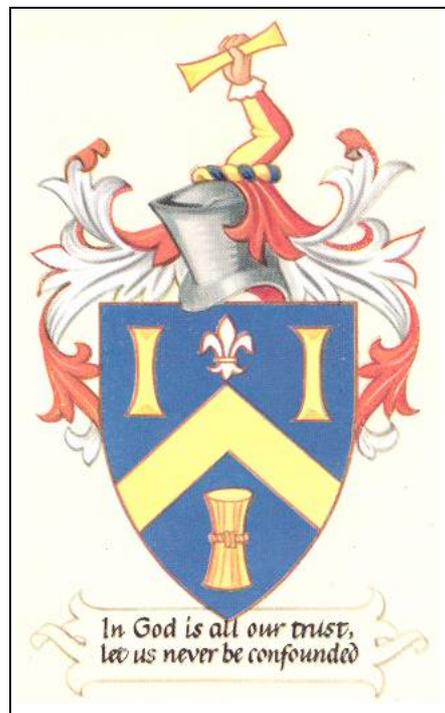


**THE RISE AND DECLINE OF GUILDS
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
THE GUILDS OF TYLERS AND BRICKLAYERS
IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND**



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TO THE GUILDHALL HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**

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Introduction

My objective in writing this paper has been to review the origins and development (including both the rise and the decline) of guilds, particularly of the many companies of Tylers & Bricklayers, throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

Here in the City of London there are so many richly endowed livery halls to remind us of the long and illustrious histories of so many London guilds that we can be forgiven for forgetting, or perhaps even being unaware, of the vast network of guilds that once existed throughout the country.

I have chosen the title “The Rise and Decline of Guilds in Great Britain and Ireland” because those guilds still in existence are mere shadows of their former selves. More significantly, the vast majority of guilds, thousands of them, have disappeared altogether, with little now known about them other than the odd footnote in some academic papers published by county historical or archaeological societies.

I have taken this opportunity also to look at:-

- the ranking of Tylers and Bricklayers in terms of precedence amongst the crafts in various towns,
- the numbers of Tylers and Bricklayers practising their trade in those towns,
- the period of apprenticeship,
- the price paid by apprentices for their indentures,
- their earnings once they became masters of their craft,
- the role of women,
- the background from which the apprenticed Tylers and Bricklayers came,
- the coats of arms of the various Tylers and Bricklayers’ companies in different parts of the country, and
- the role of Tylers and Bricklayers in the Corpus Christi plays.

The Origins of Guilds.

The origins of guilds go back to Saxon times when, during the reign of King Canute there were Frith Gilds or peace guilds established to maintain peace among individuals, and Monks Gilds, and there were social-religious fraternities which flourished at Abbotsbury, Cambridge, Exeter and Woodbury; there were also Cnihts or Cnighthen Gilds in some towns sometime after the 9th century to which the senior burgesses belonged¹. Then we find Domesday Book referring to two guilds in Canterbury: one for the burgesses and one for the clergy; and by the Middle Ages, we find that merchant and craft guilds as well as religious and social guilds had been established in cities, towns and villages throughout the country. Religious guilds existed for a range of purposes, such as to build churches, as at Cambridge; to repair churches, as at Winchester; to help those wishing to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land or to Rome, as at Lincoln; to build almshouses for their own members or for the poor, as at Stratford or Birmingham; to perform religious plays, as at Dunstable; or to provide candles for the church as at Stratford-upon-Avon. Whilst most guilds, particularly the religious guilds, had at least one chaplain, there was one guild, the Gild of the Annunciation,

¹ Prof. George Unwin: The Gilds and Companies of London. Frank Cass, London 4th Edition 1963; pp. xxii-xxv.

founded in Cambridge in 1379, which expressly forbade any priest from entering the guild. Social guilds existed to build bridges, as at Stamford; to repair walls and bridges, as at Worcester; to found schools, as at Basingstoke; or to help those who had encountered great misfortune, as at Ludlow.² The Guild of Garlekhith, founded in 1375 in Vintry Ward (the Ward which I represent on the Court of Common Council) was one of more than 60 religious guilds established within the City of London before the end of the 14th century, and this particular guild afforded weekly help to all members of seven years' standing, in old age and in sickness.³ Some guilds, which originally had only religious objectives, eventually became the ruling body of the town, as was the case in Litchfield, Norwich, Stratford-on-Avon and Wisbech.

The earliest mention of a merchant gild is during the reign of Henry I when one was established during the early part of the 12th century in Leicester, and others were soon established in Great Yarmouth, Preston, Wallingford, Winchester and Worcester, to which all the merchants and traders who conducted business in the town belonged.⁴ During the same reign the earliest craft guilds were established, most notably the Weavers of Huntingdon, London, Lincoln, Oxford, and Winchester, the Cordwainers of Oxford, and the Fullers of Winchester⁵. By the 13th century almost every town had a merchant gild, and by the 14th century virtually all the crafts had their own guilds, to which all the craftsmen of the town belonged; indeed in the provinces as well as in London properly organized guilds were established long before their ordinances were registered with the civic authorities. The members of each craft guild lived in the same quarter of the town, dined together on feast days, marched together in the town's pageant, acted together in the Corpus Christi plays, cared for the welfare of one another, and attended the funerals of their deceased brethren. This aspect of the guild was known as the fraternity; the occupational aspect was known as the mystery. By the middle of the 14th century the customs established by the guilds of the City of London had influenced the guilds in many provincial towns. By the end of the 14th century a number of the most prominent guilds in London and in the provinces, such as the Drapers, the Fishmongers, the Goldsmiths, and the Vintners of London, and the Weavers of Lincoln and Barbers of Shrewsbury had received royal charters by which the King granted them special powers. It has been suggested that these guilds obtained royal charters from Edward III under a smoke screen that they were providing relief for the poor, when in fact they were protecting their control over their respective trades.⁶ Already in 1423 there were 111 trade and craft guilds in London. Yet, by 1531, little more than one hundred years later, there were only 60 of these left, of which less than half were incorporated.⁷ For comparison we find that in York, by the later Middle Ages, there were 56 different craft guilds with recorded ordinances.⁸

The Tylers and Bricklayers of London did not obtain the first of their royal charters until 1568, and their area of search officially extended only within a radius of 15 miles of London, which enabled many other guilds of tylers and bricklayers to develop elsewhere throughout the country.

