XI. Observations on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, and on the Corporation of Free Masons supposed to be the Establishers of it as a regular Order. In a Letter from Gov. Pownall, to the Rev. Dr. Lort, V. P.

Read Feb. 14 and 21, 1788.

S I R,

Bath, Jan. 9, 1788.

THE following paper collects and puts together some scattered historic traces of the architecture used in the transalpine parts of Europe, in order from thence to suggest a line of inquiry after the origin of that particular species of it, called the *Gothick*; and also after the institution of that Collegium or corporation of Free-masons, whom I conceive to have been the first formers of this architecture into a regular and scientific order, by applying the models and proportions of timber frame-work to building in stone.

When the Romans conquered, and held possession of our isle, they erected every sort of building and edifice of stone, or of a mixture of stone and brick; and universally built with the circular arch. The British learnt their arts from these masters. This art continued to be practised in Britain after it had been lost in France, by the ravages and desolation which the continent experienced. For when the cities of the Empire in Gaul, and the fortresses on the Rhine were destroyed, Constantius Chlorus A. D. 298. sent to Britain for, and employed, British architects in repairing and re-edifying them. By thus drawing off the British artists and mechanicks, and by the subsequent devastation

ration of the island, all use, practice, and knowledge of the Roman art were lost. The buildings erected then were either of whole logs, or of timber uprights wattled, such as at this very day in the North is called *stud and mud*. The Scots appear to come forth amongst the first native architects of our isle, who invented the method of squareing the timber, and framing the fabrick; so as to apply it to large and publick edifices. This invention is expressly called *the Scottish Order*. Bede in his Ecclesiastical History, lib. iii. cap. 25, says: “Finan Episcopus, natione Scottus, in insula Landisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sede congruam, quam tamen *more Scotorum*, non de lapide, sed *de robore secto* totam composuit, atque arundine textit.”

Although such was the state of the art of building amongst the native artists in England; and although it was no further advanced for many ages afterward in Saxony and Germany: yet wherever the Christian Missionaries sent from Rome came, they brought with them not only Religion but the mechanick arts, and many sciences; architecture, musick, painting, engraving in silver and copper, and working glass. Many amongst them had great merit, which hath been but little known, being lost in the demerit of the body. These were the restorers of the Roman order of architecture in stone. What buildings were erected by them, and under their direction, have been mistakenly called Saxon architecture. The monkish missionaries began very early, in the romp of their ambition, to erect large stone buildings, magnificent beyond the scale of the state and of the circumstances of the people. See what Oswald[a] says, complaining of those ostentatious edifices which the monks exulted in: “Ego longe aliter intelligo, quod nos miseri fantorum opera destruimus, ut nobis laudem comparemus. Non noverat ille cœtus pompatica construere edificia, sed sub quali-

[a] Chronica Brompton.

“cunque

“cunque tecto, seipfos Deo immolare, & subiectos ad exemplum bonum attrahere. Nos è contra utimur, ut animorum negligentes,” &c. &c. and then he goes on to describe their dwellings and their mode of living.

It is as repeatedly, as mention is made of the saints and bishops building churches, in the earliest times in this island, so constantly said, that their buildings were the *opus Romanum*. It is expressly said of St. Wilfrid, that he learnt his architecture at Rome, and built his church at Hagulsted after that model [b], and then it is added “neque ullam aliam domum *citrà Alpes montes* ædificatam audivimus [c].” Eadmer, describing the difference of the old church at Canterbury, and the new one that was built after the destruction of the former, says, “veterem ecclesiam Romanorum opere factam.” Bede also “testatur hanc Romanorum opere factam et ex quadam parte ad imitationem ecclesiæ Beati Apostolorum Principis Petri.” The churches built in the time of Alfred, who brought both the arts and artists from Rome, particularly that at Oxford, were built with circular arches *more Romano*. I could pursue this in every building or parts of buildings which were built prior to the close of the 12th or commencement of the 13th century. First that they were built with circular arches; and next described as *Opus Romanum*, although the architects may have been in the latter part of the period Normans or English. Prior to this period several steps of advance in the art of architecture may be traced. In the earliest times they built with rough stone, afterward *politis lapidibus*. But this operation was done only with the adze where they worked in freestone. About the time of rebuilding the church at Canterbury, notice is taken of the introduction of the chisell. Gervasius in his *Chronica*, marking the

[b] Vide Richard Prior Hagulstadenfis de statu ecclesiæ, lib. i. c. 3.

