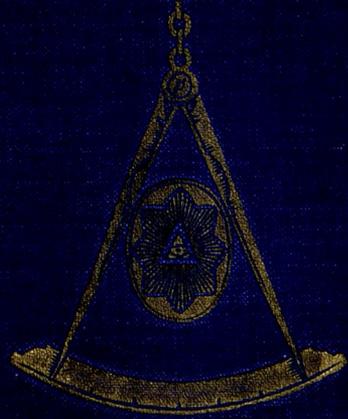
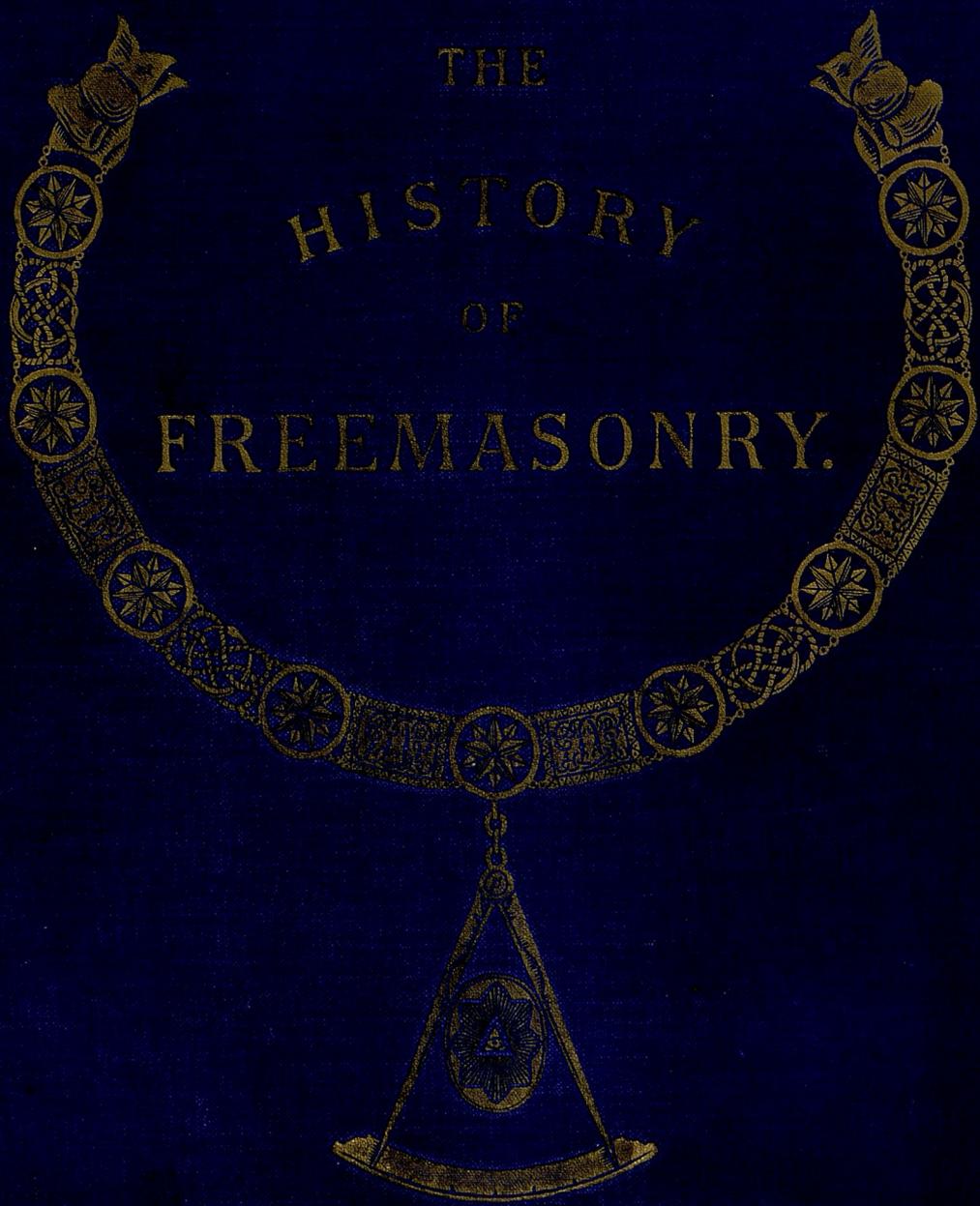


АНГЛ
9
6 69



THE
HISTORY
OF
FREEMASONRY.





1223 н.ч. 17

1955

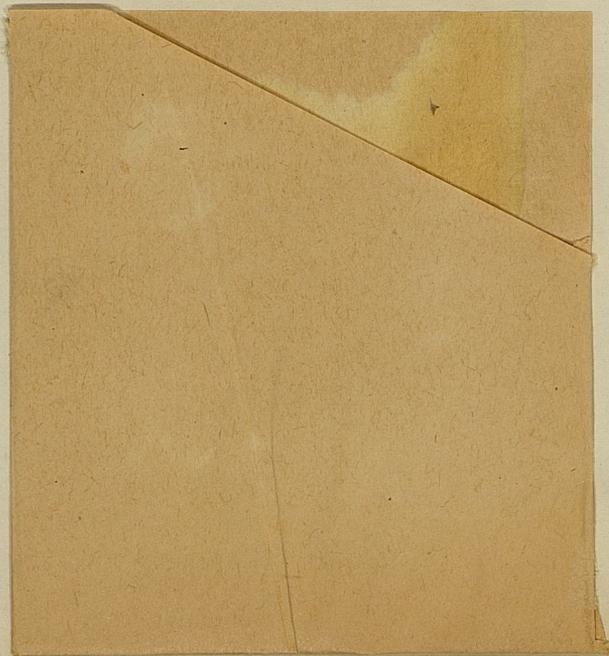




PLATE VII.—GRAND OFFICERS' JEWELS OF THE
GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND.

Amra.
9
669

X

THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

ITS ANTIQUITIES, SYMBOLS, CONSTITUTIONS
CUSTOMS, ETC.

EMBRACING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RECORDS OF THE
ORGANISATIONS OF THE FRATERNITY IN ENGLAND
SCOTLAND, IRELAND, BRITISH COLONIES, FRANCE
GERMANY, AND THE UNITED STATES

92024

Derived from Official Sources

BY ROBERT FREKE GOULD, BARRISTER-AT-LAW
PAST SENIOR GRAND DEACON OF ENGLAND
AUTHOR OF "THE FOUR OLD LODGES," "THE ATHOLL LODGES," ETC.

VOLUME II

LONDON

THE CAXTON PUBLISHING COMPANY
84, 85, 86 CHANCERY LANE, W.C.

T. b. 1329
Sub. 4828

28

THE HISTORY OF
FIREARMS

IN THE
MIDDLE AGES

BY
J. H. MANNING

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

LONDON
THE CANTON PRESS COMPANY
15, N. CHANCERY LANE, W.C.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

CHAPTER	PAGE
VI. MEDIEVAL OPERATIVE MASONRY	253
VII. THE STATUTES RELATING TO THE FREEMASONS	328
VIII. EARLY BRITISH FREEMASONRY (SCOTLAND)	381
IX. MASONS' MARKS	455
X. THE QUATUOR CORONATI (THE FOUR CROWNED OR FOUR HOLY MARTYRS)	467
XI. APOCRYPHAL MANUSCRIPTS	487

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Series of Plates on Masonic Regalia (continued).

PLATE	PAGE
VII. GRAND OFFICERS' JEWELS OF THE GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND	<i>Frontispiece</i>
VIII. GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND JEWELS (CONTINUED), AND SCOTTISH PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE REGALIA	296
IX. TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF SCOTTISH LODGE APRONS	328
X. SCOTTISH PRIVATE LODGE JEWELS (BEING THOSE OF THE LODGE OF EDINBURGH— MARY'S CHAPEL—THE OLDEST LODGE IN THE WORLD)	368
XI. REGALIA OF THE GRAND OFFICERS OF THE GRAND LODGE OF IRELAND	400
XII. JEWELS OF THE GRAND OFFICERS OF THE GRAND LODGE OF IRELAND	432
<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/>	
MASONS' MARKS	460

CHAPTER VI.