² H. F. Westlake: *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England*. SPCK, London 1919.

³ Cornelius Walford: *Gilds - their Origin, Constitution, Objects and Later History*. London 1879; p. 38.

⁴ Dr. Charles. Gross: *The Gild Merchant*. Oxford University Press 1890.

⁵ Thomas Madox: *Firma Burgi*. William Bowyer, London 1726; p.26.

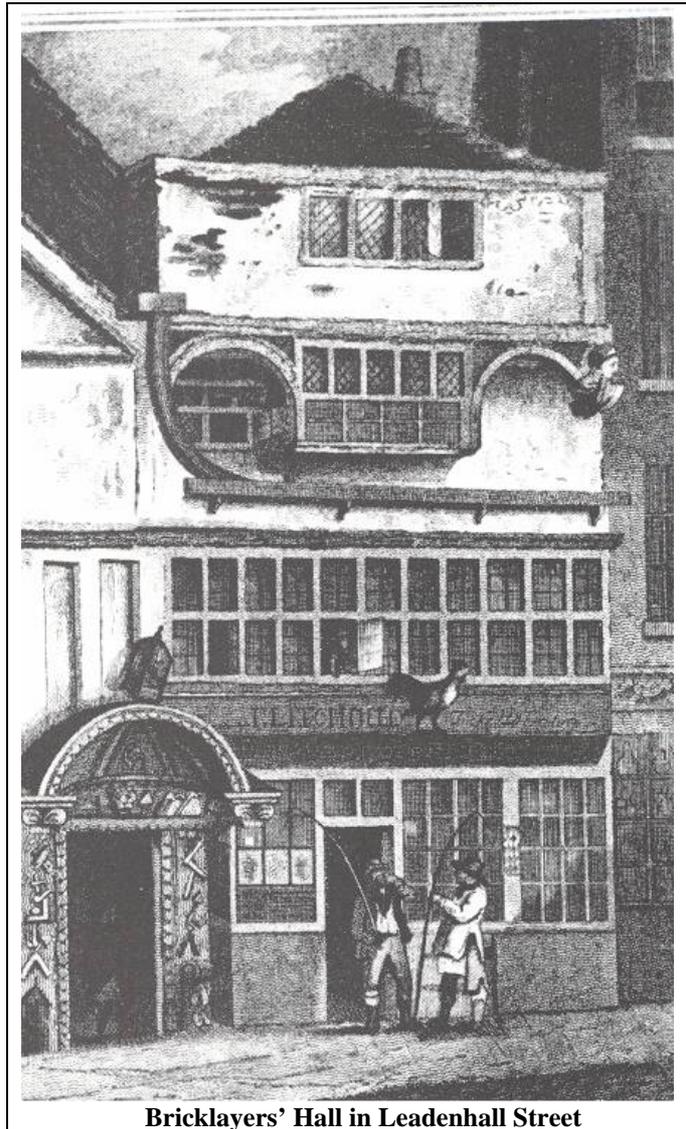
⁶ Unwin p. 160.

⁷ Unwin pp. 166-168.

⁸ Heather Swanson: *Medieval Artisans – An Urban Class in Late Medieval England*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1989; p. 111.

John Stow's references to the Tylers and Bricklayers in his *Survey of London*.

Of the Tylers and Bricklayers of the City of London, John Stow wrote in his *Survey of London* first published in 1598: "The Company of Tylers and Brick-layers, or Brick-layers and Tylers, notwithstanding their antiquity, were first incorporated in the tenth yeere of the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth, and confirmed againe in the second yeere of the Reigne of King James"⁹. In his chapter on Aldgate Ward he adds: "The...Ward within the Wals on the East part, is called Ealdgate Ward, as taking name of the same Gate. The principall street of this Ward beginneth at Ealdgate, stretching West to sometime a faire Well, where now a Pumpe is placed. From thence (the way being divided into twaine) the first and principall street, (called Aldgate-street) runneth on the South side to Lime Street corner, and halofe that street downe on the left hand, is also of that Ward. In the mid way on that South side, betwixt Ealdgate and Lime Street, is Hart-horne Alley, a way that goeth thorow into Fen-Church Street, over against Northumberland House. Then have ye Brick-layers Hall, and another Alley, called Sprinkle Alley, now named Sugar-loafe Alley, of the like signe"¹⁰



Bricklayers' Hall in Leadenhall Street

The emergence of many guilds throughout the U.K. and Ireland

Professor Derek Keene of London University has estimated that London in the 14th century had a population of some 60,000 compared with around 15,000 in York, 8,000 in Norwich, Bristol, and Lincoln, and at least 2,000 in another 40 towns, twelve of which had possibly each more than 5,000 inhabitants. Thus, not just in London but in towns and villages throughout the country, small guilds were formed, including guilds of tilers and eventually of bricklayers also.

⁹ John Stow: *Survey of London* 1598. Revised Edition 1633, p. 634.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 144.

More than 200 trades and crafts were represented in the merchant and craft guilds throughout the length and breadth of the country, but in different places the same or a similar trade or craft would be known by a very different name. Thus, in Norwich the tanners were known as barkers, the butchers as bochers, the tallow chandlers as rafmen, the ironmongers as ferrous, the innholders as ostelers, and the skimmers as pelterers; in Newcastle-upon-Tyne the plasterers were known as dawbers and the musicians as waits, whereas in York the musicians were known as minstrels; and in Scotland the butchers were known as fleshers, the fishmongers as feschers, the bakers as baxters, the brewers as brousters, and the weavers as websters.