[c] Ib. c. 22.

difference

difference between the old work and the new, says, “ ibi arcus
 “ et cætera omnia plana utpotè *sculpta secure & non scicello*, hic
 “ in omnibus ferè *sculptura idonea*.” And at the rebuilding
 of the church, “ Willielmus Senonensis, vir admodum stre-
 “ nuus, in *ligno & lapide* artifex subtilissimus, ad lapides for-
 “ mados *torneumata* fecit valde ingeniosè; formas quoque ad
 “ lapides formandos his qui convenerant sculptoribus tra-
 “ didit [*d*].” Here we have the turning machine and the mo-
 delled plains. This scientifick and ingenious architect was the
 first (I believe) who boldly attempted to work the ribbed and
 vaulted ceiling in stone and toph, in the same manner as hi-
 therto the like vaulting or ceiling had been worked in wood.
 The vaulted wooden ceiling was formed by curved timbers tied
 at the key of the vault, where their arches severally intersected,
 to a nave or head piece. These were the stiles or panes of the
 work: the curvilinear triangles between these were pannelled
 with plank or deal. This adventurous artist and great mecha-
 nick undertook to form arches of narrow ribbs of stone in the
 form of the timber stiles, and to support them at their common
 intersection by a key stone. He then pannelled up the curvili-
 near triangles with vaulted pannels of toph, which had nothing
 to support but itself: which yet pressing laterally equally on all
 sides upon the stone ribbed arches held them from swerving. To
 form an idea of this, turn your eye to the sketch I have drawn of
 this operation (Pl. VI. fig. 1.) and at the same time consider what
 I here quote from Gervasius, of the old ceiling, and the new,
 vaulted roof, “ Ibi cælum ligneum egregiâ picturâ decoratum,
 “ hic *fornix* ex lapide & tofo levi decenter composita est.” In
 the course of working this, the frame work of the scaffolding,
 or center, on which the ribbed arches and vaulted pannels

[*d*] Chronicon Gervasii.

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were

were to be turned, failed and fell: and this meritorious but unfortunate artist was incurably hurt. His design was however taken up by an English architect, called also William, who successfully executed it. At this period also was introduced the mode of ornamenting the great impost-pillars with groups of small marble columns surrounding them. “Utrunque pilarios appofuit, quorum duos extremos in circuitu columnis marmoreis decoravit.”

This, as far as I am able to ascertain so curious a fact, was the first instance of a stone vaulted ceiling worked after the model and proportions of timber frame-work. I beg, Sir, that you would be pleased to observe, that here first comes into use and application THE PRINCIPLE which gave rise to, and upon which afterwards was founded that species of architecture, reduced to a regular order called, either from the timber frame which was said to be *more Teutonico*, or by a nickname as being an order of architecture used *citra Alpes montes*, the *Gothick*.

If we would be informed what was really the Gothic architecture, let us go to Gothland itself: and examine the oldest publick building we can find there. The oldest stone church that we have any account of in that country is the church at Upsäl particularly described by Perinschoild as taking the foundations and uprights of the open Temple of Odin, or rather of the *Conclavis sacratio* of that Temple, for the imposts of its arches, which were circular *more Romano*. Be pleased to refer your eye to the sketch which I give from Peringschoild of this Temple (fig. 2.) you will find it, like our Druid, and the Scaldick Temples, consisting of a number of stones so disposed that the four interior AAAA, stand on the angles of a square, which a circle inscribes. The next eight B are so placed in the angles of an octagon that a concentric external circle inscribes them. The next eight C are in like manner placed in the angles of
a'like