MEDIÆVAL OPERATIVE MASONRY.

FEW subjects of equal extent and importance have been the cause of so much controversy as the rise, progress, and decline of the architecture of the Early and Middle Ages of Western Europe. Even the very name is deceptive, for the last of the Gothic kingdoms was destroyed in Spain some five centuries at least before what we call Gothic was introduced. In the early dissertations on this subject, as into many others of a corresponding period, was imported no slight amount of misplaced learning and ingenuity, accompanied by a reckless profusion of paradox and assertion. Besides the *Gothic* origin, which is after all a mere name, Gothic being taken in contradistinction to classical, and, passing over minor absurdities, we have that of Horace Walpole, who, in his letter to the Rev. W. Cole, considers it as having been derived from imitating the metal work of shrines and reliquaries; others, as Milner,¹ point with more plausibility to the round intersecting arches, of which numerous examples may be met with at St Cross, Winchester, and elsewhere. Whitaker, in his "History of the Cathedral of Cornwall"² (which county possessed neither a cathedral nor a history), refers it to the time of Trajan, while the still more fantastic Ledwich, in his "Antiquities of Ireland," assigns its origin to the Egyptians, and its introduction into England to the Normans; and Payne Knight, in his "Principles of Taste," supposes it to be the product of the classical architecture of Greece and Rome, corrupted by that of the Saracens and the Moors. Kerrich³ says that it is derived from a figure called the *Vesica Piscis* (an oval figure pointed at both ends) used on ecclesiastical seals, being herein slightly more absurd than Walpole; while Lascelles, in his

¹ Dr J. Milner, *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, pp. 78-83; *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, pp. 131-133.

² *The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall Historically Surveyed* (1804), vol. i., p. 85. In the British Museum copy of this work appears the following note, in the handwriting of the well-known antiquary Francis Douce: "Descartes' remark on the writings of Lully may be well applied to all that Whitaker has written—'Copiose et sine judicio de iis quæ nescimus garriendum.'"

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xvi., p. 292; vol. xix., p. 353. "As the Greek word for a fish, *ἰχθῦς*, contained the initials of *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ*, even the inhabitants of the deep were made to represent Christ; and the rough outline of the fish, formed of two curves, meeting in a point at their extremities, was made to enclose, under the name of *Vesica Piscis*, the figure of our Saviour in His glorified state; or of the Madonna; or of the patron saint" (T. Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, 1835, p. 183). Mr King says: "It is astonishing how much of the Egyptian and the second-hand Indian symbolism passed over into the usages of following times. The erect oval, the most expressive symbol of passive nature, became the *Vesica Piscis*, and a frame for divine things" (*The Gnostics and their Remains*, pp. 72, 229).

"Heraldic Origin of Gothic" (1820), fairly surpasses all competitors by deriving pointed arches from the sections of the ark, and thereupon claims for it the very highest antiquity, as being Hebrew. Stukeley, in his "Itinerary,"¹ and also in the "Archæologia," says that pointed architecture was originally brought from Arabia, where it was derived from the imitation of groves of trees (which groves doubtless flourished in Arabia Petraea); and Warburton, who was nothing if not paradoxical, borrowed this wonderful theory without acknowledgment, and improved it in his notes to "Pope's Essays," by saying that the Goths invented the style with the *assistance* of the Saracens—² who destroyed the last Gothic kingdom something like five hundred years before the rise of Gothic architecture! After this it is not surprising that some few writers should have dragged in the Druids, for there is no possible antiquarian confusion into which this terrible sect is not introduced, and have asserted that they invented Gothic in imitation of their groves of oak, though no one has ever yet ventured to assert, much as they pretend to know about them, that the Druids' groves were planted in regular *allées*, like the grounds of a French chateau, or that the branches of oaks planted in that order would suggest the idea of a Gothic avenue. One or two writers, however, seem to have had an inkling of the truth. For instance, the learned and highly talented Gray,³ in a letter to Warton, denies that Gothic architecture came from the East; and the practical Essex,⁴ in his "Observations on Southwell Minster," asserts that it arose from vaulting upon "bows," and from sometimes covering irregular spaces with such vaults.

Certain theories, however, from the celebrity they have obtained and the greatness of the names by which they are supported, deserve a slightly more detailed examination. In the "Parentalia," Sir Christopher Wren is made to say that Gothic architecture is derived from the Saracenic, or is the Saracenic in a Christianised form. Now, assuming that Wren really said what is imputed to him—a point upon which some remarks will be offered at a later stage—yet we must remember that no man, however great his attainments, and those of Wren were undoubtedly immense, is infallible, and that Wren was neither a profound antiquary nor a great traveller, hence he could only judge of Oriental buildings by the light of such rude drawings and perhaps still vaguer descriptions as might have chanced to fall in his way, and he must have been totally unable to correct the ideas so formed by any accurate comparison, which indeed would be nearly impossible at the present time; hence all he had to go by was the fact of there having been pointed arches existent in the East from an early period, and that, simultaneously with the West, having been thrown upon the East by the Crusades, the pointed superseded the round style in the former countries. The conclusion, though false, was certainly natural and justifiable. Next we have the theory of Governor Pownall,⁵ that

¹ *Itinerarium Curiosum*, vol. ii., p. 71; *Archæologia*, vol. i., p. 40.

² The Rev. J. Spence, in his "Anecdotes of Pope," relates a conversation to prove that he suggested the original idea to Warburton (*Anecdotes, etc., of Books and Men*, 1820, p. 12).

³ Author of the "Elegy." Although Gray published little besides his poems, he was a man of extensive acquirements in natural history and the study of ancient architecture.

⁴ James Essex, a Cambridge architect, author of "A Collection of Essays on Gothic Architecture;" and of a disquisition on Freemasonry, to be found in *Addit. MSS., British Museum*, 6760.

⁵ *Archæologia*, vol. ix., 1788, p. 110. "Thomas Pownall, having been Governor of South Carolina and other American colonies, was always distinguished from a brother of his (John, also an antiquarian, by the title of *Governor Pownall*" (*Stephen Jones, Biographical Dictionary*, 1811, p. 380). By a recent American writer (*Junius Identified*, Boston, 1856) this worthy antiquary is stated to have been the "Great Unknown," whose personality has hitherto baffled conjecture on this side of the Atlantic.

Gothic was derived from an imitation of timber construction, a theory which has been repeated without acknowledgment by some of the later writers of the "Histoire Litteraire de la France." Sir James Hall, in an essay in the "Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh (1809),"¹ says that pointed architecture was a secret of the Freemasons, and began by an imitation of wicker work, being practised earlier in Scotland than in England. The last was an obvious corollary, for the Scots used wattle, like most other barbarians. I can only wonder that so fine a chance of bringing in the Druids was here let slip, for they are said to have made use, in their religious rites, of very large wicker images, which they filled with living victims and then set on fire.