Provincial craft guilds would be very much smaller than their counterparts in London. Not only was there far greater wealth in London, but the wealthy London merchants spread themselves amongst the major London guilds. The leading provincial guilds were patronized in a similar manner by those with wealth and influence, so that some of these craft guilds changed from societies for the protection of labour into societies of capitalists¹¹; indeed kings and princes who had joined some of the major London guilds, became members of some of some of the major provincial guilds also; thus, for example, both Henry IV and Henry VI were members of the Guild of the Trinity in Coventry, and Prince George of Denmark was a member of the Guild of Merchants in Winchester.¹² The Company of Tylers & Bricklayers in London was not one to attract wealthy or influential merchants for it was a guild for craftsmen, not one for merchants; the same was the case with the guilds of tilers elsewhere in the country. We have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that these tilers worked better with their hands than with their head, which had a significant impact upon their guild. As a result we find in the records of the London Tylers and Bricklayers' Company that "Mr. Slaughter being chosen Renter Warden, the Court in regards that he cannot write nor read, allowed him the help of the Clerk in keeping his accounts for the year."¹³ Unsurprisingly Mr. Slaughter never progressed to the Master's chair. Another consequence, we find, is that our guilds of tilers and bricklayers, as was the case with many other minor craft guilds, were not as adept as the merchant guilds in managing any wealth that was bequeathed to them, which accounts for the fact that the London Company of Tylers & Bricklayers succeeded in losing its first Hall located near Fenchurch Street and its second Hall located on London Wall, and it has always remained a relatively poor Company. Elsewhere throughout the country they declined in a similar manner but even more quickly.

Many guilds had registered their ordinances with the civic authorities by the end of the 14th century; thus in York most of the crafts had registered their ordinances between 1380 and 1400¹⁴ and in 1436-7 Parliament passed legislation making it mandatory for all guilds throughout the land to do so. These ordinances regulated the guilds to the minutest degree, prescribing the quality and value of the work, and the hours of work. The wardens and a quorum of the guild brethren formed a Court, which enforced the ordinances, punished disobedience with fines, raised a common fund through subscriptions from its members, and appointed searchers to inspect the work done by its members. The tilers' "searcher" is almost as mysterious a title as the butchers' "flesh taster" – a somewhat cannibalistic title, or the brewers' "ale conner" – which sounds more redolent of a fraudster than a weights and measures officer. The power of search was finally abolished by Act of Parliament in 1828.

¹¹ Brentano: *English Gilds* p. cxxxvii and Walford *op. cit.* p. 18.

¹² Walford *op. cit.* pp. 11 and 46.

¹³ Walter G. Bell: *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Tylers & Bricklayers*. London 1938; p. 42-43.

¹⁴ Heather Swanson: *Medieval Artisans – An Urban Class in Late Medieval England*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1989; p. 112.

Of the fines for disobedience we find in London that, Humphrey Bridges, a London tiler, was fined 6/8d “for giving our Master indecent language, saying that our Master was partial”¹⁵ and in Exeter we find at a guild dinner that a certain Richard Mason, having refused to drink the loving cup after Mr. John Alsopp, the newly elected Master, excused himself by asserting that he thought the Master had smallpox, and further hinted that Mr. Alsopp had been indicted as a cheat, for which he was fined 4/-d. Apparently this Richard Mason was a perpetual thorn in the flesh of the Company. In 1612 he was elected Master, which kept him quiet for a year!¹⁶

In addition to supervising the laying of tiles and bricks, a statute from Henry VII’s reign empowered the London Company’s officers to inspect the production and sale of tiles, bricks, sand, and lime up to fifteen miles beyond the City’s limits. The Tylers and Bricklayers’ powers of search within a radius of 15 miles around London was not as extensive as some others such as the Horners who had a radius of 24 miles, or the Girdlers who in 1332 were found to be busy as far away as the Wye fair,¹⁷ or the Goldsmiths and the Pewterers whose area of search covered the whole of England. Suffice it to say that the wider the area of search the more difficult must have been its enforcement. In 1828, the powers of search were finally abolished.

The quality of tile manufacture throughout the land was regulated by Act of Parliament as early as 1477, during the reign of Edward IV, when November 1 was fixed as the date by which the clay must be dug or cast, thereafter it was to be stirred or turned before the beginning of February, and it was not to be made into tiles before March 1; this was to ensure that the material was properly seasoned. Care had to be taken by the tile-makers to avoid any mixture of chalk, marl or stones, and the Act fixed statutory dimensions for tiles. The records of their searches demonstrate that their duties took them across London and throughout the south eastern counties. They collected fines from suppliers as far away from London as Lewisham in Kent, Kentish Town in Middlesex, and the manor of Havering in Essex, as well as from those in other places such as Bridewell.¹⁸

The Tylers and Bricklayers’ Company’s early 17th century search and quarterage lists reveal that members’ workmanship was sometimes lamentably poor. “Of 23 tilers and bricklayers fined, at least 17 (74 per cent) were quarterage-paying members of the Company. An especially embarrassing case took place in October 1606, when the officers fined three company members who had built a wall near Billingsgate that company officers found to be very insufficiently done to the discredit of the company which was scoffed at by the plasterers and therefore worthy of a great fine.”¹⁹ Defective workmanship could be a danger to the public as well as a discredit and an embarrassment to both the trade in general and the guild in particular.

In each town there was a regular amount of work for the building crafts, particularly the masons, the carpenters, and the tilers. The masons would of course be responsible for

¹⁵ Bell p. 43.

¹⁶ Beatrix F. Cresswell: *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Weavers, Fullers and Shearmen of the City and County of Exeter*. Exeter 1930; pp. 52-53.

¹⁷ Elspeth M. Veale: *The English Fur Trade in the later Middle Ages*. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1966; p. 119.

¹⁸ Joseph P. Ward: *Metropolitan Communities. Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London*. Stanford University Press 1997; pp. 36-37.

