppliers of material or labour wait for payment. In managing his creditors and conciliating opponents of his schemes he is said to have been remarkably expert, but, despite his ingenuity, the multiplicity of his enterprises was ultimately hindered by the failure of his cash. In the meanwhile he had many imitators, which led to what Roger North called the "superfætation of houses about London."

#### PRICES AND WAGES.

Whilst our immediate object in this section is to study the changes in the economic position of masons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought about by the great rise in the prices of foodstuffs and other products, it may be premised for the information of the reader that the changes in the position of other building operatives appear to have been very similar: they were all primarily wage-earners at that period, and they were all affected in the same way by the great changes in price levels. The chief difference would appear to be that owing to the relative increase in the use of brick as compared with stone, the demand for stone workers in relation to other building workers probably declined during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in any case in certain parts of the country. This no doubt affected the amount of employment available for masons

<sup>1</sup> So we interpret "workmen," *Lives of the Norths*, III., 54

but, so far as we can tell, did not affect the relative wage rates of different categories of building operatives.

The information about rises in prices, changes in the cost of living and alterations in wage rates and conditions of employment during this period is, as might be expected, very slight, and barely sufficient to serve as a basis for any generalisations; yet we have no option but to utilise such material as is available as best we can, because, there being no question that great changes did take place, it is essential to assess their character and to submit them to some kind of quantitative measurement. We make no claim for any high degree of accuracy in our statistical study, and although we print a chart on page 206 and tables of figures showing movements in prices, money wages and real earnings in Appendix I., in order to give a concrete representation to the tendencies described in this section, we are the first to appreciate that they are necessarily of a rough and ready character. It should be pointed out, however, that the changes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were so large, that errors of five or ten points in measuring the movements are not very important.

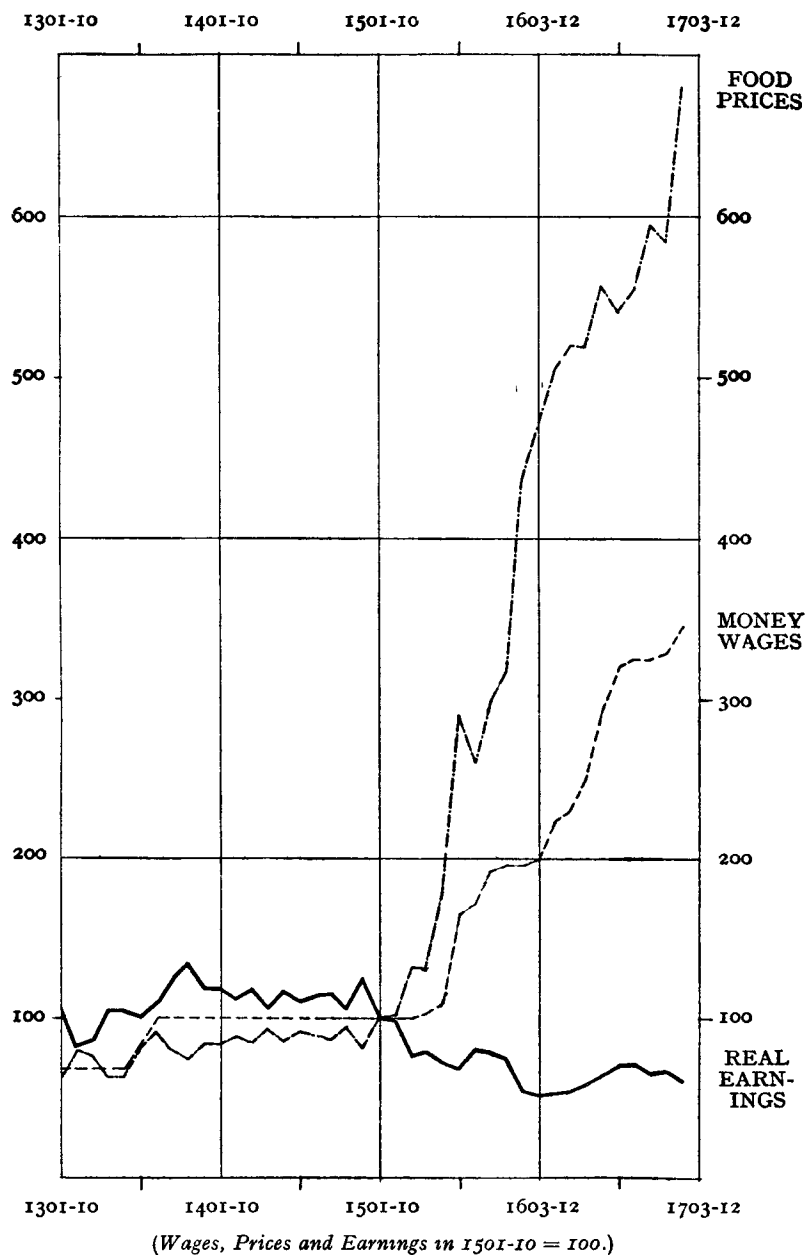
As no index-numbers of wholesale or retail prices exist for this period, so far as we are aware, we have had to construct our own index-numbers from the materials collected by Rogers and utilised by Steffen. As explained in Appendix I., we have limited ourselves to food prices and have treated average prices in the decade 1501-1510 as 100. Movements in food prices can be summarised as follows:—

1501-1510	100	1603-1612	470
1511-1520	101	1613-1622	506
1521-1530	132	1623-1632	520
1531-1540	131	1633-1642	519
1541-1550	180	1643-1652	557
1551-1560	290	1653-1662	541
1561-1570	260	1663-1672	554
1571-1582	298	1673-1682	596
1583-1592	318	1683-1692	585
1593-1602	437	1693-1702	682

Some rise in prices undoubtedly occurred in the 1520's, but it was in the 1540's and the 1550's that the rise was particularly severe; yet, as shown in Table I. (p. 236 below), money wages hardly rose before 1550, so that the purchasing power of wages appears to have declined about one-fifth in the 1520's and a further fifth in the 1540's. That such a reduction in real wages could take place without leaving any record would be quite conceivable in the days before



## WAGES, PRICES AND EARNINGS, 1300-1700.



newspapers and at a time when most of the people affected were, generally speaking, not in a position to set down in writing any protests they might make. Fortunately, it so happens that the parliamentary draftsman responsible for the Act touching victuallers and handicraftsmen passed in 1548<sup>1</sup> has left on record a very good contemporary account of what was happening, though he obviously failed to understand the economic causes which led to the high prices. In the preamble to the Act, it is stated that divers sellers of victuals had conspired and covenanted together to sell their victuals at unreasonable prices and likewise that handicraftsmen had made confederacies and promises not only not to meddle with one another's work or to finish what another had begun, but also to constitute and appoint how much work they should do in a day and what hours and times they should work. To meet the conditions brought about by the great rise in prices the Government by this Act practically re-enacted the Statutes of Labourers: victuallers who conspired together not to sell their victuals except at certain prices, and artificers and workmen who conspired together not to do their work but at a certain price and rate, or not to finish what another had begun, or not to do more than a certain amount of work in a day, or not to work except at certain hours and times, were to be liable to heavy fines and other punishments.

Freemasons, roughmasons, hardhewers, carpenters and other building operatives being enumerated in the Act, and butchers, brewers, bakers, poulterers, cooks, costermongers and fruiterers being named in the preamble, there can be no question as to what types of handicraftsmen and victuallers were in question. Here we have not only a definite statement that the prices of food were rising in 1548, and presumably rising considerably or legislation would hardly have been enacted, but also a clear indication of the steps taken by craftsmen to meet the rise in the cost of food:—

- (i) Refusal to work for less than certain piece-rates or day-rates;
- (ii) Refusal to finish work another had begun;
- (iii) Refusal to do more than a certain amount of work in a day;
- (iv) Refusal to work except at certain times and hours.

The first step was the most natural response to the new conditions—an effort to obtain more money wages to meet

<sup>1</sup> 2 Edward VI. cap. 15.

the higher prices, whilst the second step was doubtless an attempt to strengthen the bargaining power of individual workmen. The third and fourth steps may be considered together. At first sight these steps would not seem to benefit the wage-earners in the face of the rising prices, but indirectly they did so in conjunction with a system of extra payment for work done in overtime, on holidays and on Sundays, which was introduced at this period. Thus in 1533, 15 masons at the Tower worked from 6 to 44 extra hours in a period of 24 working days;<sup>1</sup> at the erection of Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540, the masons made extra time which was paid for at 1d. or ½d. per hour;<sup>2</sup> at Dartford in August-September, 1542, masons worked 26 out of 28 days, and in addition to their pay received 1s. 8d. extra, Rogers noting that "all these labourers and artisans receive a further money allowance for holidays varying from two-thirds of the day's rate to one-third. It appears also that extra hours were paid ½d. each."<sup>3</sup>

By reducing the nominal working hours in respect of which the daily wage was paid, the opportunities to work overtime and to earn extra money were obviously increased. A practice of working overtime in the dinner hour also appears to have been adopted in some cases, the fact that an hour and a half were commonly allowed for dinner and a siesta in summer making this fairly feasible. At Hampton Court, e.g., in 1531, 1532 and 1533, when Henry VIII. was eager to complete the building, the accounts show purchases of candles "spent by the workmen in the night times upon the paving of the Hall, for the hasty expedition of the same," and masons, bricklayers and other craftsmen were paid extra money for "working in their owne tymys, i.e., their dinner hour and drinking times."<sup>4</sup> Similarly, at Guisnes and Calais in 1541, the workmen were sometimes paid "with their howers."<sup>5</sup> At Nonsuch Palace in 1538, freemasons were paid at the rate of 1d. per hour and roughlayers at 6d. or 7d. for 10 hours for working in their "hour times and drinking times."<sup>6</sup>

In some cases at least, by working on holidays and even on Sundays, by sacrificing part of the meal-times and by

<sup>1</sup> Rogers, III., p. 645.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandgate*, p. 235. At Westminster Palace in 1549 artisans were paid 1d. per hour and labourers ½d. per hour for overtime (*Exch. K.R.*, 474/19).

<sup>3</sup> Rogers, III., p. 652.

<sup>4</sup> Law, I., 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicle of Calais* (Camden Soc., 1846), pp. 198, 200.

<sup>6</sup> *Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII.*, Vol. 13, Pt. ii., p. 132.

working overtime in the evening when the light permitted, masons were able to increase their weekly earnings with little or no rise in the daily rate of pay, and thus obtain the means to meet part, in any case, of the rise in the cost of living. We have endeavoured to take these much more strenuous working conditions into account by treating average weekly real earnings during the more leisurely Middle Ages, when holidays were frequent occurrences, as equivalent to the food which could be purchased with 5 days' pay, and from 1541 to 1702, when holidays, Sundays and overtime were being worked on at least some jobs, as equivalent to the food which could be purchased with 6 days' pay. In our opinion these adjusted figures which we give in the last column of Table II. and which we have utilised in the Chart, enable a more correct picture to be obtained of relative earnings at different periods; any reader who prefers the unadjusted figures of daily real wages will find them also in Table II.

At Norwich the building operatives appear to have met the rise in prices in a different manner. On 31st May, 1549, complaint was made to the Common Council of Norwich<sup>1</sup> that the masons, carpenters, reeders and tilers who inhabited the city and who had served their apprenticeship there, had of late for their private interest and advantage departed out of the city in order to find work in the country, to the detriment of the citizens who had to employ foreigners and beginners. We take it that living in the country was cheaper than living in the town, but very probably, in some cases at least, the artisans themselves or their parents or relations had agricultural holdings in the country, and living at home on a farm would clearly be the most advantageous arrangement when the prices of all foodstuffs were rising rapidly.

From 1550 the position of the wage-earner in the face of rising prices appears to have fluctuated and can be followed in detail in the Chart given on page 206, and in the tables printed in Appendix I. Increases in wages were undoubtedly secured, but at times prices rose more rapidly than did wages, so that the workers' position slowly deteriorated until the worst position was reached in the decade 1613-1622 when food prices were about five times the 1501-1510 level, at a time when daily money wages had hardly more than doubled. Even allowing for extra pay for overtime, holidays, etc., real earnings were probably under, rather than over,

<sup>1</sup> Entry from the *Assembly Book* printed in *A.Q.C.*, XV., 203.

half what they had been at the commencement of the sixteenth century. From that time forward, the position slowly improved. At London Bridge, masons' wages were 2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d. a day in 1701 as compared with 8d. in 1501; food prices, however, during the 200 years had risen from 100 to 682, so that the purchasing power of the new money wage was only about three-fifths of that of the old money wage. Making every allowance for extras and the possibility that the general level of money wages had risen more than had been the case at London Bridge, it would probably not be safe to say that weekly real earnings in 1701 were more than two-thirds of what they had been in 1501.

To judge solely by the statistics we have been able to collect, the decline in the mason's standard of life during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries must have been little less than calamitous.<sup>1</sup> It was not a case of a temporary severe reduction in real income which could be met by postponing the satisfaction of less urgent needs until times improved; for fifty years between 1593 and 1642 weekly real earnings were approximately only half what they had been about 1501, so that there must have been many masons who throughout their lives never knew anything but these very difficult times. Even assuming that the wage-earner enjoyed rude plenty at the commencement of the sixteenth century, if that rude plenty were divided by two, or very possibly more than two in some years, it could only spell starvation for anyone attempting to support a wife and family on his wage. We cannot help feeling that even after allowing, as we have done, for the possibilities of extra earnings, the statistics are liable to give a wrong impression of the position and that for various reasons:

(i) In the first place, it must be remembered that the second half of the sixteenth century and early part of the seventeenth, was a period of strong and active Tudor and Stuart government, the era of Elizabethan labour legislation, a time when Justices of the Peace under the control of the Privy Council, vigorously administered such legislation as was enacted. By the Statute of Artificers, 1563, Justices of the Peace after conferring with respect to the plenty or

<sup>1</sup> The picture we gave in *Masons' Wages* was even more depressing than that given here, partly because we took the lower prices and wages of 1301-1310 = 100, which tended to magnify the later movements when expressed as percentages, and partly because we made no allowance for extra earnings in respect of overtime, holidays, etc., in calculating weekly earnings after 1540.

scarcity of the time, were given authority to rate and appoint the wages of artificers.<sup>1</sup> Various Justices of the Peace did assess wages under the statute and several of their assessments, so far as masons are concerned, are quoted in Table III. of Appendix I. Some of the rates, especially those in the north, seem very low compared with such prevailing rates as we have been able to ascertain, but others seem to compare quite favourably. Information is not sufficiently complete to determine how generally the Statute of 1563 was enforced, or how frequently Justices availed themselves of their powers to fix wages or other powers to regulate prices,<sup>2</sup> but several of the assessments quoted were certainly issued in years when corn was especially scarce, e.g., 1586, 1595, 1597, 1621, 1630, 1631. It may be noted, however, that in 1630, described as "hard and necessitous tymes," people in Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex complained to the Privy Council that the rates had not been properly made for them according to law, and the Council ordered letters to be written to the Justices concerned directing them to do their duty.<sup>3</sup> But whether the Justices concerned were active or not in times of dearth in assessing wages, it must be observed that in several cases they fixed one wage for masons and another and lower rate for journeyman

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 13 Richard II. c. 8 (1389), which enabled the Justices to fix the wages for masons, carpenters and others "according to the dearth of victuals." It is not altogether clear whether the 1563 Statute should be regarded as tending to raise wages or to keep them down. The preamble, which explains that the wage levels fixed in previous Acts were insufficient in 1563, was regarded by Thorold Rogers (*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 398) as hypocritical and the Act itself as the first step in a conspiracy, lasting until 1824, to keep wages low by law. Cunningham's reply (*Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II., 38), that the Act removed the maxima of previous Acts and left the Justices free to fix as high a rate as they deemed desirable is irrelevant, since he can say nothing about the spirit in which the Justices acted, and ignores the main point, that the 1563 Statute provides for a *maximum* and that proceedings were taken against employers for exceeding it. (See e.g., *Tudor Economic Documents*, I., 351 *seq.*, I., 377.) The principle of a *minimum* wage was given statutory recognition in 1604 (Lipson, *Econ. Hist.*, III., 254), but that applied more particularly to the clothing industry. We find it difficult to resist the view that the 1563 Statute, in its wage provisions, was likely to favour the "little master" rather than his workmen. Lipson (III., 263) concludes that, at times at least, the official scales certainly lagged behind the wages actually paid and that "at all periods of wage regulation the disparity existed."

<sup>2</sup> See Leonard, *Early History of English Poor Relief*, *passim*. Lipson (*Economic History of England*, III., 256, 257, 260, 262, 263) has listed over 70 wage assessments by magistrates between 1560 and 1765: the actual assessment is not extant in every case and only some of the assessments include masons' wages. He concludes (III., 56) that "the first century of the Act was the period in which it was most commonly enforced."

<sup>3</sup> Leonard, p. 162, and *E.H.R.*, Jan. 1898, p. 91.

masons and roughmasons, and in some cases a third and still lower rate for servants of masons. As there can really be no question that the lowest rates fixed for semi-skilled or unskilled men were at least existence wages, we feel justified in assuming that the higher remuneration assessed for skilled masons was sufficient to maintain a standard of life distinctly above an existence level.

(ii) In the second place, nearly all the officially fixed wages which we have traced provide a double scale of payments, one with meat and drink and one without meat and drink. In all our statistics of money wages we have quoted the rates without meat and drink, and so far as we can tell, on the big building operations of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with which we are acquainted, the whole wage was commonly paid in money. An exception was the building of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1292.<sup>1</sup> At Cambridge also, it would appear that the workmen were frequently fed and occasionally housed by the colleges.<sup>2</sup> We think it quite conceivable, however, that in the sixteenth century the practice of boarding the workers and paying them only a reduced money wage was much more commonly adopted. Certainly when Sir William More erected Loseley House from 1561 to 1569 he provided practically all the artisans with "meate and drynke" or with "borde." In 1561-1562 he paid Mabbanke, the mason, 10d. per day, his man 6d. per day, and another mason engaged in hewing 3s. 4d. per week, in addition to meat and drink in each case.<sup>3</sup> Another example occurred at Sheffield in 1575-1576, when William Dickenson, steward of the Earl of Shrewsbury, built himself a house.<sup>4</sup> The work was done partly by contract and partly by labour paid day wages, the day rate for artisans being 4d., with an equal sum for their "meate" or "bourde." Usually the Account does not indicate to whom the cost of "meate" or "bourde" was paid, but on one occasion at least Dickenson paid it in ready money to his wife.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See summary of fabric roll printed in *Masonic Magazine*, I., 318.

<sup>2</sup> *W. and C.*, II., 444.

<sup>3</sup> "An Account of the Expenses in building Loseley Hall." *Archæologia*, XXXVI, 294 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> The MS. Notebook of Wm. Dickenson is in the Sheffield Reference Library. The account is printed in J. R. Wigfull, "House Building in Queen Elizabeth's Days," *Transactions of the Hunter Arch. Soc.*, III., 68-73.

<sup>5</sup> Item paid to my wiffe for bourde wages of the work folkes at this latter tyme which I paid in readye money . . . 51s.

(iii) In the third place, we venture to doubt whether the cost of living during the sixteenth century rose as rapidly as the index-numbers of wholesale food prices would seem to suggest. Our doubts rest on the money equivalent of a man's "meat and drink" at different periods according to contemporary wage regulations or building accounts.<sup>1</sup> In 1495, in the middle of the decade when prices reached a low level at the end of the fifteenth century, a mason's board was assessed at 2d. per day, and the same figure doubtless applied in the first decade of the sixteenth century. In the 1560's, when the price of food had risen to about two and a half times the 1501-1510 level, a mason's board was assessed at 4d. or 5d. per day, which seems not incompatible.<sup>2</sup> In the last decade of the sixteenth and first decade of the seventeenth centuries, when prices were about four and a half times the 1501-1510 level, a mason's board was still assessed at about 5d. per day.

Whilst feeling that changes in the wholesale prices of food do not accurately reflect changes in the cost of living, it would be futile to deny that some deterioration, and very possibly a substantial one, took place in masons' real wages during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. To form an estimate of the position of the mason at different dates the money wage may be expressed as a multiple of the money equivalent of the meat and drink supplied to a mason. Thus in 1212, the mason's daily wage in London was fixed at 4½d. without food and 3d. with food, i.e., the food was treated as worth 1½d. and the money wage without food may be expressed as three times the food cost. It was also the case in 1495 that a mason's daily wage was equal to three times the cost of providing him with "meat and drink." In the second half of the sixteenth century the money wage appears to have been equivalent to only twice the cost of his "meat and drink." During the seventeenth century the position appears to have improved somewhat,<sup>3</sup> assuming the quantity and quality of the "meat and drink" supplied remained the same.

<sup>1</sup> See table in *Masons' Wages*, p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> Fourpence or 5d. a day is equivalent to 2s. 4d. or 2s. 11d. per 7-day week; the cost of victualling impressed artisans at Deptford, Gillingham and Portsmouth was substantially greater. Information is available for 1561-1562, 1562-1563 and 1569-1570. The cost varied from 4s. to 4s. 7d. per week at Deptford, from 3s. 10d. to 4s. 5d. a week at Gillingham and from 4s. to 4s. 6½d. a week at Portsmouth (Rogers, III., 653, 654, 657, 658).

<sup>3</sup> For details. see table in *Masons' Wages*, p. 490.

(iv) In the fourth and last place, what is perhaps the most important consideration of all may be urged: some at least of the masons, more especially the married ones, must have had agricultural holdings or other by-occupations at which they themselves worked during slack periods in the building trade and at which their women-folk and younger children worked at all times. We touched on this point previously in discussing the economic position of the mediæval mason<sup>1</sup> and need not repeat here the evidence we cited there about by-occupations. In the present connection, however, we would emphasise that if at the beginning of the sixteenth century one-third of the money wage was absorbed in feeding the mason for six days in the week, there was not a large balance available on which to feed the man on the seventh day and to clothe and house him and to maintain a wife and family. If this was true in 1501 when 1s. 2d. out of 3s. was required each week to feed a mason,<sup>2</sup> it must have been much more true in the second half of the sixteenth century, when 2s. 4d. out of 4s. a week was required to feed a mason. Further, the frequent cases of impressment of masons, to which reference has already been made,<sup>3</sup> also suggest that masons' wives and families, if any, must have had some means of support when husbands and fathers were carried off to labour on royal works. The solution of both problems—the inadequacy of the wage to support a family, and the maintenance of a family whilst the man was impressed—must have lain in the exploitation of by-industries; the great expansion of the woollen industry and the beginning of the cotton industry about this period probably enabled women to obtain work in spinning, whilst children were undoubtedly put to work at an early age. Whilst in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries a craftsman's wage appears to have been totally inadequate to support a man, wife and family, yet with the greater opportunities for by-occupations afforded by the development of the textile

<sup>1</sup> See p. 99 above.