Hope, in his famous essay, published after his death, attributes the rise of Gothic architecture to the practice of employing interlacing ribs, and filling in the interstices with stone or brick, a theory which comes tolerably near the truth.² The researches of later and better-informed writers, however, have made it clear that the Gothic was no imitation or importation, but an indigenous style, which arose gradually but almost simultaneously in various parts of Western Europe. In the words of the latest and ablest of these writers, the late Sir Gilbert Scott: "In the gradually increasing predominance of the vertical over the horizontal, the increase of the height of the pillars and jambs demanding a proportionate addition to the arch, the necessities of groined vaulting over oblong spaces, and a hundred other evidences, proved the pointed arch to be the inevitable result of the already attained developments and after it had almost unconsciously appeared in intersecting arcades." Again: "It is possible that France was the more rapid in making use of these developments, and it is certain that Germany was the most tardy."³

To this I may add, here also following Sir G. Scott, that it is essentially the architecture of the Germanic races. The cradle, as far as can be ascertained, was the north-east corner of France, the centre of the Frankish empire. These Franks were the greatest of the purely Teutonic races, and they founded an empire which for a time was no unworthy successor of that of Rome herself. It spread over the whole of north France to the Loire, the country of the Langue d'Oil, and the Pays Coutumier, as distinguished from the Pays Latin, the country of the Langue d'Oc, the feudal and Teutonic, as contrasted with the Latin portion of the country. From thence it overspread and became indigenous in England, Scotland, and Germany; but made its appearance in Italy as a foreign importation,⁴ generally the work of German architects, as at Milan, and is usually spoken of by native writers as a German production, while it scarcely spread even then beyond the portion of the country which was in the earlier stages of its development under German influence, the three hundred and twenty examples enumerated by Willis⁵ being almost exclusively found there. In Spain also, where a strong Teutonic element must have existed in the Visigothic remnant, it seems to have been in great measure the work of German or French architects. The Slavs never built, and no buildings worthy of the name will be found east of a line drawn from the Elbe to the head of the Adriatic, which marks the line between the two races, and the lofty and magnificent steeple of

¹ Published as a separate work in 1813.

² Hope, Historical Essay on Architecture, 1835, p. 338.

³ Scott, Lectures on Mediæval Architecture, 1879.

⁴ "In Italy, pointed architecture and scholasticism were 'exotics,' never thoroughly acclimated" (J. Stoughton, Ages of Christendom before the Reformation, 1855, p. 225. See Dean Milman, History of Latin Christianity, 1854-55, vol. vi., p. 587).

⁵ R. Willis, Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy, 1835.

St Stephen's, Vienna, might suggest to fanciful minds the image of a watch-tower overlooking the waste beyond. What Gothic buildings exist in Pomerania were erected by the Teutonic settlers and conquerors, while Scandinavia, though inhabited by a kindred race, was probably too poor and remote to participate in the general movement. Gothic is not only the last link in the chain of genuine and original style, the architecture of the modern as distinguished from the ancient world, but it was also the product of a peculiar romantic temperament developed at that particular period, which was totally unlike anything that has been seen either before or since, even among the same nations, and which showed itself, not only in architecture but literature, and even in politics, notably in the great movement of the Crusades.

Having thus discussed the origin of Gothic architecture, I pass on to those who practised it. A prevalent theory was, that all Gothic churches were erected by a body of travelling Freemasons acting in concert, and being apparently a kind of lay brethren, guided entirely by the "monks"—a very convenient term indeed for Protestant writers—and always working as one man, were assumedly under the control of one supreme chief, as the Franciscans and Jesuits of later times by a "general." Coupled with this is ordinarily found a belief that the Gothic architecture practised by these monks and masons was, in its origin, an emanation from Byzantium,¹ thus forming a link by which to connect the Masonic bodies and their architecture with the East, and so on up to the Temple, and further still, if necessary, *ad infinitum*. Another and more scientific, though equally baseless hypothesis, places the origin of Gothic architecture in Germany, and makes the Germans its apostles, sometimes, indeed, going so far as to deny the natives of other countries even the poor merit of imitation—their churches being supposed to have been built for them by Germans,—² while a third scheme contents itself with simply ridiculing *in toto* the pretensions of the Freemasons.³ At this stage, however, it becomes essential to examine more closely the passage quoted from the "Parentalia," and to duly consider the elaborate arguments by which Governor Pownall, Sir James Hall, and Mr Hope have supported their respective contentions, in order that we may form a correct estimate of the influence these have exercised in shaping or fashioning the theory of Masonic origin, believed in by encyclopædists between 1750 and 1861.

It is true that Hawkins's "History of Gothic Architecture," 1813, is honourably distinguished from all similar works published after the disclosure of Sir J. Hall's hypothesis, 1803, by the absence of the word *Freemasons* from both index and letterpress;⁴ but, with this solitary exception, all writers (after Hall) who selected architecture as their theme have associated the Freemasons with the Gothic, or pointed style—a theory which reached its fullest development in the well-known essay of Mr Hope.⁵

Wren—if we accord him the credit of the outline of Masonic history given in the "Parentalia"—blended conjecture with tradition. Hall, as we shall see, found in the statement *ascribed* to Sir Christopher, the principle of authority, and looked no further. The greatest architect of his age, and the "Grand Master of the Freemasons," could not possibly

¹ Cf. Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, chap. xxi. ; Fort, *The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry*, p. 33, and *ante*, p. 45.

² Findel, *History of Freemasonry*, p. 76.

³ See Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, 1865, p. 464 ; Gwilt, *Encyclopædia of Architecture* (Wyatt Papworth, 1876), pp. 128, 130 ; and Dallaway, *Discourses upon Architecture*, 1833, pp. 405-407.

⁴ J. S. Hawkins, *History of the Origin and Establishment of Gothic Architecture*, 1813.

⁵ Published, I believe, originally in 1831, but the only edition I have been able to consult is the 2d, 1835.

err in coupling the profession he adorned with the society over which he ruled.¹ Dallaway in 1833 published his "Discourses upon Architecture," the last of which he entitled "Collections for an Historical Account of Master and Freemasons," and from this fount Masonic writers have largely drawn.² Mr Hope's essay has been alluded to in a previous chapter.³ This writer quotes no authorities; and though, at the present day, many people might think that the verdict formerly passed upon his "Anastasius" (1819) would now apply to his *history* of the Freemasons—viz., "a romance which holds a distinguished rank among modern works of fiction"—it was at one time so much in request, as a professional text book, that an analytical Index⁴ to its contents, consisting of eighty-nine pages and with twelve illustrations in wood, had a very extended sale.

According to the editors of the "Parentalia,"⁵ "he [Wren] was of opinion (as has been mentioned in another Place) that what we now vulgarly call *Gothick* ought properly and truly to be named the *Saracenick Architecture refined by the Christians*, which first of all began in the East, after the Fall of the *Greek* Empire, by the prodigious Success of those People that adhered to Mahomet's Doctrine, who, out of Zeal to their Religion, built Mosques, Caravansaras, and Sepulchres wherever they came.

"These they contrived of a round Form, because they would not imitate the Christian Figure of a Cross, nor the old *Greek* Manner, which they thought to be idolatrous, and for that Reason all Sculpture became offensive to them.

"They then fell into a new Mode of their own Invention, tho' it might have been expected with better Sense, considering the *Arabians* wanted not Geometricians in that Age, nor the *Moors*, who translated many of the most useful old *Greek* Books. As they propagated their Religion with great Diligence, so they built Mosques in all their conquered Cities in Haste. The Quarries of great Marble, by which the vanquished Nations of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and all the East had been supplied, for Columns, Architraves, and great Stones, were now deserted; the *Saracens*, therefore, were necessitated to accommodate their Architecture to such Materials, whether Marble or Free-stone, as every Country readily afforded. They thought Columns and heavy Cornices impertinent and might be omitted; and affecting the round Form for Mosques, they elevated Cupolas, in some Instances with Grace enough. The Holy War gave the Christians, who had been there, an Idea of the Saracen Works, which were afterwards by them imitated in the West; and they refined upon it every Day as they proceeded in building

¹ Wren was never "Grand Master," nor has it been proved that he was a Freemason at all. In a later chapter I shall attempt to show that the extract from the "Parentalia," which follows in the text, was penned by the real editor, Joseph Ames.

² Dallaway cites approvingly "that the incorporation of masons, in the thirteenth century, may have finally brought the pointed arch to that consistency and perfection to which it had not then attained" (R. Smirke, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii.). The denomination of Free-masons in England, he deemed to be merely a vernacular corruption of the *Freres-Maçons* established in France" (*Discourses*, etc., pp. 407, 434).

