

THE MASONS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

By JOHN HARVEY

Among the most valuable studies of medieval building accounts are the two papers of the late R. B. Rackham : ' The Nave of Westminster Abbey ' and ' Building at Westminster Abbey, 1298-1348 '². Models of what such studies should be, they leave only one aspect of the subject unexplored : little use was made of the extensive lists of named masons in the Westminster accounts. This omission from the published papers is the more surprising in that Canon Rackham had scrupulously noted all the names in his manuscript tabulation of the rolls.³

The importance of these lists of names is not due merely to the comparative rarity of this type of record. Though there are several large gaps, they afford one of the largest series of such lists, and they have two advantages of unique importance. The first is that Westminster Abbey was of metropolitan status and was closely linked to the Royal Works ; the second, that the work was of major importance through the whole period. This is not the case with the other great churches whose fabric rolls have been preserved in fair quantity : Durham, Ely, Exeter, Norwich. York alone is comparable to Westminster in steady volume of work combined with extensive records, and even so, structural work at York was practically over by 1475. When Raine worked on the fabric rolls nearly a century ago,⁴ only 47 rolls remained for the two centuries 1350-1550. At Westminster for practically the same overall period, there are 136 rolls of the *Novum Opus* apart from duplicates and some odd accounts. While at York never more than 4 consecutive years occur, at Westminster there are runs of 19, 17, 15, 12, 11 and 10 years, and from 1445 onwards only 10 years are missing, never more than two at a time. Even more striking is the contrast in the earlier rolls : York has only 4 of the 14th century ; at Westminster 25 years are represented and in effect more, as I hope to show.⁵

Not all the rolls give full lists, but names are only lacking from 1349 to 1352, and from 1405 to 1422 inclusive. For the remainder of the period the rolls are the best known English source for such major problems as those of continuity of employment and the training of masters.

The former of these questions I shall not consider in detail,⁶ my examination of the rolls having been directed to throw light on the careers of the English masters of architectural design. Little purpose would be served by printing the lists *in extenso*, and I have therefore condensed the information into an alphabetical table, in which each mason's name is followed by his service-record. It remains to consider

¹ *Proc. British Academy*, IV, (1909-10) ; hereafter referred to as Rackham.

² *Arch. Journ.*, LXVII, (1910).

³ Westminster Abbey Upper Library, Rackham Notebooks.

⁴ J. Raine, ed. : *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Soc., XXXV, (1859).

⁵ See later, section II.

⁶ See D. Knoop & G. P. Jones : *The Mediaeval Mason* (1933), pp. 129-141.

in detail the careers of the Abbey Masters, and of those masons who became masters elsewhere after working at the Abbey. To this detailed study I shall preface a summary account of those Abbey masons known to us from outside sources for the period before the obedientiaries' rolls begin.

I. MASONS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY BEFORE THE REIGN OF EDWARD I

The earliest recorded craftsmen concerned with the building of Westminster Abbey are the masters in charge of King Edward the Confessor's church, said to have been begun in 1049 and which was consecrated on 28th December, 1065. Leofsi Duddason, also described as Leofsi of London, is stated to have had charge of the masons (*preerat illius ecclesie cementariis*); he must have been a well-to-do landowner, for he gave 2½ hides of land at Wormley, Herts., to the Abbey.¹ Leofsi may have been an administrative chief, for we also know of a master mason, Godwin Gretsud, likewise a man of standing, who was a benefactor with his wife Wendelburh to Hyde Abbey, Winchester, and also gave land and houses at Southampton to Westminster Abbey, after a life interest to his son Aelfwin.² In the third place there was Teinfrith, named as the King's 'churchwright' when he was given a grant of land at Shepperton, Middlesex, between 1057 and 1065; he was presumably the chief carpenter of the abbey, or of the whole of the Confessor's royal works.³

Whatever may have been the respective shares of Leofsi, Godwin, and Teinfrith in the production of the Abbey Church, it seems certain that they were jointly the responsible masters, a remarkable fact in view of their English names and the essentially Norman, not Saxon, character of the work and one which suggests that some reassessment of the transition to Norman style may be needed.

The only significant work intermediate in date between the 11th and the 13th century, of which a substantial part survives, is the Infirmary Chapel of St. Katherine, probably built c. 1160. Since we know that repairs to the Abbey Refectory, done in 1175, were under the supervision of Ailnoth, Henry II's engineer from 1157 to 1189, it is not unlikely that he was also architect for this chapel, but we know nothing for certain.⁴ From the Abbey 'Domesday' comes a reference to one Picot, 'cementarius', which can be dated between c. 1140 and 1158; he lived in Westminster and was probably one of the Abbey's craftsmen.⁵

Quite shortly after the accession of Henry III a new and important work began: the construction of a Lady Chapel some 50 feet to the east of the central apse of the Confessor's abbey. It seems almost certain that this marks the real inception of the great project of rebuilding the whole church. At any rate, Henry III laid the first stone on 16th May, 1220, and 14 years later gave the Abbot 20 oaks for the work,⁶ no doubt for the making of the roof; it would seem that the Lady Chapel was not completed until shortly before the start of the great rebuilding in 1245. The master in charge of this work may have been the Master Ralph de Derteford who appears in 1222 and on various occasions about this period, and was granted by the Abbey land in Tothill Street.⁷ Other masons of the earlier part of the reign of Henry III, mentioned in Abbey documents, are Alured, who had the grant of a house jointly with Hawise his wife,⁸ Hervey the Mason,⁹ and Uctred 'cementarius',¹⁰ while from about 1240 there appear Master Richard de Eltham and John de Eltham his brother,¹¹ Robert de Angre, who had a house in West-

¹ F. E. Harmer in *English Historical Review*, LI (1936), 98; F. E. Harmer: *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (1952), 292, 355, 566.

² Harmer in *E.H.R.*, LI, 98.

³ Harmer: *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, 292, 353-4, 573; Harmer in *E.H.R.*, LI, 98.

⁴ See *Pipe Rolls*, edited by the Pipe Roll Society.

⁵ Westminster Abbey Muniments (hereafter

referred to as W.A.M.), 'Domesday', f. 445.

⁶ *Close Rolls*, 1231-34, p. 409.

⁷ W.A.M. 17341-2, 17374, 17498; 'Domesday' (hereinafter referred to as D.) f. 460v, 510, 529, 530v.

⁸ D., f. 510, 510v, 511.

⁹ D., f. 543v, 544.

¹⁰ D., f. 459v, f. 531 (Huhtred).

¹¹ D., ff. 344v, 384, 445v, 560, etc.

minster,¹ and William le Mason or '*cementarius*' of Tothill,² while rather later there appears Alexander the mason of Tothill who left a widow Emma.³

It is interesting to note that the Westminster Lady Chapel was begun at the same time as that of Salisbury Cathedral, though the latter took only 5 years to finish instead of 25.

With the great work of Henry III started in 1245 and carried on until 1269 there is no space to deal fully here and it has been discussed in great detail by earlier investigators. The master masons were Henry de Reyns, already the master of the King's masons two years before demolition of the east end of the old church began on 6th July, 1245, and who gave place to Master John of Gloucester in 1253. John of Gloucester carried on the work until his death in the autumn of 1260, after which the direction passed to Robert of Beverley for the remainder of Henry III's reign.⁴

II. EDWARD I TO THE BLACK DEATH

The last of the royal craftsmen to have charge of the original building of the Abbey Church was Master Robert of Beverley who died on or about the 24th of June, 1284. By that time structural work on the church had reached its temporary conclusion, five bays west of the crossing. There is no evidence of any major work undertaken during the last quarter of the 13th century, apart from fittings and monuments. After Queen Eleanor's death in 1290, her tomb was made by Richard Crundale, who died in 1293, and was completed by his brother Roger. The Crundales were probably from the little village near Wye in Kent, not far from Canterbury, and in an important stone-working district.⁵

The connection between Canterbury and London at this date was particularly close, and Canterbury masons took a leading part in the development of style by the adoption of ogee-curves and the evolution of the brilliant tracery and enrichment known as 'Kentish'. The first master mason working in London and Westminster to bear the name '*de Cantuaria*' was Master Michael, in charge of the building of the Eleanor Cross in Cheapside from 1291 to 1294,⁶ and who, in April, 1292, began the new Chapel of St. Stephen in Westminster Palace.⁷ The work at St. Stephen's continued until 1298, when a large part of the Palace was burnt with some of the adjacent monastic buildings. While Master Michael was in charge at St. Stephen's Chapel, two of the most notable monuments in the Abbey were made: those of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, who died in 1273, and of Edmund Crouchback, her husband, who died in 1296. Lethaby pointed out that both tombs are of roughly the same date,⁸ and suggested that Master Michael was the probable designer. Count Paul Biver, in discussing the tombs of this group a few years later, referred them to 'the School of London', but since that of Archbishop Peckham (died 1292) in Canterbury Cathedral is probably the earliest of the series, they might better be regarded as products of the School of Canterbury. This is supported by documents relating to Master Michael himself.

Among the tenements in Canterbury belonging to Christ Church Cathedral Priory, was one in Northgate occupied by '*Magister Michael Cementarius*'. Surviving rentals show that his rent was in arrear on at least three occasions, in the years 1275 and 1290

¹ D., f. 353v. 545.

² D., f. 90v, 338, 338v, 339, 354, 354v, 384v, 518, 519, 526, 529v, 624v.

³ D., f. 331, 358v, 517, 522, 526.

⁴ For these masters see J. H. Harvey: *English Mediaeval Architects* (1954). Throughout this article, facts for which no specific references are given will be found fully referenced in this book.

⁵ Either Crundale, Kent, or Crondal, Hampshire, is possible from the forms of the name, as the two places have an identical etymology. There can be no doubt that the Kentish village is far more likely as a source of stone masons, of

whom others are recorded besides Richard and Roger.

⁶ B. Botfield: *Manners and Household Expenses of England* (Roxburghe Club, 1841).