<sup>2</sup> We learn from Mr. John Saltmarsh, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, that in 1495 the allowance for food for a college servant at King's was only 10d. per week, so that the figure of 1s. 2d. per week for a mason's food and drink (based on the wage allowance of 2d. per day for food and drink) may be somewhat high.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 90 above.

industries,<sup>1</sup> it may be that the women and children were able to contribute relatively more to the family earnings than had been the case at an earlier period, and that the joint income sufficed, except in years of special dearth and scarcity, to maintain what in those days would be regarded as a not unreasonable standard of comfort.

#### MASONS' "CUSTOMS."

In Chapter VI. we briefly indicated the character of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* (or "Old Charges" as they are commonly called), and stated our reasons for believing, firstly, that the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. were based on established masons' "customs" of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and, secondly, that these particular "customs" were not the original but a revised version which incorporated usages which had crept in in the course of time. If we had strong grounds for surmising that the "customs" had undergone modification before the second half of the fourteenth century, although no earlier version has been traced, we have stronger grounds for postulating substantial changes in the "customs" during the later fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries, namely, the numerous late sixteenth and seventeenth-century versions of the MS. *Constitutions* with the "customs" embodied in their Charges General and Charges Singular. These Charges differ considerably from the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., and a comparison of the "customs" as portrayed in the Charges General and Singular with the

<sup>1</sup> For the eighteenth century, Eden (*State of the Poor*, III., 769) gives the family budget of a mason (age 38) at Kendal:—

Mason's wages:	£	s.	d.	
14s. per week in summer, 12s. per week in winter, besides 4s. per week in summer for extra jobs		36	8	0 per annum.
Wife, weaving Kendal cottons . . . about 3s. per week for 45 weeks		6	15	0 ,, ,,
Eldest boy (age 13) works with father, 4s. per week		10	8	0 ,, ,,
Elder girl (age 10) knits, 1s. 3d. per week		3	5	0 ,, ,,
Earnings of other (three) children, nil		0	0	0 ,, ,,
		<u>56</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>0 ,, ,,</u>

"customs" as portrayed in the Articles and Points, enables us to follow in detail the changes which occurred in the industry, though it does not enable us to say exactly when those changes occurred. Several of the later MS. *Constitutions* bear a date showing when the particular copy was made, the earliest date being 1583, in the case of the so-called *Grand Lodge No. I. MS.*,<sup>1</sup> but it is impossible to say when the revised version which served either directly or indirectly as a model for the *Grand Lodge No. I. MS.*, and for seventy or eighty other MSS. of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries<sup>2</sup> was first formulated and committed to writing. On the other hand, there are three MSS. of the late seventeenth century, the so-called *William Watson, Henery Heade, and Thomas W. Tew MSS.*,<sup>3</sup> which have Charges General and Singular based on a model undoubtedly older than that which served as the original for the *Grand Lodge No. I. MS.*, the Charges in these three MSS. possessing more affinity to the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.* than do those of the remaining versions. In Appendix II., in addition to the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.*, there are printed the Charges General and Singular of the *Tew MS.*, to represent what we may call the intermediate group, and the Charges General and Singular of the *Grand Lodge No. I. MS.* and the *Alnwick MS.* (of 1701) to represent the remaining versions, the last MS. being selected because of the "Orders" referred to below.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, as all the versions of the Charges offer the same general picture of the stone-building industry and approximately the same body of regulations governing that industry, we shall not attempt to differentiate between them, but shall accept them as portraying the conditions prevailing in the second half of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. is now in the library of the Grand Lodge of England, Freemasons' Hall, London. A transcript of the Charges from this MS. is printed in Appendix II., p. 273 below.

<sup>2</sup> A list of all the MSS. is given in Poole, *Old Charges*, with an indication where the more readily accessible reproductions can be found.

<sup>3</sup> The *Watson* and *Tew MSS.* are now in the Library of the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding) Masonic Hall, Leeds; the *Heade MS.* is in the Inner Temple Library, London. For the two first, we have used the West Yorkshire Reprints, edited by W. J. Hughan, and for the third the transcript printed in *A.Q.C.*, XXI., 162. A transcript of the Charges of the *Tew MS.* is printed in Appendix II., p. 271 below.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 221.

*Conditions portrayed in the Charges General and Charges Singular.*

Comparing the fourteenth and fifteenth-century conditions pictured in the Articles and Points of the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.*<sup>1</sup> with the sixteenth and seventeenth-century conditions pictured in the Charges General and Charges Singular of the later MSS., we may first notice that in the later period there is nothing corresponding to the regulations concerning (i) the fixing of the apprentice's wage; (ii) the substituting of a more perfect for a less perfect craftsman; (iii) the warning of a craftsman before noon if his services were no longer required; (iv) the prohibition of night work, and (v) the fixing of wages according to the cost of victuals. The newer group of MSS., however, differs from the older not merely by the omission of various provisions, but by the addition of several fresh regulations. The general effect of the omissions and additions is to change the picture of the stone-building industry from one in which the interests of the "lord" and of the "master" appeared to predominate to one in which the interests of the "fellow" appeared to be much more emphasised. The *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.* belong to a period when the bulk of stone building represented large operations on behalf of big employers such as Crown or Church; the new group of MSS. belongs to a period when stone building had become much more widespread and the scale of operations much smaller, especially in districts where stone became the ordinary material of house construction. Master masons directing large undertakings on behalf of "lords" had doubtless become relatively rare by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whereas the number of craftsmen working with one or two journeymen or apprentices on small building contracts had no doubt considerably increased. The gap between "masters" and "fellows" had almost certainly become much narrower; whereas at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries master masons like Walter of Hereford and Henry de Elerton received 14s. a week at Vale Royal or Caernarvon, compared with 2s. 6d. or so received by skilled masons,<sup>2</sup> at the end of the fifteenth century we find a master mason like John Couper at Kirby Muxloe receiving only 4s. a week (together with fees amounting to 60s. a year) compared with 3s. a week received by skilled masons.<sup>3</sup> In 1530-1540, at the erection of Sandgate Castle,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 173 *seq.* above.

<sup>2</sup> See *V.R.* and *B. and C.*

<sup>3</sup> See *K.M.*

Robert Lynsted, the principal mason, described in the Building Account as "Warden," received 10d. per day, compared with 8d. or 7d. received by the general body of masons.<sup>1</sup> The growing sixteenth and seventeenth-century practice of making small contracts or bargains for particular jobs with working masons was illustrated earlier in this chapter by reference to contracts at Cambridge, whilst the policy which underlay such contracts was explained by reference to Sir Balthazar Gerbier's *Advice* of 1663.<sup>2</sup>

Whilst the Charges General mostly consist of advice or precepts and the Charges Singular are chiefly concerned with technical regulations, both sets of Charges are addressed to masons in general, with little or no reference to whether they be masters or fellows. Nowhere is this merging of the position of master and fellow more clearly brought out than in the provision that both masters and fellows could take apprentices, provided that five or six fellows gave their assent and that, as formerly, the term was at least seven years and the apprentice was free-born and whole of limb. If a mason who was not a small contractor took an apprentice, the question of the wage to be paid in respect of him to the master or fellow would arise, but unlike the Articles of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., the Charges General and Singular make no reference to this rather knotty problem. This suggests to us that at this period the masons who took apprentices were generally small contractors, so that the problem did not arise. A further provision contained in a good many versions of the Charges that a mason shall not take an apprentice unless he have sufficient occupation for two or three fellows,<sup>3</sup> also appears to imply that a mason taking an apprentice was a small contractor. Thus both the absence of a regulation about fixing the apprentice's wage and the improbability that a fellow could provide employment for two or three fellows, would appear to contradict the provision about masters and fellows taking apprentices, unless the term "fellow" in the Charges relates to his status in the Lodge and does not imply that he necessarily worked as a journeyman under a master. In Scotland in the seventeenth century, "fellows" certainly appear to have taken work on their own account and to have themselves been

employers;<sup>1</sup> further, in some cases, at least, they appear to have taken apprentices.<sup>2</sup> It is by no means impossible that the same thing happened in the north of England.

Practically all versions of the Charges General and Singular distinguish between taking an apprentice and making a mason. This would seem quite feasible, as there is no stipulation that the man to be made a mason shall have served an apprenticeship. After 1563 the Statute of Artificers would require every mason to have served a seven years' apprenticeship,<sup>3</sup> but whether the authorities were successful in enforcing this provision is problematical. At Norwich several masons were admitted to the freedom of the city between 1563 and 1600 who had not been apprenticed.<sup>4</sup> Actually the Masons' Ordinances of 1572, approved by the Corporation of Norwich, provided that a master should neither "take any apprentice nor learn any person his occupation for money" until he was a freeman and a member of the masons' company,<sup>5</sup> which seems to point to an alternative method of becoming a mason. If that was the position in a city like Norwich, we think it likely that in smaller towns and country districts the administration of this law was even more lax. An example of a "learner" in masonry in a country district between 1563 and 1566 occurs in the Building Account of Loseley House.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that five or six fellows had to approve before anyone could be made a mason (a provision which bears a close affinity to the article in the London Masons' Ordinances of 1521 which required the wardens and six others to approve before an apprentice could be taken),<sup>7</sup> was a definite restriction on the powers of the master. Whether or not this provision and the one previously mentioned about no master taking an apprentice unless he had sufficient occupation for two or three fellows, are to be regarded as primarily in the interests of the fellows, there seems no question that a charge to the effect that no master or fellow was to make mould, square or rule for a layer or to set a layer to hew mould stones, was intended to check "intermeddling" in the interests of the fellows. One other provision which was certainly in the interests of the fellows

<sup>1</sup> See *Sandgate*, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 201, 202 above.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *Grand Lodge No. I.*, MS. Cf. Statute of Artificers, 1563, sec. 26, which applies to clothmakers, weavers and tailors amongst others, but not to masons.

<sup>1</sup> D. Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge at Edinburgh* (2nd ed.), Minutes of 1599, 1618 and 1680.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Minutes of 1613 and 1685.

<sup>3</sup> 5 Elizabeth, c. 4, sec. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See John l'Estrange, *Calendar of Freemen of Norwich*.

<sup>5</sup> Ordinances printed in *A.Q.C.*, XV., 206.

<sup>6</sup> *Archæologia*, XXXVI., 303.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 226 and Appendix II., p. 257 below

was that which required masons to receive and cherish strange fellows and to provide them with work—in many versions a “fortnight’s work”—or failing work to supply them with money to bring them to the next Lodge.<sup>1</sup> Whether we are to think of these “strange fellows” as newly fledged journeymen on a “wander-year,” or as ordinary craftsmen in search of work, is not clear; but the fact that the system of the wander-year was not common among English guilds rather points to the latter alternative. The same idea of mobility of labour is borne out by two charges about masons paying for their meat and drink where they board and doing no villainy there. Whilst there can be no question that masons did move about the country in the Middle Ages,<sup>2</sup> the great motive force behind mediæval mobility of labour, namely, impressment, had considerably diminished by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the growth of domestic building and the decline of public building had very possibly reduced the need for mobility. There is also a question as to how far the practice of preventing “settlement,”<sup>3</sup> which was stimulated by the growth of vagrancy in the sixteenth century, led to impediments being placed in the way of masons moving about the country. In any case such impediments would not apply to “pressed” labour of which a good deal was employed, for example, at Nonsuch Palace in 1538<sup>4</sup> and at Sandgate Castle in 1539-1540;<sup>5</sup> use was also made of the system at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1563-1564.<sup>6</sup> During the seventeenth century masons were from time to time “pressed” in London when required for royal works in other places.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There would seem to be an implication that the “next Lodge” was in another town or place, and not simply a second lodge or workshop within the same municipal boundaries; of such lodges there might be several. In that case it would seem that the word “lodge” was being given a wider meaning than a mason’s workshop, or even the body of masons associated with a particular workshop; it was very possibly being used to indicate the body of masons in a particular town. See p. 221 below with reference to this use of the word “lodge.”

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 142-144 above.

<sup>3</sup> See Leonard, *English Poor Relief*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters and Papers . . . Henry VIII.*, Vol. 13, Pt. ii., p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> *Sandgate*, p. 235. In May, 1539, 43 masons were pressed; in June, 1539, 54 were pressed, whilst in March, 1540, 71 were pressed in the west, and 43 nearer Sandgate.

<sup>6</sup> *W. and C.*, II., 568.

<sup>7</sup> See Conder, pp. 153, 161, 187, for examples of “pressing” in 1629, 1636 (to repair Castle Cornett in the Isle of Guernsey), and 1668 (for work at Sheerness).

*The Alnwick “Orders.”*

The Charges General and Singular, like the Articles and Points, make no provision either for the appointment of officers to administer the affairs of the local masons or for the imposition of penalties for breaches of regulations. In three cases, however, these omissions from the Charges are met by the adoption of “Orders” providing for the election of wardens and for the imposition of fines, which goes to show that the regulations embodied in the *Constitutions* were practical rules and not merely imaginary precepts invented by the authors of the MSS. This is also borne out by the way in which the Schaw Statutes of 1598<sup>1</sup> follow the Charges General and Singular. It has to be noted, however, that in each case the “Orders” were adopted by a “Company and Fellowship of Freemasons.” The places with which “Orders” are associated are Alnwick,<sup>2</sup> Gateshead<sup>3</sup> and (?) Wakefield<sup>4</sup> (or other town where the *Taylor* version of the MS. *Constitutions* was used). It will suffice here if we draw attention to the Alnwick “Orders” which, together with the Charges of the *Alnwick* MS. are printed in Appendix II., page 275. At the commencement of the Minute Book of the Alnwick Lodge, immediately following the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* (i.e., the *Alnwick* MS.) there appear “Orders to be observed by the Company and Fellowship of Freemasons at a Lodge held at Alnwick, September 29, 1701.” The relationship of the “Company” and the “Lodge” is not very clear, but there can hardly be any question that in this particular phrase the word Lodge is not used in the sense of masons’ workshop<sup>5</sup> (i.e., the *logia* of old building documents) or even in the sense of the body of masons associated with a particular workshop, but rather in the sense of a meeting of a body of masons associated with a particular town. In Scotland, certainly, it is probable that in the seventeenth century there was only a single lodge in each town or city, e.g., the Lodge of Edinburgh, the Lodge of Dundee, the Lodge of Aberdeen, and the same arrangement might well prevail just over the border in Northumberland. In these cases a “lodge” of operative masons may

<sup>1</sup> See p. 258 below.

<sup>2</sup> See reproduction and transcript of the *Alnwick* MS. (Newcastle College of Rosicrucians), 1895, and W. H. Rylands, *The Alnwick Lodge Minutes in A.Q.C.*, XIV., 4 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See A. F. A. Woodford, *Masonic Magazine*, Aug. and Sept., 1875, and W. J. Hughan, *A.Q.C.*, XXI., 213.

<sup>4</sup> Printed with preface of Wm. Watson and Commentary by W. J. Hughan in *A.Q.C.*, XXI., 214 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See p. 57 above.



not have been dissimilar from what a yeomen's or journey-men's gild attached to a masons' craft gild or "company" would have been like.<sup>1</sup> However that may be, the "Orders" provide for the election of wardens and the punishment of certain offences but (unlike craft ordinances) they rested not on the sanction of the municipality, but on the promise of the members to observe them. Whilst some of the Orders relate to injunctions contained in the Charges General or Singular, and impose fines for their breach, others supplement the Charges. It may be noted, however, that the wording of the corresponding Charges and Orders is never identical; the Orders were probably drafted with the Charges in mind, but do not follow the wording. The scale of penalties gives some indication of the "craft" importance attached to the different charges. Thus, failure to attend the Assembly without reasonable cause—6s. 8d.; failure to keep the secrets of the Lodge or Chamber—£1 6s. 8d.; taking any work by task or by day other than the king's work, unless he make three or four of his fellows acquainted therewith—£3 6s. 8d.; setting a rough-layer to work in the Lodge<sup>2</sup>—£3 13s. 4d.

*The Assembly of the Later Versions of the Old Charges.*

Like the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. the new group of MSS. required masons to attend and obey the "assembly," but with this difference that in most versions a distance was mentioned within which it was the duty of every master and fellow to attend, if warned, the distance most commonly mentioned being fifty miles. With regard to the constitution of the Assembly, the various versions of the later group of MSS. seem to agree that it was to consist of masters and fellows; nothing was said about the mayor or sheriff. With regard to the functions of the Assembly, to judge by the *Thomas Carmick* MS.<sup>3</sup> which is perhaps fuller than any other on this point, it was apparently to deal with quarrels

<sup>1</sup> At Edinburgh in the seventeenth century, according to Murray Lyon (*History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, 2nd edition, p. 42), the Lodge was an auxiliary of the masons' section of the incorporation of St. Mary's Chapel which included wrights as well as masons; the government of the Lodge, however, does not appear to have been of the democratic character which one would associate with a yeomen's or journeymen's gild, as it would seem that the Deacon, or head of the masons in their incorporate capacity, was in reality also *ex-officio* head of the Lodge.

<sup>2</sup> The word "Lodge" is doubtless used here in the original sense of workshop and the same is probably true with regard to keeping the secrets of the Lodge.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *A.Q.C.*, XXII.

amongst masons and with transgressions against the science of masonry. Only if the Assembly could not agree was the law to be invoked, a not uncommon provision among gild ordinances.<sup>1</sup> We thus get a picture of the Assembly as a judicial rather than as a legislative or administrative body. We find no suggestion that the Assembly drafted or approved new ordinances, as implied in the *Regius* MS., nor that it endeavoured to secure higher wages for masons, as is implied of certain congregations of masons prohibited by the Statutes of 1360 and 1425. Apart from the distance question, the Assembly of the later version of the Old Charges appears to have been very much along the lines of craft gild assemblies.

We have no evidence that this type of assembly was actually held. The only information we have relates to Scotland: the Minutes of the Edinburgh Lodge show that a general meeting was summoned at St. Andrews in January, 1600, and that it was attended by masons from Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth and St. Andrews.<sup>2</sup> Whether this was an isolated occurrence or a single example of a regular practice, we do not know.

MASONS' GILDS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

1. *London*.—Although nothing definite is known about the character of the Masons' Guild in London in its early days—for even if the Regulations of 1356 be accepted as a statement of its *craft* ordinances, they throw little or no light on its organisation or on its system of administration—it is very doubtful, from the nature of the trade with its large body of permanent wage-earners, whether it ever was a genuinely democratic craft gild. There can be no question, in any case, that by 1481 the Fellowship was an oligarchical livery company, even if the description "company" was not used until a somewhat later date. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the character of the organisation underwent relatively little modification: such modification as there was being in the direction of more pronounced oligarchy. In 1607 the two wardens elected biennially by the freemen of the craft, in accordance with the Ordinances of 1481, were replaced by a master and two wardens (each

<sup>1</sup> E.g., London Shearmen, 1452 (*London and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, IV., 40, quoted by Lipson, I., 307). Cf. London Masons, 1356, p. 251 below.

<sup>2</sup> D. Murray Lyon, pp. 40-41.

qualified by "holdinge howse and howsehold") elected annually by those on the Livery.<sup>1</sup> In 1677 the company was incorporated by charter from the Crown, and the control was vested in a master, two wardens and twenty-four (or more) assistants, the latter being chosen for life.<sup>2</sup>

At what date men who were definitely not masons were admitted to the company we do not know, but in 1701 the company decided to treat with the Farriers' Company touching the translation of a Mr. Ryalls, a mason by trade but a member of that company, for a Mr. Chalk, a member of the Masons' Company and a farrier by trade.<sup>3</sup> In any case, though some members of the company were connected with other crafts towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Masons' Fellowship or Company throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued to exercise trade functions, which developed along two main lines, the one concerned with the search for false work and the other with the preservation of the monopoly of trade in the city.

*The Power of Search.*—In the preamble to the "Freemasons' Ordinances" of 1509-1510,<sup>4</sup> it is pointed out that although the power of search was granted to the wardens in 1481,<sup>5</sup> the proper length, breadth and thickness of freestone, marblestone and hardstone of Kent were not laid down; the Articles which follow define the minimum thickness and breadth of "frestone bourdour," the minimum thickness of "frestone pavyng rough as it commeth out of the quarry," of all "mantelles and Jamys" and of "marblestones," and the sizes of hardstone ashler, of ornall stone and of paving stone. It also provides that no freemason or mason shall sell "mantelles" or freestone paving or "stones that belong to fire" until they have been seasoned at least three months after coming out of the quarry, and it regulates the drying or seasoning of stone by fire. Seventy years later, in 1580, special provisions were laid down relating to a new paving stone, which was becoming popular in the city, called Purbeck stone or Purbeck paving.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Letter-Book CC.*, fol. 235; text printed in Appendix to W. J. Williams, *Masons of the City of London, A.Q.C.*, Vol. XLVI.

<sup>2</sup> Charter summarised in Conder, pp. 197-198. Printed in full in *A.Q.C.*, XLIII., 117 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Conder, p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> *Letter-Book M.*, fols. 168-169; text printed in Appendix to Williams, *A.Q.C.*, XLVI.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 158 above and Appendix II., p. 256 below.

<sup>6</sup> Orders for ye Companye of Fremasons, *Letter-Book Z.*, fol. 57b, printed in Appendix to Williams, *A.Q.C.*, XLVI. Although the masons were exercising a power of search over "marblestones" as early as 1521 and obtained similar powers in respect of Purbeck stone in 1580,

As we read these Ordinances, they seem to point to an extended use of stone for house building and paving, both of floors in houses and of streets, and consequently an increase in the importation of dressed and partly dressed stone into London from quarries and stoneyards outside the area. So long as the bulk of the stone reaching London was for use by the Crown or the Church or the Municipality there was not the same need to search for false materials, because those big employers could be trusted to look after themselves.