¹⁹ *Ibid* p. 49.

building the foundations, the cellars and the lower courses, the carpenters would erect the main structure, and the tilers would build the chimneys, brick walls, and put on the roofs. Tilers and carpenters between them undertook most of the building work, and as stone was gradually replaced by brick or 'wall tile' so the tilers gained more work at the expense of the masons. Yet, in contrast with other artisans, all these craftsmen who were engaged in the building trade in Oxford, Shrewsbury, Winchester, York and every other town, were curiously amongst the least well off²⁰. And if the Tylers and Bricklayers managed to retain any advantage up to the Great Fire of London in 1666, this was most certainly wiped out by the Rebuilding Act of 1667 which allowed craftsmen from outside London to gain employment in the massive rebuilding of the City of London.

Very rarely did tilers make tiles, since these had to be made in places where substantial amounts of clay could be found; although "like certain tilemakers of Havering, they were not above digging up the public highway to get the raw materials they needed"²¹.

Roof tiles were known as "thakketyles", and bricks were known as "waltyles". In due course, because of their fire-resistant quality, bricks were used for the backs of fireplaces, before being used generally in building. The terms "brick" and "bricklayer" did not come into widespread use until the middle of the 15th century, from which point separate guilds of bricklayers emerged. Paving tiles fell into yet another category, these being of finer quality than roof tiles, and fetching a higher price; they were largely used for the floors of churches and monastic buildings, early examples of which are to be found in the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey.

Other names by which the Tilers or Bricklayers may have been known outside London.

Tilers or tylers were sometimes also known in London as tyleres, tylars, tylors or tygheleres, in Lincoln as poyntours, in Cheltenham some tilers were also known as helliers or, in Exeter, as hellyers, and in parts of Gloucestershire (such as at Castle Eaton) they were sometimes known as slatters or, in Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Dundee, as slaters, although Newcastle-upon-Tyne had a Guild of Slaters and Tylers, slaters and tilers both being kinds of roofer. In Dublin the slaters were better known as heliers. The Smiths' or Hammermen's Guild very occasionally included tilers (as at Ludlow and at Youghal). The hammermen were normally smiths who worked with hammer and metal, so it was fairly unusual, though as we have already seen not impossible, to find tilers, slaters, heliers, squaremen, or bricklayers as members of the Guilds of Hammermen. However in Edinburgh the slaters were members of the Incorporation of Wrights, but in Brechin where a Society of Wrights did not exist, we find them sitting with the Hammermen.

Some kinds of bricklayers, bricklainers, bricklayers or bryckelayers may also have been known as wallers in some of the northern cities, and may sometimes have been members of a Guild of Wallers; although there are instances of guilds, as at Durham which included tilers, bricklayers, wallers and masons, as at Kingston-upon-Hull which included tilers, bricklayers and wallers, and as at Newcastle-upon-Tyne which included bricklayers and wallers.

²⁰ Ibid pp. 84-87.

²¹ Ibid p. 89.

A wright was usually a skilled carpenter, but sometimes also included a general workman, and in Chester the Guild of Wrights also included slaters, tilers, daubers and thatchers. As has already been noted, in Edinburgh the slaters belonged to the Incorporation of Wrights.

In Scotland, especially, a Craft of Squaremen sometimes also included tilers, slaters (as in Dumfries), wrights, masons, and builders (as in Elgin) and *ex hypothesi* possibly even bricklayers.

The Places in which there is evidence that Tilers and Bricklayers established themselves within distinct Guilds.

In England I have been able to trace records of the existence of guilds of Tylers and/or Bricklayers outside London in the Thames Valley at Kingston upon Thames, in the West Country at Bristol and Exeter, in Kent at Canterbury, in Essex at Ipswich, in Norfolk at Norwich, in Lincolnshire at both Holbeach and at Lincoln, in Warwickshire at Coventry, in Worcestershire at Worcester, in Shropshire at both Shrewsbury and at Ludlow, in Yorkshire at Hull, at Leeds and at York, then further north at, Newcastle upon Tyne, Gateshead and at Durham.



A Provincial Guild of Craftsmen in Procession

In Scotland I have found such craftsmen in guilds (albeit sometimes under a different name), in Aberdeen, Arbroath, Brechin, Dumbarton, Dumfries, Dundee, Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Elgin, Glasgow, Irvine, Kirkcudbright, Montrose, Perth, and Rutherglen. In Wales I have found one in Denbigh, and in Ireland I have found guilds of Tylers and/or Bricklayers in Dublin, Limerick and Youghal

ENGLAND

Bristol. A Gild Merchant was established in Bristol in 1188 to which all of the town's traders and craftsmen belonged. In Bristol the Tylers of Bristol formed a guild jointly with the Plasterers in 1671 as one of a total of 26 guilds in Bristol.²² The Merchant Adventurers is the only Bristol guild still in existence.²³

Canterbury. A Gild Merchant was established in Canterbury in 1097 to which all of the town's traders and craftsmen belonged. Canterbury had many medieval guilds, and in 1680 the Bricklayers together with the Joiners, Carpenters, Carvers, Masons, Coopers, Turners, Glaziers and Painters, were incorporated into one fraternity which usually held their dinners and meetings at the Guildhall. The various guilds and fraternities of Canterbury continued to exist until the middle of the eighteenth century, after which date they all became defunct.