a like octagon and inscribed by a concentral circle at the same distance from the middle one as the middle one is from the interior one. These stones are so placed and disposed that they form four avenues to the *conclavis sacrator*. In building the Christian church, after they had exorcised by fire and other ceremonies the Pagan impurities, it was erected by taking the four stones AAAA as the principal corner imposts of the new edifice, and with a new impost in the middle of each side *dddd*, building a square walled edifice as in fig. 3. This Temple of Odin is mentioned by many authors as plated with gold, and having a golden cornice. “Postremò hoc templum ejusque
 “numina, atque pretiosos thesauros, auctis Christianæ religionis incrementis, violavit Stenkilli regis successor Ingo, qui
 “alio nomine vocabatur Ingemundus. Is enim templo magnifica
 “detraxit ornamenta, crematisque idolis, lucus, virentesque
 “arbores succidit. Ita tunc effectum ut sublato fædo cultu,
 “murisque simplicior quadratæ formæ *rotundo fornice arcuatus*
 “remanserit, in longitudinem ad xxiv cubitos extensus, xxv
 “ulnos latitudine complectabatur, octo columnis innixus (fig. 3.)
 “porticibus et patentibus ostiis.” This church underwent various chances and changes; but in all these the vaults of the arches of the doors and windows were circular. “Hoc sanè
 “modo basi veteris templi paganici sustentatâ fabricâ, *ex rudi*
 “*lapide* erecta basilica ad justum deinde fastigium perducta est.
 “Hæc verò nova moles suas etiam passa est vicissitudines.” This church in the year MCXXXVIII was further improved.
 “Hujus templi paganici relictam structuræ superficiem, accrescente indies Christiano cultu, de novo instaurari curavit Suercherus 1^{mus} juxta formam, quâ constructa minorâ illa templa
 “Anglorum, addito privilegio & juribus cathedralis ecclesiæ.
 “Nimirum hujus regis factum industriâ ut destructis antero-

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“ribus aulis Fyrenfibus, templi parietes conjungi curavit, cum
 “areâ trium paganorum numinum, postquam igne jam ante
 “diu illud purgaverat Ingo. Tum verò arcuatus ille porticus
 “atque patentia antehac ostia calce lapidibusque obstruebantur
 “(vide fig. 4.) columna illâ mediâ (d 4) quæ orientem spectabat
 “penitus sublatâ, lateris illius pars novo muro validiore re-
 “fecta est, addito etiam *fornicato muro* mediocri quo sacelli F
 “(vide fig. 4.) vel adyti sustentaretur moles. Quin & vetusti
 “illius muri quadrati rudera nova lapidum structurâ supernè
 “elevata sunt.” To understand this latter part see the addi-
 tional parts *drawn* with dotted lines on fig. 4. Here may be
 seen if you please to trace it down to the fifteenth century that
 this church in all its vicissitudes and restorations had the vault
 circular as also the tops of the doors and windows; which is de-
 cative as to the architecture used and practised in Gothland.

All the ancient-stone churches built in consequence of the
 conversions made by the Roman missionaries were thus built
 with simple circular arches, *more & opere Romano*. This species
 of building, the same in Gothland as in England, practised
 down to the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, has been
 generally referred to as *Saxon*, and commonly so called.

During these periods the architecture executed in timber
 frame work, was in the North in general, used in the publick,
 civil, as well as private and domestick edifices. It was advanced
 to great perfection, and became capable of being highly orna-
 mented in its way; and this species of architecture you shall see
 was said to be *more Teutonico*.

This model of building in frame work with high pointed
 arches, formed by the intersections of the timbers, and espe-
 cially of an high arch between two lesser ones, is specifically de-
 scribed by Stubbs, in his *Actus Pontificum Eboracensium*, art.
Alured. “Supra ostium chori, ære & auro opereque incompa-

I

“rabili

“rabili pulpitem *fabricari* fecit : & ex utraque parte pulpiti
 “arcus : & in medio supra pulpitem, arcum eminentiorem,
 “crucem in summitate gestantem, similiter ex ære, auro, &
 “argento *opere Teutonico fabricatam* erexit.” (vide fig. 5.) Here
 is the first, and as far as I can find, the only mention made of
 the *Teutonic order* expressly described as a fabrication of frame
 work.

Examine, if you please, the sketch (fig. 6.) of a frame work
 timber building ; and then, recollecting what was designed by
 Willielmus Senonensis, and executed by Willielmus Anglus,
 viz. the forming stone ribbs for the arches in the place of the
 timbers, be pleased to apply this manner of working in stone
 to the building up a front to this frame work edifice ; and you
 discern the true origin of that order of architecture afterwards
 called *Gothic*, either as it imitated in stone the frame work
 timber fabrications which had been long called the *Teutonic*, or
 that it was a model of building adopted for an architecture
citrà montes Alpes, as *tramontain* or *Gothick*.