³ *Ante*, p. 45.

⁴ By Edward Cresy, F.S.A., 1836. Dean Milman remarks: "All the documentary evidence adduced by Mr Hope amounts to a Papal privilege to certain builders or masons, or a guild of builders, at Como, published by Muratori, and a charter to certain painters by our Henry VI. Schnaase (*Geschichte der Bildende Kunst*, iv., c. 5) examines and rejects the theory" (*History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi., p. 587).

⁵ *Parentalia*, or *Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*; but chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren. Compiled by his son Christopher. Now published by his grandson, Stephen Wren, Esq., with the care of Joseph Ames, F.R.S. London, MDCCCL., p. 306.

Churches. The *Italians* (among which were yet some *Greek* Refugees), and with them *French*, *German*, and *Flemings*, joined into a Fraternity of Architects, procuring Papal Bulls¹ for their Encouragement and particular Privileges; they stiled themselves Freemasons, and ranged from one Nation to another as they found Churches to be built (for very many in those Ages were everywhere in Building, through Piety or Emulation). Their Government was regular, and where they fixed near the Building in Hand, they made a Camp of Huts. A Surveyor govern'd in chief; every tenth Man was called a Warden, and overlooked each nine.² The Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, either out of Charity or Commutation of Pennance, gave the Materials and Carriage. Those who have seen the exact Accounts in Records of the Charge of the Fabricks of some of our Cathedrals near four hundred Years old, cannot but have a great Esteem for their Economy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty Structures."

Governor Pownall³ believed that "the collegium or corporation of Freemasons were the first formers of Gothick Architecture into a regular and scientific order, by applying the models and proportions of timber frame-work to building in stone;" and was further of opinion that this method "came into use and application about the close of the twelfth or commencement of the thirteenth century." "The times," he continues, "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 Europe being in a ruinous state, the Pope created several corporations of Roman or Italian architects and artists, with corporate 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.⁴ *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.*⁵ 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.*" Governor Pownall then goes on to say that, "claiming to hold primarily and exclusively of the Pope, they assumed a right, as *Free-masons*, of being exempt from the regulations of the statutes of labourers, to which they constantly refused obedience. One might collect historical proofs of this, but as the fact stands upon record in our statute laws, I shall rest on that."⁶ Our author next fixes the establishment of the Freemasons in England about the early part of the reign of Henry III., at which period "the *Gothic* architecture came forward into practice as a regular established order;" and suggests as irresistible—the inference that the invention

¹ The statement that Papal bulls were granted to the early Freemasons is one of the most puzzling that we meet with in the study of Masonic history. The subject will be duly examined at a later period, in connection with the *dicta* of Sir William Dugdale and John Aubrey. See Halliwell, *Early History of Freemasonry in England*, 1844, p. 46; *ante*, p. 176.

² *Cf.*, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th and 9th editions (Freemasonry); Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, p. 237; and *ante*, p. 3.

³ *Observations on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, and on the Corporation of Freemasons*; supposed to be the establishers of it as a regular Order (*Archæologia*, 1788, vol. ix., pp. 110-126).

⁴ 1 Kings v., 6.

⁵ Throughout this excerpt from the *Archæologia*, the *italics* are those of Governor Pownall.

⁶ The Statute 3 Henry VI., c. i. is here referred to, which will be examined fully in the next chapter.

and introduction of this bold and very highly scientific order of architecture must be referred to these chosen and selected artists.¹

"Having shown," concludes Pownall, "from incontrovertible record that there was in England a corporation of architects and masons, instituted by a foreign power, 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 twelfth or commencement of the thirteenth 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 transaction 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 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 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."²

Of Gothic architecture Sir James Hall says: "During the three centuries in which it prevailed exclusively over the greater part of Europe, its principles remained fixed and unchanged, in passing through a multitude of hands, eager to outdo their predecessors and their rivals by the novelty as well as by the elegance of their compositions. Such a conformity cannot be accounted for but by supposing that the artists were guided in their work by some principle known to them all, and handed down from one generation to another. But that no such principle has reached our knowledge, is proved by the various unsuccessful attempts which have been made of late to explain the forms of Gothic architecture, and to reconcile them to each other. We must, therefore, conclude that if there had been any such principle, it was known to the artists only, and concealed by them from the rest of the world. In order to determine this point, it is necessary to inquire by whom the art was practised. In that view, I shall refer, in the first place, to Sir Christopher Wren, an authority of great weight."

This writer then transfers to his pages the extract already given from the "Parentalia,"³ adding, after the words "he [Wren] was of opinion," "*says his son, Mr Wren,*" and continues:—"The architecture here pointed out, as practised by the Freemasons in contradistinction to the Romans, being decidedly what we call Gothic, it is quite obvious that Sir Christopher Wren considered Gothic architecture as belonging to the Freemasons exclusively. Sir Christopher, who was surveyor-general of the works of architecture carried on in the kingdom, and, at the same time, a man of learning and curiosity, was led to examine the old records, to which he had free access. Being, likewise, for many years, the leading man among the

¹ Without going so far as to agree with Governor Pownall that the Freemasons invented Gothic, it may be reasonably contended that without them it could not have been brought to perfection, and without Gothic they would not have stood in the peculiar and prominent position that they did; that there was mutual indebtedness, and while without Freemasons there would have been no Gothic, but a different, and I think an inferior, kind of architecture—without Gothic the Freemasons would have formed but a very ordinary community of trades unionists.

² Mr Tytler says: "I have in vain looked for the original authority upon which Sir Christopher Wren and Governor Pownall have founded their description of the travelling corporations of Roman architects" (History of Scotland, 1845. vol. ii., p. 278.

³ P. 306. He also cites p. 356 of the same work.

Freemasons, and their *Grand Master*, we may consider his testimony in this question as the strongest that the subject will admit of.”¹

Reviewing the condition of architecture towards the end of the 10th century, Mr Hope says:—

“It may be supposed that, among the arts exercised and improved in Lombardy, that of building held a pre-eminent rank; and, in fact, we find in Muratori, that already, under the Lombard kings, the inhabitants of Como were so superior as masons and bricklayers, that the appellation of *Magistri Comacini*, or Masters from Como, became generic to all those of the profession. We cannot, then, wonder that, at a period when artificers and artists of every class formed themselves into exclusive corporations, architects should, above all others, have associated themselves into similar bodies, which, in conformity to the general style of such corporations, assumed that of free and accepted masons, and was composed of those members who, after a regular passage through the different fixed stages of apprenticeship, were received as masters, and entitled to exercise the profession on their own account.”

In the view of the same writer, “Lombardy itself soon became nearly saturated with the requisite edifices,” and unable to give the Freemasons “a longer continuance of sufficient custom, or to render the further maintenance of their exclusive privileges of great benefit to them at home.”

The Italian corporations of builders, therefore, began to look abroad for that employment which they no longer found at home; and a certain number united, and formed themselves into a single greater association or fraternity—seeking a monopoly, as it were, over the whole face of Christendom.

“They were fraught with Papal bulls, or diplomas, granting to them the right of holding directly and solely under the Pope alone; they acquired the power, not only themselves to fix the price of their labour, but to regulate whatever else might appertain to their own internal government, exclusively in their own general chapters; prohibiting all native artists not admitted into their society from entering with it into any sort of competition.”

That an art so peculiarly connected with every branch of religion and hierarchy as that of church architecture, should become, in every country, a favourite occupation with its ecclesiastics, need not, Mr Hope thinks, excite our surprise.

Lest, however, such as belonged not to their communities should benefit surreptitiously by the arrangements for its advantage, the Freemasons “framed signs of mutual recognition, as carefully concealed from the knowledge of the uninitiated as the mysteries of their art themselves.”