⁷ J. Topham: *An Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster* (1834), p. 2 ff.; P.R.O., E. 101/468/6.

⁸ W. R. Lethaby: *Westminster Abbey and the Kings' Craftsmen* (1906), p. 182.—'They are both later in style than Queen Alianor's tomb of 1292, and they closely resemble the tomb of Archbishop Peckham at Canterbury'.

and an uncertain year lying between 1275 and 1280.¹ There is nothing in this to prove identity with the Master Michael from Canterbury who had reached London by 1291, but the Christ Church Priory Treasurers' Accounts provide the missing link. Between 1275 and 1280, work was in progress on the Prior's house in London, under charge of Master Michael the mason, while in 1276-7 and 1277-8 specific mention is made of Master Michael's journey to London.² The London house of the Prior of Christchurch was by St. Mary le Bow in Cheapside.³ Fragments from Master Michael's Cross are preserved in the Guildhall Museum, and prove its close identity of style and detail with the Westminster tombs.

Following Master Michael, we have the name of a Master Robert 'cementarius', discovered by Rackham. Master Robert had charge of repairs at the Abbey, probably those to the Refectory, in 1306, and was paid 9d. a day. Extensive search has not yet produced other references to this master, though a Master Robert le Mason was Master of the Works of London Bridge in 1337.⁴ The Westminster mason was presumably the Master Robert of Westminster who granted a 7 years' lease of a garden in the Long Ditch at Michaelmas 1309.⁵ Walter le Bole, 'cementarius' who was paid £20 for work done by contract on four windows and 'j. magnum pelir' in 1341-2, and was also granted a robe value 10s., boots, gloves and food, is not described as a master, and the provision of robes for subordinate and contracting masons was not uncommon. His will of 1349 does not indicate that his city property was of great extent.⁶ In 1344 work was in progress on the Cloister, doubtless the southern bays of the east walk.⁷ The tracery in the broad bay is of distinctively Kentish character, and differs widely from the new London style of the period, which was being introduced by the King's Mason, Master William de Ramsey.⁸ The last of the Kentish dynasty of masons, Master Thomas of Canterbury, disappears about 1335-6.⁹ The tracery at Westminster is very close in style to the window of St. Anselm's Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral, built in 1336,¹⁰ but shows signs of the developed double-cusping of the windows of the Black Prince's Chantry of c. 1363. Allowing for the difference in scale, the work is even more nearly allied to the tomb of Archbishop Stratford, who died in 1348.

Stratford's tomb may well have been designed by Master John Box, who was working for the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, when he was called to London by the King in 1350. The wording of the King's order to the Prior, to send Master John Box, *cementarius*, 'as the King has learned that John is now staying with the Prior in his service,'¹¹ suggests that Edward III knew Master John already, and it is possible that he had been responsible for the southward extension of the east cloister. Box was in the royal service, and concurrently it appears, in that of the Prior of Canterbury. Surviving accounts show that he was paid 12d. a day as Master Mason of the King's works at Westminster Palace and the Tower of London from 20th June, 1351 to 29th September, 1352, from 29th September, 1354 to 6th July, 1355, and from 5th June to 9th October, 1357; in 1353 he undertook

¹ Canterbury Cathedral Muniments: Box D., Arrears of Gavelkind Rents. I owe this information to the kindness of the late Mr. W. P. Blore, Chapter Librarian.

² Lambeth Palace, MS. 242, f. 27 (1275-6), *Expense circa domum London, Liberatum magistro M. cementario xxv. s. . . . Item dicto magistro M. cementario xxv. s. unde xx. s. sunt de camerario. f. 33v* (1276-7), *Expense circa domum London . . . Magistro Michaeli eunti London. in crastino assumptionis iij. s. f. 43v* (1277-8), *Expense circa domum London. magistro Michaeli cementario eunti London iij. s. . . . Item magistro Michaeli die regressionis sancti Thome iij. s. f. 52* (1279-80). *Item datum magistro Michaeli cementario pro noua turri v. s. (?) at Canterbury*.

³ I am indebted to Miss M. B. Honeybourne for this identification.

⁴ London Corporation Records, Husting Roll 64 (101).

⁵ W.A.M. 17560.

⁶ R. R. Sharpe: *Cal. of Wills in the London Court of Husting*, I, 603. Property formerly of 'Walter Bole maszon', in the parish of St. Andrew, Castle Baynard, is also referred to in 1410—Husting Roll 137 (85).

⁷ W.A.M. 23, 453.

⁸ cf. J. H. Harvey: 'St. Stephen's Chapel and the Origin of the Perpendicular Style', in *Burlington Mag.* (August, 1946), p. 192 ff.

⁹ Sharpe: *Husting Wills*, I, p. 406. William de Ramsey, successor to Master Thomas, was appointed to the charge of the King's Works on 1st June, 1336. (*Cal. Patent Rolls* 1334-38, p. 272).

¹⁰ R. Willis: *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (1845), pp. 115-7.

¹¹ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1349-54, p. 226.

task work at St. Stephen's Chapel.¹ Meanwhile, from 1352 to 1355, and probably over a longer period,² he was receiving a yearly robe as the esquire of the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury. Box's later career in the royal service was as mason in charge of the works at Queenborough Castle; he died between 28th April, 1369 and 20th June, 1376.³

111. FROM THE BLACK DEATH TO A.D. 1400.

(i) *The Masters*

From 1272 to 1349 the works at Westminster Abbey had been quiescent. Things were very different after the Black Death, and during fifty years a large volume of work was carried out under the control of two masters: John Palterton and Henry Yevele.

The roll containing the accounts from 1349 to 1352 does not name the masons employed, but allows a fee of 26s. 8d. to the master with 13s. 4d. for a robe.⁴ Since exactly the same allowance was made to John Palterton from 1352 onwards, he was probably in office from the start of the work in 1349. In contrast to Michael of Canterbury and John Box at earlier dates, and to Henry Yevele later, Palterton was a full-time resident, and is not specifically described as 'Master' until 1361. He appears as a working mason at Westminster Palace in 1344, when he was paid 4½d. a day, but is not otherwise recorded elsewhere than at the Abbey.⁵ He probably spent the 30 years from 1349 to 1379 in charge of the Abbey's work—with one exception. On the 2nd of February, 1355-6, he received his pay up to date and started on pilgrimage—'*tunc peregrinus profectus est*'; during Palterton's absence John Est was put in his place and received his fee and robe. Then, on the 6th February, 1356-7, Palterton returned—'*Venit de peregrinatione*', and took up his office as before.⁶ The accounts for 1359-60 and 1363-4 are missing, but otherwise Palterton's fee and robe continued to be paid, year in and year out, from the Novum Opus account until 1365. In that year the Cloister was at length finished, after 42 weeks' work from the preceding Michaelmas. Palterton received from Novum Opus funds only the 42 weeks' pay,⁷ but he was immediately transferred to the work of the new Infirmary, and was paid for the remaining 10 weeks of the year from the Infirmary's Account, which also supplied his yearly fee and robe.⁸

Master John's gang, consisting of William Grendon (Crendon) and John Bereford, *cementarii*, and Thomas Boyleston, *cubitor*, went with him, and continued on the new account at their old rates of pay. This first account for the Infirmary building is headed: '*Expense pro nova Infirmaria incipienda*'. It is plain that in July, 1365, not merely the work of the Cloister, but the Novum Opus accounts and establishment were brought to a close. The supposed gap in the series of fabric rolls from 1365 to 1387 is at least partially an illusion. The full strength of the Abbey Works department was simply handed over to the Infirmary and paid for through a new channel.

The Infirmary's roll for 1365-6 is missing, but that for 1366-7 shows the same arrangement in force with Palterton receiving 2s. a week, livery of bread and ale, and fees totalling 40s. a year.⁹ At this point another change took place, but the next year's account is lost. In 1368-9 only a few weeks were worked on the Infirmary, and Palterton's name does not appear.¹⁰ This, however, is explained by the Treasurer's roll for the year, which

¹ P.R.O. E.101/471/6, 11; 472/4; E. W. Brayley & J. Britton: *History of the Ancient Palace . . . at Westminster* (1836), p. 169.

² Only the scribe who kept the Treasurers' Accounts for the years 1352/3-1355/6 thought it worth while to enter the names of the recipients: Lambeth MS. 243, f. 84v (1352/3); 'box' (17s. 1d.); f. 88 (1353/4), 'J. box' (17s. 6d.); f. 93 (1354/5), 'Johannis box' (18s. 4d.); f. 98 (1355/6), 'J. box' (11 3s. 9d.).

³ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1361-64, p. 430; 1367-70, p. 238; *Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1368-77, p. 352; P.R.O., E. 101/483/25. For this last reference I am

indebted to the late Professor Douglas Knoop.

⁴ W.A.M., 23,454 — '*Item uni eorundem (cementariorum) magistro dicti operis de conventionem per annum ultra stipendio . . .*' The wage of the master, like that of most of his assistants, was 2s. per week, in addition to livery of bread and ale.

⁵ P.R.O., E. 101/469/6.

⁶ W.A.M., 23,455.

⁷ W.A.M., 23,459.

⁸ W.A.M., 19,344.

⁹ W.A.M., 19,345.

¹⁰ W.A.M., 19,346.

includes not merely a fee of 50s. to Palterton, but also another 50s. for the year past.¹ The same fee was paid in each of the next three years, in 1375-6, and in 1378-9;² the intervening rolls are lost, as is that for 1379-80. But in 1373-4 the Sacrist accounted for £5 4s. 0d. wages paid to John Palderton (so spelt), and in the following year paid two unnamed masons, one for the whole year and one for 10 weeks, each at 3s. 8d. a week.³ The next Treasurer's account, for 1380-1,⁴ does not include any fee to Palterton, and his name does not occur again. In addition to his fee, Palterton was in 1375-6 supplied with firing: '*L. talwode emp. pro Johanne Palterton cum cariagio de London per aquam*', 3s. 10d., while in 1378-9 4s. 4d. was similarly spent. It may be that the Abbey mason was enjoying a pensioned old age in well-deserved comfort.