Throughout the seventeenth century the power of search was being exercised and was a source of some revenue to the company. Thus in 1621 the search of Purbeck brought in £9 16s. 6d.<sup>1</sup> whilst in 1623<sup>2</sup> the "search of stone" produced £7 18s. 4d. On the other hand, it also occasioned some expense, e.g., in July, 1620, we find in the Accounts "spent by the Wardens at the search for Purbeck stone £1 3s. 8d."<sup>3</sup> Some search under the general powers of 1481 also appears to have been made for bad workmanship; e.g., in 1627 Henry Walton was fined 6s. 8d. for faulty workmanship about the church in the Old Jewry.<sup>4</sup> The power of search was confirmed by the Charter which incorporated the company in 1677,<sup>5</sup> and the by-laws approved under that Charter provided that the company should have for their pains in viewing and searching 4d. per 100 of Purbeck stones and 4d. per ton of other stone.<sup>6</sup> Shortly afterwards we find the company farming out the right to search for ill-wrought stones and the fees arising therefrom, in 1679 to one member of the company for £27<sup>7</sup> and in 1683 to the Rentner Warden for £20.<sup>8</sup>

In 1702 the court of the company ordered the clerk to write to various persons, including "the marblers of Swanage" and to two men at Portland with regard to the badness and the undersize of the stone sent by them and the company's resolution to break the same wherever they find it.<sup>9</sup>

there was nevertheless a craft or company of marblers, whose ordinances in 1486 (*Cal. Letter-Book L.*, p. 233) provided, *inter alia*, that every person occupying the same craft within the city who did defective work on any stone was to forfeit such stone. It would seem, therefore, that the wardens of the marblers supervised work done by their members whereas the wardens of the masons inspected marble work reaching London from outside. In 1585 the Marblers' Company was merged in the Freemasons' Company (*Letter-Book, etc.*, fol. 57, printed in Appendix to Williams, *A.Q.C.*, XLVI.).

<sup>1</sup> Conder, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

*The Monopoly of Trade.*—The article of the Ordinances of 1481 which forbids freemen of the craft from enticing “foreyns” from other freemen of the craft<sup>1</sup> clearly implies that it was permissible for members of the Fellowship to employ “foreign” masons, i.e., men who were not mason freemen of the City. By 1521 the attitude of the Fellowship had apparently undergone some modification, as the new Ordinances approved that year<sup>2</sup> not only provided that a “foreign” mason was not to take up work for himself, but that he was not to be employed by a mason freeman, so long as sufficient qualified freemen were available. If this was not the case, “foreigners” might be employed provided they contributed 3d. quarterly to the common box like freemen masons. This particular article shows that the feeling in favour of preserving the local monopoly of trade was growing, probably partly as a result of a decline in the amount of large stone-building operations and the growth of the use of brick, to which allusion has already been made. This desire on the part of the freemen masons to monopolise such work as was available also showed itself in another way, namely, by placing restrictions on the admission of apprentices: in the same Ordinances of 1521 it was provided that before a member of the Fellowship could take an apprentice the wardens and six others in the livery had to be satisfied that each intended apprentice had the capacity to learn and the right limbs to practise the mystery, and the master of such apprentice, if approved, had to contribute 3s. 4d. to the common box. Further, no member was to have more than one apprentice until admitted to the livery, and then not more than two, until he had twice served the office of warden, when he might have three, but no more.<sup>3</sup>

The struggle with regard to the preservation of the local monopoly took a new turn in 1548 when an Act<sup>4</sup> was passed authorising “any Free Mason, Rough Mason, Carpenter, Bricklayer, Plasterer, Joiner, Hardhewer . . . born in this realm or made Denizen, to work in any of the said Crafts in any city, borough or town corporate with any person or persons that will retain him or them, albeit the said person or persons so retained . . . do not inhabit or dwell in the city, borough or town corporate where he or they shall

<sup>1</sup> See p. 156 above and Appendix II., p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Appendix II., p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> In each case, when an apprentice had only one year left to serve it was lawful for the master to take another apprentice. The article about apprentices' wages was referred to above (see p. 175), and need not be repeated here.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Edward VI. c. 15.

worke nor be free of the same city, borough or town. . . .” Actually, this was the last section of the Act to the preamble and earlier sections of which reference was previously made in connection with the great rise in prices from 1530 onwards and the steps taken by wage-earners of various descriptions to meet the situation thereby created.<sup>1</sup> The authority granted to “foreign” handicraftsmen to work in the city, etc., was doubtless to encourage an influx of labour with the object of defeating the supposed conspiracies of workers to control wages and other conditions, and must not be regarded as representing an intention on the part of the Government to weaken local monopolies of trade. In any case this particular section of the Act was repealed the following year,<sup>2</sup> apparently as a result of representations made by the London livery companies, pointing out that the various craftsmen were at great costs and charges in the matter of paying taxes, etc., to the King and to the city, and that if “forrens” should come and work amongst them freemen would be driven away to the great hurt of the city.

During the first half of the seventeenth century the Masons' Company endeavoured to preserve their monopoly, by stopping intermeddling, by preventing “foreign” masons from working and by challenging any company which appeared to hinder necessary mason work from being done. Thus in 1626 the master and wardens complained to the Court of Aldermen about Sampson, a carver, and other artisans in and about the city for intermeddling in the petitioners' mystery, being of contrary professions.<sup>3</sup> The complaint was referred to a committee whose report it has not been possible to trace, but three years later we find the company paying 1s. 6d. “to a sergeant employed about arresting Simpson the carver.”<sup>4</sup> If we are right in assuming that “Sampson the carver” and “Simpson the carver” were one and the same man, then it would seem not improbable that the particular carver was still engaged in intermeddling in the masons' mystery. Action in the matter of “foreigners” is illustrated in the Accounts of 1628, when expenses were defrayed connected with a meeting of the master and wardens with the master and wardens of the bricklayers “about suppressing of foreigners employed by the Earl of Devonshire.”<sup>5</sup> A company with which the masons

<sup>1</sup> See p. 207 above.

<sup>2</sup> By 3 Edward VI. c. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Reperatory of Aldermen*, Vol. 40, fol. 267b, 22nd June, 1626, printed in Williams, *A.Q.C.*, XLVI.

<sup>4</sup> Extract from Accounts printed in Conder, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> Conder, p. 152.

clashed on various occasions was that of the plasterers, whom they accused of covering up with plaster old and defective stone-work in certain public buildings, thereby preventing its being renewed with wrought stone.<sup>1</sup> In 1637 they spent no less than £28 on several journeys by water and with coach to Lambeth, Croydon, Fulham, Hampton Court and Whitehall, to restrain plasterers from working on rotten or decayed stone.

The Great Fire in 1666 entirely changed the situation; two statutes were passed,<sup>2</sup> the first of which contained the provision (sec. 16) that all carpenters, bricklayers, masons, etc., not freemen of the city "shall, for the space of seven years next ensuing and for so long time after as until the said buildings shall be fully finished, have and enjoy such and the same liberty of working . . . as the freemen of the city of the same trades have and ought to enjoy, any usage or custom of the city to the contrary notwithstanding; and that such artificers which for the space of seven years shall have wrought in rebuilding the city, after the seven years shall have and enjoy the same liberty as freemen of the city for their natural lives."

In 1670 the masons joined the carpenters, bricklayers, joiners and plasterers in a petition to the Court of Aldermen complaining about the employment of "foreigners," but they do not appear to have obtained any redress, unless it be that some pressure was put upon the more important "foreign" masons to take up the freedom of the company.<sup>3</sup>

After the company obtained its Charter in 1677, which provided, *inter alia*, that no person should exercise the art or mystery of a mason unless he had served seven years' apprenticeship to a freeman of the company or to some other person lawfully exercising the art, it more than once instituted a general search to discover any persons working as masons within seven miles of the City of London or Westminster who were not free of the company and endeavoured to compel them to join it. One such general search was made as late as 1704.<sup>4</sup>

Although the records of the Masons' Company show that they took frequent steps in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to suppress "foreigners," there is no evidence to

<sup>1</sup> Conder, pp. 149, 165, 167.

<sup>2</sup> 18 and 19 Charles II. c. 8, and 22 Charles II. c. 11.

<sup>3</sup> See E. B. Jupp, *History of the Carpenters' Company*, p. 282, and Conder, pp. 191-193. Amongst the "foreign" masons who joined the London company were Thomas Strong and Christopher Kempster (see p. 203 above).

<sup>4</sup> Conder, pp. 198, 200, 201, 243, 244.

indicate what success attended their efforts. Presumably they had the tacit approval, if not the active support, of the city authorities in the policy which they adopted, though the interests of the city and those of the Masons' Company might not necessarily be the same. In any case we have found no trace in London of any decision resembling that reached by the municipal authorities at Salisbury in 1629, that masons, carpenters, tilers and labourers from outside the city might be employed unless those "inhabytinge within this Cittye shall or will worke at such reasonable rates and wages as the workmen which inhabyte in the countrey will serve for."<sup>1</sup>

2. *Norwich*.—The regulations drawn up in 1469 to reform certain undefined irregularities practised by the masons have not been discovered nor, so far as we are aware, are records of the company of masons available for the seventeenth century, so that we can neither compare the position in the sixteenth century with that in the previous century, nor can we trace its development through the seventeenth century. Our study is necessarily restricted to certain regulations approved in 1512, to a complete set of ordinances sanctioned in 1572 and to certain amendments passed in 1577.

In 1512 the wardens of the roughmasons complained to the Common Council that certain persons following the occupation, although bound apprentices for seven years, had been released from their bonds by their friends after two, three or four years, and that others had never been apprenticed at all and yet did not hesitate to take contracts "to the great hurt of the builders and to the rebuke of the occupation." It was therefore decreed (i) that no one should work as a roughmason who had not served a seven years' apprenticeship in the city or else been approved and admitted by the mayor and the wardens, and (ii) that no roughmason who was not a sworn citizen, should take contracts in the city.<sup>2</sup> Thus we have an endeavour to enforce apprenticeship and to restrict "foreign" masons to purely wage-earning jobs.

The main provisions of the ordinance of 1572<sup>3</sup> may be

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com. Report, Various Collections*, IV, 238.

<sup>2</sup> See *Extracts from Norwich Corporation Archives* (Assembly Thursday after St. Matthew, 4 Henry VIII., 1512), printed as Appendix to Tingey, *Notes upon the Craft Guilds of Norwich in A.Q.C.*, XV., 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Extracts from the Records of the Corporation of Norwich* (communicated by Walter Rye). *Assembly Book*, Vol. III., 23rd Dec., 1572, printed in *A.Q.C.*, XV., 205-209.

summarised as follows : (i) Wardens and "hedemen" were to be elected annually ; the wardens, with twelve, eleven, ten, nine, or eight members sworn before the mayor were to have the right of search ; wardens going out of office were to account to the new wardens for all money and stock. (ii) No workman was to have an apprentice, or to teach any one his occupation, or to take work by contract, or to employ a journeyman, until he had been admitted a freeman of the city and a member of the company ; no person being a "foreigner" was to work at the trade in the city without licence ; no freeman of the city who was not a member of the company was to take in hand any piece of work within the city without licence of the mayor and the wardens. (iii) No one was to take a new apprentice before his former apprentice had served at least four years of his term ; no one was to set his apprentice to be a troweller until he had served one whole year, or to let his apprentice or an inexperienced journeyman work except under his supervision ; no one was to sell his apprentice to another unless to a good and sufficient workman of the same occupation ; no one was to take any one into his service and under the colour of his being a servant "learn him his occupation for money" except ex-apprentices or apprentices ; the wardens were quarterly to make search for such "colourable servants or apprentices" and were to require the master to show the "prentis indenturs" of those to whom he taught the trade. (iv) Members were to pay 2d. quarterly ; no member was to amend a piece of work begun or made by another member until he had informed the wardens so that the offender might be punished ; no member was to entice the servant of another member. (v) A member taking work as a master workman was to see that the mortar was properly made ; limeburners were to burn their lime well and were to be subject to search by the wardens and searchers of the Masons' Company.

To judge by the articles about teaching colourable servants and apprentices, the practice complained of in 1512, by which unapprenticed workers learned the trade, was still a danger to be guarded against. In other respects, between 1512 and 1572, there had been a tightening up of regulations as in London during the sixteenth century : a limitation had been placed on the number of apprentices and the use of "foreign" masons had been hedged in with more restrictions. On the other hand, there is nothing to indicate that the power of search was applied to stone reaching the city in

a dressed or partly dressed condition, as was so largely the case in London. Another respect in which conditions at Norwich differed from those in London was in the relatively democratic character of the Norwich Company ; there was nothing in the nature of a livery, whilst in 1577<sup>1</sup> the number of searchers was reduced from a minimum of eight to three, because it was found very inconvenient that at least eight persons in addition to the wardens should simultaneously leave their work, "whereby not only the said artificers but many others, who be owners of the said works, be greatly disappointed and hindered."

Another amendment of 1577 relates to permitting apprentices to be trowellers before they had served a whole year, on the ground that it was unreasonable that the apprentice should not be permitted to work at his occupation during his first year. For us, perhaps, the most interesting point about the original ordinance and the amendment is the implication that at Norwich in the 1570's an apprentice mason commenced his training by learning to lay and not to dress stone.

Reference must be made to one new matter dealt with in 1577. Just as in London in 1521 the ordinances regulated to some extent the wages to be taken in respect of apprentices,<sup>2</sup> so at Norwich in 1577 the same subject was legislated for, though differently : it was provided that no master should take for his apprentice's work in the first year of the apprenticeship more than was paid to a common labourer.

3. *Newcastle*.—The Masons' Company was incorporated in 1581 with certain craft powers relating to the election of wardens, the making of by-laws and the taking of apprentices, and with certain "social" duties, viz., presenting a Corpus Christi play and attending marriages and burials of brethren and their wives. There is nothing to indicate an earlier organisation of the masons, whereas the wallers, bricklayers and daubers claimed a charter granted in the reign of Henry VI. and the slaters an "ordinary" dating from 1451. The two latter organisations had demarcation disputes, the problem being met for a time in 1579 by their uniting. In 1660, however, the wallers, bricklayers and daubers were constituted an independent fellowship, and it was provided that they should not be molested by the company of masons or by the slaters. In 1674 they appear to have met with

<sup>1</sup> *Assembly Book*, Vol. III., fol. 255 ; extract printed in *A.Q.C.*, XV., 209-210.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 175 above and Appendix II., p. 258 below.

the masons, though there is nothing to show how close the association was.<sup>1</sup>

4. *Other Towns.*—In the sixteenth century when craft guilds were decaying, if they had not already died or been converted into livery companies, or in some cases in the seventeenth century, trade companies or fellowships were set up and incorporated in various places. They appear to have represented organisations forced upon the various trades from above, schemes to facilitate municipal government at a time when Tudor monarchs were encouraging oligarchies and when by the Statute of Apprentices an attempt was made to provide a national control of industry. These new organisations seem to have been established for political rather than for industrial purposes. In most, if not all, of these cases, the masons were grouped in a company or fellowship with a variety of more or less associated trades. Thus at Lincoln a charter was granted in 1564 to the tilers, masons, bricklayers, plasterers, pavers, tilemakers, glaziers, limeburners, millers and thekers.<sup>2</sup> At Ludlow in 1575 the plasterers, masons, carpenters, plumbers, joiners, tylers, slaters and helyers belonged to the Fellowship and Brotherhood of Smiths (commonly called the Hammermen's Company), to which the fletchers, bowyers, goldsmiths, ironmongers, cardmakers, saddlers, coopers, cutlers, pewterers, braziers, nailers, armourers, makers of sieves or tugsars and hawkers of bend ware also belonged.<sup>3</sup> At Kendal twelve companies were established in 1575, of which the twelfth comprised the carpenters, joiners, masons, wallers, slaters, thatchers, glaziers, painters, plasterers, daubers, pavers, millers and coopers.<sup>4</sup> At Exeter the carpenters, masons, joiners, glaziers, and painters were incorporated as a company in 1586.<sup>5</sup> At Durham the masons are said to have been incorporated by Bishop Hutton in 1594; in any case Bishop Morton gave a charter to the company, society and fellowship of freemasons, roughmasons, wallers, slaters, pavers, plasterers and brickmakers in 1638.<sup>6</sup> At Oxford the company of freemasons, carpenters, joiners and slaters obtained its charter from the Crown in 1604.<sup>7</sup> In 1671 the

<sup>1</sup> See Brand, *History of Newcastle*, II., 346, 350, 351, 355.

<sup>2</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, XVI, 217.

<sup>3</sup> See T. J. Sawley, "Notes on Some Trade Guilds at Ludlow," *A.Q.C.*, XXXII., 149-153.

<sup>4</sup> See Poole, *Notes on Trade Companies of Kendal in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, *A.Q.C.*, XXXVI., 5 *folg.*

<sup>5</sup> Charter printed in *A.Q.C.*, XLI., 225.

<sup>6</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, XXII., 19. The Charter of 1638 is printed on p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Printed in *A.Q.C.*, XL., 217 *folg.*

Bishop of Durham constituted the freemasons, carvers, stone-cutters, sculptors, brickmakers, tilers, bricklayers, glaziers, painter-stainers, founders, nailers, pewterers, plumbers, mill-wrights, saddlers, trunkmakers and distillers of strong waters of Gateshead one fellowship and incorporation.<sup>1</sup> So far as we can tell, the incorporations which existed in the Scottish burghs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were somewhat similar in character to the English trade companies or fellowships.<sup>2</sup>

We have enumerated the various "companies" with which we are acquainted,<sup>3</sup> but, as a matter of fact, the newly-established trade companies and fellowships of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which included masons amongst other trades, appear to us to have little or no interest for students of the economic history of the stone-building industry. Although it is true that many of the MS. *Constitutions* date from the same period, the Charges General and Singular of those MSS. represent a more or less modernised version of masons' customs and usages of bygone centuries so that useful parallels and analogies can only be obtained from such contemporary institutions as have a similar unbroken connection with the past. Thus, except in the few cases of masons' companies pure and simple, able to trace their descent from former masons' craft guilds, the later type of "gild" or trade company is only mentioned for the sake of completeness, and in order to remove possible misunderstandings and confusions, and not for the light which it throws on the organisation of masons.

<sup>1</sup> Charter printed in *A.Q.C.*, XV., 156 *folg.*

<sup>2</sup> The Dublin Guild of carpenters, millers, masons and heliers, which received its Charter in 1508, was also probably similar in character. From its foundation to 1556 the master was always a carpenter, and so too was one of the wardens, the other being a helier. Apparently very few masons were members: in 1522 there were 33 carpenters and heliers and 4 masons, in 1555 there were 9 masons and a Dublin City Ordinance of that year fixed masons' wages as follows:—

	Without meat and drink.	With meat and drink.
Master mason . . .	15d. per day	6d. per day
Journeyman . . .	12d. " "	4d. " "
Apprentice . . .	10d. " "	3d. " "
Labourer . . .	7½d. " "	3d. " "

In 1558 a mason became master of the company, but by 1560 there was apparently only one mason member. Between 1576 and 1602 20 masons were admitted, 16 by apprenticeship, 3 by birth and 1 by payment of a fine (H. F. Berry, "The Dublin Guild of Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers of the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1905, pp. 321 *folg.*).

<sup>3</sup> The Fellowship of Freemasons at Alnwick was mentioned in another connection. See p. 221 above.

APPENDIX I.

STATISTICS OF MASONS' WAGES AND OF PRICES.

1. *Changes in Money Wages.*

(i) Basing himself upon the material collected by Rogers, Steffen has calculated ten-yearly average daily money wages.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the number of examples quoted by Rogers, as well as their locality, varies considerably from decade to decade. The examples before 1300 in particular are very few, so that too much importance cannot be attached to them. Thus the average of Steffen's rates from 1263 to 1300 is 3½d. per day or 18·5d. per week, as compared with an average figure of 24·8d. per week at Vale Royal in 1280 and 29·7d. per week at Westminster in 1292. At the opposite end of the table, the large rise shown in Steffen's figures during the decade 1693-1702 appears to be due principally to a much greater preponderance of London examples in the last decade than in any previous decade. Subject to these reservations, Steffen's average daily figures may be summarised as follows, the periods selected being those chosen by him :—

3½d. per day	from 1263 to 1350.
6d. „ „	1351 to 1540.
10d. „ „	1541 to 1592.
1s. 2¾d. „ „	1593 to 1662.
1s. 8¾d. „ „	1663 to 1702.

The figures for each decade are given in Table I on page 236. (ii) To overcome the fluctuations due to the examples being collected from various localities at different periods, we have worked out a ten-yearly predominant daily money wage at Oxford from 1301 to 1672, based on Rogers's Oxford figures. We could not carry it back earlier or continue it later, for want of material. This predominant daily money wage may be summarised as follows (using Steffen's periods as far as possible) :—

4d. per day	from 1301 to 1350.
6d. „ „	1351 to 1540.
10½d. „ „	1541 to 1592.
1s. 1¾d. „ „	1593 to 1662.

The corresponding Cambridge figures for 1541-1592 and 1593-1662 are 10¾d. and 1s. 2¾d. respectively. The Cambridge information prior to 1540 collected by Rogers is not a sufficient basis for any predominant figures. The Oxford figures for each decade from 1301 to 1672 and the Cambridge figures so far as they are available are given in Table I. on page 236.

<sup>1</sup> Gustaf F. Steffen, *Studien zur Geschichte der englischen Lohnarbeiter*, Vol. I., and Rogers, Vols. II., III. and VI.

I.—Table of Daily Money Wages (without food, in summer), 1280-1702.