“Wherever they came, they appeared headed by a chief surveyor, who governed the whole troop, and named one man out of every ten, under the name of warden, to overlook the nine others.”²

“The architects of all the sacred edifices of the Latin Church, wherever such arose—north, south, east, or west—thus derived their science from the same central school; obeyed in their

¹ Hall, *Essay on Gothic Architecture*, 1813, pp. 2, 112. It is fairly inferential that in the view thus expressed Sir James Hall was largely influenced by a belief in the *actual* testimony of a Grand Master of the Freemasons. See *ante*, p. 257, note 1.

² This statement is evidently copied from the “*Parentalia* ;” and a careful collation of Mr Hope’s work with the three previously cited, will prove, I think, that his remarks on the Freemasons are mainly, if not entirely, borrowed without the slightest acknowledgment from the “*Memoirs of the Wrens*” and the *Essays of Governor Pownall and Sir James Hall*.

designs the dictates of the same hierarchy, and rendered every minute improvement the property of the whole body."

"The downfall of the Freemasons," says Mr Hope—"of that body composed of so many lesser societies dispersed and united all over Europe, which, throughout all Europe, was alone initiated in all the secrets of the pressure and the counter-pressure of the most complicated arches, so essential to the achievement of constructions after the pointed fashion, and so intricate, that even a Wren confessed his inability to understand all their mysteries;—the passage of the whole art of building, from the hands of these able masters, into those of mere tyros, not bred in the schools of Freemasonry, and not qualified to hazard its bold designs, forced architecture immediately backwards from that highly complex and scientific system, into one more simple in its principles and more easy in its execution."¹

It will excite no surprise that a treatise so highly esteemed by those who studied architecture as a profession, and elevated, for the time being, by the general voice, into the character of a standard work, should have impressed with even greater force the somewhat careless writers by whom Masonic history has been compiled. Traces, however, of Mr Hope's influence upon succeeding writers are to be found in many works of high reputation, and these, as would naturally happen, still further disseminated and popularised the views of which an outline has been given, until, in the result, a natural reaction took place, and what Sir Gilbert Scott calls the "fables of the Freemasons" have so far extended their sway, that, as long since pointed out, the historians of the craft, by supporting what is false, have prevented thinking men from believing what is true.

Even the judicious Hallam has been carried along with the current, and remarks: "Some have ascribed the principal ecclesiastical structures to the fraternity of Freemasons, depositaries of a concealed and traditionary science. There is probably some ground for this opinion; and the earlier archives of that mysterious association, if they existed, might illustrate the progress of Gothic architecture, and perhaps reveal its origin."²

In the following pages it will be my endeavour to show, as clearly and succinctly as I can, that inasmuch as Western Europe has always, as has been well said, formed a kind of federal republic of states, so there has always been throughout a certain similarity between the fashions and institutions of the different nations, to which architecture has proved no exception—that at one time a great new fashion arose in architecture, as in the whole character of the nations, but that each nation in all time pursued its own individuality, untrammelled by that of its neighbours; and that hence, as no spontaneous movement was possible, so the overspreading of Europe by one Germanic fashion is equally mythical. Both these propositions can easily be proved by an appeal to the buildings themselves—a far safer method of procedure than that of trusting to printed statements, the authority of which is not always exactly apparent. But inasmuch as the differences between these structures can only be

¹ Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, 1835, pp. 228-238, 527.

² Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. 1853, vol. iii., p. 358. Originally published 1832, the year after Mr Hope's death. Cf. F. A. Paley, *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, 1846, p. 211; and G. A. Poole, *History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, 1848, pp. 116, 119. Rosengarten says: "The fraternities or guilds of masons, from whom the Freemasons derive their origin, may have contributed greatly to the completion of the pointed arch. These fraternities were probably formed as early as the period of transition between the Romanesque and Pointed styles, in order to afford a counterpoise to the organisations of the priesthood" (*A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, trans. by W. Collett-Sanders, 1878, p. 289).

really ascertained by actual examination, or by the careful inspection of an almost endless series of good drawings—a study which even then would require a trained eye—I must ask my readers for at least as much good faith as to believe that I am acting in good faith towards them. The third point—namely, what share the operative masons had in the construction of these buildings—will be reserved for the latter part of the chapter, wherein, though quoting somewhat more from books, I shall still rely mainly on the structures themselves. The first theory—that of an universal brotherhood—is contradicted by the absolute silence of all history, no less than by the very strong negative evidence on the other side, and that on evidence afforded not merely by history, but by the appearance of the actual edifices; the idea of an ancient universal brotherhood linked with the past in a manner to which I need not further refer, supposes, amongst other things, that the Catholic Church in all her branches, at the very time that she was combatting, both within and without, the Gnosticism and Manicheism of the East transplanted into the West, called in those very powers to her assistance, and that these same Gnostics and Manicheans, at a period of deadly hostility and persecution, should have devoted themselves—as they have not done since—to the erection of temples of the Catholic faith.¹ Moreover, no great art was ever practised by roving bodies moving from country to country; still less could it have been so, when, as in the Middle Ages, the means of locomotion were so few, and especially was it impossible to transfer large bodies of skilled labourers from one country to the other; *e.g.* the Norman churches in England were never vaulted (there is only one instance—the little chapel of St John in the White Tower or Keep of the Tower of London), though many coeval vaultings remain in Normandy, while masonry is, more frequently than not, bad. This obviously arises from the clumsiness of the Saxon workmen whom the Norman builders were forced to employ.

Sir Francis Palgrave says:² “Those who have hitherto attributed Gothic architecture to the Freemasons, have considered the style as ‘the offsprings of a congregated body;’ and, deeming the members of the fraternity to have acted in concert, have attempted to show them working and calculating as a fraternity, for the purpose of arriving at the definite results which they afterwards so gloriously attained—an hypothesis which will become perfectly credible when any scientific society shall have discovered a system of gravitation, any literary academy shall have composed a ‘Paradise Lost,’ or any academy of the fine arts shall have painted a ‘Transfiguration.’ But we believe that the fraternity of Freemasons just performed the very useful and important duties properly belonging to the society or the academy. They assisted in the spread of knowledge, and in bestowing upon talent the countenance and protection of station and established power.”

An art will originate, more or less, in one country, and thence spread to others, in which case the possessors of it in the parent state will design the first works in other lands, until superseded by the natives, but they will very rarely be able to employ handicraftsmen from their own country; and this is precisely what has taken place in engineering in our own

¹ Mrs H. Beecher Stowe, in her “Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands,” 1854, p. 239, observes of Lord Macaulay: “He said that all the cathedrals of Europe were undoubtedly the result of one or two minds; that they rose into existence very nearly contemporaneously, and were built by travelling companies of masons, under the direction of some systematic organisation.” A year later, Macaulay writes: “A mighty foolish impertinent book this of Mrs Stowe. She put into my mouth a great deal of stuff that I never uttered, particularly about cathedrals” (G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1878, vol. ii., p. 367).

² *Edinburgh Review*, April 1839, pp. 102, 103.

times. "English William," who succeeded at Canterbury to his master, William of Sens, more than a hundred years after the Conquest, is supposed to have been the first English architect; and this is consonant with the above analogy, but it does not follow that English architects may not have existed before. The Norman buildings in England offer marked characteristics in opposition to those on the Continent; and if William de Carilepho brought his design for Durham from thence, all that I can say is, that it is different in character from anything now to be seen there. It must also be very clear that the Saracenic effect was but small. It was scarcely likely that the Crusaders would have carried back a style of building little in accordance with their own darker and more gloomy climate, and that a style cultivated by their enemies. Next, though, owing to the difficulty of deciding the exact date of the majority of the earlier Oriental buildings, we cannot tell whether, as far as mere dates are concerned, the Crusaders copied from the Saracens or the Saracens from the Crusaders, yet we can be quite sure that the styles are totally different. I am not here considering the mere form of the arch alone; that may be seen in Egypt, Assyria, India, Mycenæ, in countless places, and *inter alia* in the Lycian tombs in the British Museum. I am speaking of the entire aspect and construction of the buildings, especially of the vaultings. Even in Spain, to judge by engravings, the churches are peculiarly massive, and the light arabesque appears only—when it does appear—in detail. But Sir G. Scott is probably right when he says that the last hints, as it were, came from the East. Therefore, when we hear the Saracenic origin of Gothic mentioned, we must bear in mind, as we should always do, that a substratum of truth almost universally underlies even the apparently grossest popular errors; and that when a theory begins by contemptuously rejecting all preconceived notions, we may take it as an evidence that that theory is in itself erroneous.