The cause of the change in 1368 is not far to seek. The chief focus of building activity had been shifted to the Cellarer's range, and from this to the new Abbot's house, which was being completed in 1375. The record of building is transferred to the Cellarer's rolls, and the 'John Mason' who worked on the gatehouse for 24 weeks in 1374-5, and on the hall for 10 weeks in the following year, at 3s. 8d. per week without food, may well have been Palterton himself.⁵

It was at Michaelmas 1375 that work was actually begun on breaking down the walls of the old Norman nave, and Abbot Litlington laid the first stone of the new nave on the 3rd March, 1375-6. The work thus begun was apparently limited to '3 pillars in length', and, according to Rackham, the only evidence of work during the next eleven years is the sale of demolished material from the old church.⁶ This statement needs qualification, for the Sacrist's rolls show a substantial amount of activity by masons. We have already seen that the Sacrist paid Palterton for the year 1373-4, and two masons in 1374-5, in which year he also employed 2 setters for 9 weeks, with 3 servants, and 2 setters for 7 weeks, with 3 servants, also buying Reigate stone. In 1377-8 Thomas Excestre, mason, worked for 9 weeks at 3s. 8d.⁷ and an unnamed mason for the whole year at the same rate, receiving also a tunic worth 7s. In this year 3 great new iron grates for windows were bought, weighing 108 lbs., 8 boatloads of Reigate stone and 2 of Rag, with timber for the red door in the new work as well as 10s. worth of 'Rygoldbord' bought for the new door and for making the masons' moulds.⁸ From 1382-3 the Sacrist's regular mason was William Patrington, taking 3s. 8d. a week and a tunic worth 6s. 8d. each year, while occasional masons were Thomas Corfe and Ralph 'cementarius'.⁹ In 1385-6 John Ischyngg, mason, was paid for 15 weeks' work,¹⁰ and in the next year John, mason, received a robe with fur costing 13s. 4d., twice the price of Patrington's tunic, both being paid at 3s. 8d. a week for the whole year.¹¹ In later years the Sacrist's masons were mostly employed for short terms only, though Patrington continued to receive a tunic and was again in full employment in 1391-2 and the following year.¹²

Rackham pointed out a number of salient facts in connection with the first surviving account for the building of the new nave—the Novum Opus roll of 1387-8. Abbot Litlington had died on the 29th of November, 1386, and Richard II promised a subsidy of £100 a year, to start from Easter, 1387.¹³ The roll of 1387-8 contains the last allusion to the breaking down of the old church and shows that the masons only worked for 17 weeks, though in the succeeding years they worked all the year round. Furthermore, a stone quarry was hired at Chaldon in Surrey,¹⁴ and marble for the piers began to be bought. I say 'began', for Rackham showed that the eleven *extant* rolls up to 1403-4 comprise a total spent on marble of £490, while six rolls are missing during that period.¹⁵ As the marble for each nave pier cost £40, all ten nave piers are accounted for, with £90 towards the

¹ W.A.M., 19,863.

² W.A.M., 19,864-19,868.

³ W.A.M., 19,634-35.

⁴ W.A.M., 19,869.

⁵ W.A.M., 18,857-18,859.

⁶ Rackham in *Proc. Br. Academy*, (1909-10), p. 39.

⁷ W.A.M., 19,636.

⁸ W.A.M., 19,637.

⁹ W.A.M., 19,640.

¹⁰ W.A.M., 19,643.

¹¹ W.A.M., 19,644.

¹² W.A.M., 19,645-51.

¹³ Rackham, *loc. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁴ W.A.M., 23,460.

¹⁵ Rackham, *loc. cit.*, p. 42.

cost of the two tower piers and two western responds. Only one conclusion is possible from this combined evidence: a new start was made in 1387—the Novum Opus rolls are not 'lost' for the year immediately preceding 1387–8. They can never have existed.

This is not the place for detailed consideration of the part played by Henry Yevele in the planning and design of the new nave. The evidence of composition and detail leaves no doubt that his was the controlling brain at the erection of the Abbot's House, and it is possible that he was retained in an advisory or consultative capacity even earlier for, as Lethaby pointed out, it is impossible to separate the planning of the new nave from that of the west cloister, begun in 1362 and completed in 1365. Yevele was in London by 1353, and was working for Westminster Abbey in 1372,¹ fifteen years before his first appearance in the Novum Opus rolls.

He was a remarkable and versatile man; evidently a competent administrator, he was also a large-scale building contractor and a stone merchant. But it was clearly as an architect that he was retained by Westminster Abbey. All that the accounts tell us is that he came to supervise the works, special sums being allowed under this heading in addition to his yearly fee and robe.²

(ii) Subordinate Masons

The lists of Abbey masons between 1349 and 1400 contain several names which occur elsewhere. Geoffrey Carlton, at the Abbey for 21 weeks in 1352–3, worked from that time until after 1378 at Windsor Castle, where he was warden of the masons. On the 1st of July, 1359, he received a patent of office for life, at 6*d.* a day, with a yearly sum of £1 for his robe and shoes.³

Adam de Wytteneye, who worked as a setter '*cubitor*' in 1349–52, appears in the lists of masons at Westminster Palace as paid for 26½ days' work at 5*d.* a day in the winter of 1354–5, and for 90 days at 5½*d.* in the summer of 1355.⁴ Symon de Roucester, who was at the Abbey for 1357–8 and for 36 weeks in the following year, at the special high rate of 3*s.* per week, had been employed at Westminster Palace at 5½*d.* a day in the summer of 1352.⁵ More outstanding was Robert Wodhurst, described as a '*talliator*' or carver, who with Thomas Lancelyn and William Stafford worked a portion of their total of 47 weeks in 1357–8 at the rate of 3*s.* a week, and in 1358 and '9 spent four weeks in carving keystones at 3*s.* 4*d.* a week.⁶ From 3rd October, 1351, to 26th May, 1352, he had been working at Westminster Palace at the low rate of 2*s.* a week by special agreement,⁷ and between 29th September, 1354, and 14th April, 1355, a total of 145 days at 5½*d.* a day. After 14th April, 1355, he was paid for a further 32 days at the summer rate of 6*d.* a day.⁸ He worked as a carver at St. Stephen's Chapel from 5th June to 24th July, 1357, at 8*d.* a day, and thence to the 6th of November, and again for 25 days between the 24th April and 4th June, 1358, at 6½*d.*⁹ Wodhurst was evidently a junior mason in 1351–2, but seven years later was a specialist at high pay. We know nothing of his career for nearly thirty years, but he may be identified with Master Robert de Wodehirst, a mason of Norwich, who died in 1401,¹⁰ and who from 1387 to 1393 was in charge of the making of

¹ *Ants. Journ.*, XXVII (1947), p. 56 note. This passage was written before the delivery of Mr. R. P. Howgrave-Graham's important paper: 'Westminster Abbey, the sequence and dates of the transepts and nave' (in *Journ. of the Br. Arch. Ass.*, 3 Ser., XI, 1948, pp. 60–78. The present writer accepts Mr. Howgrave-Graham's conclusions that the two western bays of the north cloister walk are of the late 13th century, and that the three bays of the south nave aisle (bays 6, 7 and 8) date, with their vaults, from 1375–87, but would go further in regarding as certain Henry Yevele's design of the nave piers (i.e. by c. 1375).

² Novum Opus rolls, W.A.M., 23,460–23,467.

³ W. St. J. Hope: *Windsor Castle*, I, 145, 150, 157, 180, 205; *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1358–61, p. 237; 1377–81, p. 154.

⁴ P.R.O., E. 101/471/11.

⁵ P.R.O., E. 101/471/6.

⁶ W.A.M., 23,445.

⁷ P.R.O., E. 101/471/6.

⁸ P.R.O., E. 101/471/11.

⁹ P.R.O., E. 101/472/4.

¹⁰ Norwich Castle Muniment Room: Norwich Court Rolls, No. 16, m. 10d.

the great reredos of Ely Cathedral.¹ At Ely he received a fee of £4 a year, with a robe and his board when at work. In 1385-6 he was building the cloisters of Norwich Cathedral,² and in 1399 he was a feoffee of the manor of Earham near Norwich.³ It is reasonable on stylistic grounds to suggest that Wodhurst was the designer of the presbytery clerestory of Norwich Cathedral, rebuilt c. 1361-69, where the design of the tracery closely resembles that of the Westminster cloisters.

Several of the men who worked on the Abbey nave from 1387 onwards can be traced in other documents. Robert Kentbury appears in the Abbey records on numerous occasions between 1373 and 1397, sometimes in company with Agnes his wife.⁴ He worked for the Crown also, was associated with William Wynford in impressing masons for foreign service in 1369,⁵ worked on the Royal Mews at Charing in 1381-83,⁶ and on 12th January, 1386, was appointed to purvey materials for the works at Westminster Palace.⁷ At the Abbey he was Yevele's warden from 1387 to 1391, receiving 13s. 4d. yearly for a robe.⁸ In 1392 and 1393 he was carrying out small tasks at Windsor Castle,⁹ and in 1395-96 made the walls of the belfry adjoining the east side of Westminster Hall.¹⁰ The last we hear of him is on 28th June, 1397, when an order was given for his arrest and distraint on a charge of treading down and wasting the crops of the Abbot of Westminster in company with John Grene and Roger Furbeter.¹¹

John Long, who was employed continuously at the Abbey from 29th September, 1394, until 25th November, 1399, and again for 28 weeks in 1400-01 at 3s. 4d. a week, was probably the mason of the same name who took up the freedom of York in 1420¹² and in the next year became master mason to York Minster in succession to William Colchester, who had been master mason of Westminster Abbey and York Minster at once. Long took fees of £10 a year at York until some time between 1423 and 1433.¹³ William Norton, working at Westminster from 1394 until 1399, may well have been the mason of the same name given commons at New College, Oxford in 1390-91 and 1391-92, and employed on the building of that college's chancel of Adderbury Church from 1408-18.¹⁴

The W. Wadsworth who worked for 28 weeks in 1398-99 at the Abbey was likewise no doubt the William Waddeswyk who worked under Colchester at York Minster in 1415, and in 1422-23 was warden of the masons at York under John Long; he took up the freedom of York in 1426.¹⁵

Richard Wascheborne worked for 5 weeks only in 1387-8 at the Abbey under Yevele, but was paid at the special rate of 3s. 8d. a week. In March, 1394-5, he and John Swallow contracted to make the new cornice for Westminster Hall according to Yevele's design.¹⁶

Finally, the John Brown who was continuously one of the masons at the highest normal rate of pay, 3s. 4d. a week, from 1392 until 1402 at the Abbey, and who was allowed a tunic by the Treasurer in 1391-92, was probably the mason of the same name who took 3s. 9d. a week on the works of London Bridge from 1405 to 1409,¹⁷ and the John Brown, mason of Aldgate Street, who was involved in legal proceedings about 1420.¹⁸

¹ Cambridge University Library, MS. Add. 2956, f. 158 ff.; D. J. Stewart: *Architectural History of Ely Cathedral*, (1868), p. 140. The reredos was that for the High Altar, not that for the Lady Chapel, as stated by Stewart.