Chester. The Sixth Earl of Chester gave the citizens of Chester a charter in 1200 AD granting them a Gild Merchant. The oldest guild in Chester is the company of Cordwainers, which was granted a charter in 1370 by the Black Prince. During the subsequent century many of the other Chester companies were formed, including a Guild of Bricklayers which, according to the Harleian MS 2150 f376, was part of the Guild of "Cappers, Pinner, Wyredrawers, Lynnen Drapers and Bricklayers" and which by 1602 was known as the Linen Drapers and Bricklayers' Company. This curious combination of trades apparently arose owing to a bricklayer who at that time was Mayor of the City marrying a lady who was a linen draper, and thus the Linen Drapers became incorporated with the Bricklayers. Towards the end of the 17th century various differences appear to have arisen between the members of these two trades; the Linen drapers appealed to the Mayor who, after hearing their complaints, decided in 1679 that the Lynen-Drapers should be separated from the Bricklayers, "the latter being troublesome and unserviceable to the former". The Chester Bricklayers were incorporated by Elizabeth I in 1568, in the same year that the London Tylers & Bricklayers received their Charter, and the Chester Charter of Incorporation was similarly confirmed by James I.²⁴ The Company, combined with the Linen Drapers, met at the Common Hall until the two trades separated in 1679, when the Bricklayers left. Subsequently, from 1689 until 1702, the Bricklayers met at the Smiths' Hall. The Chester Tylers were in another guild formed jointly with the Wrights, Slaters, Daubers and Thatchers. Both companies are amongst 23 companies, established in the 14th and 15th centuries, which are still in existence today, the others being the Joiners, Carvers and Turners, the Bakers, the Barber-Surgeons, the Brewers, the Butchers, the Cordwainers and Shoemakers, the Fletchers, the Bowyers, Coopers and Stringers, the Goldsmiths, the Innkeepers, the Masons, the Mercers, Ironmongers, Grocers and Apothecaries, the Merchant Drapers, the Merchant Tailors, the Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers and Stationers, the Saddlers and Curriers, the Skinners and Feltmakers, the Smiths, Cutlers, and Plumbers, the Tanners, the Weavers, and the Wet and Dry Glovers.²⁵

Coventry. A Gild Merchant was established in Coventry in 1268 to which all of the town's traders and craftsmen belonged. The merchants of Coventry obtained a charter from Edward III in 1340 to form themselves into a guild to protect their trading interests. Over 30 other guilds were established during the 14th century, one of which was the Pinner's, Tilers' and

²² Jonathan Barry: *The Cultural Life of Bristol 1640-1775*. University of Oxford D.Phil. Thesis 1985.

²³ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain*; 1994, p. 3.

²⁴ F. Simpson: *The City Guilds of Chester – The Bricklayers' Company*. *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Archaeological and Historical Society*; New Series 1918, Volume XXII, pp. 55-58.

²⁵ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain*; 1994, pp. 4-7.

Coopers' Company. The combination of these three companies uniting appears somewhat strange; however it has been suggested that the reason was that, being neither rich nor numerous, they could only when united support the burden of putting on a pageant at the Corpus Christi festival.²⁶ In 1406 it was decreed that for the peace of the town there should be no more guilds or fraternities than those that existed as at that date. The Pinners', Tilers' and Coopers' Company is not one of the 7 guilds still in existence today which are the Worsted or Woolstead Weavers, the Broad Weavers and Clothiers, the Cappers and Feltmakers, the Drapers, the Fullers, the Tanners, and the Mercers.²⁷

Durham. A Gild Merchant was granted to Durham by Henry II to which all of the town's traders and craftsmen belonged. There were at one time as many as 20 guilds in Durham, one of which was the Society of Rough Masons, Wallers and Slaters, which was established in 1411 and received a charter from the Bishop of Durham in 1594. They had their bye-laws confirmed in 1609 styling them the Rough Masons, Wallers, Slaters, Paviers, Tylers, and Plaisterers. In 1638 they obtained another charter from the Bishop which styled them the Company, Society and Fellowship of Freemasons, Rough Masons, Wallers, Slaters, Paviers, Plaisterers and Bricklayers. It can therefore be seen that the Tylers dropped out and were replaced by the Bricklayers amongst others. This Company has died out, but there are nine other guilds which are still in existence, these being the Joiners, the Barbers, the Butchers, the Cordwainers, the Curriers, the Drapers, the Masons, the Plumbers, and the Tailors.²⁸

Exeter. Exeter has been described as having been a city of guilds, for "every trade, calling, and craft in it was organized and incorporated into guilds, each with their wardens, hall, common seal, and arms"²⁹ One of these was the Company of Coupers and Hellyers.³⁰ In the 15th and 16th centuries the Exeter guilds' feasts, like those of guilds in other major cities, increased in scale and magnificence. The tables were arrayed with gold and silver plate, of which the most magnificent object was the salt which was the medieval way of separating the Master, Wardens and distinguished guests from the other members of the Company. The most famous example is The Exeter Salt, standing 18 inches high and encrusted with 73 jewels, which was given by the City of Exeter to Charles II when he was restored to the throne in 1660, and which is part of the Crown collection at the Tower of London. The Company of Weavers, Fullers and Shearmen is the only guild still in existence in Exeter.³¹



Gateshead. Seven trade companies once existed in Gateshead. The sixth of these companies, whose charter was confirmed by Bishop Cosin in 1671, contained some 17 trades,

²⁶ Mary Dormer Harris: *Life in an Old English Town: A History of Coventry from Earliest Times* compiled from Official Records; London 1898, p. 261.

²⁷ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain*; 1994, pp. 7-9

²⁸ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain*; 1994, p. 9.

²⁹ The Revd F. J. Chanter: *The Exeter Goldsmiths' Guild*. *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 1912; Volume XLIV, pp. 438-479.

³⁰ William Cotton: *Some Account of the Ancient Guilds of the City of Exeter*. *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 1872; Volume V, pp. 117-138.

³¹ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain*; 1994, pp. 9-10.

comprising the Tilers, the Bricklayers, and the Brickmakers,³² together with the Freemasons, Carvers, Stone Cutters, Sculptors, Glaziers, Painters, Stainers, Founders, Nailors, Pewterers, Millwrights, Saddlers, Bridlers, Trunkmakers, and Distillers.³³

Holbeach. There were several religious guilds in Holbeach in Lincolnshire. One of these was known as the Gild of the Assumption or the Tilers Gild, the members of which were the tilers of the town who during the 13th or early 14th century formed a small fraternity to subscribe for a light to burn before the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary.³⁴

Ipswich. Many of the medieval guilds of Ipswich were consolidated, during the reign of Elizabeth I, into four companies, one of which was the Drapers Company which included “joiners, tailors, carpenters onnholders, ffremasons, bryckelayers, tylers, carriers, casketmakers, surgeons, clothiers” and five others.³⁵ This consolidation of all trades into four companies shows that the guilds at this period were rapidly on the decline. Indeed it was said that “the mysteries of each could not be worthy of preservation, when coks and ffletcherers mingled with merchants and printers, or casketmakers and surgeons with carriers and innholders.”³⁶