Now let us see, if we can make out any thing by conjecture
 as to the introduction and application of this frame work mo-
 del of fabrick to the building in stone. I have given a decided
 fact as to the application of it, in the vaulting of the new
 Church of Canterbury as a first beginning in that instance only :
 and those who have been most curious in their researches on
 this point seem to agree that this very bold scientific mode of
 bnilding in stone came into use and application about the close
 of the 12th or commencement of the 13th century. The times
 of building the *Gothick new-works* coincide with this æra.
 A fact, which coincides with this period, offers itself to me,
 that, the churches throughout all the Northern parts of Eu-
 rope being in a ruinous state, the Pope created several corpora-
 tions of Roman or Italian architects and artists, with corporate
 powers

powers and exclusive privileges; particularly with a power of setting by themselves the prices of their own work and labour, independent of the municipal laws of the country wherein they worked, according as Hiram had done by the corporations of architects and mechanicks which he sent to Solomon [e]. *The Pope not only thus formed them into such a corporation, but is said to have sent them (as exclusively appropriated), to repair and rebuild these churches and other religious edifices.* This body had a power of taking apprentices, and of admitting *or accepting* into their corporation approved masons. The common and usual appellation of this corporation in England was that of *the free and accepted masons*. It will be found that claiming to hold primarily and exclusively under the Pope, they assumed a right, as *Free-masons*, of being exempt from the regulations of the statutes of labourers, laws in England which made regulations for the price of labour: 2dly, in order to regulate these matters amongst themselves as well as all matters respecting their corporation, they held general chapters and other congregations. Doing this they constantly refused obedience, and to conform themselves to these statutes, which regulated the price of the labour of all other labourers and mechanicks, although they were specifically mentioned therein. One might collect historical proofs of this, but as the fact stands upon record in our statute laws, I shall rest on that. These statutes of labourers were repeatedly renewed through several reigns down to Henry VI., and as repeatedly disobeyed by the Freemasons, untill in the 3d of Henry VI. an ordinance was by advice of the Lords, on the petition of the Commons, made, reciting the fact of the contumacious disobedience of these Free-masons, to the subversion of all law, and the great detriment of the community, and stating the necessity

[e] 1 Kings, V. 6.

of applying a remedy, which remedy was the declaring this corporation illegal, and enacting that persons calling and holding these chapters or other congregations should be deemed felons: and all other masons assembling at such should be imprisoned, and pay fine and ransom at the will of the King.

That you may judge for yourself; and compare the fact with my reasoning upon it, I will here insert the statute at large in its original, 3 Hen. VI. 1424, cap. 1. “En primis come par
 “ les annuels congregations & confederacies faite par les masons
 “ en leur *Generalz Chapitres* assemblez, le bon cours et effect
 “ des estatutes de laboreurs sont publiquement violez & disrom-
 “ peuz en subversion de la laye, & grevouise damage de le com-
 “ mune, nostre seigneur le roi voillant en ceo cas pourvoir le re-
 “ medie, par advis & assent susditz et à l’especial request des
 “ ditz communes ait ordiné et establi que tieux chapitres et con-
 “ gregations, ne soient desore tenuz, et si ascuns tielz soient
 “ faitz, soient ceuz, qui font faire assembler et tenir ceuz chapitres
 “ et congregations, si ils soient convictz, adjugez pour felons;
 “ et que tous les autres masons qui veignent as tielz chapitres
 “ & congregations soient puniz par emprisonement de le corps,
 “ & facent fyn et raunceon à la volonte du roi.”

This statute ascertains these facts; first, that this corporation held chapters and congregations, assuming, as to the regulating of their work and wages, to have a right to settle these matters by their own bye-laws. The statute declares this to be a subversion of the law of the land, and greivous damage to the community; secondly, it ascertains that this body of masons were a set of artists and mechanicks, the price of whose labour and work ought to be regulated by those statutes of labourers; thirdly, instead of dissolving this corporation, which would in effect have acknowledged it as legal prior to such dissolution, it forbids all their chapters and other congregations to be held,
 and

and declares all person assembling or holding such to be felons : and that all other masons who attended such should be imprisoned, and pay fine and ransom at the will of the King.