Years.	General Average (Steffen).	Oxford (Rogers).	Cambridge (Rogers).	London Bridge.	Miscellaneous Predominant Rates.
1281-1290	4d.				4-4½d. Vale Royal, 1280. <sup>1</sup>
1291-1300	2½d.				4½-5½d. Westminster, 1292. <sup>2</sup>
1301-1310	4d.	4d.			4-4½d. Caernarvon, 1304. <sup>3</sup>
1311-1320	3½d.	4d.			4-5d. Caernarvon, 1316. <sup>3</sup>
1321-1330	3½d.	4d.			4½-4¾d. Beaumaris, 1316. <sup>3</sup>
1331-1340	3½d.	4d.			4½-4¾d. Beaumaris, 1320. <sup>3</sup>
1341-1350	3½d.	4d.			4¾d. Beaumaris, 1330. <sup>3</sup>
1351-1360	4½d.	5d.			4-6d. Ely, 1359. <sup>4</sup>
1361-1370	5½d.	6d.			5-6d. Rochester, 1368. <sup>5</sup>
1371-1380	6½d.	6d.			5-6d. York, 1371. <sup>6</sup>
1381-1390	6d.	6d.			6d. Norwich, 1410. <sup>7</sup>
1391-1400	5½d.	6d.			6d. Adderbury, 1414. <sup>8</sup>
1401-1410	6d.	6d.		7½d.	
1411-1420	6d.	6d.		7½d.	
1421-1430	5½d.	6d.		7½-8d.	
1431-1440	6d.	6d.		8d.	
1441-1450	6½d.	6d.	6d.		6d. Beverley, 1446. <sup>9</sup>
					5d. Sheffield, 1447. <sup>10</sup>
					6d. Eton, 1448. <sup>11</sup>
					6½d. Merton College, Oxford, 1448. <sup>12</sup>
					6¾d. Eton, 1457. <sup>11</sup>
					6d. Bodmin, 1470. <sup>13</sup>
1451-1460	6½d.	6d.		8d.	
1461-1470	6½d.	6d.	6d.	8d.	
1471-1480	6½d.	6d.		8d.	
1481-1490	5½d.	6d.	6d.	8d.	6d. Kirby Muxloe, 1481. <sup>14</sup>
1491-1500	5½d.	6d.		8d.	
1501-1510	6d.	6d.	6d.	8d.	6¾d. King's College, Cambridge, 1509. <sup>15</sup>
1511-1520	6d.	6d.		8d.	
1521-1530	6½d.	6d.	6d.	8d.	
1531-1540	6½d.	6d.	6-7d.	8d.	
1541-1550	6½d.	7d.	6-7d.	8d.	
1551-1560	10d.	10d.	10-12d.	9-12d.	
1561-1570	10d.	10d.	12d.	12d.	
1571-1582	11½d.	12d.	12d.	12-16d.	
1583-1592	11½d.	12d.	12d.	14-16d.	
1593-1602	12½d.	12d.	12d.	14-16d.	
1603-1612	12d.	12d.	12d.	16d.	
1613-1622	12½d.	12d.	14d.	[18-20d.] <sup>16</sup>	
1623-1632	14½d.	12d.	14d.	[20-22d.] <sup>16</sup>	
1633-1642	14½d.	12d.	16d.	[22-24d.] <sup>16</sup>	
1643-1652	17d.	18d.	16d.	[24-26d.] <sup>16</sup>	
1653-1662	18½d.	18d.	16-18d.	[30d.] <sup>16</sup>	
1663-1672	18½d.	18d.	18d.	30d.	
1673-1682	17½d.	[18d.] <sup>17</sup>	[18d.] <sup>17</sup>	30d.	
1683-1692	19½d.	[18d.] <sup>17</sup>	[18d.] <sup>17</sup>	30-32d.	
1693-1702	28d.	[18d.] <sup>17</sup>	[18-24d.] <sup>17</sup>	30-32d.	

<sup>1</sup> V.R. <sup>2</sup> Masonic Mag., IV., 616-618. <sup>3</sup> B. and C. <sup>4</sup> Chapman, II., 194. <sup>5</sup> Rochester, 111-132. <sup>6</sup> F.R.Y.M., 3-5. <sup>7</sup> Norf. Arch. Soc., XV., 178 seq. <sup>8</sup> Adderbury. <sup>9</sup> E. Riding Arch. Soc., VII., 65.

[Notes continued on opposite page.]

(iii) To obtain a wage rate from the same source over a long period, so as to eliminate possible variations due to changes in the character of the work done, we have availed ourselves of the almost unbroken set of MS. Account Books of London Bridge to work out a ten-yearly predominant daily wage in London from 1404 to 1702. The figures for each decade are given in Table I.

(iv) For purposes of comparison we have printed our own miscellaneous predominant figures for a mason's daily money wage (without food, in summer) from 1280 to 1510 in the last column of Table I. opposite the nearest corresponding decennial figures.

To trace changes in money wages we have prepared two index-numbers of money wages, one based upon Steffen's general averages and the other upon the Oxford, Cambridge and London Bridge figures, the money wage in 1501-1510 in each case being treated as equal to 100. The index-numbers of money wages for each decade are printed in Table II. on page 238. The second set of these index-numbers has been graphed in the chart printed on page 206.

2. Changes in Prices of Food.

To measure changes in the prices of food we have constructed index-numbers of food prices calculated from Steffen's ten-yearly average prices of twelve articles of food, which in their turn are based on the information collected by Rogers. The articles selected were wheat, beans, barley malt, cheese, butter, oxen or beef, sheep, pigs, hens, pigeons, eggs, herrings. Equal weight has been attached to each article; average prices in the decade 1501-1510 have been treated as equal to 100. The index-numbers of food prices are printed in Table II. on page 238, and are graphed in the chart printed on page 206.

3. Changes in Real Wages.

To obtain the index-numbers of real wages which are printed in Table II. we have divided the index-numbers of money wages by the corresponding index-numbers of prices. The index-numbers of daily real wage may be summarised as follows (1501-1510 = 100):—

97.6	from 1301 to 1350.
109.7	„ 1351 to 1540.
61.2	„ 1541 to 1592.
45.3	„ 1593 to 1662.

4. Changes in Weekly Earnings.

From the daily real wages (at Oxford, Cambridge and London Bridge) we have calculated weekly real earnings by assuming

<sup>10</sup> Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc., II., 355. <sup>11</sup> Eton. <sup>12</sup> Rogers, III., 720-737. <sup>13</sup> Bodmin. <sup>14</sup> K.M. <sup>15</sup> W. and C., I., 475. <sup>16</sup> Estimated figures, bridge masons' actual wages being 9s. to 11s. per week plus variable payments for work as tide masons. In interpolating the figures we have been guided principally by such other London figures for masons' wages as were available (for details, see L.B.).

<sup>17</sup> Estimated figures, no examples being given by Rogers. In interpolating the figures we have relied upon the movements in labourers' wages at Oxford and Cambridge as shown by Rogers.



(i) that between 1301 and 1540, on account of holidays, they were equivalent to five days' wages; and (ii) that between 1541 and 1702, in view of the relative absence of holidays and the frequency of overtime, they were equivalent to six days' wages. The figures, after being adjusted so that weekly real earnings in 1501-1510 = 100, are printed in the last column of Table II. and are graphed in the chart on page 206.

II.—Table of Money Wages, Prices and Real Wages, 1301-1702.

Years.	MONEY WAGES, 1501-10 = 100.		Food Prices, 1501-10 = 100.	DAILY REAL WAGES, 1501-10 = 100.		Weekly Real Earnings, 1501-10 = 100.
	General Average (Steffen)	Oxford, Cambridge and London Bridge.		General Average.	Oxford, Cambridge and London Bridge.	
1301-1310	67	67	62	108	138	108
1311-1320	62	67	81	77	83	83
1321-1330	62	67	77	81	87	87
1331-1340	64	67	64	100	105	105
1341-1350	58	67	64	91	105	105
1351-1360	81	83	82	99	101	101
1361-1370	90	100	92	98	109	109
1371-1380	102	100	80	127	125	125
1381-1390	100	100	74	135	135	135
1391-1400	94	100	84	112	119	119
1401-1410	100	100	84	119	119	119
1411-1420	100	100	89	112	112	112
1421-1430	92	100	85	108	118	118
1431-1440	100	100	94	106	106	106
1441-1450	104	100	86	121	116	116
1451-1460	104	100	91	114	110	110
1461-1470	104	100	88	118	114	114
1471-1480	104	100	86	121	116	116
1481-1490	96	100	94	102	105	105
1491-1500	96	100	80	120	125	125
1501-1510	100	100	100	100	100	100
1511-1520	100	100	101	99	99	99
1521-1530	104	100	132	79	76	76
1531-1540	112	103	131	85	79	79
1541-1550	112	108	180	62	60	72
1551-1560	167	163	290	57	56	67
1561-1570	167	172	260	64	66	79
1571-1582	187	192	298	63	64	77
1583-1592	198	196	318	60	62	74
1593-1602	202	196	437	46	45	54
1603-1612	200	200	470	43	43	52
1613-1622	202	223	506	40	44	53
1623-1632	242	232	520	47	45	54
1633-1642	237	251	519	46	48	58
1643-1652	283	293	557	50	54	65
1653-1662	304	320	541	56	59	71
1663-1672	310	325	554	56	59	71
1673-1682	294	325	596	50	55	66
1683-1692	323	329	585	55	56	67
1693-1702	467	346	682	68	51	61

## 5. Wage Assessments under the Statute of Artificers.

In Table III. we have arranged chronologically a number of wage assessments, in so far as they relate to masons. Where two or more rates are given from the same assessment, they relate to different classes of mason. The reference for each assessment is given in a footnote to the table.

III.—Table of Wage Assessments by Justices of the Peace under the Statute of Artificers, 1563.

Year.	Place of Assessment.	Masons' Daily Wages Without Food.		
1563	Kent. <sup>1</sup>	13d.	9d.	
1563	Rutland. <sup>2</sup>	13d.	9d.	
1564	Exeter. <sup>3</sup>	10d.	8d.	
1570	Chester. <sup>4</sup>	6d.		
1586	London. <sup>5</sup>	13d.		
1592	Hertfordshire. <sup>6</sup>	12d.	10d.	8d.
1593	East Riding. <sup>7</sup>	10d.	8d.	
1595	Cardigan. <sup>8</sup>	8d.		
1595	Lancashire. <sup>9</sup>	8d.	6d.	
1597	Cheshire. <sup>10</sup>	8d.		
1603	Wiltshire. <sup>11</sup>	11d.	7d.	
1610	Surrey. <sup>12</sup>	12d.	10d.	
1610	Norfolk. <sup>13</sup>	18d.	16d.	12d.
1610	Rutland. <sup>14</sup>	12d.	10d.	
1621	Lincoln. <sup>15</sup>	12d.	10d.	
1621	Faversham. <sup>16</sup>	14d.		
1630	Suffolk. <sup>17</sup>	16d.		
1632	Hereford. <sup>18</sup>	12d.		
1632	Gloucestershire. <sup>19</sup>	12d.		
1647	West Riding. <sup>20</sup>	12d.	8d.	
1651	Essex. <sup>21</sup>	18d.		
1655	Wiltshire. <sup>22</sup>	15d.	12d.	
1655	Gloucestershire. <sup>23</sup>	20d.		
1663	Worcestershire. <sup>24</sup>	12d.		
1680	Lincolnshire. <sup>25</sup>	12d.	10d.	
1684	Warwickshire. <sup>26</sup>	16d.	12d.	
1685	Somersetshire. <sup>27</sup>	14d.		

<sup>1</sup> E.H.R., April, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers, IV., 122.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Report, Exeter MSS., p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Morris, Chester, p. 306.

<sup>5</sup> Tawney and Power, Tudor Economic Documents, I., 369.

<sup>6</sup> Hertford County Records, I., 8.

<sup>7</sup> Rogers, VI., 688.

<sup>8</sup> Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, I., No. 175.

<sup>9</sup> Rogers, VI., 691.

<sup>10</sup> Morris, Chester, p. 306.

<sup>11</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Various, I., 165.

<sup>12</sup> Archæologia, XI., 200.

<sup>13</sup> E.H.R., XIII., 522.

<sup>14</sup> Rogers, VI., 691.

<sup>15</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Rutland, I., 460.

<sup>16</sup> Arch. Cant., XVI., 270.

<sup>17</sup> E.H.R., XII., 307.

<sup>18</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Portland, III., 31.

<sup>19</sup> Rogers, VI., 694.

<sup>20</sup> Econ. J., XXIV., 221.

<sup>21</sup> Rogers, VI., 695.

<sup>22</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Various, I., 169.

<sup>23</sup> Rogers, VI., 694.

<sup>24</sup> Hist. MSS. Com. Various, I., 323.

<sup>25</sup> V.C.H. Lincs., II., 336.

<sup>26</sup> Rogers, VI., 699.

<sup>27</sup> Hist. MSS. Com., VII., 698.

stone<sup>1</sup> from the quarry to the Castle with one boat for vj *tyd'* at iijd. each, xviiij. ; Robert de Wych, xijd. ; Griffit[h] ap Jor[werth], xijd. ; John Marshall, xijd. ; Henry Duy, xijd. ; Jereward ap Griffit[h], xijd. ; Robert le Engl[ish?], carrying free stone and black stones<sup>1</sup> from our quarry to the Castle with one boat for vj *tyd'* at iijd. each, xviiij. ; Adam Gouch, xijd. ; William Crossleb', xijd. ; Adam de Gramor', xijd.

*Carriage by land.* William de Stretton carrying stones from the sea to the Castle with one cart and two horses for four days and a half, taking for the day viiij., iijs. ; William de Dene carrying stones from the sea to the Castle with one cart and two horses for four and a half days, taking for the day viiij., iijs. Total, xvijs.

*P[ro]b[atun?].* Sum total iiiijl. vs. ijd.

## APPENDIX II.

## ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

## I. PAYMENTS AT BEAUMARIS CASTLE, 14TH NOVEMBER, 1316.

(Translated from text in *Original Documents . . . Supplement to Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1877, pp. xxi-xxii.)

Payments made for the works of Beaumaris Castle on Sunday the 14th of November to Edward [II.] for the preceding week.

*Masons.* (Cementarii). Master Nicholas de Derneford, vijs. Edmund de Wyrwod, ijs. ijd. ; Richard de Christchurch, ijs. iijd. ; Richard de Wyke, ijs. jd. ; Stephen de Bockenhal, ijs. q. ; Ralf de Wych, xxiiij. ; Roger de Yock, ijs. q. ; Walter de Northampton, ijs. q. ; John de Stewnton, ijs. q. ; Adam de Conewey, xvijd. ob. Total xxvs.

*Clerk.* Nicholas de Radewell, xxd. Total xxd.

*Layers* (Cubitores). Nicholas de Grene, ijs. q. ; John de Lenton, ijs. q. ; Henry de Elford, xxd. ; Richard Franceys, xxjd. ; Richard de Ca[r]lton, xxjd. ; John de Oklee, xxjd. ; Richard de Haluhton, xxjd. Total, xijs. viiij. ob.

*Smiths.* Stephen the smith for work on xvij pieces of iron and xx gadds and about the tools of masons, layers and quarriers, xxiiij. ob. ; Lambert de Holsham, xd. Total, ijs. viiij.

*Purchases.* In ix pieces of timber bought for scaffolding at ijd. per piece, xviiij. ; in iij loads of laths at vd. a load, bought for the works, xvd. ; in vj oars, at vd. each, bought for the boat, ijs. vjd. Total, vs. iijd.

*Carpenter.* Richard de Roul, xxijd. Total xxijd.

*Plumbers.* Andrew le Plomber, xvjd. ; John de Covi[n]tr[e], xd. Total, ijs. ijd.

*Quarriers.* Adam Foy (? read Fox), xiiij. ob. ; Jereward Gouch, xiiij. ob. ; William de Peck, xijd. ; Wyn ap Jereward, xjd. ; Eyvu' (read Eign' = Einion or Kyvn' = Cyfnerth?) de Bangor, xd. ; Philip Seyther, xd. ; Maddoc de Bangor, xd. ; Maddoc Duy, xd. ; Jean ap Eyvu (see above) xd.

*Carrriers* (Baiardores). Gervase de Beri, xd. ; William Cru[m]pe, xd. ; William de Stretton, xd. ; Robert Gappe, xd.

*Labourers* (Operarii). Philip de Dandon, xd. ; Adam de Hales, xd. ; Adam de Canck, xd. ; Jonkin de Stretton, xd.

*Falkonarii.* Walter de Grene, viiij. ; Reginald de Roul, vijd.

*Porthache.* Adam le Bedul, vijd. Total, xvjs. xd.

*Carriage by sea.* John Glowe carrying free stone and black

## 2. COMPOTUS OF ROGER KEYS, 1449-1450.

(Translated from the original Roll in possession of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.)

The account of Roger Keys, clerk, master of the works of the new building of the Royal College of the Blessed Mary of Eton near Windsor, both of all moneys and sums received by him and of all purchases, carriage, portage, issues, costs and expenses whatsoever by him made and provided for such works, for a whole year, from Michaelmas 28 Henry VI., the most gracious founder of the said College, to Michaelmas in the 29th year of the same King.

*Arrears.* The same renders account of £19 9s. 3¼d. of arrears of his last account for the previous year.

Sum—£19 9s. 3¼d.

*Receipts in money from the College.* And of £766 9s. received at various times from Master William Westbury, Provost of the aforesaid College, for the building and construction of the said College: viz., (i) On October 11th in the 28th year by the hands of Nicholas Wilughby, £40 : (ii) November 6th by the hands of the same Nicholas, £68 13s. 4d. : (iii) November 17th, by the hands of the said Nicholas, £54 12s. 0¼d. : (iv) November 18th, by the hands of the said Nicholas, £20 : (v) November 28th and 29th, by the hands of John Medehill, £50 3s. 4d. : (vi) December 2nd of the same year, by the hands of Nicholas Wilughby, £40 : (vii) December 8th, by the hands of the same Nicholas, £40 : (viii) December 15th, by the hands of the same Nicholas, £50 : (ix) January 12th of the same year, by the hands of the same Nicholas, £10 : (x) January 24th, by the hands of the same Nicholas, £40 : (xi)

<sup>1</sup> *carianti liberas et nigras petras*, but ? read *magnas petras*, large stones.

February 12th, by the hands of the same Nicholas, £20: (xii) February 14th, by the hands of John Medehill, £21: (xiii) February 28th, by the hands of the same John, £14: (xiv) March 14th in the same year, by the hands of the said John Medehill, £36 16s. 8d.: (xv) March 28th, by the hands of the same John, £46 1s. 6d.: (xvi) April 11th of the same year, £15: (xvii) April 13th, £20 7s. 10d.: (xviii) April 18th, by the hands of Master Thomas Barkere, Vice-Provost of the said College, £24 9s.: (xix) May 16th in the same year, by the hands of the said John Medehill, £12: (xx) May 22nd, by the hands of the same John, £12: (xxi) June 13th in the same year, by the hands of the said John, £14 13s. 4d.: (xxii) June 20th, by the hands of the same John Medehill, £21: (xxiii) July 11th, in the same year, by the hands of the said John £14: (xxiv) July 14th and 18th, by the hands of the same John Medehill, £15: (xxv) August 1st in the same year, by the hands of the said John, £6 6s. 4d.: (xxvi) August 14th, by the hands of the same John, £14: (xxvii) August 29th, by the hands of the said John Medehill, £7 19s. 8d.: (xxviii) September 5th in the same year, by the hands of the same John, £4 6s. 8d.: (xxix) September 26th, by the hands of the same John, £20: (xxx) September 28th, by the hands of the same John, £15 6s. 0½d.: By an indenture between the said Provost and the accountant made with regard to this account, delivered, examined and among the memoranda of this account, there remain. Sum—£767 15s. 8d.

Foreign Receipts.

And of £4 10s. of the price of 18,000 bricks sold to Robert Manfelde, within the period of the account, at 5s. per 1000. And of 13s. 4d. of the price of 10 quarters of lime sold to various persons, within the period of the account, at 16d. per quarter. And of 2s. 5d. received of Thomas Milcent, the smith there, for various tools of the masons [*lathamorum*] and other workers employed in the aforesaid works, made by him of iron and steel provided for such works, within the period aforesaid. Sum—£5 5s. 9d.

Total Receipts with Arrears—£792 10s. 8½d., of which The same renders account both of divers costs and expenses by him undertaken and laid out in connection with the new building and construction of the aforesaid College and in purchases of stones called Asshlere, Rag, timber, wanescotte, lead, glass, iron of various kinds, nails, tiles, tylepynnes, pavynngtyle, burnt lime, coal, cords called Gabulles,<sup>1</sup> hurdeles, scaffaldes, and other necessaries, together with freightage and carriage of the things aforesaid from various places where they were bought and provided: also in wages and stipends of *cementarii*, *lathami*, hardhewers, *positoires*, carpenters, sawyers, glasiars, tilers, smiths, carters, daubers and

<sup>1</sup> *Gabulle*, an old form of *Cable*, N.E.D.

other workers and labourers, whether at task or hired by the year, the week or the day, employed on the same works within the period of the account, as entered in two parchment books, delivered and examined with this account, containing purchases of materials and things, the classes and names of men, sales of the same materials and things and including the names of all and singular artificers, carters, labourers, with their wages, stipends and earnings, separately specified and declared. £781 10s. 1½d.

	£	s.	d.		
Purchases.	Stones of Hudlesdon and Teynton . . . . .	80	4	1½	
	Timber, Wayneschottes, Bordes and laths bought . . . . .	37	2	5	
	Glass, with carriage . . . . .	23	3	2½	
	Iron unworked, steel and nails of various sorts . . . . .	10	1	3	
	Tiles called housetyle and pavynngtile . . . . .	4	11	2	
	Digging and burning 23 quarters of lime stones . . . . .	0	7	4	
	Charcoal [ <i>carbo silvestris</i> ] . . . . .	0	14	0	
	Cords called gabulles, <sup>1</sup> hurdelles, wheelbarowes, spades, trowels and other necessaries . . . . .	4	16	6½	
	Carriage and Freightage.	Carriage of stones, lime, sand, timber, tables, laths and other stuffs and necessaries . . . . .	35	15	6
		Freightage and batellage of stones, timber, tables, tiles, scaffaldes and other necessaries . . . . .	115	7	4
Wages and Stipends.	Of <i>lathami</i> , <i>cementarii</i> , hardehewers and layers with £13 6s. 8d. wages of <i>magister lathamorum</i> . . . . .	152	8	10	
	Of carpenters, with £10 for wages of chief carpenter for the year . . . . .	157	7	5½	
	Of sawyers . . . . .	15	14	0	
	Of smiths . . . . .	6	13	4	
	Of plumbers . . . . .	0	7	6	
	Of tilers and thatchers . . . . .	1	3	11	
	Of glasiars . . . . .	0	10	0	
	Of labourers and daubers . . . . .	31	18	3½	
	Of wages of the master of the works at £50 per annum, viz., for three terms within the period of the account: of one clerk of the same works, at £13 6s. 8d. per annum: of three purveyors of the same works at 6d. per day for the time of the account. . . . .	78	4	2	

<sup>1</sup> *Gabulle*, an old form of *Cable*, N.E.D.

Costs and Ex- penses.	Clothing and liveries for the said account- ant, one clerk of the works, chief mason [ <i>cementarius</i> ], warden of the masons [ <i>cementarii</i> ] chief carpenter, warden of the carpenters, three purveyors, chief smith, one lymebyrnere, chief labourer, with 23s. 4d. of reward to Peter Pal- mere, £7 of reward to James Woode- roffe, masons [ <i>latami</i> ] for their diligent labour in the aforesaid works, 32s. 9d. paid to David Whitchurch, John Sal- man and Robert Nanseglos for receipt of money for the aforesaid works	£ s. d. 16 9 1
	Expenses of the said accountant and clerk of the works also of divers persons riding to various places to buy and provide materials and necessaries for the aforesaid works and also to take workmen: with 48s. paid for the rent of a tenement in which the chief mason [ <i>cementarius</i> ] lives and of another piece of land and pasture at le Slugh and else- where, occupied for the business of the aforesaid works, and other costs and necessary expenses of the aforesaid works	8 11 4
	Sum of all purchases, payments and expenses aforesaid . . . . .	78 1 10 1½
	And owing . . . . .	11 0 6½

## 3. ORDERS TO TAKE MASONS, 1359-1360 AND 1361.

(Translated from Patent Roll, 33 Edward III., Part iii.;  
Close Roll, 35 Edward III., m. 33.)