² D. J. Stewart in *Arch. Journ.*, XXXIII, p. 394-6. Norwich Roll No. 1058 (Communar & Pitancer)—Master Robert de Wadherst was paid for 2 weeks' work at 3s. 4d., a fee of 26s. 8d. 'pro supervisione operariorum', and 13s. 4d. for a robe. He made a donation of 10s. 'ad opus claustrii'.

³ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1396-99, p. 588.

⁴ W.A.M., 5906, 16245, 17688, 17701, 17703, 17710.

⁵ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1367-70, 287.

⁶ P.R.O., E. 101/495/14.

⁷ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1385-9, 71; P.R.O., E. 101/473/2.

⁸ W.A.M., 23460-62.

⁹ W. H. St. J. Hope: *Windsor Castle* (1913), I, 222, 225n.

¹⁰ B.M., Add. Ch. 27018.

¹¹ W.A.M., 12768.

¹² F. Collins, ed.: *Register of the Freemen of York* (Surtees Soc., XCVI, 1897), p. 130.

¹³ J. Raine: *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Surtees Soc., XXXV, 1858), 42n, 46, 50.

¹⁴ E. A. Gee: 'Oxford Masons, 1370-1530' in *Arch. Journ.*, CIX, (1953), p. 116.

¹⁵ J. Browne: *History of the Church of St. Peter, York* (1847-49), I, 221, 225; Raine: *op. cit.*, 46, 199; Collins: *op. cit.*, p. 139.

¹⁶ P.R.O., E. 101/473/21; B.M. Add. Ch. 27018.

¹⁷ D. Knoop & G. P. Jones: 'London Bridge and its Builders' in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, XLVII (1934), 12-14.

¹⁸ P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 11/367.

IV. FROM 1400 TO 1534.

(i) *The Masters*

On 30th September, 1399, Henry IV usurped the throne; his sympathies did not lie with the Abbey to which Richard II had been devoted, and he did not continue the subsidy of £100 a year. Sufficient funds were in hand to continue the work actually in progress, and by 1403 all the great pillars were in position.¹ On 21st August, 1400, Henry Yevele had died,² and his place was immediately taken by William Colchester, who received the same annual fee of £5, as well as 13s. 4d. for a furred robe.³ Colchester's name had not appeared in the earlier rolls but he had some connection with the works, for on 2nd December, 1395, a commission had been granted to the Sacrist and William Colchester, mason, to impress masons and labourers.⁴ For this commission a fee of 10s. 8d. was paid out of Novum Opus funds.⁵ Colchester's fee was again paid for the year ending at Michaelmas, 1402,⁶ but for the next two years only his robe was given,⁷ and after this he is not mentioned in the surviving rolls until the works had restarted in 1413. We know from other sources that Henry IV found employment for him by sending him to York Minster on 14th December, 1407, to take charge of the works of the central tower, which had got into structural difficulties.⁸ The job proved dangerous for other reasons, and Colchester and his assistant were assaulted by the York masons.⁹ This may have been a matter of mere personal jealousy, but relations are not likely to have been improved by the recent execution of the Archbishop of York, regarded by the Northerners as a martyr at the hands of the usurper who was sending a southern master to interfere with their work. In 1410 the King revoked Colchester's appointment at York,¹⁰ but he seems to have continued to have charge of the works there, for he took up the freedom of York in 1416,¹¹ and the Minster fabric rolls show that he was paid his fees in the years from 1415 to 1419.¹²

Henry V reversed his father's policy in several directions, and seems to have set himself deliberately to make some amends to the memory of Richard II, who had treated him with kindness. He not only gave Richard's body a worthy reburial in the Abbey, but renewed the royal subsidy to the works, which began again on 7th July, 1413.¹³ Colchester's old fee was not only restored but doubled, and he was paid £10 a year for the rest of his life, while the cost of his robe rose from 13s. 4d. to 14s. 2½d.¹⁴ Under him the triforium was built on both sides and the aisles roofed; nearly 50 years were to pass before the roofing of the nave itself. Henry V marked his appreciation of the work by appointing as master mason of his works 'oon that hyght Colchester whiche is maistre mason bothe of the Chirche of York, and of Westm.', in July, 1418.¹⁵ Colchester's robe was allowed for the last time in the roll covering the year to Michaelmas, 1420; it was described as '1 robe with 1 lambs fur'; in the next year 12s. only was spent on '1 robe without fur of the suit of esquires' for John Thresk, warden.¹⁶ A separate account running to Christmas, 1421, shows that before the end of that year Thresk (or Thirsk) had been promoted: £10 was paid 'for the fee of John Thresk, chief mason in the place of Master William Colchester for the disposition and ordinance of the whole work'.¹⁷

Thirsk, like his predecessor, was unfortunate in the time at which he received his promotion. Henry V died on 31st August, 1422, and the work of the nave again flagged, this time for some 45 years. But, again like Colchester, Thirsk found other employment,

¹ Rackham, p. 42.

² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1399-1402, p. 154.

³ W.A.M., 23470.

⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1391-96, 643, 647.

⁵ W.A.M., 23465.

⁶ W.A.M., 23471.

⁷ W.A.M., 23473-74.

⁸ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1405-08, p. 383.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 482; Raine: *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, p. 201.

¹⁰ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1408-13, p. 199.

¹¹ F. Collins ed.: *Register of Freemen of York* (Surtees Soc., XCVI, 1897), I, p. 125.

¹² Raine: *Fabric Rolls*, p. 34n.

¹³ Rackham, p. 46.

¹⁴ W.A.M., 23492, 23480-82, 23493, 23483-88.

¹⁵ P.R.O., C. 81/1364, a reference for which I am indebted to Dr. R. L. Storey; cf. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1416-22, p. 170.

¹⁶ W.A.M., 23489.

¹⁷ W.A.M., 23494.

being put in charge of the building of the late king's Chantry Chapel.¹ He probably received a handsome fee from Henry V's executors, whose accounts are lost, but in the *Novum Opus* rolls is entered merely for his pay as a working mason at 3s. 4d. a week, with an annual suit of clothes, for which either 13s. or 13s. 4d. was paid.² At Midsummer, 1430, however, half of his old fee was restored,³ and thereafter he received £5 yearly as well as a varying amount for clothing and, from 1447, the rent of a house in the Sanctuary granted to him for life by the Sacrist, namely, £2 a year.⁴

In 1422-23 Thirsk made the great east window of St. Margaret's Church for the Sacrist,⁵ and he was the designer of the carved screen behind the high altar of the Abbey, finished in 1441.⁶ Thirsk carried out other work as well as that for the Abbey: he carved a statue for the river front of Archbishop Chichele's ('Lollards') tower at Lambeth Palace, built in 1434-35;⁷ and towards the end of his life was appointed master mason of Windsor Castle on 28th June, 1449.⁸ There can be little doubt that Thirsk was a York mason brought to Westminster by Colchester on his return from the northern Minster, and as late as 1438 it was found that Thirsk owed £1 to the estate of a deceased York mason, John Bradford, doubtless a former colleague.⁹

Thirsk was paid in full in the year 1450-51;¹⁰ the roll for the following year is lost, while in that for 1452-53 John Smyth is the master mason.¹¹ Like Thirsk, Smyth was commonly paid as a working mason, though not continuously.¹² In some years he received a fee of £5, £8 13s. 4d. for 52 weeks at 3s. 4d., 13s. 4d. for clothing, and £2 paid to the Sacrist for his rent. He may be identified with the John Smyth who had worked at Canterbury Cathedral from 1429 to 1439, rising to the position of first of the lodge masons by 1433,¹³ and who became warden of the masons at Eton College when work began there in the spring of 1441.¹⁴ By 1445 he was described as chief mason at Eton, and even after his appointment at Westminster was consulted by the College authorities.¹⁵

Smyth was succeeded at Michaelmas 1460, by John Reading,¹⁶ who had worked at Eton College as a freemason in 1442.¹⁷ He had presumably just settled in Westminster at his appointment in 1460, for the churchwardens' accounts of St. Margaret's show that in that year he paid 13d. for a pew for his wife in that church.¹⁸ During Reading's term of office, which lasted until the winter of 1470-71, a new period of heavy work began on the nave, and the roof began to be erected by Richard Pache, the master carpenter, in 1468.¹⁹ Roofing continued for the next 10 years, but in 1471 Reading had given place to Robert Stowell.²⁰ Stowell had previously been a working mason at the Abbey, for 16 months in 1468 and 1469,²¹ and until Michaelmas 1475 was paid as a working mason in addition to his fee of £5 and the other usual perquisites.²² He remained in office for 34 years and saw the completion of the great vault, three bays of which he built by contract for £120 in 1489-90.²³ The vaulting began in 1482 and its construction apparently set a serious problem, for in 1480 a sum of 5s. was paid for fees and refreshments given to three master masons who came to survey the old and new church and to give their counsel as to its repair in the following year.²⁴

¹ A. P. Stanley: *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (1868), p. 508.