Hence it is reasonable to assume that architecture arose and spread gradually with civilisation itself; that, to repeat somewhat, as all the nations of Western Europe bore a considerable resemblance to one another in origin, and that they formed then as always a fraternity or republic of nations, so we should find a somewhat similar style or styles of architecture prevailing at the same time, but greatly modified, not only in the different countries but in the different localities, and these by no means extensive or distantly removed from one another, and that hence no general consensus was probable, or even possible, *i.e.*, there was not, and could not have been, any general movement emanating from a common fountain head, and carried out with undeviating regularity by an organised body of men and their subordinates. It may also be assumed that mediæval architecture, like most other things, was mainly dependent on the law of supply and demand, and that not only the buildings, but the style in which they were erected, were the result of circumstances, and were modified accordingly. It will be safe to assume, also, that the declamation about the zeal and fervent piety of the Middle Ages is the merest romance, and that all the glamour and the halo of the past, that, seen through a mist of fine writing, has been evolved, may safely be relegated to the class of popular myths having, like all similar things, some foundation in truth. Our mediæval ancestors were indeed an intensely practical, vigorous, and hard-working race, tinged, however, with the very peculiar shade of romance above alluded to; and when the barbarian invasions finally ceased with the curbing of the Huns and Normans, somewhere about the year 1000 A.D. (for the oft-quoted notion of the end of the world could have had but very little practical influence), it must be obvious that a very large number of churches

and other buildings must have been required, not only to supply the place of those that had been either destroyed or had fallen into decay, but to furnish edifices for a settled and increasing population. The tendency of the civilisation of that age to advance by the foundation of monasteries, as we do by schools and institutes, must have still further assisted the ecclesiastical development of architecture—as distinguished from the development of ecclesiastical architecture, and have increased the connection of the ecclesiastical orders (not necessarily monks) with the builders—hence the popular notion. These buildings all commenced at about the same period, and had certain general characteristics running through the whole, yet were distinguished by strongly-marked local features. Almost imperceptibly the architecture, by a kind of inherent necessity, changed from the round to the pointed style, sprouting—for such a term can alone express its growth—somewhat earlier in some localities than in others, and always bearing the impress of strong local features, which features became, as time went on, more and more divergent, until, of two neighbouring countries, Flamboyant sat supreme in France and Perpendicular in England. Going further back, if we care to examine the matter, we shall find, when we come to the point, that the connection, whether in peace or war, with France has after the first Norman period produced only Westminster Abbey—a “beautiful French thought expressed in excellent English,” to use a happy expression—which was never imitated in England, in spite of the facilities of a royal abbey for setting the fashion. The four domes of the nave of Fontevrault, under whose shadow repose our early Angevin kings, has found no imitator, unless it be Sir C. Wren in the nave of St Paul’s; the unaisled apse of Lichfield, with its lofty windows, reaching almost to the ground, though an approximation to, is still widely different from, the usual apses of Germany, and it is the only example of its kind. The intimate connection between England and Flanders led only to the tower of Irthlingborough Church, Northants, a miniature imitation of the Belfry of Bruges, and possibly some resemblance between the church at Winchelsea and the far inferior edifice of Damme. We shall find that Scottish Gothic was very different from English, French from German, and both from Flemish, where the natural heaviness of the people seems transmitted to the architecture; while Spanish and Italian, though indebted to a great extent to Germany, are yet essentially distinct. We shall even find, if we go lower, that in so small and comparatively homogeneous a country as England, almost every district has its distinct style. Against these facts it is useless to urge a few quotations culled from ancient authorities, who were often by no means particular as to the exact significance of the words they employed—quotations, the meaning of which has often at the first been but imperfectly comprehended, and though copied without inquiry by succeeding authors, even when taken at their best, prove little or nothing. Nor can a few isolated statements respecting foreign builders and foreign assistance, together with some general remarks, often by no means warranted by the passages on which they are supposed to be founded, be allowed to weigh against the silent but unanswerable testimony of the buildings themselves, supported as it is by every argument of reason and common sense, and by every analogy with which our own experience and knowledge of history can furnish us.

The fall of Rome, or, to speak more correctly, the destruction of the Western portion of the Empire, left four countries free to follow a new path under new masters. These were Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain,—with Germany, which still, and for long after, remained

barbarous—and they constituted the ultimate field of Gothic or Pointed architecture. Of these, Spain was after no long period overwhelmed by the Moors, and there are no traces, so far as I am aware, of Visigothic architecture, and it may, therefore, be omitted in considering the origin of mediæval architecture. Gaul, which extended to the Rhine, was, after the final extinction of the old civilisation, of whom the poet exile Venantius Fortunatus may be considered as the latest exponent, in a deplorable state of barbarism, and, the northern portion at least, the favourite resort of Irish and, subsequently, of Anglo-Saxon missionaries. The barbarous chronicles of Fredegarius and his continuators, who alone transmitted a feeble torch after the death of St Gregory of Tours, at once shows how deep was the state of barbarism, and how little we have lost by the neglect of literature. Yet churches and convents must have multiplied exceedingly, for the Gallic church was exceedingly wealthy, and, so much so, as to tempt Charles Martel to a great measure of disendowment, though not of disestablishment, and the records of Councils and the lives of the Saints teem—the one with enactments concerning the church, the other with the chronicles of church building. To mention only two instances—St Boniface, in those wonderful epistles wherein he shows that, like St Paul, he had “the care of all the churches” from the Elbe to the Atlantic, and from the Garonne to the Grampians, repeatedly gives minute directions as to the building of monasteries, while St Rombauld the Irishman, who founded Mechlin, and where the cathedral is still dedicated to him, was martyred there, because, having employed some natives to build him a church, he refused to pay six days’ wages for four days’ work which they claimed, and was thereupon put to death, a proceeding eminently Belgian, and which shows also that natives, however uncivilised, were employed on local works. Still these edifices could not have been of any great size or magnificence, and probably depended for their splendour on their internal decorations, often of the most costly materials. It is significant that St Eloi, who is sometimes considered as a great architect, or, at least, church builder, was the king’s goldsmith, and the *Basse œuvre* at Beauvais, a building of this date, certainly does not give a very high idea of the architectural magnificence of those times. The buildings of the Early Anglo-Saxon Church, the favourite daughter of Rome, were possibly more splendid, inasmuch as the earliest of them were derived directly from Italy, but the greater portion must have perished in the Danish wars; and the restorations by Alfred, although he too relied much on foreign aid, could scarcely have been extensive.

In Italy, not to mention the vast basilicas at Rome, which were the last efforts of the expiring empire, St Giovanni Laterani covered 60,000 square feet; and St Paolo fuori delle mura, destroyed by fire about fifty years ago, even more, while Old St Peter’s surpassed every Gothic cathedral, covering no less than 127,000 square feet. We find undoubted Byzantine work at Ravenna, which, however, seems to have had no influence beyond the confined and ever narrowing limits of the exarchate, and not much in that, at least to judge by remains, while Sir G. Scott and others of the best judges greatly doubt whether there are really any remains of the so-called Lombard architecture, unless it be the tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna, before the formation of the exarchate, built by his daughter Amalasontha, and covered by a dome formed of a single block of stone 34 feet in diameter and 2 feet thick, and which seems to have been swung bodily into its place, for the loops cut in the stone are still visible,—perhaps the greatest recorded feat of sheer muscle. St Mark’s is a Byzantine building of the eleventh century, and its influence does not seem to have extended further than that of its prototypes

at Ravenna, and there are a few churches which may possibly be attributed to some period between the two. Still Italy undoubtedly possessed considerable remains of the ancient civilisation, and some of her builders under the (perhaps generic) name of "Magistri Comacini" acquired considerable reputation, according to Muratori in one of his Dissertations, although he does not add any particulars nor even give an approximate date. Hence we may conclude, *1st*, that no architecture worthy of the name existed in Western Europe up to the time of Charlemagne; and *2d*, that when any building of more than ordinary pretensions was in contemplation it was usual, at least among the Anglo-Saxons, to have recourse to Rome.