This statute put an end to this body, and all its illegal chapters and pretences. It should seem, however, that societies of these masons met in mere clubs. Wherein continuing to observe and practice some of their ceremonies which once had a reference to their institutions, and to the foundation of powers which no longer existed, and were scarcely understood, they only made sport to mock themselves, and by degrees their clubs or lodges sunk into a mere foolish harmless mummary. In this very mummary, however, we may trace the tenor of the preamble of their charter, reciting the precedent of Hiram's forming a body of Architects and Artists, with corporate and exclusive powers, especially with that of regulating, within their own body, the prices of their labour ; which Solomon [f] agreed to abide by, when they were sent to assist him in building the House of the Lord. On this *Scripture precedent* so recited, the Pope by his charter, diploma, or bull, formed the *Free-masons* (whom he sends into the Northern parts to assist in repairing and building the Churches there) into a corporation holding of his Holiness with corporate powers to regulate their own body, and as to the setting and regulating their own prices, with powers exclusive of the municipal laws of the countries into which they were sent. I can easily suppose that they, by a natural and flattering error, mistook the recital of this precedent, for the record of a fact in the history of their Society, as existing in the time of Solomon, and being *the Builders of the Temple* : which supposed and assumed fact is now interwoven with, and makes part of the present mummary. It ought, however, to

[f] 1 Kings, chap. v. 6.

be

be mentioned to their honor that when these clubs were instituted in lieu of their chapters, &c. they formed a laudable Brotherhood of charity, which hath continued to this day with great exertions of benevolence to the Brotherhood, on many occasions, in different countries, even towards prisoners in war, without distinction of nation or any other circumstance but that of their being brother Masons : and in our country we find the same spirit exerting itself in a very benevolent institution.

As I write at this place from some notes and mere memorandums, I cannot as I would wish quote my authorities ; but my notes and memorandums inform me that this corporation was established about the time of the early parts of the reign of Henry III. of England. The *Gothic* architecture, or *Teutonic* executing in stone this particular mode of architecture used *circa Alpes montes*, came forward into practice *as a regular established order* about the same time. Does not your mind here almost irresistibly refer the invention and introduction of this bold and very highly scientific order of architecture to these chosen and selected artists who have shown themselves, in repeated instances, great mathematicians and perfectly experienced mechanicks ; and who on assured principles of science executed some of the boldest and most astonishing works which were ever erected by man ?

The more closely, and step by step, you trace the timbers of old frame-work fabricks, especially some of the most curious in Germany ; the more you study their models and proportions, and then with a like spirit of investigation in the direct line of science examine the models and proportions of the *Gothic* architecture, the more decidedly you will form an opinion even on conviction that this Gothick order is formed precisely by the adopting the models and the proportions of frame-work timber fabricks erected *more Teutonico*, and by transferring them to the

working in stone ; and if you pursue this in the ornaments, it will strike you still more forcibly.

As some people have without the least foundation, and directly contrary to all the exemplars in fact, supposed that the Gothick style and order of architecture was brought from Palestine and Turkey by persons who served in the Crusades : it may be proper, and I am sure will be sufficient, to refer such to the Temple Churches, and to the Saracen or Moreisco buildings in Venice, Spain, and even in many parts of England, all which are constructed with the circular arch. But the architecture of the buildings in Asia, Turkey, and Palestine, are of themselves a proof to the contrary.

Having thus entertained in my own mind this notion of the Gothick architecture : that the principle of it operated in the applying stone-work to the models and proportions of timber frame-work fabricks, which had long been held to be the *mos Teutonicus* : and that this *corporation of Italian masons*, though perhaps not the first who hazarded this bold attempt, for we have seen that Willielmus Senonensis, near a century prior to their institution, had designed it in the vaulting of the roof or cieling of the church of Canterbury, *yet they were the first architects who reduced it to, and introduced it as, a regular order* ; having shown from incontrovertible record that they were in England a corporation of architects and masons, instituted by a foreign power, and, from the privileges of their foreign incorporation, claiming exemption from the statutes of labourers ; and that this foreign jurisdiction, from which they derived and under which they claimed, was the Pope who created them by bull, diploma, or charter, about the close of the 12th or commencement of the 13th century ; I was very solicitous to have inquiry and search made amongst the archives at Rome, whether it was not possible to find the record of this curious trans-

2 action

action and institution. The librarian of the Vatican was, in 1773, on my behalf applied to. He examined the archives deposited there; and after a long search said, "he could not find "the least traces of any such record." The head keeper of the archives, who has a very extensive knowledge in these matters, was next applied to, and his answer was the same. The Pope himself, in consequence of a conversation which the inquiries in my letter led to, interested himself in the inquiry; and with the utmost politeness ordered the most minute research to be made; but no discovery arose from it. I have inserted this, as I should have thought it illiberal, and an unfair state of the fact not to have mentioned it. I cannot, however, yet be persuaded, but that some record or copy of the diploma must be somewhere buried at Rome, amidst some forgotten and unknown bundles or rolls. We know that such things have in fact happened in many instances [g], and some the most important, with respect to our own records.