² W.A.M., 23495-500.

³ W.A.M., 23501.

⁴ W.A.M., 23502-518.

⁵ W.A.M., 19663-64.

⁶ L. E. Tanner: *The Story of Westminster Abbey* (1932).

⁷ Lambeth Palace, accounts quoted by Dr. C. R. Dodwell in a lecture to the Ancient Monuments Society, 9 June, 1955.

⁸ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1446-52, p. 256.

⁹ *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Surtees Soc., 1836, etc.), III, p. 195.

¹⁰ W.A.M., 23517.

¹¹ W.A.M., 23519.

¹² W.A.M., 23520-24.

¹³ D. Knoop & G. P. Jones: 'The Building

of Eton College, 1442-1460' in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, XLVI (1933).

¹⁴ R. Willis & J. W. Clark: *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (1886), I, 399.

¹⁵ Eton College Accounts, kindly communicated by Professor G. P. Jones.

¹⁶ W.A.M., 23525.

¹⁷ Knoop & Jones in *A.Q.C.*, XLVI, pp. 26, 37.

¹⁸ H. F. Westlake: *St. Margaret's, Westminster* (1914), p. 138.

¹⁹ Rackham, pp. 62, 68-9.

²⁰ W.A.M., 23535.

²¹ W.A.M., 23533-34.

²² W.A.M., 23537-44.

²³ W.A.M., 23563.

²⁴ W.A.M., 23552.

Stowell had been John Thirsk's successor as master mason of Windsor Castle in 1452, when his previous good services were given as the reason for the grant.¹ But nine years later he was superseded by the new King, Edward IV, in favour of Robert Leget. Stowell built up a private practice, working at Broxbourne Church in 1476,² and being consulted on the repairs and rebuilding of St. Margaret's, Westminster, in progress from 1482 to 1504.³

Thomas Redman, a working mason at the Abbey from 1490 onwards,⁴ became master at Stowell's death in the autumn of 1505, and held office until his own death in January, 1515-16.⁵ His son Henry Redman succeeded him, having had two years' experience as a working mason in 1495-97.⁶ His important career as one of the architects of Cardinal Wolsey and of Henry VIII can find no place here, but his position as designer of chancel and tower of St. Margaret's, Westminster, built between 1516 and 1523, must be mentioned.⁷

Henry Redman died on 10th July, 1528 and was succeeded at Westminster Abbey by John Molton and William Taylor as joint masters, who continued in office until the *Novum Opus* closed in 1534.⁸

The two masons shared between them the yearly fees of £5 and 13s. 4d. for clothing, while Taylor also continued to draw wages of 3s. 4d. a week as a working mason until the spring of 1534. Before becoming Masters, Molton and Taylor had both been employed at the Abbey, Molton as a carver from 1524-25 onwards,⁹ and Taylor as a freemason from 1519;¹⁰ he died early in 1543, and Molton four years later, five days before Henry VIII.

(ii) Subordinate Masons

Among the working masons of the last four generations of the Abbey's building it is possible to identify a certain number with men who later made their mark elsewhere.

John Alygh, who worked for the year 1487-88,¹¹ was probably the John A Lee who ten years later carried out a contract of £120 at the royal manor of Langley, and also John Lee or Alee, who was joint master of the works at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, between 1507 and 1515. This master was probably also identical with the John Alee of St. Albans, freemason, who died in the winter of 1521-22, and who seems to have been the grandfather of Sir Richard Lee, Henry VIII's famous engineer.¹²

William Burdon, at the Abbey for 11 weeks in 1468,¹³ was perhaps the mason of that name of Bury St. Edmunds, who died in 1496.¹⁴

John Ellis, at Westminster Abbey for 2 weeks in 1520-21 and for 7½ days in 1523-24,¹⁵ was presumably the second warden of masons appointed at Whitehall Palace in 1531, and who was concerned with carving for Hampton Court in 1534 and with freemason's work at Westminster Hall and at Rochester in 1542. Nicholas Ellis, who worked at the Abbey for 50 days in 1529-30,¹⁶ was in his turn warden of the masons at Whitehall from 1541, and in 1547 succeeded John Molton as Master Mason of the King's Works.

William East, paid the low wage of 2s. a week for 40 weeks in 1482-83,¹⁷ was presumably the well-known mason-contractor of that name who built Woodstock Palace and Corpus Christi College and other buildings in Oxford.

¹ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1452-61, p. 41.

² L. F. Salzman: *Building in England* (1952), pp. 537-8.

³ Westlake: *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, p. 150.

⁴ W.A.M., 23565-85.

⁵ W.A.M., 23586-600.

⁶ W.A.M., 23572-73.

⁷ Westlake: *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, p. 13.

⁸ W.A.M., 23618-26.

⁹ W.A.M., 23612-17; Molton may have been the John Multon who in 1506-07 worked for All Souls' College, Oxford; and again in 1508-09.

(E. A. Gee: 'Oxford Masons, 1370-1530' in *Arch. Journ.*, CIX, 1953, p. 97).

¹⁰ W.A.M., 23606-17.

¹¹ W.A.M., 23561-62.

¹² See Mr. Arthur Oswald's account in *English Mediaeval Architects*, pp. 159-60.

¹³ W.A.M., 23533, 23533*.

¹⁴ Ipswich Probate Registry, Bury Wills, VI, f. 43, a reference for which I am indebted to Mr. Oswald.

¹⁵ W.A.M., 23608, 23610-11.

¹⁶ W.A.M., 23619.

¹⁷ W.A.M., 23557.

Thomas Fante, who worked continuously at the Abbey for over 5 years, 1524-1529,¹ was the first warden of the masons at Whitehall Palace in 1531 and apparently the Thomas Forente or Forard, later employed to impress masons for Norwich, and as a working mason there.

William Rede, working on the nave vault in 1482-84,² was probably the Warden of the London Masons' Company in office in 1515.

John Redman, in regular work at the Abbey from 1490 until 1505 except for a break of 56 weeks in 1500-01,³ was perhaps able in his own time to execute the carving done in 1496-97 by one John Redmanne on the roodloft of St. Mary-at-Hill, London.

John Sommer, employed for 6 weeks in 1510-11,⁴ may have been the mason of Portsmouth of that name, who in 1543 surveyed the tower and steeple of Chichester Cathedral.

Robert Westerley, second mason from March, 1423-4, until 1427, who received special rewards and an allowance for clothing,⁵ left to join the King's works, and from 1439 to 1461 held office as the King's Master Mason.

Beside these cases where identity is either certain or highly probable, we may set a few more doubtful instances. John Foule, who worked a total of 20 weeks in 1504-05,⁶ might be the J. Fowler employed in 1508-09 at Magdalen College, Oxford.⁷ The J. Gardener who worked from 1396 to 1399 may have been the John Gardener who, with a gang of other masons, was employed in the cloisters of Norwich Cathedral in 1388-89.⁸ John Manfeld, who served his apprenticeship at the Abbey from 1497 to 1502,⁹ may have been the Manfield who was paid 6d. a day for 5½ days' work at Magdalen in 1521-22,¹⁰ and the second John Smyth, who worked for 12 weeks at Westminster in 1482-83,¹¹ could have been the same who built a new chimney at Magdalen in 1503-04, worked for 20 days on the great tower there in 1506-07, and in 1509-10 was paid for carrying tiles.¹² It is singular that so very few and such flimsy identifications should be possible between the long lists of masons who worked for Westminster Abbey and those compiled by Dr. Eric Gee for the whole of the Oxford masons during the same 150 years.

One case of unusual interest has been left for special consideration: that of Robert Vertue. A mason named Adam Vertu was taken on at the beginning of 1475 and worked for nearly the whole year at the standard rate of 3s. 4d. a week.¹³ In May Robert Vertu, son of Adam Vertu, began to be paid at the rate of 1s. 8d. a week, which continued for his first year's service. Thereafter he was paid for two years at 2s. a week, and for nearly 18 months at 2s. 4d. From February, 1479-80 to March, 1483, he disappeared, but then returned at the full rate of 3s. 4d., being paid at the higher rates of 3s. 6d. and 3s. 8d. for some weeks' work on setting the vaults. So far as the rolls survive, he continued in full employment apart from occasional breaks of a few weeks until 24th April, 1490, and like the four other senior masons received a yearly robe worth 10s. or 11s. as well as his pay.¹⁴

Of Robert Vertue's later career only the salient facts need be mentioned: by 1499 he was in charge of work for the King at Greenwich, with his brother William Vertue, designed the new Abbey Church at Bath begun in 1501, carried out extensive works at the Tower of London, and was one of the three King's master masons concerned with Henry VII's proposed tomb in 1506, the year in which Robert Vertue died.

Here the special interest of his record lies in the light thrown upon the training of one of the greatest architectural masters of the late Middle Ages. It is reasonable to assume that he reached the Abbey with his father, working the first 4½ months without pay, and that he had already begun his training some time, possibly a year or more, before their

¹ W.A.M., 23610-18.

² W.A.M., 23557-59.

³ W.A.M., 23563-86.

⁴ W.A.M., 23593.

⁵ W.A.M., 23497-500.

⁶ W.A.M., 23582-85.

⁷ E. A. Gee: 'Oxford Masons, 1370-1530' in *Arch. Journ.*, CIX (1953), p. 105.

⁸ Norwich Cathedral Muniments, Roll 1060.

⁹ W.A.M., 23575-81.

¹⁰ Gee, p. 108.

¹¹ W.A.M., 23557.

¹² Gee, p. 103.

¹³ W.A.M., 23543-46.

¹⁴ W.A.M., 23543-53, 23557-64.

arrival. After just over 5 years in all on the Abbey works he disappears for a little more than 3 years, and then comes back as a working mason of the highest skill, employed at special rates upon the vaults.