Nor is it very certain that even Charlemagne introduced any great improvement in architecture; the famous porch of the Lorsch still remains an undoubted monument of the great emperor, and there are one or more examples, especially in Switzerland, while to this period must be referred the celebrated plan of the Monastery of St Gall, drawn in the eighth century, and first published by Mabillon. However this may be, there can, I think, be little doubt but that the seeds of architecture, as well as those of civilisation generally, were laid at this period, and which, obscured for a time by the barbarian incursions and the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire, emerged in happier times never again to be oppressed. This more peaceful period began, as I have before said, somewhere about the year 1000, although it might probably be traced still earlier in districts like Switzerland and Provence, remote from war or favoured by nature, and from this period one style of architecture extended over the whole of the vast countries which had formed part of the Carlovingian empire. The Germanic portion is said by Scott to have been principally due to the influence of the Chancellor Bernward, and the French are stated by Viollet le Duc (both assertions being perhaps made without sufficient foundation) to have been due to the influence of Clugny. The true Romanesque is that which belongs to Germany and its dependencies, including Clugny, which was by far the noblest church of this era, and one of the finest of the whole mediæval series. It boasted two naves, one before the other, double transepts, double aisles throughout, and twin western towers, extending over a total length of 580 feet, and covering a superficies of 72,000 square feet. It was totally destroyed at the Revolution. After these come the great Rhine series, the churches at Cologne, and the cathedrals of Worms, Spire, and Mayence. France during this period being divided into several provinces almost, if not quite, independent of one another, boasted nearly as many distinct styles. That of Provence, which was perhaps the earliest, very closely resembles the old classical models, either from ancient reminiscences or its proximity to Italy, or from both combined. Aquitaine had a style of its own, of which the principal characteristics were the smallness of the windows, the long barrel-shaped vaulting, and the comparatively insignificant size of the buildings. The work of the Angevin or Aquitaine country, with its domical vaulting as at Fontevrault, seems a kind of cross between the German Romanesque and the Aquitanian barrel-vaulted or cavernous architecture. To the north of the Loire in the western portion, the Normans, a people of original genius, founded a style of their own very shortly after the commencement of this period, while the eastern half, the country between Normandy and the Flemish, a German frontier, lay to all appearance fallow, as if waiting for the mightier growth that was shortly to succeed. From Normandy this Norman crossed, as is well known, into England, where it superseded what there was of ancient architecture, which was probably not so very different from, though possibly inferior to, the ancient buildings subsisting on the other side of the Channel.

The new style was not long in appearing. In 1135 its first decisive effort was made at St Denis, and it continued for two hundred years in uninterrupted flow down to the time of the invasion of France by Edward III., after which the land became the prey of civil and foreign war for upwards of a century; until France finally shook off the foreign yoke, in the reign of Charles VII., in the middle of the fifteenth century. But by this time the mediæval spirit was dead throughout Europe, and although new marvels were occasionally erected in the Flamboyant, as with us in the Perpendicular, style, there could be no longer any possibility of such typical buildings as Rheims, Chartres, Bourges, Amiens, Rouen, Notre Dame, and St Ouen, which form the glory of the earlier era, coinciding with the splendour of the early French monarchy, which had been raised amongst others by Philip Augustus, to fall at Creçy and at Poitiers.

From France the style passed over into England, if it did not almost spontaneously germinate there, for Kirkstall, Fountains, Darlington church, Llanton, the entrance to the chapter-house of St Mary's, York, and portions of the still perfect Abbey Church of Selby, are scarcely antedated by anything in France—all ranging, according to the best authorities, from 1150 to 1190.

Germany comes certainly very considerably later. The earliest authentic specimen of Gothic is St Elizabeth of Marburg (1235), and the mighty Cologne is somewhat later still, and is, moreover, in respect to window tracing, a very palpable copy of Amiens, while the west front, in spite of the perfection of its gigantic proportions, would perhaps suffer, except in size, from a comparison with that of Rheims, had the spires of the latter been completed. The famous west front of Strassburg, according to Fergusson, was intended to be a mere square block, the spire having been added long afterwards, as an after-thought when not only Erwin von Steinbach, but his son, were in their graves. It was commenced by Erwin in 1277, and continued by him until 1318, when his son carried it on until 1365. The spire, 468 feet in height, was not finished until 1439. Now it is perfectly true that the existing spire formed no part of the original design, for the style is different, but that such a termination was intended is clear enough. The façade is simply the commencement of a new and more gigantic church, as may be seen by looking at it from the east, when the point to which the nave of the new edifice was intended to rise may be easily discerned. Had it been otherwise there would have been no need of the square mass—the omission of the upper central portion would have provided two western towers of good average height; but spires having been intended, this connection, which may be remotely likened to the webbing in a duck's foot, was necessary to prevent the lofty spires from appearing disproportionately high, even when connected with a loftier cathedral, an error into which the architect of Antwerp undoubtedly fell, as will be obvious to anybody who may take the trouble to imagine double spires to that edifice.¹ The vast church of Ulm would have boasted the loftiest pure tower in the world had it been completed, rising, as it would have done, to the height of 480 feet. As it is, it boasts of the lightest construction, the proportion of supports to areas being only 1 to 15. Beyond these I need only mention Ratisbon; unfinished Vienna, with the

¹ What the whole cathedral would have been like we have no means of knowing, though it is not impossible that the plans may still exist, but the front would have been of that square high-shouldered type not uncommon in Germany, and inferior in grace and majesty of proportion to Cologne.

loveliest, and very nearly the loftiest, spire in the world; and Fribourg, in Brisgau, also celebrated for its spire, although very inferior to the former.

The great churches of Belgium partake of the characteristics of both France and Germany, as might have been expected. Antwerp is famous for its size, it being the only church that possesses triple aisles throughout, and its spire, which owes perhaps some of its fame to its position. Napoleon indeed said that it resembled Mechlin lace, and deserved to be placed under a glass case. But, then, I am not aware that Napoleon was a judge either of architecture or lace, or that lace was meant to be put under a glass case. St Gudule, at Brussels, is good, but not first-rate. There are fine churches at Bruges and Ghent, and a later and finer at Ypres. St Rombauld, at Malines, would have had a single erect spire, equalling the twin giants at Cologne, but still wanting one-third of its height; while St Waudru, at Mons, was intended to have been adorned with a spire much like that at Malines, reaching to the stupendous altitude of 634 feet, the design of this—which was of course easy to sketch—still remains; but the tower, from the double failure, I believe, both of foundations and money—certainly the latter—never advanced beyond the first story. A still more ambitious design was entertained by the citizens at Louvain, who projected a cathedral with three spires, the central one of 535 feet, the two western 430 feet each. The design and a model, but no more, still exist in that city.¹ The finest, taken altogether, and certainly the most interesting, of the Belgian churches is undoubtedly Tournay. The nave is Romanesque, of the year 1066, the transepts 1146, and the choir comparatively early Gothic, 1213. As it stands, it covers 62,000 square feet, and had it been completed, like the choir, would have possessed few rivals, either in size or beauty. There is comparatively little worthy of notice in Holland.