*Concerning the taking of masons.*—The King to the same [sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs and other ministers] greeting. Know that we, trusting in the discretion and loyalty of Master Robert of Gloucester, our mason, have assigned and deputed him to take and arrest as many masons [*cementarios*] as may be necessary for the erection of our works in our castle of Wyndesore, wherever he can find them, within liberties or without, and to place them in our works aforesaid at our wages, and to take and arrest all masons whom he shall find contrary or rebellious in this matter and bring them to the aforesaid castle there to be held in prison until they shall find security to remain at those works according to the instruction of the said Robert on our behalf. And therefore we command you that to the same Robert in these matters &c you be of assistance. In witness whereof &c. At Redyng, January 6th, 1359/1360.

*Concerning the taking of masons.*—The King to the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk greeting. We command you as strictly as we can that immediately on sight of these present letters you cause to be chosen and attached within the said counties, whether within liberties or without, of the better and more skilled masons [*latomis*] forty masons [*latomos*] for hewing freestone and forty masons [*latomos*] for laying stone and cause them to be brought or sent, with the tools belonging to their trade, to our castle of Windsor so that you have them there by the first of May next at the latest, to be delivered to our beloved clerk William of Wykeham, clerk of our works there, to remain at our works for as long as may be necessary at our wages. And you shall take from all the same masons such sufficient security as you would be willing to answer for to us that they will remain continuously in our aforesaid works and will not depart therefrom without our special licence. And all those masons whom the aforesaid William shall certify to you as having left our said works without leave and returned to the aforesaid counties you shall cause to be bodily taken and arrested wherever they may be found in your bailiwick, whether within liberties or without, and kept securely in our prison, so that without our special mandate they shall in no wise be released from the same. And you shall inform us clearly and without concealment by the first of May of the names of masons aforesaid and of the security you take from each of them to remain at our works aforesaid. And this you shall in no wise omit on pain of forfeiting everything you can forfeit to us. Witness the King at Westminster April 12th 1361. A similar writ, bearing the same date, directed to the sheriff of Lincoln to take forty masons for hewing freestone and forty masons for laying stone.

## 4. CONTRACT FOR BUILDING THE NAVE OF FOTHERINGHAY CHURCH, 22ND SEPTEMBER, 1434.

[*Masonic Monthly*, July, 1882, pp. 11-16.]

This endenture maad bitwix Will. Wolston sqwier, Thomas Pecham clerke, commissaris for the hy and mighty prince, and my right redouthid lord, the duc of Yorke on the too part; and Will. Horwod free-mason, dwellyng in Fodringhey on the tother part: wytnessith, that the same Will. Horwod hath granthid and undertaken, and by thise same has indenthid, graunts, and undertakes to mak up a new body of a kirk joyning to the quire, of the college of Fodringhey of the same hight and brede that the said quire is of; and in length iiij<sup>xx</sup> fete fro the said quere donward withyn the walles a metyerd of England accounthid alwey for iij fete. And in this covenant the said Will. Horwod shal also wel make all the groundwerk of the said body, and take hit and void hit at his own cost, as latlay hit suffisantly as hit ought to be by oversight of maisters of the same craft, which stuff [is] suffisantly ordeigned for him at my seide lords cost, as [be]longeth to such a werke, And to the said body he shall make two [a]isles, and tak the ground [work and void] [t]hem in wise aforesaid, both the [a]isles [to be] according to heght and brede to the [a]isles of the saide quere, and in hight to the body aforesaid, the ground of the

same body and [a]isles to be maad within the ende under the ground-table-stones with rough stone; and fro the ground-stone b. . . ments; and alle the remanent of the said body and [a]isles unto the full hight of the said quire with clene hewen ashler altogedir in the outer side unto the full hight of the said quire: and all the inner side [to be] of rough-stone, except the bench-table-stones, the soles of the windows, the pillars and chapetrels that the arches and pendants shall rest upon, which shall be altogedir of free-stone wrought trewly and dewly as hit ought to be.

And in eche [a]isle shall be wyndows of free-stone, accordyng in all poynts unto the windows of the said quire, sawf they shal no bowtels haf at all. And in the west-end of aither of the said [a]isles, he shal mak a wyndow of four lights, according altogedir to the wyndows of the said isles. And til aither [a]isle shall be as sperware embattailment of free-stoon through out, and both the end embattailled butting upon the stepill. And aither of the said [a]isles shal have six mighty botrasse of free-stone, clen-hewyn; and every botrasse fynisht with a fynial, according in all points to the fynials of the said quere, save only that the botrasse of the body shalbe more large, more strong and mighty than the botrasse of the said quere.

And the cler-story both withyn and without shal be made of clene asheler growndid upon ten mighty pillars, with four respounds; that ys to say two above joyning to the quere, and two benethe joyning to the end of the sayd bodye. And to the two respownds of the sayd quere shall be two perpeyn-walls joyning of free-stone, clene wrought: that is to say oon on aither side of the myddel quere dore; and in either wall three lyghts, and lavatoris in aither side of the wall, which shall serve for four auters, that ys to say oon on aither side of the myddel dore of the said quere and oon on either side of the said [a]isles.

And in eche of the said [a]isles shal be five arches abof the stepill, and abof every arche a wyndow, and every wyndow [to be] of four lyghts, according in all points to the wyndows of the clere-story of the said quere. And either of the said [a]isles shall have six mighty arches butting on aither side to the clere-story, and two mighty arches butting on aither side to the said stepull, according to the arches of the said quere, both yn table-stones and crestis, with a square embattailment thereupon.

And in the north side of the chirche the said Will. Horwode shall make a porche; the owter side of clene assheler, the inner side of rough stone, conteining in length xij fete, and in brede as the botrasse of the said body wol soeffre; and in hight according to the [a]isle of the same side, which reasonable lights in aither side; and with a square embattailment above.

And in the south side of the cloystre-ward another porche joyning to the dore of the said cloystre, beryng widenesse as the botrasse wol soeffre, and in hight betwixt the chirch and the said [cloister] dore, with a dore yn the west side of the said porche to the townward; and in aither side so many lights as will suffice; and a square embattailment above, and in hight according to the place where hit is set.

And to the west end of the said body shall be a stepyll standing [high above] the chirche upon three strong and mighty arches vawthid with stoon; the which steepil shall haf in length iiij<sup>xx</sup> fete

after the mete-yard [of] three fete to the yard above the ground, [are to be] table-stones, and [it shall measure] xx fote sqware withyn the walls, the walles beryng six fote thicnesse abof the said ground table-stones. And to the hight of the said body [of the church] hit shall be sqware, with two mighty botresses joyning thereto, oon in aither side of a large dore, which shall be in the west end of the same stepill.

And when the said stepill cometh to the hight of the said bay [tailment] then hit shall be chaungid and turnyd in viii panes and at every scouchon, a boutrasse fynysht with [a] finial according to the fynials of the said quere and body; the said chapell [to be] embattailled with a square embattailment large: and abof the dore of the said stepill a wyndow rysing in hight al so high as the gret arche of the stepill, and in brede as the body will issue. And in the said stepill shall be two flores, and abof each flore viii. clere-storial windows set yn the myddes of the walle, eche window of three lights, and alle the owter side of the stepill of clen wrought fre-stone; and the inner side of rough ston. And in the said stepill shall be a ulce towrnyn, servyng till the said body, [a]isles and quere, both beneth and abof, with all mannere other werke necessary that longyth to such a body, [a]isles stepill and porches, also well nocht comprehendit in this endenture, as comprehendit and expressyd.

And of all the werke that in thise same endenture is devised and rehersyd, my said lord of Yorke shall fynde the carriage and stuffe; that ys to say stone, lyme, sonde, ropes, boltes, ladderis, tymbre, scaffolds, gynnes, and all manere of stuffe that [be]longeth to the said werke, for the which werke, well, truly, and duly to be made and fynisht in wyse as it ys afore devised and declaryd, the said Will. Horwode shall haf of my said lord ccc<sup>l</sup> Sterlinges: of which summe he shall be payd in wise as hit shall be declaryd hereafter; that ys to say when he hath takyn his ground of the sayd kirke, [a]isles, botrasse, porches, and stepill, hewyn and set his ground table-stones, and his ligements, and the wall thereto withyn and without, as hit ought to be well and duly made, then he shall haf vi<sup>ll</sup>. xiiij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. And when the said Will Horwode hath set oo fote abof the ground-table-stone, also well throughout the outer side as the inner side of all the said werke, then he shall haf payment of an c<sup>ll</sup>. Sterling; and so for every fote of the seid werke, aftir that hit be fully wrought and set, as hit ought to be, and as it is afore devysed, till hit come to the full hight of the highest of the fynials and batayllment of the seyd body, hewyng settyng and reysing [the tower] of the steple aftyr hit be passyd the highest of the embattailment of the sayd body, he shall [have] but xxx<sup>s</sup>. Sterlinges till hit be fully endyd and performyd in wise as it is afore devysed.

And when alle the werk abof written rehersyd and devised is fully fynisht, as hit ought to be and as hit is above accordyd and devysed betwixt the seyd commissaris and the sayd William: then the seid Will. Horwode shall haf full payment of the sayd ccc<sup>ll</sup>. Sterling if any be due, or left unpaid thereof untill hym: And during all the sayd werke the seid Will. Horwode shall nether set mo[re] nor fewer free masons, rogh setters ne leyes thereupon, but as such as shall be ordeigned to haf the governance and ofer-sight of the said werke, undre my lord of Yorke well ordeign him and assigne him for to haf.

And yf so be, that the seyd Will. Horwode mak nocht full payment of all or any of his workmen, then the clerke of the werke shall pay him in his presence and stoppe als mykyll in the said Will. Horwode hand, as the payment that shall be dewe unto the workemen comyth to.

And duryng all the seyd werke the setters shall be chosyn and takyn by such as shall haf the governance and oversight of the sayd werke by my seid lord; they to be payed by the hand of the said Will. Horwode, in forme and manner abowfrytten and devysed. And yf so be that the said Will. Horwode wol complayn and say at any time, that the two sayd setters, or any of them, be nocht profitable ne suffisant workmen for my lordys avayle; then by oversight of master-masons of the countre they shall be demyd; and yf they be found faulty or unable, then they shall be chawnght, and other takyn and chosen in, by such as shall haf the governance of the sayd werke by my sayd lordys ordenance and commandement.

And yf hit so be that the said Will. Horwode make nocht fulle end of the sayd werke withyn terme reasonable, which shall be lymit him in certain by my said lord, or by his counseil, in forme and manere as is afore-written and devysed in thise same endentures, then he shall yeilde his body to prison at my lordy's wyll, and all his movable goods and heritages at my said lordy's disposition and ordenance.

In wytness, &c. the sayd commissaries, as [well as] the sayd Will. Horwode to these present endentures haf sett their sealles enterchangeably, &c. the XXIVth day of Septembre, the yere of the reign of our sovereign lord King Henry the Sixt, after the conquest of England xiiij.

#### 5. YORK MINSTER MASONS' ORDINANCES, 1370.

(*Fabric Rolls of York Minster* [Surtees Society, 1858], pp. 181-182.)

Itte es ordayned by ye Chapitre of ye kirk of Saint Petyr of York yat all ye masonns yt sall wyrke till ye werkes of ye same kyrk of Saynte Petyr, sall fra Mighelmesse day untill ye firste Sunday of Lentyn, be ilka day atte morne atte yare werke, in ye loge, yat es ordayned to the masonnes at wyrk in with ye close bysyde ye forsayde kirk, als erly als yai may see skilfully by day lyghte for till wyrke; and yai sall stande yar trewly wyrkande atte yair werke all ye day aftyr, als lang als yai may se skilfully for till wyrke, yf yt be alle werkday: outhur, elles, till itte be hegh none smytyn by ye clocke, when halyday falles atte none, sauf yt in with yt forsayde tyme bytwyx Mighelmes and Lentyne; and in all other tyme of ye yer yai may dyne byfore none, yf yai wille, and, als wa, ette atte none whar yaim likes, swa yt yai sall noghte dwell fra yair werkes in ye forsayde loge natyme of ye yer in dyner tyme, bote swa schort tyme yat na skilful man sall fynde defaute in yaire dwellynge; and in tyme of mete, atte none, yai sall, na tyme of ye yer, dwell fra the loges, ne fra yaire werke forsayde, ovyr ye space of ye tyme of an heure, and aftyr none yai may drynk in ye loge: ande for yaire drynkyng tyme bytwyx Mighelmes & Lentyn yai sall noghte cese no lefe yare werk passand ye tyme of half a mileway:

ande fra ye firste Sunday of Lentyn until Mighelmesse yai sall be in ye forsayde loge atte yaire werke atte ye son risyng, and stande yare trewly ande bysily wyrkande upon ye forsayde werke of ye kyrk all ye day, untill itte be namare space yan tyme of a mileway byfore ye sone sette, yf itte be werkday; outhur elles untill tyme of none, als itte es sayde byfore, saf yt yai sall, bytwix ye firste Sunday of Lentyne ande Mighelmes, dyne and ette, als es byfore sayde, ande slepe ande drynke aftyr none in ye forsayde loge; and yai sall noghte cese no lefe yair werke in slepyng tyme, passande ye tyme of a mileway, no in drynkyng tyme after none, passande ye tyme of a mileway. And yai sall noght slepe eftyre none na tyme botte bytwene Saynte Elenmes and Lammes; and yf any mane dwell fra ye loge ande fra ye werk forsayde, outhur make defaute any tyme of ye yer agayn yis forsaiide ordinance, he sall be chastyde with abatynge of his payment, atte ye loking ande devys of ye maistyr masonn; and all yer tymes and houres sall by reweled bi a bell ordayned yare fore. Ande, als wa, it es ordayned yt na masonn sall be receavyde atte wyrke, to ye werk of ye forsayde kyrke, bot he be firste provede a weke or mare upon his well wyrkyng; and, aftyr yt he es foundyn souffissant of his werke, be receavyde of ye commune assente of ye mayster and ye kepers of ye werk, ande of ye maystyr masonn, and swere upon ye boke yt he sall trewly ande bysily at his power, for oute any maner gylyry, fayntys, outhur desayte, hald ande kepe haly all ye poyntes of yis forsayde ordinance, in all thynges yt hym touches, or may touches, fra tyme yt he be receavyde till ye forsayde werke als lang als he sall dwell masonn hyryd atte wyrk till yt forsayde werke of ye kyrk of Sanct Petyr, ande nocht ga away fra yt forsayde werke bote ye maystirs gyf hym lefe atte parte fra yt forsayde werk: and wha sum evyr cum agayne yis ordinance ande brekes itte agayn ye will o ye forsayde Chapitre have he Goddy's malyson and Saynt Petirs.

#### 6. LONDON REGULATIONS FOR THE TRADE OF MASONS, 1356.

(*Letter-Book G.*, fol. 41, printed in Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 280-282.)

At a congregation of the Mayor and Aldermen, holden on the Monday next before the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary [2 February], in the 30th year of the reign of King Edward the Third etc., there being present, Simon Fraunceys, the Mayor, John Lovekyn, and other Aldermen, the Sheriffs, and John Little, Symon de Benyngtone, and William de Holbeche, Commoners, certain Articles were ordained touching the trade of Masons, in these words:—

“Whereas Simon Fraunceys, Mayor of the City of London, has been given to understand that divers dissensions and disputes have been moved in the said city between the mason hewers, on the one hand, and the mason layers and setters<sup>1</sup> on the other;

<sup>1</sup> *Letter-Book G.*, f<sup>o</sup> 41, reads: *entre les masouns hewers d'une part & les masouns legers & setters d'autre part* and we have altered the text accordingly.

“ because that their trade has not been regulated in due manner,  
 “ by the government of folks of their trade, in such form as other  
 “ trades are ; therefore the said Mayor, for maintaining the peace  
 “ of our Lord the King, and for allaying such manner of dissentions  
 “ and disputes, and for nurturing love among all manner of folks, in  
 “ honour of the said city, and for the profit of the common people,  
 “ by assent and counsel of the Aldermen and Sheriffs, caused all  
 “ the good folks of the said trade to be summoned before him, to  
 “ have from them good and due information how their trade might  
 “ be best ordered and ruled, for the profit of the common people.

“ Whereupon, the good folks of the said trade chose from  
 “ among themselves twelve of the most skilful men of their trade,  
 “ to inform the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, as to the acts  
 “ and articles touching their said trade, that is to say :—Walter  
 “ de Sallynge, Richard de Sallynge, Thomas de Bredone, John de  
 “ Tyryngtone, Thomas de Gloucestre, and Henry de Yeevelee,  
 “ on behalf of the mason hewers ; Richard Joye, Simon de Bartone,  
 “ John de Estone, John Wylot, Thomas Hardegray, and Richard  
 “ de Cornewaylle, on behalf of the mason layers and setters (*masouns*  
 “ *leveys et setters*) ; the which folks were sworn before the aforesaid  
 “ Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs ; in manner as follows.—

“ In the first place,—that every man of the trade may work  
 “ at any work touching the trade, if he be perfectly skilled and  
 “ knowing in the same.

“ Also,—that good folks of the said trade shall be chosen  
 “ and sworn every time that need shall be, to oversee that no  
 “ one of the trade takes work to complete, if he does not well  
 “ and perfectly know how to perform such work ; on pain of losing,  
 “ to the use of the Commonalty, the first time that he shall by  
 “ the persons so sworn be convicted thereof, one mark ; and  
 “ the second time, two marks ; and the third time, he shall for-  
 “ swear the trade, for ever.

“ Also,—that no one shall take work in gross, if he be not  
 “ of ability in a proper manner to complete such work ; and he  
 “ who wishes to undertake such work in gross, shall come to the  
 “ good man of whom he has taken such work to do and complete,  
 “ and shall bring with him six or four ancient men of his trade,  
 “ sworn thereunto, if they are prepared to testify unto the good  
 “ man of whom he has taken such work to do, that he is skilful  
 “ and of ability to perform such work, and that if he shall fail  
 “ to complete such work in due manner, or not be of ability to  
 “ do the same, they themselves, who so testify that he is skilful  
 “ and of ability to finish the work, are bound to complete the  
 “ same work well and properly at their own charges, in such  
 “ manner as he undertook ; in case the employer who owns the  
 “ work shall have fully paid the workman. And if the employer  
 “ shall then owe him anything, let him pay it to the persons who  
 “ have so undertaken for him to complete such work.

“ Also,—that no one shall set an apprentice or journeyman  
 “ to work, except in presence of his master, before he has been  
 “ perfectly instructed in his calling : and he who shall do the  
 “ contrary, and by the persons so sworn be convicted thereof,  
 “ let him pay, the first time, to the use of the Commonalty, half  
 “ a mark, and the second time, one mark, and the third time,  
 “ 20 shillings ; and so let him pay 20 shillings every time that  
 “ he shall be convicted thereof.

“ Also,—that no one of the said trade shall take an apprentice  
 “ for a less term than seven years, according to the usage of the  
 “ City ; and he who shall do to the contrary thereof, shall be  
 “ punished in the same manner.

“ Also,—that the said Masters, so chosen, shall oversee that  
 “ all those who work by the day shall take for their hire according  
 “ as they are skilled, and may deserve for their work, and not  
 “ outrageously.

“ Also,—if any one of the said trade will not be ruled or di-  
 “ rected in due manner by the persons of his trade sworn there-  
 “ unto, such sworn persons are to make known his name unto  
 “ the Mayor ; and the Mayor, by assent of the Aldermen and  
 “ Sheriffs, shall cause him to be chastised by imprisonment and  
 “ other punishment ; that so, other rebels may take example by  
 “ him, to be ruled by the good folks of their trade.

“ Also,—that no one of the said trade shall take the ap-  
 “ prentice or journeyman of another, to the prejudice or damage  
 “ of his master, until his term shall have fully expired ; on pain  
 “ of paying, to the use of the Commonalty, half a mark, each  
 “ time that he shall be convicted thereof.”

## 7. LONDON MASONS' ORDINANCES, 1481.

(*Letter-Book L.*, fols. 165 seq.)

Memorandum quod Quinto decimo die Octobris Anno regni  
 Regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum vicesimo primo probi  
 homines Artis sive mistere lathamorum Civitatis londoriarum  
 venerunt hic in Curia dicti Domini Regis in Camera Guyhalde  
 Civitatis predictæ coram Johanne Broun maiore et Aldermannis  
 eiusdem Civitatis et porrexerunt eisdem maiori et Aldermannis  
 quandam billam sive Supplicacionem Cuius tenor sequitur in hec  
 verba To the full honourable lorde and discrete Sovereignes mair  
 and Aldremen of the Citee of london Mekely besechen the goode  
 Folke of the Craft mistere or science of masons enfraunchesed of  
 the saide Citee That it pleas your grete wisdoms tenderly to under-  
 stonde and considre how that for lak of due Correccion and pun-  
 ysshment that owed to be doon uppon suche persones as beth  
 Rebelles or Trespassours in Any Feolashippe of the said Citee.  
 grevous and grete Inconvenienties perels and utragious dedes  
 often tymes have falle within Feolashippes of this Citee And namely  
 Amonges certain persones enfraunchesed of the said Craft mistere  
 or science of masons of this Citee. By Consideracon whereof  
 and for a due Reformacion to be had of the same. And also for  
 the better Rule and gudyng to be had in the said Craft mistere  
 or science Aswell to the pleasur of god As for the Comune Wele  
 And Also for the savacion of the honeste of the honest persones  
 of the said Craft mistere or science It pleas your goode lordshippe  
 and maistershippes to graunte that tharticles folowing may by  
 your Auctorite and grete wisdoms be Accepted Admitted and holde  
 for ferme and stable to endure from this tyme forward for evermore  
 And to be entred of Recorde and enrolled in the Chambre of the  
 Yeldhall of this Citee. by vertue whereof And by thobservaunces  
 of the saide Articles goode Rule and sadde gudyng the rather

may be observed and kept amonges the people of the said Craft mistere or science of masons for their parte like as it used to be doon within othere Craftes of this honourable Citee.