Interpreted in the light of the system of apprenticeship traditional in the building crafts down to the present time, we may say that Robert Vertue was out of his articles early in 1480, and immediately left for his three wanderyears as an improver, at the end of which he returned to his old job for some seven years, probably that is until his outstanding gifts secured him a post elsewhere as master or warden. He must have been born within a year or two of 1460, and so would have been about 45 at his premature death.

From a survey of the whole body of masons employed it is possible to reach some tentative conclusions on the subject of their training. At all periods the men employed may be divided into three categories of service : long-term men ; those who worked for relatively short periods of from one to three years ; and casuals who were taken on for a few weeks or months only.

Omitting the service of masters, there are 50 masons with over 3 years to their credit, 61 with from 6 months up to 3 years, and 63 with only casual employment, a total of 174. Of the long-term men, 15 served the Abbey for 10 years or more ; one of them, William Thornwerk, for over 36, and another, John Whelpley, for over 26 years. In several cases masons worked for two separated periods, as did Robert Vertue, John Redman, Thomas Redman, junior, and John Wilmot. The case of the younger Thomas Redman is parallel to that of Robert Vertue, in that he was first given a robe only as an apprentice, then received low pay rising from 1s. 8d. up to 2s. 4d. a week for the next 6½ years,¹ was absent for 3, and returned to work continuously from 1509 until 1532.² A number of other instances occur of apprentices who served the whole or a substantial part of their term ; among them Robert Howe, who served a full 7 years, and John Lentall who was paid as an apprentice for 3 years, at an intermediate rate for 2 years, and then at the full rate for another 3 years. In this case no wanderyears intervened to break the term of service.

Some of those who served for terms between 6 months and 3 years were paid at less than the full rate, and it seems that these were probably improvers putting in time during their wanderyears. The masons who worked only for very short terms no doubt exemplify the 8th Article of the Regius Poem, that if the master have any mason not as perfect as he should be, he is to change him as soon as possible for another better man. Only one mason is described as a foreigner : Ivo Vinetans or de Vannce, 'Gallicus', the Frenchman. He received pay at the full normal rate of 3s. 4d. a week for 54 weeks in 1479-81 and for 6 weeks in 1481-82, as well as for 19 weeks at 3s. 6d. in 1482-83 on the nave vault.³ Here is a suggestion that wandering masons from abroad might still find occasional work in England, but that their visits can hardly have been frequent.

¹ W.A.M., 23576-86.

² W.A.M., 23591-623.

³ W.A.M., 23552-57.

One matter remains to be mentioned in conclusion: the separate organisation of the works of Henry VII's Chapel. This was built for the King, and not by the Abbey authorities, starting in January, 1502-3. The design must belong to 1502 at the latest. Two or three masons who disappear from the *Novum Opus* rolls about this time; John Foule who worked for 20 weeks in 1504,¹ John Manfeld who left at the end of his apprenticeship late in 1502,² and Thomas Nevile or Nevell, who left in the autumn of 1505 after 9 years' service,³ may have joined the royal organisation. Another mason concerned with the building of the Chapel was William Wetyng, sent in 1505 to impress men from Peterborough Abbey, and there imprisoned by the Abbot for unpaid rent.⁴ But Mr. L. E. Tanner's recent discovery of several named masons as tenants of the Abbey at this period suggests that they too were probably employed on the work. To the east of the Chapter House and south of the Lady Chapel lay a range of tenements of the Sacrist, one of which known as 'St. Albans' had been the house of Robert Stowell as the Abbey's master mason from 1476 to 1497. After that date it had been subdivided, and one part is found let to Robert Leget in 1503-04 and the following year,⁵ after which it was occupied by John Cheney, mason, until 1511;⁶ Cheney also took a neighbouring cottage. Another part of the house was leased to Thomas Barbor, mason, from 1506 to 1509,⁷ while yet another section was in the hands of one Thomas Johnson for 9 months in 1505-06.⁸ All these names are those of masons quite well known. Robert Leget, if this was the same man, was master mason of Windsor Castle from 1462 until a date between 1484 and 1520; John Cheney is doubtless the Cheney who later worked for Wolsey at Hampton Court and designed work at St. Laurence's Church, Reading, in 1521-22; Thomas Barbor is possibly the joint architect, with Richard Lee, of Wolsey's College at Ipswich, named in 1528;⁹ Thomas Johnson was in 1530-36 the carver of the King's Beasts for Hampton Court.

Whether or no any of these men played a part in the design of the Chapel, for which there is some reason to think that Robert Vertue was the principal master, it seems safe to assume that they were members of the all-star cast responsible for building what was soon to be called 'the wonder of the worldes' and 'this mirror of art and architect'.¹⁰

¹ W.A.M., 23582-85.

² W.A.M., 23575-81.

³ W.A.M., 23573-86.

⁴ P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, 370/1.

⁵ W.A.M., 19759-60.

⁶ W.A.M., 19761-67.

⁷ W.A.M., 19762-64.

⁸ W.A.M., 19761.

⁹ Alternatively, and perhaps more probably, the Barbour who worked with Lee at Ipswich may have been the John Barbour of Ipswich, 'free mason' who on 4 March, 1541/2 was bound in £30 to Lyonell Talmache of

Helmingham, Suffolk, to make a battlement on the tower of Helmingham Church by 24 June, 1543. The battlements of the tower do in fact bear the date 1543 and the Tollemache arms. (Helmingham Hall archives, Study bookcase long drawer, 2a/1; I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Arthur Oswald).

¹⁰ I here express my gratitude to Mr. Lawrence Tanner for his keen interest and much help, and to Mr. R. P. Howgrave-Graham with whom I have had the advantage of discussing many problems of the Abbey's architectural development.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MASONS 1341-1534

Note : The years given run from Michaelmas, and where not otherwise stated it is to be presumed that pay was given for 52 weeks; shorter periods are marked in parentheses after the year. For years marked x the account rolls are missing. Wages lower than the normal are shown after the year in heavy square brackets. Information from accounts other than those of the Novum Opus is indicated : *Cell.*, Cellarer's rolls : *Inf.*, Infirmer's rolls : *Sac.*, Sacrist's rolls. M. indicates Master : W. Warden ; app. apprentice.

- ALEYN (ALEN, ALIN), John —, 1467/8, —, —, —, —, —, 73/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 79/80, 80/1, 1/2, 2/3 (33 w.), —
- ALYGH, John¹ —, 1487/8, x
- ALYE, Thomas¹ x, 1486/7 (21 w.), —
- AYLESBY, Henry —, 1479/80 (1 w.), —
- BAILLY, John —, 1482/3 (1 w.), —
- BALDIRTON, J. —, 1394/5 [2/6], 5/6 [2/6], 6/7 [2/6] (32 w.), x
- BALDIRTON, Simond, junior —, 1395/6 [2/6], —
- BALDIRTON, T. —, 1394/5 [2/6], —
- BEREFORD (BERESFORD), John x, 1364/5 (42 w. : 10 w. *Inf.*), x, 6/7 (33 w. *Inf.*), —
- BLANFORD, Richard x, 1466/7, 7/8, 8/9, 69/70, 70/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4 (30 w.), —
- BOLE, Walter le (contractor) 1341
- BOTTILLER, J. —, 1394/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, —, x, 1401/2 (4 w.), x
- BOTILLER, W.² 1398/9 (28 w.)
- BOYLESTON, Thomas, *serv.* —, 1355/6 [1/-], —
- BOYLESTON, Thomas, *cubitor* —, 1361/2, 2/3, x, 4/5 (42 w. : 10 w. *Inf.*), —
- BRADERIK, Adam x, 1366/7 (*Inf.*), x
- BRAMER, William —, 1473/4 (15 w.), —
- BRISTISHAM, J. —, 1396/7 (34 w.), x
- BROMFELD, John —, 1468, —
- BROWNE, Andrew —, 1482/3 (14 w.), —
- BROWN, John³ x, 1393/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, 8/9, 9 (8 w.), 1400/1, 1/2, x
- BROWNE, Robert —, 1481/2 [1/8], 2/3 [1/8] (10 w.), —
- BUCLOND, T. —, 1394/5 (30 w.), 5/6 (34 w.), 6/7, x
- BUNTYNG, John —, 1475/6 (16 w.), 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 79/80 (30 w.), —
- BURBAGE, Thomas —, 1496/7, —
- BURDON, William —, 1468 (11 w.), —
- BURLEY, J. —, 1395/6 (21 w.), —
- BURTON, William —, 1528/9 (34 w.), 29/30, 30/1, 1/2, 2/3, —
- BURY, Nicholas —, 1355/6, —
- BURY, Thomas x, 1423/4 (27 w.), x, 5/6, —
- CANCIA, Matthew de —, 1468 (31 w.), 8/9 (30 w.), —
- CARLTON, Geoffrey —, 1352/3 (21 w.), —
- CARROWE, John —, 1527/8, —
- CHURCHMAN, Thomas ('hardehewer'; 'labourer'; 'setter') —, 1510/1 (11 w.), 1/2, 2/3 (8 w.), 3/4 (10 w.), 4/5 (6 w.), 5/6 (14 w.), —, —, —, —, 20/1 (31 w.), 1/2 (32 w.), x
- CLAVELL, Thomas x, 1490 (21 w.), 90/1 (9 w.), —
- CLIDEROWE, W. —, 1395/6 (21 w.), —
- COLCHESTER, William x, M. 1400/1 fee and robe, 1/2 fee and robe, x, 3/4 robe, 4/5 robe, x, x, x, x, x, x, x, 13/14 fee and robe, 14/15 fee and robe, 15/16 fee and robe, 16/17 fee and robe, 17/18 fee and robe, 18/19 robe, 19/20 robe, —

¹ Thomas Ayle and John Alygh were probably the same man.

² W. Botiller is probably an error for J. Bottiller.

³ J. Brown a tunic, 1391/2, *Treasurer's Roll*, W.A.M., 19876.