Kingston-upon-Hull. A Gild Merchant was established in Kingston-upon-Hull in 1299 to which all the town’s traders and craftsmen belonged. In due course some 17 merchant or craft guilds were established, one of which was a Company of Bricklayers, which also included Tilers, Wallers, Plasterers and Pavers³⁷, which received its first Ordinances in 1598³⁸ and which a century later in 1692 held its meetings at the Coopers’ Hall in Hales’ Entry.³⁹ Lambert comments that “Hull contains some of the earliest medieval brickwork in the United Kingdom. The absence of workable stone in the immediate neighbourhood, and the abundance of good clay, facilitated the manufacture of bricks, and the choir of Holy Trinity Church has long been famous for its fine work of this character.”⁴⁰ None of the guilds, other than Trinity House, has survived.⁴¹

Kingston-upon-Thames. Kingston-upon-Thames’s early guild system included four trading companies. These were the Mercers’ Company, the Woollendrapers’ Company, the Butchers’ Company, and the Shoemakers’ Company. The Company of Shoemakers included, besides Shoemakers, all Tanners, Glovers, Curriers, Saddlers, and Collarmakers, as well as all Bricklayers, Carpenters, Joiners, Smiths, Ironmongers, Wheelwrights, Pewterers, Fletchers, Plumbers, Braziers, Girdlers, and Spurriers.⁴²

³²W. H. D. Longstaffe: *The Trade Companies of Gateshead*; *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, London 1862, pp. 164-166.

³³G.N. Drinkwater: *Gateshead Charters and Companies*; *Archaeologia Aeliana* 1958, 4th Series, Volume XXXVI, pp. 165-206.

³⁴H. F. Westlake: *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England*; London 1919, pp. 23 and 165

³⁵John Wodderspoon: *Memorials of the Ancient Town of Ipswich in the County of Suffolk*. Pawsey, Ipswich; and J.R. Smith, London 1850; p. 174.

³⁶*Ibid* p. 175.

³⁷W.F.W. : *Order Book of the Brotherhood of Bricklayers, Tilers, Wallers, Plasterers & Pavers of Kingston-upon-Hull 1598-1743*. East Riding Antiquarian Society; Volume XXIX, p. 49.

³⁸Rev. J. M. Lambert: *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*; Hull 1891. *Bricklayers’ Composition of 1598* on pp. 272-281.

³⁹*Ibid* p. 299.

⁴⁰*Ibid* p. 269.

⁴¹Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Gilds of Great Britain*; 1994, p. 10.

⁴²Anne Daly: *Kingston upon Thames Register of Apprentices 1563-1713*. Surrey Record Society 1974; Volume XXVIII, p. 160.

Leeds. The Company of Bricklayers was one of 18 guilds known to have been in existence in Leeds during the 17th century.⁴³

Lincoln. A Gild Merchant was granted to Lincoln by Henry II in 1157 to which all the town's traders and craftsmen belonged. A Guild of Tilers or Poyntours, also known as the Gild of Corpus Christi, was established in 1346 and it is believed that they met in St. Botolph's Church. The Master of each of the Lincoln guilds was known as the Graceman. Along with most of the other guilds of Lincoln, the Guild of Tilers disappeared during the 17th century. The last guild to survive was the that of the Cordwainers, who had a royal charter and survived until 1786.

Ludlow. A Gild Merchant was established in Ludlow in 1461 to which all the town's traders and craftsmen belonged. By 1513 there were some 10 craft guilds, but by 1543 there were only 8 'crafts' or 'societies'; these being the Walkers and Shermen, the Corvisers, the Tanners, the Butchers, the Bakers, the Tailors, the Weavers, and the Smiths. By 1511 the Smiths had become known as the Society of Hammermen, and this guild included tilers, slaters, smiths, ironmongers, goldsmiths, carpenters and joiners, masons, plumbers, glaziers, fletchers, bowyers, cardmakers, saddlers, coopers, and cutlers.⁴⁴ All the Ludlow guilds were wound up in 1885.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A Gild Merchant was established in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1216 to which all the town's traders and craftsmen belonged. Subsequently there appear to have been as many as 36 guilds established in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 27 of which are still in existence; and amongst these is the Company of Bricklayers, Wallers and Plasterers which was incorporated in 1660. By 1711 this Company had acquired Nevil-Tower as their hall. A fraternity of Slaters was in existence in 1451 and, with the Bricklayers, was incorporated in 1579. The Slaters and Tylers were separated from the Bricklayers, Wallers and Dawbers, alias Plasterers, in 1677, and met at the Joiners' Hall. By 1821 they had acquired Gunner Tower, situated to the south of Forth Lane, where their members met. This Company, however, is no longer in existence.⁴⁵ The other gilds which are still in existence are the Merchant Adventurers or Merchants comprising the three branches of Drapers, Mercers and Boothmen, the Upholsterers, Tinsplate Workers and Stationers, the Tanners or Barkers, the Paviers, the Colliers, Paviers, and Carriagemen, the Milners or Millers, the House Carpenters, Millwrights and Trunkmakers, the Cordwainers, the Weavers, the Joiners and Cabinet Makers, the Plumbers, Glaziers, Pewterers and Painters, now known just as the Plumbers and Glaziers, the Bakers and Brewers, the Society of Master Mariners, also called Trinity House, the Smiths, the Taylors, the Shipwrights, the Butchers, the Ropemakers, the Hostmen, the Barber-Surgeons and Wax and Tallow Chandlers, the Masons, the Coopers, the Curriers, Feltnakers and Armourers, the Goldsmiths, the Saddlers, the Sail Makers, the Skinners and Glovers, and the Scriveners.⁴⁶

⁴³ James Wardell: *The Municipal History of the Borough of Leeds*; 1846.