First that the persones enfraunchesed of the said Craft mistere or science from this tyme forward for evermore may yeerly in the Fest of the holy Trinite or within x daies next suyng Assemble togeders in an honest place within this Citee where as thei shall thynk necessary and behofull for theym. And there with one assent and goode Accorde peisebly chese twoo honest and discrete persones of theym self enfraunchesed of the said Craft and holdyng hous and houshold within the said Citee or libertie of the same to be wardeyns of the saide Craft mistere or science for twoo yeeres than next ensuyng And the said ii newe wardeyns so elected within xii daies next suyng after the said eleccion so made to be presented by the olde Wardeyns and iiiii or vi other honest persones of the same Craft mistere or science in the Chambre of the Yeld-hall of london there to be Accepted into their saide Office and sworn and charged wele and duely to occupie and exercise their said Office like as wardeyns of othere Craftes or Feolishippes of this Citee beth charged there to do duryng the said terme of ii years And than the newe wardeyns to have delyveraunce of tholde wardeyns of All the money Juelx goodes and necessaries belongyng to the hole Feolashippe of the said Craft mistere or science. The which by thacomptes to be made by the said olde wardeyns to the said newe wardeyns in the presence of vi honest persones or moo of the said Craft mistere or science within xv Daies next suyng after the said newe Wardeyns be presented sworn and charged in manere and fourme aforesaid shuld be founde in the handes keypyng or guyding of the said old wardeyns uppon their saide Accomptes so made. And the saide newe wardeyns to have the Custodie and guyding of the said money Juelx goodes and necessaries to thuse and behof of the Feolashippe of the said Craft mistere or science duryng the said ii yeres by thadvise and oversight of the said vi honest persones or moo of the said Craft. And if Any wardeyns of the said Craft mistere or science so being-Ace comptuaunte any tyme hereafter make not or yeld not their said-Accomptes or make not deliveraunce of the money Juelx goodes and necessaries aforesaid being in their handes Accordyng to the Tenour of this present Ordenaunce that than the wardeyns so being defectif therein or any of theym so being defectif Renne into the payn and forfaitour of xxs And if the said wardeyns that so shuld geve their Accomptes make not their Accompte within othere xv daies than next suyng, that than iche of theym to pay xls. As often as any suche caas so shall fall to be levied of their goodes frome tyme to tyme by the Chamberleyn of london for the tyme being the one half of that forfaitour to be Applied to thuse of the Chambre of this Citee And that othere half of the same forfaitour to be applied to the Comune box of the said Craft toward the Supportacion of the Charges of the sane Craft, Provided Alway that Thomas Hill and Richard Rede nowe wardeyns of the said Craft mistere or science which have long contynued in their said Office and born grete Charges therein for divers Consideracions mevyng the said Feolashippe shall have free liberti- and dispensacion when thei shall next be chaungied oute of their said Office for to make and yeld their Accomptes. And delyvere aunce of the money Juelx goodes and necessaries of the said Feola-

shippe founden in their handes uppon their accomptes to be made to the newe wardeyns Aforesaid within A yere after their departyng oute of their Office Atte suche Reasonable tyme As the said Thomas and Richard shall easely mowe do it. And in nowise renne into any daungier of the said forfaitour by Occasion thereof. The said Acte or Ordenaunce of the said forfaitour Above made As ayenst theym for this present Season of their departyng oute of their said Office into the contrary in no wise withstanding.

Item if Any persone enfraunchesed of the said Craft science or mistere Any tyme hereafter be duely chosen to be one of the wardeyns of the same Craft mistere or science And may reasonably Occupy that Office if he will And utterly Refuse the Occupiyng thereof, that than be he so refusyng, presented by the old wardeyns and by the said vi honest persones or mo of the same Craft unto the mair of this Citee or to the Chamberleyn of the same Citee for the tyme being for A Rebell Ayenst or unto his said Feolashippe And that he forfait for his suche disobedience in that behalf at any tyme that he is convict thereof xls to be levied of his goodes in fourme Aforesaid. And the one half of that forfaitour to be Applied to thuse of the said Chambre And that othere half to the said box of the saide Craft.

Item that the persones of the saide Craft mistere or science from hensfurtheward ones in every iii yeres be cladde in one Clothing convenient to their powers and degrees to be ordeigned for by the wardeyns of the same Craft mistere or science for the tyme being by thadvise and Assent of the said vi honest persones or mo of the said Craft suche as the same wardeyns and Feolashippe will appoint thereunto. And that every persone of the said Craft suche as shalbe admitted to the said Clothyng by the said wardeyns by thadvise aforesaid And be of power to were it and pay therfore shall take the said Clothing of the said wardeyns for to were it At suche tyme As shalbe Requisite for the honeste of the Feolashippe of the said Craft and pay the saide wardeyns therefore after suche price and at suche tyme as by the said wardeyns with thadvise aforesaid it shalbe sett And Appointed unto. And that no persone enfraunchesed of the said Craft Appointed to take and were the said lyverey and may bere the Charge thereof Refuse to take it or to were it on lasse than he otherwise Aggree with the said wardeyns therefore. Accordyng to Right reason and goode conscience. And who so doeth the contrarye of this Ordenaunce shall forfait as often as he so doeth and be duely convict thereof vis viiid to be levied devided and Applied in manere and fourme Aforesaid.

Item that the persones enfraunchesed of the saide Craft mistere or science from this tyme furtheward shall kepe their Dener or an other honeste Recreation ones in every ii yeres in A place convenient by the wardeyns of the same Craft for the tyme being with thadvise Aforesaid thereto to be Appoynted uppon the Day of Oeptas of the holy Trinitee And that thei shall Assemble togeders the same Day as nygh as thei can in one Clothing atte summaunce of the Bedell or some othere servaunt of the said Craft Atte Crichurch within Algate of London atte an hour convenient thereto Assigned by the said bedell or servaunt And there Abide the masse tyme than there provided for the said Feolashippe by the said wardeyns And that every persone Aforesaid shall offre atte same masse of



his owne purce id And after that masse doon thei to go togeders home to their Dener or Recreation Atte said place Appointed And to have their wiffes there with theym if thei will. And every suche persone shall pay for his suche Dener or Recreation for hym self xiid And for his wiff there being present, viiid And if Any persone Aforesaid Absent hym self from the said masse Offeryng or Dener withoute he have a cause reasonable for his Excuse shall forfait as often as any suche cas so shall fall iiis iiiid to be levied devided and Applied in manere and fourme Aforesaide.

Provided Alway that the said Dener be kept that yere that the Eleccion shalbe made of the said newe wardeyns And the Clothynge Alway geven the next yere folowyng.

Item that every persone enfranchised of the saide Craft mistere or science from this tyme fortheward shall Assemble at Crichurch Aforesaid atte summaunce of the Bedell or of somme othere servaunte of the said Craft yearly for ever more on the day of the blissed Seintes called *quatuor Coronatorum* at an hour convenient thereto Assigned And there Abide the masse tyme provided therefor the said Feolashippe by the said wardeyns And every suche persone shall offre there at same masse id And after that masse doon every such persone to departe whether that he will. And what persone aforesaid be absent from thens atte said masse tyme withoute he have A Reasonable cause to excuse hym by shall forfait at every tyme that he is so absent from thens xiid to be levied devided and Applied in manere and fourme Aforesaid.

Item that the said Feolashippe from this tyme fortheward shall kepe togeders yearly for evermore thise iiiii quarter Daies folowyng for the payment of their quarterages that is to witte one quarter day on the Day of the Oeptas of the Nativite of seint John Baptist an othere quarter Day on the Day of the Oeptas of seint Mighell Tharchaungell an othere quarter Day on the Day of the Oeptas of the Nativite of our Lord And on othere quarter Day on the Day of the Oeptas of Eastern And that every persone of the said Feolashippe shall Assemble at every suche quarter day At place and hour to hym lymited by the Bedell or othere servaunt of the said Craft And pay there for his quarterage to the wardeyns there than present iiid. And if thei will than have Any manerly Recreation by the wardeyns to be provided every suche persone shall pay therto over his said quarterage iid. And what menere persone Aforesaid be Absent from thens withoute A cause and excuse reasonable shall forfait every tyme that he is so absent from thens xii d to be levied devided and Applied in manere and fourme Aforesaid.

Item that every persone being enfranchised or brother of the said Craft mistere or science from this tyme fortheward when and as often as he be warned by the Bedell or othere servaunte of the said Craft in the names of the wardeyns of the same Craft for the tyme being, be it for Any businesses for our sovereign Lord the kyng or for Any causes of this Citee or for any other matiers concernyng the wele of the said Feolashippe shalbe redy and Attendaunt at hour and place to hym Assigned withoute he have A cause of Excuse reasonable or elles he shall forfait at every tyme that he be founde defectif and doing the contrary thereof iiiiid And if it be for the wele and wirshippe of this Citee xii to be levied devided and applied in manere and fourme Aforesaid.

Item that noon of the wardeyns of the Craft mistere or science aforesaid from this tyme fortheward Receive or Admitte any manere persone into the Fraunchese of the saide Craft mistere or science by way of Redempcion into the tyme that that persone be first duely examyned by the wardeyns of the said Craft mistere or science for the tyme being And by iiiii or vii other honest persones of the same Craft. And by theym founden connyng therein And so habled thereto uppon payn of forfaitour of xls. as often as any such wardeyns be founde defectif of doying the contrary of Any thinges conteyned in this present Article to be levied devided and Applied in manere and fourme Aforesaid.

Item that no maner persone enfranchised or brother of the saide Craft mistere or science from this tyme fortheward take any foreyn or Allowes from Any othere man enfranchised or brother of the same Craft mistere or science into the tyme that he knowe certainly that suche foreyn or Allowes have fully complete his Covenaut of service with his former maister or atte lest hath Aggreed with hym therefore, of lasse than suche foreyn or Allowes by thaggrement and licence of his said Former maister. be Assigned by the wardeyns of the saide Craft for the tyme being to departe from his saide former maister and to go to an othere maister, that for grete besinesse of werk or for lak of help that he hath in the same Occupacion, wold have hym Nor that no persone so enfranchised or brother of the said Craft mistere or science enduce entice or procure into his service any mans servaunte of the saide Craft oute of his maisters service Duryng all suche tyme As his maister hath any Covenaut of service of hym uppon payn of forfaitour of xls As often as any suche persone be founde and convicted defectif of Any maters comprised in this Article, to be levied, devided and Applied in manere and fourme aforesaid.

Item that no maner persone enfranchised or brother of the said Craft mistere or science from this tyme fortheward hire any other persone enfranchised or brothere of the same Craft oute of his hous Shop logge or dwellyng place uppon payn of forfaiture of xls As often as any suche persone be founde and convicted defectif thereof to be levied devided and Applied in manere and fourme Aforesaid.

Item that no maner persone enfranchised or brother of the said Craft mistere or science from this tyme fortheward Rebuke or Revile any of the wardeins of the same Craft for the tyme being or any othere honest persone of the Clothynge of the same Craft nor have noon unmanerly langage nor unfittyng or dishonest wordes of liyng or falsyng theym or Any of theym for any maner matier or cause what so ever it be uppon payn of forfaitur of vis viiid as often as any suche persone be founde and convicted defectif thereof to be levied devided and Applied in maner and fourme Aforesaid.

Item that what maner persone of the said Craft mistere or science that from this tyme fortheward by Any Suggestion Colour or meane by hym to be made to his wardeyns in any maters or causes that his wardeyns shall have to doo with hym by Reason of their saide Office, will wittingly and wilfully forswere hym self, And thereof be duely convicted shall forfait vis viiid As often as he so thereof be convicted defectif, to be levied devided And Applied in manere and fourme Aforesaid.

Item that the wardeyns of the saide Craft mistere or science from this tyme fortheward may have the Serche oversight and Correccion with an Officer of the mairs to them to be Assigned of All maner werkes and thynges the which Apperteigne to thoc-upacion and science of masons within the Citee of london and the Suburbes of the same. And suche defalties as thei fynde to shewe unto the Chamberleyn for the tyme being, And so correccion to be doon.

Qua quidem billa sive supplicacone lecta et per dictos maiorem et Aldermannos plenius intellecta quia videtur eisdem maiori et Aldermannis quod Articuli in dicta billa sive supplicacone contenti sunt boni et honesti ac Racioni consoni unanimi Assensu et voluntate ordinaverunt et decreverunt quod Articuli predicti hic intrentur de Recordo modo et forma quibus petuntur futuris temporibus firmiter observandi.

(Transcript checked by A. H. Thomas, Deputy Keeper of the City Records, London, 24th January, 1933.)

#### 8. LONDON MASONS' ORDINANCES, 1521.

(*Letter-Book N.*, fols. 175*b seq.*, printed in Appendix to Williams, *A.Q.C.*, XLV.)

Memorandum quod die Jovis scilicet xxiiij<sup>to</sup> 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 Interiori Camera Guihalde eiusdem Civitatis Coram Johanne Brugge Milite Maiore dicte Civitatis Willelmo Shelley servinte 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 Michaele Inglishe Johanne Rudstone et Johanne Skeyvyngton Aldermannis Civitatis predicte 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<sup>r</sup> 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.//

First be it enacted that it shall not be liefull to any of the said Felisship 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 practise and lerne the said Mistere and have also his right lymmes to exercise the manuall 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 Felisship 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 devided the oone half to thuse of the Chambre of london And the other half to thuse of the Commen Box of the said Felisship.

Also be it enacted that it shall not be liefull to any of the said Felisship 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 Felisship And that than he may if he liste take and have two Apprentices to gyders oonly and no moo. And afterward whan he hath been two severall tymes been admytted Warden of the said Felisship 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 Felisship be he never so uncynt or substanciall shall at any tyme passe or excede the nombre of Three Apprentices at oons Provided and always foreseen that whan and as often herafter as any Apprentice in the said Felisship have to serve of his Apprenticehod 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 herafter take nor be suffred to take upon hym any worke of masonry to make or sett up within the 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<sup>in</sup> 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 Felisship to doo and Fynysshe 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 saide 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 Felisship/ And to pay quarterly duryng the tyme they shall soo worke to the Commen box of the said Felisship iijd. as every other mason beyng a Freman useth to pay/ And every Maister mason doyng 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<sup>in</sup> 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 or male engyn hath covenanted to doo And also in taske worke woll undertake to kepe his howres and *wekes*<sup>1</sup> likewise as the said Foreyn w<sup>out</sup> fraude as is aforsaid will Covenant to doo That than the said Freeman soo takyng upon hym shall have the preferment of doyng of the said worke And not the said Foreyn Mason.

Also be it enacted that fromhensforth noo Freemen 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 yeres of his Apprenticethode 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 Apprentice w<sup>in</sup> 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.

Ad Curiam tentam die Jovis videlicet xxiiij<sup>to</sup> 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 duratura prout in Actuum Camere Reportorio intitular.

#### 9. SCHAW STATUTES OF 1598.

(D. Murray Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, Tercentenary Edition, pp. 9-11.)

At Edinburgh the xxviiij day of December, The zeir of God i<sup>m</sup>v<sup>e</sup> four scoir awchtene zeiris.

The statutis and ordinanceis to be obseruit be all the maister maissounis within this realme, Sett down be Williame Schaw, Maister of Wark to his maiestie And generall Wardene of the said craft, with the consent of the maisteris efter specifeit.

<sup>1</sup>Altered from "wekes."

*Item*, first that they obserue and keip all the gude ordinanceis sett down of befor concerning the privileigeis of thair Craft be thair predicesso<sup>rs</sup> of gude memorie, And specialie That thay be trew ane to ane vther and leve cheritable togidder as becumis sworne brether and companzeounis of craft.

*Item*, that thay be obedient to thair wardenis, dekynis, and maisteris in all thingis concerning thair craft.

*Item*, that thay be honest, faithfull, and diligent in thair calling, and deill uprichtlie w<sup>t</sup> the maisteris or awnaris of the warkis that thay sall tak vpoun hand, be it in task, meit & fie or owlklie wage.

*Item*, that nanetak vpoun hand ony wark gritt or small, quihilk he is no<sup>t</sup> abill to performe qualfeiltie vnder the pane of fourtie pundis money or ellis the fourt part of the worth and valo<sup>r</sup> of the said wark, and that by and atto<sup>r</sup> ane condigne amendis and satisfioun to be maid to the awnaris of the wark at the sycht and discretioun of the generall Wardene, or in his absence at the sycht of the Wardenis, dekynis, and maisteris of the shrefdome quhair the said wark is interprisit and wrocht.

*Item*, that na maister sall tak ane vther maisteris wark over his heid, efter that the first maister hes aggreit w<sup>t</sup> the awner of the wark ather be contract, arlis, or verball conditioun, vnder the paine of fourtie pundis.

*Item*, that na maister sall tak the wirking of ony wark that vther maisteris hes wrocht at of befor, vnto the tyme that the first wirkaris be satisfieit for the wark quihilk thay haif wrocht, vnder the pane foirsaid.

*Item*, that thair be ane wardene chosin and electit Ilk zeir to haif the charge over everie ludge, as thay are devidit particularlie, and that be the voitis of the maisteris of the saidss ludgeis, and consent of thair Wardene generall gif he happynes to be pn<sup>t</sup>, And vtherwyis that he be aduerteist that sic ane wardene is chosin for sic ane zeir, to the effect that the Wardene generall may send sic directionis to that wardene electit, as effeiris.

*Item*, that na maister sall tak ony ma prenteiss nor thre during his lyfetye w<sup>out</sup> ane speciall consent of the haill wardeneis, dekynis, and maisteris of the schirefdome quhair the said prenteiss that is to be ressaute dwellis and remainis.

*Item*, that na maister ressaue ony prenteiss bund for fewar zeiris nor sevin at the leist, and siclyke it sall no<sup>t</sup> be lesum to mak the said prenteiss brother and fallow in craft vnto the tyme that he haif seruit the space of vther sevin zeiris efter the ische of his said prenteischip w<sup>out</sup> ane speciall licenc grantit be the wardeneis, dekynis and maisteris assemblit for that caus, and that sufficient tryall be tane of thair worthynes, qualificatioun, and skill of the persone that desyirs to be maid fallow in craft, and that vnder the pane of fourtie pundis to be upliftit as ane pecuniall penaltie fra the persone that is maid fallow in craft aganis this ord<sup>r</sup>, besyde the penalteis to be set down aganis his persone, accordyng to the ord<sup>r</sup> of the ludge quhair he remanis.

*Item*, it sall no<sup>t</sup> be lesum to na maister to sell his prenteiss to ony vther maister nor zit to dispens w<sup>t</sup> the zeiris of his prenteischip be selling y<sup>o</sup>f to the preneisses self, vnder the pane of fourtie pundis.

*Item*, that na maister ressaue ony prenteiss w<sup>out</sup> he signifie the samyn to the wardene of the ludge quhair he dwellis, to the

effect that the said prenteissis name and the day of his ressauyng may be ord<sup>l</sup>ie buikit.

*Item*, that na prenteiss be enterit bot be the saymn ord<sup>r</sup>, that the day of thair enteres may be buikit.

*Item*, that na maister or fallow of craft be ressaute nor admittit w<sup>o</sup>ut the numer of sex maisteris and twa enterit prenteissis, the wardene of that ludge beinge ane of the said sex, and that the day of the ressauyng of the said fallow of craft or maister be ord<sup>l</sup>ie buikit and his name and mark insert in the said buik w<sup>t</sup> the names of his sex admitteris and enterit prenteissis, and the names of the intendaris that salbe chosin to everie persone to be allsua insert in thair buik. Providinge alwayis that na man be admittit w<sup>o</sup>ut ane assay and sufficient tryall of his skill and worthynes in his vocatioun and craft.

*Item*, that na maister wirk ony maissoun wark vnder charge or command of ony vther craftisman that takis vpoun hand or vpoun him the wirking of ony maissoun wark.

*Item*, that na maister or fallow of craft ressaue ony cowanis to wirk in his societie or cumpanye, nor send nane of his servands to wirk w<sup>t</sup> cowanis, under the pane of twentie pundis sa oft as ony persone offendis heirintill.

*Item*, it sall no<sup>t</sup> be lesum to na enterit prenteiss to tak ony gritter task or wark vpon hand fra a awnar nor will extend to the soume of ten pundis vnder the pane foirsaid, to wit xx libis, and that task beinge done they sall Interpryiss na mair w<sup>o</sup>ut licence of the maisteris or warden q<sup>r</sup> thay dwell.

*Item*, gif ony questioun, stryfe, or varianc sall fall out among ony of the maisteris, servands, or entert prenteissis, That the parteis that fallis in questioun or debait, sall signifie the causis of thair querrell to he peticular wardeneis or dekynis of thair ludge w<sup>in</sup> the space of xxiiij ho<sup>rs</sup> vnder the pane of ten pnds, to the effect that thay may be reconcilit and agreit and their variance removit be thair said wardeneis, dekynis, and maisteris; and gif ony of the saids parteis salhappin to remane wilfull or obstinat that thay salbe deprivit of the privilege of thair ludge and no<sup>t</sup> permittit to wirk y<sup>r</sup>at vnto the tyme that thay submit thame selfis to ressaue at the sycht of thair wardenis, dekynis, and maisteris, as said is.

*Item*, that all maisteris, Inte priseris of warkis, be verray cairfull to sie thair skaffellis and futegangis surelie sett and placeit, to the effect that throw thair negligence and slewth na hurt or skaith cum vnto ony personis that wirkis at the said wark, vnder the pain of dischargeing of thaim y<sup>r</sup>etter to wirk as maisteris havand charge of ane wark, bot sall ever be subiect all the rest of thair dayis to wirk vnder or w<sup>t</sup> ane other principall maister havand charge of the wark.

*Item*, that na maister ressaue or ressett ane vther maisteris prenteiss or servand that salhappin to ryn away fra his maisteris service, nor interteine him in his cumpanye efter that he hes gottin knowledge y<sup>r</sup>of, vnder the paine of fourtie pundis.

*Item*, that all personis of the maissoun craft conuene in tyme and place beinge lawchfullie warnit, vnder the pane of ten pundis.

*Item*, that all the maisteris that salhappin to be send for to ony assemblie or meitting sall be sworne be thair grit aith that thay sall hyde nor conceill na fawltis nor wrangis done be ane

to ane vther, nor zit the faultis or wrangis that ony man hes done to the awnaris of the warkis that thay haif had in hand sa fer as they know, and that vnder the pane of ten pundis to be takin vp frae the conceillairs of the saidis faultis.