- CORDERER, John —, 1482/3 (31 w.), —
 COTON, John —, 1482/3 (16 w.), —
 COTON, Thomas —, 1482/3 (53 w.), 3/4 (36 w.), x
 DAVISON, John —, 1482/3 (28 w.), —
 DOBYNS, John —, 1468/9 (22 w.), —
 DUFFELD, J. —, 1394/5 (30 w.), —
 DUFFELD, John¹ —, 1358 (31 w.), 8/9, x
 DUFFELD, Thomas x, 1349, —, —, 52/3, 3/4, —, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8 (20 w.; died ²)
 ELLIS, John —, 1520/1 (2 w.), —, x, 3/4 (1 w.), —
 ELLYS, Nicholas —, 1529/30 (9 w.), —
 ESCHYNG (ISCHYNGG), John 1385/6 (15 w. *Sac.*), —, —, —, x, 1390/1 (25 w.), x
 EST, John —, 1356 (35 w.), 6/7 (23 w.), —
 EST, John —, 1462/3 (12 w.), —
 EST, William —, 1482/3 [2/-] (40 w.), —
 EXCESTR, Thomas —, 1377, (9 w. *Sac.*), —,, 1388/9 [3/-] (13 w.), x, 90/1 [3/-],
 x, x, —, 4/5 [2/6] (40 w.), 5/6 [2/6], 6/7 [2/6], x, 8/9 [2/6] (28 w.), —
 EYRE, Henry —, 1474/5 (37 w.), 5/6 (15 w.), —
 FANTE, John —, 1479/80 (2 w.), —
 FANTE (FANTT), Thomas x, 1523/4 (25 w.), 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9 (38 w.), —
 FELIS, John —, 1468 (29 w.), —
 FOULE, John —, 1503/4 (17 w.), 4/5 (3 w.), —
 FOXGROVE, Thomas, *cubitor* 1366 (12 w. *Inf.*), x, 69 (3 w. *Inf.*), —
 GARDENER, J. —, 1396/7, x, 8/9 (28 w.), —
 GAZON, William —, 1482/3 (2 w.), —
 GENTYLL, John —, 1516/7 [1/8] (22 w.), —
 GLOVER, J. —, 1394/5 (17 w.), 5/6 (12 w.), 6/7 (34 w.), x
 GOLDYNG, John —, 1457/8 (13 w.), x
 GRENDON, William —, 1355 (32 w.), 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, x, 60/1, 1/2, 2/3, x, 4/5 (42 w. :
 10 w. *Inf.*), —
 GRENDON, William³ x, 1390/1 (44 w.), x, x, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, 8/9 (28 w.), x, 1400/1
 (24 w.), 1/2, x
 HALES, Henry, ? *talliator* —, 1358/9 (? 17 w.), x
 HAMOND, Richard ('labourer'; 'hardehewer'; 'rougheleyer als tyler') x, 1523/4
 (20 w.), 4/5 (17 w.), 5/6 (6 w.), —, —, —, —, 31/2 (14 w.), —
 HARDEGREY, Richard x, 1393/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, 8/9 (28 w.), x, 1400/1 (24 w.), 1/2, x,
 3/4 (6 w.), —, 1407/8 (4 w. *Sac.*), —
 HARDY, John⁴ 1451
 HASILL, R. —, 1396/7 (34 w.), x
 HEGESON, Robert —, 1482/3 (8 w.), —
 HENRY, 'cementar', 'hewere' 1391/2 (26 w. —Whit.) [3/4 & 5/8 tunic]
 HERT, William —, 1388/9, x, —, x, x, 93/4, — (*Sac.* 1407/8; 'W. H. de la Quarr')
 HERTLEY, Thomas —, 1475/6 (3 w.), 6/7 (3 w.), —
 HEVED, John, *cubitor*, —, 1355/6, 6/7, —
 HODY, Henry —, 1528/9 [6d p. d.] (app. 29 w.), 29/30 [6d p. d.] (38 w.), 31/2 [6d p. d.]
 (49 w.), 2/3 [6d.], —
 HOO, Thomas —, 1394/5 [2/-] (27 w.), 5/6 [2/-] (16 w.), —
 HOWE (HOUGH), Robert —, 1475/6 [1/8] (35 w.); [2/-] (17 w.), 6/7 [2/-] (45 w.),
 7/8 [2/-] (28 w.), 8/9 [2/-] 79/80 [2/4], 80/1 [2/4], 1/2 [2/4], 2/3 [2/4] (10 w.), —
 HUMFREY, John —, 1467 (13 w.), —, —, —, —, —, —, 74/5 (21 w.), —
 JAMES, apprentice 1394/5 [1/-] (13 w.), 6/7 [1/2], x, 8/9 *Inf.*), x

¹ Succeeding to Thomas Duffeld.² 'Et de iij.li. rec' de Johanne Pallerton pro anima Thome Doffeld socij sui'.³ Probably another man from the mason of 1355-65.⁴ Paid £10 for 'Northirnstone' for the South Rose window.

- JACOB, John x, 1364/5 (30 w.; 22 w. *Inf.*), x, 6/7 (*Inf.*), x, 68 (12 w. *Inf.*), —
 JOCE, Richard, *cubitor* —, 1367 (40 w. *Inf.*), x, 68 (12 w. *Inf.*), 69 (3 w.), —
 JOHNSON, Roger —1482/3 (1 day), —
 KEMPSTON, Edmund¹ —, 1510/11 (6 w.), —
 KENT, see CANCIA
 KENTBURY, Robert x, W. 1387/8, 8/9, x, 90/1, x²
 KENTSTONE, Edmund x, 1490 [2/8] (31 w.), 90/1 [3/-], 1/2 [3/-] (37 w.: 15 w.) [3/4],
 2/3 [3/4], 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, —
 LANCELYN, Thomas, *talliator* —, 1356/7 (4 w.), 7/8 (? 16 w.), 8/9 (? 18 w.), x
 LENTALL (LYNTHALL), John —, 1509/10 [1/8] (app. 16 w.), 10/11 [1/8], 1/2 [1/8]
 (40 w.: 12 w.) [2/-], 2/3 (26 w.: 26 w.) [2/8], 3/4 [2/8], 4/5 [2/8] (26 w.: 26 w.)
 [3/4], 5/6 [3/4], 6/7 [3/4], 7/8 [3/4], —
 LEYCESTER, Richard³ —, 1352/3, —
 LONDON, William x, 1445/6, x, 7/8, x, 49/50, 50/1, x, 2/3, x, x, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8 (32 w.)
 (died).
 LONG, John —, 1394/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, 8/9, 9 (8 w.), 1400/1 (28 w.), —
 LUNE, William⁴ —, 1435/6, 6/7, x, x, x, x, x, (? 42/3), x
 Lychfeld, William —, 1467/8, —
 MANFELD, John —, 1497/8 robe, 8/9 [2/-], 1499/1500 [2/-] (app. 41 w.), 1500/1
 [2/-], 1/2 [2/-], 2/3 [2/-] (6 w.), —
 MARSHALL, Edward x, 1486/7 (43 w.), 7/8, x, 90 (31 w.), —
 MARTYN, William x, 1424 (12 w.), x
 MASON, William, *cubator* —, 1388/9 (16 w.), x
 MASSON, William⁵ —, 1518/9, —
 MICHELL, John —, 1462/3 (12 w.), —, —, x, —, —, —, —, —, —, 74/5 (4 w.), —
 MILLER, Adam —, 1482/3 (5 w.), —
 MOLTON, John⁶ —, 1524/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, M. 28/9, 29/30, 30/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, x
 MOR, Nicholas atte —, 1362/3 (47 w.), x
 MORGAN, John x, 1486/7 (3 w.), —
 NEVILLE (NEWELL), Thomas —, 1496/7, 7/8, 8/9, 1499/1500 (40 w.), 1500/1 (16 w.),
 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6 (8 w.), x
 NEWYNGTON, Stephen —, 1527/8, 8/9, 29/30, 30/1, 1/2, —
 NICHOLL, Richard —, 1394/5 [2/2] (30 w.), —
 NORTHAMPTON, William de —, 1468 (39 w.), —
 NORTON, William —, 1394/5 (40 w.), 5/6, 6/7, x, 8/9 (28 w.), —
 OSEWOLD, William —, 1468/9 (22 w.), —
 OSWARD, Richard —, 1482/3 (22 w.), —
 PADYNGTON, Thomas x, 1387/8, 8/9, x, 90/1, x, x, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x
 PALTERTON, John x, (? 1349–52), 52/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6 (17 w.) —⁷, 57 (33 w.), 7/8, 8/9, x,
 60/1, M. 1/2, 2/3, x, 1364/5 (42 w.: 10 w. *Inf.*), x, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 69/70, 70/1, 1/2, x,
 3/4 (*Sac.*), 4/5 (24 w. *Cell.*), 5/6, x, x, 8/9, x, —
 PARKER, John —, 1482/3 [2/8] (46 w.), 3/4 [2/8] (15 w.), x
 PARSON, J., *positor* —, 1394/5 [2/6] (48 w.), —, 1407/8 (22 days, *Sac.*), John Person,
 (*Sac.*) *positor*
 PATRINGTON, W.⁸ x, 1393/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x

¹ Perhaps identical with Edmund Kenston or Kentstone, below.

² Kentbury was allowed £53 6s. 8d. in 1391, and £5 in 1392, in part payment of £100 for making the vault of the new Malthouse. *Treas. Roll*, W.A.M., 19876.

³ Richard Leycester the Black Prince's mason, mentioned as buying stone from the Abbey quarry.

⁴ Perhaps identical with William London, above. The masons are unnamed in 1442/3.

⁵ Possibly identical with William Taylor, below.

⁶ 'Entayling in gros'.

⁷ Absent on pilgrimage 1356–7.

⁸ William Patryngton 1382/3 (44 w.), x, x, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8 (10 w.), 8/9 (48 w.), 89/90 (38 w.), 90/91 (48 w.), 91/2, 2/3, *Sacrist's Rolls* 19640–19650.