⁴⁴ Michael Faraday: *Ludlow 1085-1660. A Social, Economic and Political History*; Chichester 1991; pp. 129-131.

⁴⁵ J. Walker and M. A. Richardson: *The Armorial bearings of the Several Incorporated Companies of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*; Newcastle 1824, pp. 39-40 and 49-50.

⁴⁶ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain*; 1994, pp. 10-17 and R. F. Walker: *The Institutions and History of the Freemen of Newcastle upon Tyne. Stewards' Committee of the Freemen of Newcastle upon Tyne*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1996.

Norwich. A Gild Merchant was established in Norwich at an early date. Before 1548 the crafts were not only trade societies but also religious fraternities or guilds. In 1622 the Ordinances for Crafts enacted that the trades, mysteries and occupations used in the city should be divided into 12 Grand Companies, and one of these was the Merchants, tilers, dyers, worsted-shermen, calenderers, masons, and lime-burners. The others were the Mercers, scriveners, haberdashers of small wares, barbers, pin-makers and joiners; the Grocers, rafemen, reeders and reed-sellers, carters and porters, the Apothecaries, upholsterers, tanners, stationers, carpenters, painters and basket-makers, the Drapers, haberdashers of hats and caps, felt-makers, wool-chapmen, glovers, woollen-shermen, parchment-makers and point-makers, the Goldsmiths, ironmongers, smiths, saddlers, pewterers, braziers, glaziers, cutlers, plumbers, clock-makers and bell-founders, the Worsted weavers, dornix-weavers, silk-weavers, linen-weavers and slay-makers, the Hosiers, twisterers and combers, the Tailors, skinners, body-makers, embroiderers and silk-rasers, the Brewers, bakers, coopers, keelmen, watermen and millers, the Inn-holders, fishmongers, fishermen, vintners, butchers and cooks, and the Cordwainers, curriers, knackers, whittawers, cobblers, coach-makers, trunk-makers and heel-makers.⁴⁷ None of these guilds remain in existence.

Shrewsbury. A Gild Merchant was established in Shrewsbury in 1209 to which all the town's traders and craftsmen belonged. There appear to have been at least 26 companies, most of which were formed during the 14th and 15th centuries. Amongst these were a Company of Carpenters and Tylers established in 1450, and a Company of Builders and Brickmakers. The others were the Barber-Chirurgeons, the Shoemakers, the Vintners, the Fishmongers, the Mercers and Goldsmiths, the Weavers, the Fletchers, Coopers and Bowyers, the Tailors and Skinners, the Drapers, the Millers, the Bakers, the Cooks, the Butchers, the Clothworkers and Shearmen, the Tanners, the Glovers, the Saddlers and Painters, the Glaziers, the Plumbers, the Curriers, the Smiths (which also included Armourers), the Cutlers, the Haberdashers, and the Tinmen. At a later date the Mercers and Goldsmiths added the Grocers and Ironmongers to their Guild, and the Saddlers and Painters added the Booksellers to theirs. None of the Shrewsbury guilds, other than the Drapers' Company, has survived.⁴⁸

Worcester. By 1577 Worcester had twelve principal companies, which were the Mercers, the Drapers and Tailors, the Tallow Chandlers, the Brewers, the Bakers, the Butchers and Vintners, the Shoemakers, the Fishmongers, the Smiths and Cutlers, the Tanners and Saddlers, the Glovers, and the Innkeepers and Victuallers. To these was added in 1598 the Ironmongers.⁴⁹ In addition to these there were some other companies in existence during the 18th century, including a Company of Bricklayers. The only Worcester company still in existence is the Clothiers' Company⁵⁰

York. A Gild Merchant was established in York in 1130 to which all the town's traders and craftsmen belonged. There were 57 crafts in York by the 15th century, and in 1475 a Guild of Plasterers and Tylers was granted Ordinances by the civic authorities.⁵¹ In 1572, during the

⁴⁷ Percy Millican: Register of Freemen of Norwich 1548-1713; Norwich 1934; p. xx.

⁴⁸ Robert F. Lane: The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain; 1994, p. 20.

⁴⁹ A.D. Dyer: The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century. Leicester University Press, Leicester 1973; p. 149.

⁵⁰ Robert F. Lane: The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain; 1994, p. 21

⁵¹ Ordinances of the Plasterers and Tilers in The York Memorandum Book. Volume III. The Surtees Society, Durham 1973; Volume 186, pp. 183-190.

reign of Elizabeth I, this Company were joined by the Bricklayers, and new Ordinances were granted to a Guild of “Plasterers, Tylars and Bricklayers”.⁵² By the end of the 16th century brick was increasingly being used at the expense of timber, and by 1592 bricklayers were trying to break away from the tilers’ guild.⁵³ The York Companies still in existence are the Merchant Adventurers, the Merchant Taylors, the Cordwainers, the Butchers, and the Guild of Building.⁵⁴

SCOTLAND

Aberdeen. A Gild Merchant or Guildry was established in Aberdeen in 1222. The Seven Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen, established in 1587, still exist today, and includes an Incorporation of Hammermen which obtained its first Seal of Cause in 1519,⁵⁵ and an Incorporation of Wrights and Coopers. The other five incorporated trades are the Bakers, the Tailors, the Shoemakers, the Weavers, and the Fleshers.⁵⁶

Arbroath. A Gild Merchant was established in Arbroath in 1599. The Wrights were one of the seven incorporated trades of Arbroath, the others being the Hammermen or Blacksmiths, the Glovers or Skinners, the Shoemakers, the Weavers, the Tailors, and the Bakers.

Brechin. A Gild Merchant was established in Brechin in 1601. By 1650 there were six incorporations these being, in order of precedence, the Hammermen, the Glovers, the Baxters, the Cordiners, the Websters, and the Tailyeours. Two trades, the Fleshers and the Bonnetmakers, never sought incorporation. There was never a Slaters’ Society or Incorporation in Brechin, and we are told that “in 1637 a slater was allowed only a seat in the Hammermen’s loft”.⁵⁷

Dumbarton. A Guildry was established in Dumbarton in 1609, and a Craft of Hammermen once existed there too.