I could have drawn this letter into a long and particular detail of matters: yet as I do not mean to write a treatise, but only a letter of communication to you, and, if you think it may create an evening's amusement to our Society, as a communication submitted to their more accurate knowledge and judgment, I shall content myself with having thrown out my suggestions on the subject, and leave the rest to their or your improvement. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
T. POWNALL.

[g] With respect to writs for election of members of the House of Commons much earlier than the commonly supposed date of the existence of that House. With respect also to the *Form of Renouncing Allegiance* to a sovereign forfeiting his right to that allegiance.

R 2

SIR,

SIR,

Bath, Jan. 27, 1788.

IN addition to and illustration of my letter on the subject of Gothic architecture, I beg leave to add some curious extracts from the Church Registers of Lincoln, sent to me in 1775, by the late John Bradley, Esq. They give the dates of the several *new works*, as all these later improvements were called, added since the first erection, from time to time, to the fabrick of the Church of Lincoln. These dates agree nearly with the dates of the *new works*, so also called, added to the Church of Ely.

I am, Sir, &c.

T. POWNALL.

Copy of Mr. Bradley's Letter to Gov. Pownall.

SIR,

IN the researches which, at your desire, I have made respecting the repairing or building of parts of the Cathedral, I have made some discoveries which differ from those accounts which have been given to the publick: they are mistaken as to the time when the *new work* was begun and finished. The late Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Lyttelton, conjectures that all was finished about 1283. Conjecturers are led into this mistake by supposing that the work was finished soon after King Henry III's Charter granted *for enlarging the Church and Close*. This was not so, as the following extracts will show.

1124. The Church was burnt down.

Bishop Alexander is, in the historical accounts given to the publick, said to have rebuilt it with an *arched roof*, for prevention of the like accidents. But John de Scalby,
Canon

- Canon of Lincoln, and Bishop Dalderby's Register, and
1147. Secretary, says of Robert de Chesney (who succeeded Alexander) that he—"Primus Ecclesiam Voltis lapideis
"communivit."
1186. John de Scalby says of Hugh the Burgundian, Bishop of Lincoln, that he—"fabricam ecclesiæ a fundamentis
"construxit novam." This can relate only to alterations and repairs of the old Church, for the new East-end was not begun to be built till 120 years after.
- 1244-5. The great tower fell down and greatly damaged the Church. Very little was done to repair this disaster till
1279. the time of Oliver Sutton, elected Bishop 1279. The first thing which he set about was extending the clove wall, but not so far to the East as it now is, for it was, as will be seen, still further enlarged; and he afterwards compleatly repaired, in concurrence with the Dean and Chapter, the old Church; so that the whole was finished,
1290. painted, and white washed, after the year 1290. When this work was done, the great Tower was carried up no higher than to the part where the large windows begin; and where the bells now hang. The upper part was with the other *new work* begun 16 years after.
1306. The Dean and Chapter contracted with Richard de Stow Mason, to attend to and employ other masons under him, for the *new work*; at which time the new additional East-end, as well as the upper parts of the great tower, and of the transepts, were done. He contracted to do the plain work by measure, and the fine carved work and images by the day.
1313. The Dean and Chapter carried the clove still further Eastward, so as to enlarge the Canons houses and mansion,
- your

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your old mansion, the chancellor and the other houses at the East end of the minster yard.

1321. In this year the *new work* was not finished, for Bishop Burghurth, finding that those who were entrusted to collect the money given by *voluntary contribution*, and legacies to the Church, detained the same, and were backward in their payments, published an Excommunication against all Offenders in this way which tended “*in retardationem fabricæ.*”

1324. It may be collected, the whole was finished about 1324; but this no where specified.

N. B. This *new-work* is all of the *regular order* of Gothick architecture, as I have supposed it to be finally established by the free masons. The rest of the Church is in part the *Opus Romanum*; and partly of the style of the first essays of the Gothick.

1380. John Welburn was treasurer. He built the tabernacle at the high altar, the North and East parts as now standing, and the South was rebuilt after to make the North and South sides uniform. He was *master* of the fabrick; and the principal promoter of making the two stone arches under the West towers, and the vault of the high tower. And caused the statues of the Kings over the West great door to be placed there.

XII. *A Letter*