- PLOMERDEN, J. —, 1357/8, —
 POLEYN, Robert¹ —, 1482/3 (9 w.), —
 POOR, John —, 1427/8 (27 w.), x, 29/30, 30/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, —
 POWLYN, Robert x, 1486/7, 7/8, x
 PROFFYT, J. x, 1398/9 (28 w.), —
 PROFFYT, T.² —, 1396/7 (34 w.), x
 PUMFEREY, T. —, 1358/9 (? 17 w.), x
 RANKE, William —, 1480/1 (6 w.), —
 RAYNTON, Robert —, 1473/4 (15 w.), —
 REDE, William —, 1482/3 (67 w.), 3/4 (35 w.), x
 REDEMAN, Henry —, 1495/6, 6/7, M. 1516/7, 7/8, 8/9, 19/20, 20/1, 1/2, x, 2/3, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8 (died).
 REDEMAN, John x, 1490 (31 w.), 90/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 1499/1500 (46 w.), —, 1501/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6 (8 w.), x
 REDEMAN, Thomas —, 1490/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 1499/1500 (40 w.), 1500/1 (46 w.), 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, M. 1505/6, x, 7/8, 8/9, 9/10, 10/11, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6 (died).
 REDEMAN, Thomas, Junr. —, appr. 1489/9 robe, 1499/1500 [1/8] (41 w.), 1500/1 [1/8], 1/2 [1/8], 2/3 [1/8] (43 w.: 9 w.) [2/-], 3/4 [2/4], 4/5 [2/4], 5/6 [2/4] (20 w.), x, —, —, 9/10 [3/4 robe], 10/11, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 19/20, 20/1, 21/2, x, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 29/30, 30/1, 1/2, —
 REDEMAN, William x, 1490 (31 w.), —
 REDYNG, John —, M. 1460/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, x, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 69/70, 70/1 (18 w.), —
 REDYNG, W. —, 1396/7 [2/6], x, 8/9 [2/6] (28 w.), —
 RICHARD, apprentice³ —, 1391/2 [5/- vesture, Sac.],, 1394/5 [1/-], —, 6/7 [1/2], x, 8/9 [1/2], x
 ROGER, *positor*, legger⁴ —, 1396/7, (30 w.), x, 8/9 (23 w.), 9 (8 w.), x, 1400/1 (29 w.), 1/2 (24 w.), x
 ROTHERAM, John —, 1475/6 (10 w.), 6/7 (3 w.), —
 ROUCESTR', Symon de —, 1357/8, 8/9 (36 w.), x
 ROWTHORNE, Robert —, 1473/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8 (13 w.), —
 ROY, John —, 1482/3 (8 w.), —
 ST. ALBANS, William de —, 1468 (23 w.), —
 SALMON, John —, 1456/7 (13 w.), 7/8, x, 59/60, 60/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, x, 6/7, 68 (39 w.), —
 SALYNG, J. —, 1468/9 (22 w.), —
 SAMPSON, John —, 1521/2 (10 w.), x
 SCHERYNGHAM, Peter⁵ —, 1353/4 (28 w.), —
 SCHIRYNGHAM, Thomas⁵ —, 1352/3, —
 SENCLER, R. x, 1393/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, 8/9 (28 w.), —, x, 1401/2 (4 w.), x
 SIMON, legger —, 1396/7 (28 w.), x
 SIPPINHAM, J. —, 1395/6, —
 SIPPINHAM, Peter x, 1398/9 [2/-], 9 [2/6] (8 w.), x, 1400/1 [2/6] (39 w.), —
 SIPPYNGHAM (SYPNAM), Thomas x, 1393/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, 8/9, 9 (8 w.), 1400/1, 1/2, x
 SMYTH, John x, M. 1453 (fee only), x, x, 5/6 [house] (39 w.), 6/7 (26 w.), 7/8, x, 59/60, —
 SMYTH, John —, 1482/3 (12 w.), —
 SMYTH, Thomas x, 1459/60, 60/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, x, 6/7 (13+14 w.), 7/8, 8/9, 69/70, 70/1 (45 w.), —
 SOMMER, John —, 1510/11 (6 w.), —

¹ Probably identical with Robert Powlyn, below.

² J. Proffyt and T. Proffyt possibly identical.

³ Probably identical with Richard Tydy, below.

⁴ Probably Roger Mason, who had a tunic 1391/2, *Treas. Roll*, W.A.M., 19876.

⁵ Peter and Thomas Schiryngham are perhaps identical.

- SQUYER, Richard —, 1500/1 (16 w.), —
 STAFFORD, William, *talliator* —, 1357/8 (? 15 w.), —
 STEVEN, John —, 1482/3 (8 w.), —
 STOWE, John —, 1482/3 (14 w.), —
 STOWELL, Robert —, 1468 (17 w.), 8/9, —, 70/1 (34 w.), M. 71/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 79/80, 80/1, 1/2 (33 w.), 2/3, 3/4, x, x, 6/7, 7/8, x, 89/90¹, 90/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 1499/1500, 1500/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5 (died).
 STUBBS, Nicholas —, 1503/4 (12 w.), 4/5, 5/6, x, 7/8, 8/9, —
 STUTTEZ, John —, 1482/3 (3 w.), —
 SYMKYN, Richard² —, 1492 (34 w.), 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, —
 SYMSON, Richard² x, 1486/7 (12 w.), —
 TAYLOR, Robert —, 1470/1 (2 w.), 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 79/80, 80/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, x
 TAYLOR, William³ —, 1519/20, 20/1, 1/2, x, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 7/8, M28/9, 29/30, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4 (28 w.), x
 TENANNT, John —, 1476/7 (5 w.), —
 TEREHERTE, William —, 1494/5 [1/8] (16 w.), 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, —
 THEBAWD, Stephen⁴ x, 1423/4 (27 w.), x, 5/6, 6/7 (48 w.), 7/8, x, 29/30, 30/1, 1/2 (15 w.), —
 THIRSK, John W. 1420/1, M. 1421/2, x, 3/4 (27 w.), x, 5/6, 6/7 (48 w.), 7/8, x, 29/30⁵, 30/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, x, x, x, x, 42/3, x, x, 5/6, x, 7/8 [house], x, 49/50, 50/1, x
 THOMSON, Robert —, 1482/3 (3 w.), —
 THORNWERK, William x, 1423/4 (27 w.), x, 5/6, 6/7 (48 w.), 7/8, x, 29/30, 30/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, x, x, x, x, 42/3, x, x, 5/6, x, 7/8, x, 49/50, 50/1, x, 2/3, x, x, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, x, 59/60, —
 TRYST, John 1449⁶
 TYDY, Richard⁷ x, 1400/1 [2/-], 1/2 [2/6], x
 VERTU, Adam —, 1474/5 (37 w.), 5/6 (9 w.), —
 VERTU, Robert —, 1474/5 [1/8] (19 w.), 5/6 [1/8], 6/7 [2/-], 7/8 [2/-] (44 w.), 8/9 [2/4], 79/80 [2/4] (19 w.), —, —, 82/3 [3/6] [3/8] (25 w.), 3/4 [3/4] [3/8], x, x, 6/7 [3/4] (48 w.), 7/8 [3/4], x, 90 [3/4] (10 w.), —
 VINETANS (de VANNCE), Ivo 'Gallicus' —, 1479/80 (38 w.), 80/1 (16 w.), 1/2, (6 w.), 2/3 (19 w.), —
 WADISWYK, W. x, 1398/9 (28 w.), —
 WALKER, William⁸ —, 1468/9, 69/70, 70/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6 (37 w.), —
 WALLER, William⁸ —, 1468 (11 w.), —
 WARDEN, John —, 1481/2 (10 w.), —
 WASCHEBORNE, Richard x, 1387/8 (5 w.), —
 WESTERLEY, Robert x, 1423/4⁹ (27 w.), x, 5/6, 10/6/7¹¹ (48 w.), 7/8, x, 12 [3/4]
 WHELPLEY, John —, 1473/4 (22 w.), 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 79/80, 80/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, x, x, 6/7, 7/8, x, 90 (31 w.), 90/1, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 1499/1500 (48 w.), —
 WILKS, John¹³ —, 1496/7, —

¹ Robert Stowell paid £46 in full payment of £120 for contract for 3 severies and the arch.

² Symkyn and Symson are possibly identical.

³ Perhaps identical with William Masson above.

⁴ Almost certainly 'Stephen —' of 1423-4.

⁵ Thirsk paid for 37 weeks at 3s. 4d. per week, and 25s. for 13 weeks.

⁶ Setting 16 corbels in the Dormitory at 5s. each.

⁷ Probably identical with Richard, apprentice 1394/5, above.

⁸ Probably identical.

⁹ R. W. to quarry with 'faussemoldis' 4 days 20d.

¹⁰ R. W. a reward from Abbot 6s. 8d. plus vesture 11s.

¹¹ R. W. reward 6s. 8d. plus vesture 11s.

¹² Vesture only, 11s.

¹³ Probably identical with John Wylkys, below.

- WILMOT, John x, 1424 (9 w.), x, 5/6, 6/7, 7/8, x, —, 30/1 (16 w.), 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, x, x, x, x, ? 42/3, x
 WODHURST, Robert, *talliator* —, 1357/8 (? 16 w.), 8/9 (4 w.), x
 WOODLOND, Thomas x, 1486/7 (32 w.), —
 WYLEBEK, J. —, 1359 (14 w.), x
 WYLKYN, W. —, 1396/7 (34 w.), x
 WYLKYS, John¹ —, 1480/1 (9 w.), 1/2, 2/3 (24 w.), —
 WYTTENEYE, Adam de, *cubator* x, 1349–52, —
 YEVELE, Henry x, M.1387/8, 8/9, x, 90/1, x, x, 93/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, x, 8/9, —
 YONG, William x, 1490 (22 w.), 90/1 (36 w.), —

¹ Probably identical with John Wilks, above.

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