Willis² says that there is no genuine specimen of Gothic in Italy, because the nation, emboldened by their art supremacy, attempted a style of their own, which was to combine the two, and met with the usual fate of those who occupy two stools. The original features, moreover, have been much "classicized." Italian Gothic comes principally from the school of Pisa, and hence the best specimens are in Tuscany, but there are good examples of real Gothic in South Italy, built under the Angevin dynasty, 1266-1435. The Pisan school began with the Duomo or cathedral, its foundations having been laid as early as 1069. The Baptistery was built 1153, and the Campanile or Leaning Tower 1180. The architects of this early Pisan school were Boschetto; Bonanni; William the German, or Tedesco; Nicola da Pisa; his son, Giovanni, and their descendants, Andrea and Tommaso, to the fourteenth century. St Andrea Vercelli was commenced A.D. 1219, and finished in three years, and is said to have been the work of an English architect, one Brigwithe, and indeed it much resembles Buildwas, Kirkstall, and other buildings of the same age in England, in plan, for all else is Italian. The external form is interesting, as having been expanded two centuries later by a German architect at Milan. Asti dates from 1229-1266, and St Francis Assisi (where a German and Italian architect are said to have worked conjointly) from 1228-1253. St Antonio at Padua, 1231-1307, is an Italian endeavour to unite the forms of English and German architecture

¹ Another and more dangerous mode of self-glorification was occasionally practised, as at Tirlmont, where the burghers amused themselves and their neighbours with throwing up ramparts of about twice the length that they could conveniently man.

² Willis, Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy. According to Milman, "Rome is the city in which Gothic architecture has never found its place; even in Italy it has at no time been more than a half-naturalised stranger" (History of Latin Christianity, vol. vi., p. 587).

with the dome of St Marks. Sienna was begun 1243 and Orvieto 1290. The great cathedral at Florence was begun 1290, under Arnolphi da Lapo (for we somehow know the names of all the architects in Italy). The mass was finished in the first twenty years of the fourteenth century, but the great octagon remained open until 1420, when Brunelleschi commenced the present dome, which was completed in all its essential parts before his death in 1444. The nave consists of four huge bays with single aisles, and the total superficies is 84,802 square feet. The octagon was originally intended to have been surmounted by a spire built in receding stories, rising to the height of 500 feet, and surrounded by four lesser spires, each 400 feet high. The Florentines had instructed their architect to erect a cathedral that should surpass everything that human industry or human power had conceived of the great and beautiful, and had their instructions and his designs been carried out we should have seen what a great Gothic dome was really like. In 1390 the Bolognese determined to erect a monster cathedral, 800 feet long by 525 across the transepts; the width of the nave and transepts, with double aisles, was to have been 183 feet, and the total superficial area would have been no less than 212,000 feet, including a dome at the intersection, 130 feet in diameter, or only 6 feet less than that of Florence. Of this gigantic design, the nave only was completed; yet even this fragment forms one of the largest churches in the world, covering no less than 74,000 square feet. To say the least, the effect does not come up to the intention, and the great object of the architect—as, indeed, may be observed in many other Italian buildings—seems to have been to minimise the area occupied by the supports. Milan was commenced 1385, by order of Gian Galeazzo, first Duke of Milan, and was consecrated in 1418, when it was apparently finished, though the spire was completed by Brunelleschi 1440, and the façade, commenced 1470, was only terminated at the beginning of the present century. The architect was Henry Arlez, of Gemunden, or—as the Italians prefer to call him—Da Gamodia. This wonderful building is far too well known to require any detailed account; suffice it to say, that, leaving hypercriticism aside—for the details are far from pure,—it must probably be considered as the most beautiful of all the Gothic edifices—wanting, it is true, a west front. It is not known whether a proper west front with spires was ever designed or intended, as at Cologne; but here again, as in almost every other building of the class I have had occasion to mention, the general character is not German, although it cannot be called Italian; so that we have no ground on which to base our conjectures. This most lovely creation is *sui generis*, and is no less striking by its originality than by its beauty. Besides, there may be mentioned, amongst many others, the beautiful Duomo at Como, that of Ferrara, and the church of St Francesco at Brescia. The south of Italy is almost a *terra incognita* to antiquaries, although, as has been said above, some specimens of Gothic are known to exist; and Sicilian Gothic, gorgeous with marble and mosaic, is a mixture of Greek, Roman, and Saracenic.

The Gothic of Spain, though in the south it may have been tinged with Moorish art, is principally an exotic coming from the south of France and Germany, with perhaps some English influence in portions of Valencia. The greater part of this province, however, with Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre, followed the architecture of Southern France. Leon and Galicia had a style of their own, and so had the Castilles. How far the true French Gothic of the north was transplanted into Spain is doubtful. Street assigns a French origin not only to Toledo, but also to Burgos and Leon, the latter of which failed like Beauvais, but not

h 2024

so conspicuously. Still, numerous German artists were undoubtedly employed in Spain (coming probably through Lombardy), and notably at Burgos, where the west front is a kind of clumsy imitation of Cologne, and he certainly admits some German influence. These foreigners, however, were, I imagine, employed principally on the greater works, for Street enumerates a large number of native architects or artificers, and the style is undoubtedly peculiar, more or less, to the country. It is the same everywhere else, even where the imitation is palpable, and foreign assistance is positively asserted. Possibly, indeed, these aliens acted in every case as "consulting engineers," giving the benefit of their advice, knowledge, and experience, but, perhaps necessarily, leaving the great bulk of the work to be carried out by the natives in their own way.

One or two of the churches about Orvieto are said to be of the ninth century, and there may exist others in the Asturian valleys. At Zamora there is a cathedral of the eleventh century, and the Templars had a round church at Segovia in 1204. During the whole of this period the round style prevailed, while the Moors were using pointed arches, but in truth, as Dr Whewell has well observed, the actual points of resemblance between the Moorish and Gothic style is, when examined in reality, of the most trifling and superficial kind. The first Pointed cathedral is that of Leon *circa* 1217, which, however, is as I have said before, most probably of French origin. The three great typical cathedrals are Burgos, Seville, and Toledo. The former was begun 1221, and was finished, as far at least as the bulk of the building is concerned, in the same century. The west front was erected two centuries later by two Cologne masons (or architects) John and Simon, and is a clumsy reminiscence of the west front of that cathedral. Toledo, inferior externally to Burgos, is of greater dimensions, being 350 by 174 feet, or upwards of 60,000 square feet, and 120 feet in interior height. It is chiefly remarkable, however, for the gorgeousness of its interior decoration and "furniture." Nowhere has the Spanish taste, severe and massive with respect to the buildings themselves, but lavish of this kind of decoration, displayed greater prodigality or more exuberant fancy, thus forming with its size an *ensemble* quite without parallel in any other building in Europe. Seville was built, probably by a German, on the foundations of a mosque. The famous Giralda is, as we all know, of Moorish origin. It was commenced 1401, and completed 1519. As the transepts do not project, its general plan is that of a rectangle, and the external aspect is heavy and lumpish. It is, however, remarkable for its immense size. Possessed not only of double aisles, but also of side chapels, it is 370 feet long by 270 wide, covering a space of no less than 100,000 square feet, being thus very considerably larger than Cologne or St Maria at Florence, and exceeded by Milan alone among mediæval edifices. Portugal possesses some rather fine churches at Belem and probably elsewhere, for the interior of the country is almost unknown. There cannot, however, be many, the great earthquake, and the rage for rebuilding which followed the French invasion, having destroyed in all probability the greater portion. It possesses a gem, however, in Batalha, erected by John of Portugal in consequence of a vow made before battle in 1385, with his namesake of Spain (hence the name). Its size is small, being 264 feet by 72. To the right of the entrance is the tombhouse of its founder and his wife Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt; but the most beautiful portion, the sepulchre at the east end, commenced by Emmanuel the Fortunate, was, unfortunately, left unfinished. It is, or was to have been, 65 feet in diameter. Murphy in his scientific monograph, gives the name of the architect of the