*Item*, it is ordanit that all thir foirsaidis penalteis salbe liftit and tane vp fra the offendaris and brekaris of thir ordinance be the wardeneis, dekynis, and maisteris of the ludgeis quhair the offendaris dwellis, and to be distributit *ad pios usus* according to gud conscience be the advyis of the foirsaidis.

And for fulfilling and observing of thir ordinance, sett down as said is, The hail maisteris conuenit the foirsaid day binds and obliesses thaim heirto faithfullie. And thairfore hes requestit thair said Wardene generall to subscriue thir presentis w<sup>t</sup> his awn hand, to the effect that ane autentik copy heirof may be send to everie particular ludge w<sup>in</sup> this realme.

WILLIAM SCHAW,  
Maistir of Wark.

10. THE ARTICLES AND POINTS OF MASONRY FROM THE  
*REGIUS POEM.*

(*Quatuor Coronati Lodge Facsimile Reproduction of Constituciones Artis Gemetrieae Secundum Euclidem*, London, 1891.)

Hic incipit articulus primus.

The furste artycul of thys gemetry  
The mayster mason moste be ful securly  
Bothe stedefast trusty and trwe  
Hyt schal hym neuer thenne arewe  
And pay thy felows after the coste  
As vytaylys goth thenne wel thou woste  
And pay hem trwly apon thy fay  
What th<sup>t</sup> they deseruen may  
And to here hure take no more  
But what th<sup>t</sup> they mowe serue fore  
And spare nowther for loue ny drede  
Of nowther partys to take no mede  
Of lord ny felow whether he be  
Of hem thou take no maner of fe  
And as a juggle stonde up ry3th  
And thenne thou dost to bothe good ry3th  
And trwly do thys wher seuer thou gost  
Thy worschep thy profyt hyt schal be most.

Articulus secundus.

The secunde artycul of good masonry  
As 3e mowe hyt here hyr specyaly  
That euery mayster that ys a mason  
Most ben at the generale congregacyon  
So that he hyt resonably y tolde  
Where th<sup>t</sup> the semble schal be holde

And to that semble he most nede gon  
 But he haue a resenabul skwsacyon  
 Or but he be vnbuxom to that craft  
 Or w<sup>t</sup> falsshed ys ouer raft  
 Or ellus sekenes hath hym so stronge  
 That he may not come hem amonge  
 That ys a skwsacyon good and abulle  
 To that semble w<sup>t</sup> oute fabulle.

## Articulus tercius.

The thrydde artycul for sothe hyt ysse  
 That the mayster take to no prentysse  
 But he haue good seuerans to dwelle  
 Seuen 3er w<sup>t</sup> hym as y 3ow telle  
 Hys craft to lurne th<sup>t</sup> ys profytable  
 W<sup>t</sup>ynne lasse he may not ben able  
 To lordys profyt ny to hys owne  
 As 3e mowe knowe by good resowne.

## Articulus quartus.

The fowrthe artycul thys moste be  
 That the mayster hym wel be se  
 That he no bonde mon prentys make  
 Ny for no couetyse do hym take  
 For the lord that he ys bonde to  
 May fache the prentes wherseuer he go  
 3ef yn the logge he were ytake  
 Muche desese hyt my3th ther make  
 And suche case hyt my3th befall  
 That hyt my3th greue summe or alle  
 For alle the masonus that ben there  
 Wol stonde togedur hol y fere  
 3ef suche won yn th<sup>t</sup> craft schulde dwelle  
 Of dyuers desesys 3e my3th telle  
 For more 3ese thenne and of honeste  
 Take a prentes of herre degre  
 By olde tyme wryten y fynde  
 That the prentes schulde be of gentyl kynde  
 And so sumtyme grete lordys blod  
 Toke thys gemetry th<sup>t</sup> ys ful good.

## Articulus quintus.

The fyfthe artycul ys swythe good  
 So that the prentes be of lawful blod  
 The mayster schal not for no vantage  
 Make no prentes that ys outrage  
 Hyt ys to mene as 3e mowe here  
 That he haue hys lymes hole all y fere  
 To the craft hyt were gret schame  
 To make an halt mon and a lame  
 For an unperfynt mon of suche blod  
 Schulde do the craft but lytul good

Thus 3e mowe knowe euerychon  
 The craft wolde haue a my3hty mon  
 A maymed mon he hath no my3ht  
 3e mowe hyt knowe longe 3er ny3ht.

## Articulus sextus.

The syxte artycul ze mowe not mysse  
 That the mayster do the lord no pregedysse  
 To take of the lord for hyse prentyse  
 Also muche as hys felows don yn alle vyse  
 For yn that craft they ben ful perfynt  
 So ys not he 3e mowe sen hyt  
 Also hyt were a3eynus good reson  
 To take hys hure as hys felows don  
 Thys same artycul yn thys casse  
 Juggyth the prentes to take lasse  
 Thenne hys felows that ben ful perfynt  
 Yn dyuers maters conne qwyte hyt  
 The mayster may hys prentes so enforme  
 That hys hure may crese ful 3urne  
 And 3er hys terme come to an ende  
 Hys hure may ful wel amende.

## Articulus septimus.

The seuenthe artycul that ys now here  
 Ful wel wol telle 3ow alle yfere  
 That no mayster for fauour ny drede  
 Schal no thef nowther clothe ny fede  
 Theues he schal herberon neuer won  
 Ny hym that hath yquellud a mon  
 Ny thylke that hath a febul name  
 Lest hyt wolde turne the craft to schame.

## Articulus octauus.

The eghte artycul schewet 3ow so  
 That the mayster may hyt wel do  
 3ef th<sup>t</sup> he haue any mon of crafte  
 And be not also perfynt as he au3te  
 He may hym change sone anon  
 And take for hym a perfyntur mon  
 Suche a mon thro3e rechelaschepe  
 My3th do the craft schert worschepe.

## Articulus nonus.

The nynthe artycul schewet ful welle  
 That the mayster be bothe wyse and felle  
 That no werke he vndur take  
 But he conne bothe hyt ende and make  
 And th<sup>t</sup> hyt be to the lordes profyt also  
 And to hys craft wher seuer he go  
 And that the grond be wel ytake  
 That hyt nowther fle ny grake.

## Articulus decimus.

The thenthe artycul ys for to knowe  
 Amonge the craft to hye and lowe  
 Ther schal no mayster supplante other  
 But be togeder as systur and brother  
 Yn thys curyus craft alle and som  
 That longuth to a maystur mason  
 Ny he schalnot supplante non other mon  
 That hath ytake a werke hym vpon  
 Yn peyne therof that ys so stronge  
 That peyseth no lasse thenne ten ponge  
 But 3ef that he be gulty yfonde  
 That toke furst the werke on honde  
 For no mon yn masonry  
 Schalnot supplante othur securly  
 But 3ef that hyt be so ywro3th  
 That hyt turne the werke to no3th  
 Thenne may a mason that werk craue  
 To the lordes profyt hyt for to saue  
 Yn suche a case but hyt do falle  
 Ther schal no mason medul w'alle  
 For sothe he th' begynnyth the gronde  
 And he be a mason good and sonde  
 He hath hyt sycurly yn hys mynde  
 To brynge the werke to ful good ende.

## Articulus vndecimus.

The eleuenthe artycul y telle the  
 That he ys bothe fayr and fre  
 For he techyt by hys my3th  
 That no mason schulde worche be ny3th  
 But 3ef hyt be yn practesyng of wytte  
 3ef that y cowthe amende hytte.

## Articulus duodecimus.

The twelfththe artycul ys of hye honeste  
 To zeuery mason wher seuer he be  
 He schalnot hys felows werk depraue  
 3ef that he wol hys honeste saue  
 W' honest wordes he hyt comende  
 By the wytte that god the dede sende  
 But hyt amende by al that thou may  
 Bytwyune 3ow bothe w'oute nay.

Articulus xiiij<sup>ua</sup>.

The threttene artycul so god me saue  
 Ys 3ef th' the mayster a prentes haue  
 Enterlyche thenne that he hym teche  
 And meserable poyntes th' he hym reche  
 That he the craft abelyche may conne  
 Wherseuer he go vndur the sonne

Articulus xiiij<sup>ua</sup>.

The fowrtene artycul by good reson  
 Scheweth the mayster how he schal don  
 He schal no prentes to hym take  
 But dyuers curys he haue to make  
 That he may w'ynne hys terme  
 Of hym dyuers poyntes may lurne.

## Articulus qundecimus.

The fyftene artycul maketh an ende  
 For to the mayster he ys a frende  
 To lere hym so that for no mon  
 No fals mantenans he take hym apon  
 Ny maynteine hys felows yn here synne  
 For no good that he my3th wynne  
 Ny no fals sware sofre hem to make  
 For drede of here sowles sake  
 Lest hyt wolde turne the craft to schame  
 And hym self to mechul blame.

## Plures constituciones.

At thys semble were poyntes y ordeynt mo  
 Of grete lordys and maystrys also  
 Th' whose wol conne thys craft and com to astate  
 He most loue wel god and holychurche algate  
 And hys mayster also th' he ys wythe  
 Wherseuer he go yn fylde or frythe  
 And thy felows thou loue also  
 For that thy craft wol that thou do.

## Secundus punctus.

The secunde poynt as y 3ow say  
 That the mason worche apon the werkday  
 Also trwly as he con or may  
 To deserue hys huyre for the halyday  
 And trwly to labrun on hys dede  
 Wel deserue to haue hys mede.

## Tercius punctus.

The thrydde poynt most be seuerle  
 W' the prentes knowe hyt wele  
 Hys mayster conwsel he kepe and close  
 And hys felows by hys goode purpose  
 The preuetyse of the chamber telle he no mon  
 Ny yn the logge what seuer they done  
 What seuer thou heryst or syste hem do  
 Telle hyt no mon wherseuer thou go  
 The conwsel of halle and 3eke of bowre  
 Kepe hyt wel to gret honowre  
 Lest hyt wolde torne thy self to blame  
 And brynge the craft ynto gret schame.

## Quartus punctus.

The fowrthe poynt techyth us also  
 That no mon to hys craft be false  
 Errour he schal maynteine none  
 Azeynus the craft but let hyt gone  
 Ny no pregedysse he schal not do  
 To hys mayster ny hys felows also  
 And thazth the prentes be vnder awe  
 3et he wolde haue the same lawe.

## Quintus punctus.

The fyfthe poynt ys w<sup>t</sup> oute nay  
 That whenne the mason taketh hys pay  
 Of the mayster y ordent to hym  
 Ful mekely ytake so most hyt byn  
 3et most the mayster by good resone  
 Warne hem lawfully byfore none  
 3ef he nulle okepye hem no more  
 As he hath y done ther byfore  
 Azeynus thys ordyr he may not stryue  
 3ef he thenke wel for to thryue.

## Sextus punctus.

The syxte poynt ys ful 3ef to knowe  
 Bothe to hye and eke to lowe  
 For suche case hyt my3th befall  
 Amonge the masonus summe or alle  
 Throwgh enuye or dedly hate  
 Ofte aryseth ful grete debate  
 Thenne owyth the mason 3ef th<sup>t</sup> he may  
 Putte hem bothe vndur a day  
 But loueday 3et schul they make none  
 Tyl that the werke day be clene a gone  
 Apon the holy day 3e mowe wel take  
 Leyser ynow3gh loueday to make  
 Lest that hyt wolde the werke day  
 Latte here werke for suche a fray  
 To suche ende thenne th<sup>t</sup> 3e hem drawe  
 That they stonde wel yn goddes lawe.

## Septimus punctus.

The seuenthe poynt he may wel mene  
 Of wel longe lyf that god us lene  
 As hyt dyscryeth wel opunly  
 Thou schalnot by thy maystres wyf ly  
 Ny by thy felows yn no maner wyse  
 Lest the craft wolde the despyse  
 Ny by thy felows concubyne  
 No more thou woldest he dede by thyne  
 The peyne therof let hyt be ser  
 That he be prentes ful seuen 3er

3ef he forfete yn eny of hem  
 So y chasted thenne most he ben  
 Ful mekele care my3th ther begynne  
 For suche a fowle dedely synne.

## Octauus punctus.

The eghte poynt he may be sure  
 3ef thou hast ytaken any cure  
 Vndur thy mayster thou be trwe  
 For that poynt thou schalt neuer arewe  
 A trwe medyatur thou most nede be  
 To thy mayster and thy felows fre  
 Do trwly al that thou my3th  
 To bothe partyes and th<sup>t</sup> ys good ry3th.

## Nonus punctus.

The nynthe poynt we schul hym calle  
 That he be stwarde of oure halle  
 3ef that 3e ben yn chambur yfere  
 Vchon serue other w<sup>t</sup> mylde chere  
 Jentul felows 3e moste hyt knowe  
 For to be stwardus alle o rowe  
 Weke after weke w<sup>t</sup>oute dowte  
 Stwardus to ben so alle abowte  
 Louelyche to seruen vchon othur  
 As thawgh they were syster and brother  
 Ther schal neuer won on other costage  
 Fre hymself to no vantage  
 But euery mon schal be lyche fre  
 Yn that costage so moste hyt be  
 Loke th<sup>t</sup> thou pay wel euery mon algate  
 That thou hast ybow3ht any vytayles ate  
 Th<sup>t</sup> no crauyngbe ymad to the  
 Ny to thy felows yn no degre  
 To mon or to womon whether he be  
 Pay hem wel and trwly for th<sup>t</sup> wol we  
 Therof on thy felow trwe record thou take  
 For th<sup>t</sup> good pay as thou dost make  
 Lest hyt wolde thy felowe schame  
 And brynge thyselvy yn to gret blame  
 3et good acowntes he most make  
 Of suche godes as he hath ytake  
 Of thy felows goodes th<sup>t</sup> thou hast spende  
 Wher and how and to what ende  
 Suche acowntes thou most come to  
 Whenne thy felows wollen th<sup>t</sup> thou do.

## Decimus punctus.

The tenthe poynt presentyth wel god lyf  
 To lyuen w<sup>t</sup>oute care and stryf  
 For and the mason lyue amyse  
 And yn hys werk be false ywysse

And throwȝ suche a false skewesasyon  
 May sclawndren hys felows oute reson  
 Throwȝ false sclawnder of suche fame  
 May make the craft kachone blame  
 ȝef he do the craft suche vylany  
 Do hym no fauour thenne securly  
 Ny maynteine not hym yn wyked lyf  
 Lest hyt wolde turne to care and stryf  
 But ȝet hym ȝe schul not delayme  
 But th<sup>t</sup> ȝe schullen hym constrayne  
 For to apere wher seuor ȝe wylle  
 Whar th<sup>t</sup> ȝe wolen lowde or styлле  
 To the nexte semble ȝe schul hym calle  
 To apere byfore hys felows alle  
 And but ȝef he wyl byfore hem pere  
 The craft he moste nede forswere  
 He schal thenne be chasted after the lawe  
 That was yfownded by olde dawe.

## Punctus undecimus.

The eleuenthe poynt ys of good dyscrecyon  
 As ȝe mowe knowe by good reson  
 A mason and he thys craft wel con  
 That syȝth hys felow hewen on a ston  
 And ys yn poynt to spylle that ston  
 Amende hyt sone ȝef that thou con  
 And teche hym thenne hyt to amende  
 That the l[ordys ?] werke be not yschende  
 And teche hym esely hyt to amende  
 Wyth fayre wordes th<sup>t</sup> god the hath lende  
 For hys sake that sytte aboue  
 W<sup>t</sup> swete wordes noresche hym loue.

## Punctus duodecimus.

The twelthe poynt ys of gret ryolte  
 Theras the semble yholde schal be  
 Ther schul be maystrys and felows also  
 And other grete lordes mony mo  
 Ther schal be the scheref of that contre  
 And also the meyr of that syte  
 Knyȝtes and sqwyers th[er sch]ul be  
 And other aldermen as ȝe s[ch]ul se  
 Suche ordynance as they maken there  
 They schul maynte hyt hol yfere  
 Aȝeynus that mon whatseuer he be  
 That longuth to the craft bothe fayr & fre  
 ȝef he any stryf aȝeynus hem make  
 Ynto here warde he schal be take.

xiiij<sup>us</sup> punctus.

The threntethe poynt ys to vs ful luf  
 He schal swere neuer to be no thef

Ny soker hym yn hys fals craft  
 For no good that he hath by raft  
 And thou mowe hyt knowe or syn  
 Nowther for hys good ny for hys kyn.

xiiiij<sup>us</sup> punctus.

The fowrtethe poynt ys ful good lawe  
 To hym that wol ben vnder awe  
 A good trwe othe he most ther swere  
 To hys mayster and hys felows th<sup>t</sup> ben there  
 He most be stedefast and trwe also  
 To alle thys ordynance wherseuer he go  
 And to hys lyge lord the kyng  
 To be trwe to hym ouer all thyng  
 And alle these poyntes hyrbefore  
 To hem thou most nede be yswore  
 And alle schul swere the same ogth  
 Of the masonus ben they luf ben they loght  
 To alle these poyntes hyrbyfore  
 That hath ben ordeynt by ful good lore  
 And they schul enquere euery mon  
 On hys party as wyl as he con  
 ȝef any mon mowe be yfownde gulty  
 Yn any of these poyntes spesyaly  
 And whad he be let hym be sowȝht  
 And to the semble let hym be browȝht.

## Quindecimus punctus.

The fyftethe poynt ys of ful good lore  
 For hem th<sup>t</sup> schul ben ther yswore  
 Suche ordynance at the semble wes layd  
 Of grete lordes and maystres byforesayd  
 For thylke th<sup>t</sup> ben vnbuxom ywysse  
 Aȝeynus the ordynance that there ysse  
 Of these artyculus th<sup>t</sup> were ymened there  
 Of grete lordes and masonus al yfere  
 And ȝef they ben y preued opunly  
 Byfore th<sup>t</sup> semble by an by  
 And for here gultes no mendys wol make  
 Thenne most they nede the craft forsake  
 And so masonus craft they schul refuse  
 And swere hyt neuer more for to vse  
 But ȝef that they wol mendys make  
 Aȝayn to the craft they schul neuer take  
 And ȝef th<sup>t</sup> they nulnot do so  
 The scheref schal come hem sone to  
 And putte here bodyes yn duppe prison  
 For the trespasse that they han ydon  
 And take here goodes and here catell  
 Yn to the kynges hond euery dell  
 And lete hem dwelle ther ful styлле  
 Tyl hyt be oure lege [kyn]ges wylle.



## 11. THE ARTICLES AND POINTS OF MASONRY FROM THE COOKE MS.

(From the *History and Articles of Masonry*, edited by Matthew Cooke: London, 1861, pp. 104 seq.)

The firste article ys this Th<sup>t</sup> euery maister of this art schulde be wysse and trewe to the lord th<sup>t</sup> he seruyth dispendyng his godis trule as he wolde his awne were dispendyd. and not yefe more pay to no mason than he wot he may diserue after the derthe of korne & vytail in the country no fauour w<sup>t</sup> stondyng for euery mann to be rewardyd after his trauallye. The second article is this th<sup>t</sup> euery master of this art schulde be warned by fore to cum to his cogregat[ion] th<sup>t</sup> thei com dewly but yf thei may [be] asscusyd bi sume maner cause. But neuerlesse if they be founde rebell at suche congregacions or fauty in eny maner harme of here lordys and repreue of this art thei schulde not be excusyd in no manere out take perell of dethe and thow they be in peryll of dethe they schall warne the maister th<sup>t</sup> is pryncipall of the gederyng of his dessese. The [third] article is this th<sup>t</sup> no master take no prentes for lasse terme than vij yer at the lest. by caus<sup>e</sup> whi suche as ben w<sup>t</sup> in lasse terme may not perfite come to his art. nor abull to serue truly his lorde to take as a mason schulde take. The iiij article is this th<sup>t</sup> no master for no profyte take no prentis for to be leryd that is bore of bonde blode fore bi cause of his lorde to whom he is bonde woll tak<sup>e</sup> hym as he well may fro his art & lede hym w<sup>t</sup> hym out of his logge or out of his place th<sup>t</sup> he worchyth in for his felaus perauenter wold help hym and debate for hym. and theroff manslaughter myzt ryse hit is forbede. And also for a nother cause of his art hit toke begynnyng of grete lordis children frely begetyn as hit is jseyd bi for. The v. article is thys th<sup>t</sup> no master yef more to his prentis in tyme of his prentishode for no prophite to be take than he note well he may disserue of the lorde th<sup>t</sup> he seruith nor not so moche th<sup>t</sup> the lorde of the place th<sup>t</sup> he is taught jne may haue sum profyte bi his techyng. The vj article is this th<sup>t</sup> no master for no couetyse neither profite take no prentis to teche th<sup>t</sup> is vnperfyte th<sup>t</sup> is to sey havng eny may[m] for the whiche he may not trewely worche as hym ought for to do. The vij article is this th<sup>t</sup> no maister be yfounded wittingly or help or procure to be mayntener & susteyner any comyn nyztwalker to robbe bi the whiche manere of nyztwalkyng thei may not fulfyll ther day<sup>s</sup> werke and traueyll thorow the condicion heier felaus myzt be made wrowthe. The viij. article is this th<sup>t</sup> yf hit befall th<sup>t</sup> any mason th<sup>t</sup> be perfyte and connyng come for to seche werke and fynde any vnperfit and vnkunnyng worchyng the master of the place schall receyue the perfite and do a wey the vnperfite to the profite of his lord. The ix. article is this that no maister schall supplant another for hit is seyde in the art of masonry th<sup>t</sup> no man schulde make ende so well of werke bigonne bi a nother to the profite of his lorde as he [that] bigan hit for to end hit bi his maters or to whome he scheweth his maters.

This counsell ys made bi dyuers lordis & maisters of dyvers provnyces and diuers congregacions of masonry and hit is to wyte th<sup>t</sup> who th<sup>t</sup> covetyth for to come to the state of th<sup>t</sup> forseyd art hit behoveth hem fyrst princypally to god and holy chyrche & all halowis and his master and his felowis as his awne brotheryn.

The secunde poynt he most fulfille his dayes werke truly th<sup>t</sup> he takyth for his pay. The iiij. th<sup>t</sup> he can hele the counsell of his felow<sup>s</sup> in logge and in chambere and in euery place ther as masons beth. The iiij. poynt th<sup>t</sup> he be no disseyver of the forseyd art ne do no preiudice ne susteyne none articles ayenst the art ne a yenst none of the art but he schall susteyne hit in all honovre in as moche as he may. The v. poynt whan he schall take his pay th<sup>t</sup> he take hit mekely as the tyme ys ordeynyd bi the maister to be done and th<sup>t</sup> he fulfille the accepcons of trauallye and of his rest y ordeyned and sette bi the maister. The vj. poynt yf eny discorde schall be bitwene hym & his felows he schall a bey hym mekely & be styll at the byddyng of his master or of the wardeyne of his master in his masters absens to the holy day folowyng and th<sup>t</sup> he accorde then at the dispocion of his felaus and not vpon the werkeday for lettynge of here werke and profyte of his lord. The vij. poynt th<sup>t</sup> he covet not the wyfe ne the daughter of his masters nother of his felaws but yf hit be in maryage nor holde concubines for dyscord th<sup>t</sup> myzt fall a monges them. The viij. poynt yf hit befall hym ffor to be wardeyne vndyr his master th<sup>t</sup> he be trewe mene bitwene his master & his felaws and th<sup>t</sup> he be besy in the absence of his master to the honor of his master and profit to the lorde th<sup>t</sup> he serueth. The ix. poynt yf he be wyser and sotellere than his felawe worchyng w<sup>t</sup> hym in his logge or in eny other place and he perseyue hit th<sup>t</sup> he schold lefe the stone th<sup>t</sup> he worchyth apon for defawte of connyng and can teche hym and amende the stone he schall enforme hym and helpe him th<sup>t</sup> the more loue may encrease among hem and th<sup>t</sup> the werke of the lorde be not lost.

## 12. THE CHARGES GENERAL AND SINGULAR FROM THE THOMAS W. TEW MS.

(West Yorkshire Reprint, 1892.)

1<sup>stly</sup> The first Charge is that you shall be true men to God and to the holy Church, that you use no heresie nor Error to Your- understanding or discreet Men Teaching.

2<sup>dly</sup> You shall be true Liege men to the King without treason or Falshood & you shall know no treason or falshood but you shall Amend it or Warn the King or his Councell or his Officer's thereof.

3<sup>dly</sup> And also You shall be true Each one to Other, that is to say to Every Master and Fellow of the Craft of Masonry that be Masons Allowed, And doe you to them as you would they should do to you.

4<sup>ly</sup> Also that Every Mason keep Councell both of Lodge & Chamber, and of the Craft and all other Councells that ought to be kept by way of Masonry.

5<sup>thly</sup> Also that no Mason shall be a thief or Accesary to the thief as far forth as You doe know.

6<sup>ly</sup> Also that you be true men to the Lords & Mast<sup>rs</sup> that You serve and truly look so to his Proffit and Advantage.

7<sup>thly</sup> And also you shall Call Masons your Brethren or Fellows and by no other Foule names nor take your Fellow's wife Unlawfully or Desire his Daughter Unlawfully or his Serv<sup>t</sup> in Villany.

8<sup>thly</sup> And also that you pay truly for your table & for your Meat & Drink where you are Tabled.

9<sup>thly</sup> And you shall Play no Villany in the House where you are board whereby the Craft may be slandered.

These be the Generall Charges that Every Mason should hold both Mast<sup>rs</sup> and Fellows.

And these be the Charges Singuler for Master's and Fellows.

1<sup>t</sup> That no Master shall take Upon him no Lords work or other Manns work with<sup>t</sup> he know himself Able in Cunning to Perform it, So that the Craft have no Sland<sup>r</sup> or Disworship but what the Lord may be well & truly served.

2<sup>ly</sup> Also that no Master take any work but that he take it reasonably so that the Lord may be truly served with his owne Good and that the Master may Live Honestly and Pay his Fellows truly as the Mann<sup>rs</sup> of the Craft Asketh.

3<sup>dly</sup> Also that no man that is a Master Mason or Fellow shall Supplant any other Man of his Work (that is to say) if he have taken a Work of a Lord or Master that you put him not out Unless he be not able in Cunning to finish the Work.

4<sup>ly</sup> Also that no Master or Fellow take any Apprentice to be Allowed his Apprentice any long<sup>r</sup> than Seven Years & that Apprentice to be of Able birth & kindred as he ought to be .

5<sup>thly</sup> Also that no Master or Fellow take no Allowance to make Masons Without six or five at the least of Fellows to give their Assent And that they that shall be Masons be free born & of Good kindred and not a Bondman and have his right Limbs as he should have.

6<sup>ly</sup> Also that no Masters or Fellows put no Lords Work to task that was Wont to go in Journey.

7<sup>ly</sup> And also that no Mast<sup>r</sup> shall give to his Fellows above what they may Deserve so that the Lord of the Work be not Deceived by false Workmen.

8<sup>ly</sup> And also that no man Sland<sup>r</sup> Another behind his back whereby he may loose his Good Name & his Wordly Goods.

9<sup>ly</sup> That no Fellow within the Lodge or Without the Lodge do Minister Evill Answ<sup>r</sup> to Another.

10<sup>ly</sup> And also that Every one should Reverence his Fellow Eld<sup>r</sup> and Putt him to Worship.

11<sup>ly</sup> And also that noe Mason should Play at Cards or Dice or any other Unlawfull gains of Hazard Whereby the Craft should be Slandered.

12<sup>ly</sup> Also that no Mason shall be a Comon Ribald in Leachery to make the Craft Sland<sup>ed</sup>. And that no Fellow shall go into the towne in the Night there as is a Lodge of Fellows without some Fellow that may bear him Witness that he was in an Honest place.

[13] And also that Every Master should come to the Assembly if it be within Seven Miles about him, gif he have warning & to stand there at Award of Masters & Fellows.

[14] And that Every Master if they have trespassed shall stand at Award of Masters & Fellows to make them Accord if they may, and if they may not Accord then to go to the Comon Laws.

[15] And also that noe Mason make Moulde nor Square nor other Rule to lend within the Lodge nor Without, how to Mould Stones Without a Mould of his owne making.

[16] And also that Every Mason shall Receive & Cherish

Strange Masons when they come to their owne Country & Sett them to Work as the Mann<sup>r</sup> is (that is to say) if they have Mould or Stones in place he shall sett him a Forthnights Work at the least and give him his Pay & if he have no Stones, you shall Refresh him with money to the next Lodge.

[17] And also that every Mason shall serve truly his Lord for his pay & truly finish his work be it task or Journey work if he may have his pay as he Ought to have.

[18] And also that every Mason shall work truly upon the work day that he may truly Deserve his pay & receive it so that he may live honestly on the holyday.

[19] And also that you and Every Mason shall receive weekly and Godly pay of your Paymaster & that you shall have due time of travelling in the work & of rest as is Ordained by the Mast<sup>r</sup> Councill.

[20] And also that if any Fellows shall be at Discord you shall truly treat them to be Agreed shewing Favour to neither Party but Wisely & truly for both Parties and that it be in such a time that the Lords work be not hindred.

[21] And also that if you stand Warder or have any Power under the Mast<sup>r</sup> whom you serve You shall be true to the Mast<sup>r</sup> whom you serve & be a true Mediat<sup>r</sup> betwixt the M<sup>r</sup> and your Fellows to the Uttermost of your Power whilst you be in Care.

[22] Also if you stand Steward either of Lord's Chamber or Comon house you shall Give true Acc<sup>ts</sup> of your Fellows how it is at what time they have Accots.

[23] And also if you have more Cunning than your Fellows that stand by you & see him in Danger to levell his Stones and he asketh Councill of you, you shall inform and teach him honestly so that your Lord's Work be not Damaged.

THESE Charges that we have Reckoned, And all other that Doe belong to Masonry you shall keep so help you God Above & by this book to your Power.

### 13. THE CHARGES GENERAL AND SINGULAR OF THE GRAND LODGE No. I. MS.

[Facsimile and transcript in *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*,  
vol. iv.]

The fyrste Chardge ys this That ye shall bee trewe men to god an holly Churche and you vse no Errour nor heresy by yo<sup>r</sup> vnd<sup>r</sup> standing or discre<sup>con</sup> but be yee discreet men or wyse men in eache thing, And also that ye should be true leage men to the King of England w<sup>o</sup>ute treason or any other falshoode and that ye knowe no treason nor tre<sup>chery</sup> but yf ye amend yt preevylie if yo maye or els warne the kyng or his counsell thereof And also ye shall be true eache on to another That is to saye to eu[er]y Masson of the Crafte of Massonry that be massons allowed, ye shall doe vnto them as ye would that they should doe vnto yo<sup>r</sup> And also that ye kepe all the counsells of yo<sup>r</sup> Fellowes truly be yt in Lodge or in Chamber And all other Counsells that ought to bee kept by the waye of Massonhoode And also that no Masson shall be a theefe or otherwise as far forth as ye maye wytt or

knowe / And also that ye shall be true eache one to oth<sup>r</sup> and to the Lord or m<sup>r</sup> that ye serve and truly to see to his p[ro]ffites and his vantadge And also yo<sup>u</sup> shall call Massons yo<sup>r</sup> Fellowes or brythren and none other foule names And also ye shall not take yo<sup>r</sup> fellowes weif in vyllany, nor desyre vngodly his daughter nor his servant nor put him to no diswoorship And also that ye paye trewly for his meate and drynke there wheare you goe to borde And also ye shall doe no vyllany in that place where yo<sup>u</sup> goe to borde wherby the Crafte might be sklaundred These be thee Chardges in gen [er] all that longith to eu[er]y true Masson to keepe both M<sup>rs</sup> and Fellowes.

REHEARSE I will other Chardges singuler for M<sup>rs</sup> & Fellowes First that no M<sup>r</sup> or Fellowe shall take vpon him any Lordes woorke nor any other mans woorke vnles he knowes hmselfe able and sufficient of Conning to p[er]forme the same so that their Crafte haue no slaunder or diswoorship therby, but y<sup>t</sup> the lorde maye be well & truely sarved. Also that no m<sup>r</sup> take no woorke but y<sup>t</sup> he take yt reasonably so that the lorde maye be well served w<sup>th</sup> his owne good and the m<sup>r</sup> to lyve honestly and to paye his fellowes treuly their paye as the mann[er] is Also that no m<sup>r</sup> nor fellowe shall not supplant any other of their a woorke that is to saye, yf he haue taken a woorke in hand, or els stand m<sup>r</sup> of the Lordes woorke he shall [not ?] put him out, except he shall be vnable of Conning to end the woorke AND ALSO that no M<sup>rs</sup> or Fellowes take no prentice but for thee terme of vij yeres, and the prentice be able of byrthe that is to saye free borne, & hole of lyfmes as a man ought to be. And also that no M<sup>rs</sup> nor Fellowes take no allouance to be made masson w<sup>th</sup> assent & counsell of his fellowes. And that he take him for no lesse tyme then vj. or vij yeres and that he w<sup>th</sup> shall be made a masson be able in all mann[er] degrees that is to saye free borne, come of good kyndred, true and no bondm<sup>an</sup> And also that he haue his right lym as a ma[n] ought to haue / Also that no mason take any prentice vnles he haue sufficient occupacon for to sett him on or to sett ij of his fellowes or ij at the least on woorke And also that no M<sup>r</sup> nor Fellowe shall take no mans woorke to Taske that was woont to goe to Journey Also that euery m<sup>r</sup> shall give paye to his fellowes but as they deserve, so that hee be not deceived by false woorkemen.

ALSO THAT NOE MASON SCLANDER AN other behynde his backe to make him lose his good name or his worldly goods Also that no fellowe w<sup>th</sup>in the Lodge or w<sup>th</sup>out myse answer another vngodly nor reprochefully without reasonable cause Also that eu[er]y mason shall reu[er]ence his elder and put him to woorschip. And also that no mason shall be no comon player at hassard or at dyce nor at none other vnlawfull playes wherby the Crafte might be slaundred And also that no mason shall vse no leachery nor be no baude wherby the Crafte might be slandered And also that no Fellowe goe into the Towne a nights tyme there as is a Lodge of Fellowes w<sup>th</sup>out that he haue a fellowe w<sup>th</sup> him that might beare him wyttnesse that he was in honest place Also that eu[er]y m<sup>r</sup> and fellowe shall come to the assembly if that it be w<sup>th</sup>in fyftie myles aboute him, yf he haue any warning / And if he haue trespassed againste the Crafte then for to abyde the awarde of the m<sup>rs</sup> and fellowes Also that eu[er]y m<sup>r</sup> and fellowe that haue trespassed againste the Crafte shall stand there at the award of the M<sup>rs</sup> and Fellowes to make

him accorded if they can and if they maye not accorde them to goe to the Comon Lawe ALSO THAT NO M<sup>r</sup> nor fellowe make no moule nor Squayer nor rule to no lay[er] nor sett no lay[er] w<sup>th</sup>in the logge nor w<sup>th</sup>out to hewe no moule stones And also that eu[er]y mason receive & Chirrishe staying Fellowes when they come ou[er] the Countryes and sett them aworke if they will as the mann[er] is that is to saye if they haue mould stones in his place, or els hee shall refreshe him w<sup>th</sup> moony vnto the next logging ALSO THAT EUERY mason shall truely serve the Lorde for his paye and eu[er]y m<sup>r</sup> truly to make annend of his woork be yt Taske or Journey if he haue yo<sup>r</sup> Commaudes and that they ought for to haue.

THESE CHARGES THAT WE HAUE NOWE rehearsed vnto you all and all others that belong to Masons yee shall keepe so healepe you god and your hallydome, and by this booke in yo<sup>r</sup> hande vnto yo<sup>r</sup> power. AMEN/ SOBEIT.

Scriptum Anno Domini 1583

Die Decembris 25<sup>o</sup>

#### 14. CHARGES GENERAL AND SINGULAR AND " ORDERS " FROM THE ALNWICK MS.

(Province of Northumberland and Durham, S.R.I.A. Transcript, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1895.)

The First charge is, Thatt you shall be a True man to God and his holy church, and thatt you Use noe heresy nor Error to yo<sup>r</sup> Understanding, or to desert discreet and wise mens Teaching, Alsoe you shall be a true Leige man to the King without Treason or falshood: and that you shall know noe Treason, butt thatt you mend it and you may, or else warne the King or his Councill thereof: Also you shall be true one to another, (that is to say) to Every Mast<sup>r</sup> and ffellow of the craft of Masonry thatt be Masons allowed, That you would doe to them, as you would they should doe to you Alsoe thatt Every Mason keep true Councill of Lodge of Chamb<sup>r</sup> and all other council, thatt ought to be kept by way of Masonry: Alsoe thatt noe man shall be Thief, nor Thiefs see soe far as you shall know, Alsoe thatt you shall be true to yo<sup>r</sup> Lord and Mast<sup>r</sup> thatt you Serve, and truely to see his Proffit and Advantage Alsoe thatt you shall call Masons yor ffellowes and Brethren; and by noe oth<sup>r</sup> ffoul Name, nor you shall nott take yo<sup>r</sup> ffellowes Wife in Villany, or desire Ungodly his daught<sup>r</sup> or his Servant to his Villany, Alsoe you shall pay truely for yo<sup>r</sup> Table and Meat and Drinke, where you goe to Board, and alsoe thatt you doe noe Villany in thatt house wherby the Craft should be Slandered, These be the Charges in Generall thatt every Mason should hold both Mast<sup>rs</sup> and Fellows:

Rehearse I will now other charges Singular for Masters and ffellowes; First thatt noe Mast<sup>r</sup> shall take any work of a Lord, or any other work, butt thatt he know himself able and cunning to performe the same, soe thatt the craft have no diswoorship butt thatt the Lord be well and truely Served; Alsoe thatt noe Mast<sup>r</sup> take any work, butt thatt he take it reasonably, soe thatt the Lord may be truely Served with his own goods, and the Mast<sup>r</sup> to Live honestly, and pay his ffellowes truely their pay, as the mann<sup>r</sup> of the craft doth require: Alsoe thatt noe Mast<sup>r</sup> or ffellowes Subplant others of these works (thatt is to say) if he hath taken

a worke or stand Mast<sup>r</sup> of a Lords work; you shall nott putt him out, if he be able and cunning of craft to End the work: Also thatt noe Mast<sup>r</sup> or ffellows take noe Apprentice to be Allowed his Apprentice, butt for Seaven yeares, And thatt Apprentice be able of his Birth and Limbs, as he ought to be; Alsoe thatt noe Mast<sup>r</sup> or ffellows take noe allowance to be made Master without the Assent of his ffellows and thatt att the Least five or Six, And that he thatt shall be made Mason be able over all Sciences; (thatt is to say) thatt he be freeborn and of good kindred, and noe Bondman, and thatt he have his right Limbs, as he ought to have: Alsoe thatt noe Mast<sup>r</sup> putt noe Lords work to task, thatt was wont to goe to Journey, Alsoe thatt every Mast<sup>r</sup> shall give to his ffellows, butt as he may deserve, soe thatt he be nott deceived by false worke, Alsoe thatt noe ffellow slander one falsly behinde his back to make him loose his good Name or his worldly goods: Alsoe that noe ffellow w<sup>th</sup>in the Lodge nor without misanswer another neither ungodly or Irreverently without reasonable cause Alsoe thatt Every Mason p<sup>r</sup>ferr his Elder and putt him to Worshipp Alsoe thatt noe Mason should play att Hazard or any oth<sup>r</sup> unlawfull Game whereby they may be Slandered: Alsoe thatt noe Mason be a Coñon Rebell in Leachery to make the craft to be Slandered and thatt noe ffellow goe intoe the Town in the night time, where is a Lodge of ffellows, without a ffellow thatt may bear him witness thatt he was in an honest place: Alsoe thatt Every Mason and ffellow come to the Assembly, if it be within fifty miles about him; if he have reasonable warning and stand there att the Award of Mast<sup>r</sup> and ffellows: Alsoe thatt Every Mast<sup>r</sup> and ffellow if they have Trespassed one to another shall stand the Award of Mast<sup>r</sup> and ffellows to make them Accord if they may; and if they may nott Accord, then to goe to the Common Law: Alsoe thatt noe Mason make moulds, Square or Rule to any Rough Layers; Alsoe thatt noe Mason sett any Layer within a Lodge or without to Hew or Mould Stones with noe mould of his own makeing: Alsoe thatt Every Mason shall cherish and receive strange ffellows, when they come over the countrey and sett them on work, as the mann<sup>r</sup> is (thatt is to say) if they have mould Stones in place, he shall sett him afoorthninght att the Least on worke, and give him his Hyre: And if there be noe Stones for him to work; he shall refresh him with money; to bring him To the next Lodge: And Alsoe you and Every Mason shall Serve truely the workers, and truely make an End of yo<sup>r</sup> work: be it Task or Journey; if you may have yo<sup>r</sup> pay, as you ought to have: These charges thatt we have Reckoned, and all other thatt belongeth to Masonry you shall truely Keep and well observe; so helpe you God and Holy doome, and this Book to the uttermost of yor Power:

Orders to be observed by the company and Fellowship of Free Masons att A Lodge held att Alnwick Sept<sup>r</sup> 29 1701 being the Gen<sup>l</sup> head meeting day

- 1<sup>st</sup> First it is ordered by the said ffellowship thatt there shall be yearly Two Wardens Chosen upon the said Twenty Ninth of Sept<sup>r</sup> being the feast of S<sup>t</sup> Michaell the Archangell, which Wardens shall be Elected and Appoynted by the most consent of the ffellowship

- 2<sup>d</sup> Itm thatt the said Wardens Receive, commence and Sue all such penaltyes and fforfeitures and fines, as shall in any wise be amongst the Said ffellowship, and shall render and yeild up a Just Account att the Years End of all Such fines and forfeitures as shall come to their hands, or oftner if need require, or if the Master and ffellows List to call for them, ffor every such offence to pay £ s. d.  
0 6 8
- 3<sup>d</sup> Itm Thatt noe Mason shall take any worke by task or by day, other then the Kings work butt thatt att the Least he shall make Three or ffour of his ffellows acquainted therewith, for to take his part; paying for every such Offence 3 6 8
- 4<sup>th</sup> Itm Thatt noe Mason shall take any work thatt any of his ffellows is in hand with all [to] pay for Every such Offence the Summe off 1 6 8
- 5<sup>th</sup> Itm Thatt noe Mason shall take any Apprentice, [butt he must] Enter him and give him his Charge within one whole Year after. Nott soe doing the Master shall pay for Every such Offence 0 3 4
- 6 Itm Thatt Every Master ffor Entring his Apprentice shall pay 0 0 6
- 7 Itm Thatt Every Mason when he is warned by the Wardens, or other of the Company and shall nott come to the place Appoynted, Except he have a Reasonable cause to shew the Master and Wardens to the contrary: Nott soe doing shall pay 0 6 8
- 8 Itm Thatt noe Mason shall Thou his ffellow or give him the Lye or any ways contend with him, or give him any other name in the place of meeting then Brother or ffellow or hold any disobedient Argument against any of the company reproachfully ffor every such Offence shall pay 0 0 6
- 9 Itm There shall noe Apprentice after he has Served Seaven years be Admitted or Accepted butt upon the feast of S<sup>t</sup> Michaell the Archangell paying to the Mast<sup>r</sup> and Wardens 0 6 8
- 10<sup>th</sup> Itm If any Mason either in the place of meeting or att work among his ffellows, Swear or take Gods name in vain, thatt he or they soe offending shall pay for every time 0 0 9
- 11 Itm Thatt if any Fellow or Fellows shall att any time or times discover his Mast<sup>rs</sup> secretts or his owne be it nott onely spoken in the Lodge or without or the Secretts or councill of his ffellows, thatt may Extend to the damage of any of his Fellows; or to any of their good names; whereby the Science may be ill spoken off, ffor Every such offence shall pay 1 6 8
- 12 Itm Thatt noe Fellow or Fellows within this Lodge shall att any time or times call or hold Assemblys to make any Mason or Masons free: Nott Acquainting the Mast<sup>r</sup> or Wardens therewith For Every time soe offending shall pay 3 6 8

- 13 Itm Thatt noe Rough Layers or any other thatt has nott served their time, or Admitted Masons shall work within the Lodge any work of Masonry whatsoever (Except under a Mast<sup>r</sup>) for Every such Offence shall pay
- 14 Itm Thatt all ffellows being younger shall give his Elder ffellows the Honour due to their degree and Standing, Alsoe thatt the Mast<sup>r</sup> Wardons and all the Fellows of this Lodge doe promish severally and respectively to performe all and Every the Orders above named, and to stand by Each other, (butt more Particularly to the Wardons and their Successors) in Sueing for all and Every the forfeitures of our said Brethren, contrary to any of the Said Orders demand thereof being first made

£ s. d.  
3 13 4

[Signatures follow.]

### APPENDIX III.

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