Dumfries. A Guildry was established in Dumfries in 1827. At one time there were at least 11 different crafts incorporated in Dumfries, of which the Incorporation of Smiths ranked first, after which came the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons, generally termed Squaremen, with whom the Slaters were associated⁵⁸. The other guilds were the Websters or Weavers, the Tailors, the Shoemakers or Cordwainers, the Skinners and Gauntlers or Glovers, and the Fleshers. At one time there were four other trades incorporated in the Burgh - the Lorimers or Armourers, the Pewterers or Tinsmiths, the Bonnetmakers, and the Litsters or Dyers - all of which became defunct, or were merged into the remaining seven

Dundee. Dundee has a Gild Merchant or Guildry which was established in 1249. There is also a Conventry with two separate Incorporations: the Nine Incorporated Trades and the

⁵² Ordinances of the Plasterers, Tilers and Bricklayers in The York Memorandum Book. Volume III. The Surtees Society, Durham 1973; Volume 186, pp. 284-287.

⁵³ D. M. Palliser: The Trade Guilds of Tudor York. In Clark and Slack: Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700. Kegan Paul, London 1972; p. 98.

⁵⁴ Robert F. Lane: The Outwith London Gilds of Great Britain; 1994, pp. 21-24.

⁵⁵ Ebenezer Bain: Merchant & Craft Guilds. A History of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades; Aberdeen 1887; pp. 115-116.

⁵⁶ Robert F. Lane: The Outwith London Gilds of Great Britain; 1994, p. 25.

⁵⁷ David G. Adams: The Brechin Hammermen’s Incorporation, 1600-1762, and Later Fine Metal Craftsmen to c. 1850. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 2000; Volume 130, pp. 776.

⁵⁸ William McDowall: History of the Burgh of Dumfries; Edinburgh 1867.

Three United Trades. The Nine Incorporated Trades are still active and include the Hammermen, the Bonnetmakers, the Bakers or Baxters, the Fleshers, the Shoemakers or Cordiners, the Weavers, the Tailors, the Glovers, and the Fullers or Waulkers and Dyers or Litsters.⁵⁹ The Three United Trades comprise the Slaters, the Wrights, and the Masons.

Dunfermline. A Gild Merchant was established in Dunfermline in 1395. There are eight Incorporated Trades of Dunfermline which, in order of precedence, are the Smiths or Hammermen, the Weavers, the Wrights, the Tailors, the Shoemakers, the Baxters, and the Fleshers.

Edinburgh. In Edinburgh the Slaters are members of the Incorporation of Wrights where the Masons also belong, and this is one of the twelve incorporated trades which are still in existence. The Incorporation of Wrights and Masons was first formed into a Society in 1475 by a Seal of Cause or Act of the Common Council of Edinburgh. The other Incorporations⁶⁰ are the Hammermen, the Bonnetmakers and Dyers or Waulkers, the Skinners, the Furriers, the Fleshers, the Masons, the Tailors, the Bakers, the Cordiners, the Goldsmiths, and the Websters or Weavers.⁶¹ There is also a Company of Merchants.

Elgin. A Gild Merchant was established in Elgin by a Charter granted by Alexander II of Scotland in 1234. There are six incorporated trades in Elgin, all of them established between 1656 and 1658, and one of these is the Incorporation of Squaremen (which include Stone Masons, Wrights and Builders).⁶² The other incorporated trades still in existence are the Hammermen, the Glovers, the Tailors, the Shoemakers, and the Weavers. There is also a Merchant Guild.⁶³

Glasgow. In Glasgow, the Hammermen established in 1536, and the Wrights established in 1057 by Royal Charter granted by Malcolm III of Scotland, accounted for two of the fourteen craft incorporations which together comprise the Trades House of Glasgow which was founded in 1605, the others being⁶⁴ the Skinners and Furriers, the Tailors, the Weavers, the Masons, the Bakers, the Cordiners, the Coopers, the Fleshers, the Bonnetmakers and Dyers, the Surgeons and Barbers, the Maltmen, the Gardeners, and the Mariners and Fishers.⁶⁵ There is also a Merchants' House still in existence.

Irvine. A Gild Merchant was granted to Irvine in 1371. The Hammermen, the Wrights, and the Squaremen, accounted for three of the Incorporated Trades of Irvine established in 1646. They and the other incorporated trades comprising the Weavers, the Tailors, the Cordiners, and the Skinners, are still in existence.⁶⁶

Kirkcudbright. The Incorporated Trades of Kirkcudbright was established in 1681, and the Hammermen and the Squaremen were two of the six incorporated trades. The Clothiers, the

⁵⁹ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Gilds of Great Britain*; 1994, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁰ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Gilds of Great Britain*; 1994, pp. 27-28.

⁶¹ William Maitland: *The History of Edinburgh from its foundation to the Present Time*; Edinburgh 1753, p. 280.

⁶² E. D. Dunbar: *Social Life in Former Days, chiefly in the Province of Moray*; Edinburgh 1865.

⁶³ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Gilds of Great Britain*; 1994, p. 29.

⁶⁴ *Ibid* pp. 30-32.

⁶⁵ John Gibson: *The History of Glasgow from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*; Glasgow 1777.

⁶⁶ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Gilds of Great Britain*; 1994, p. 33.

Weavers, the Tailors, the Hammermen and Glovers, the Squaremen, and the Shoemakers are still in existence.⁶⁷

Montrose. A Gild Merchant was established in Montrose in 1372, and in due course there was also an Incorporation of Smiths and Hammermen there.⁶⁸

Perth. A Gild Merchant or Guildry was established in Perth in 1165. The Hammermen and the Wrights accounted for two of the eight incorporations of Perth. The other Incorporations were the Glovers, the Bakers, the Shoemakers, the Tailors, the Fleshers, and the Weavers.

Rutherglen. A Gild Merchant was granted to Rutherglen in 1617. The Smiths and the Wrights accounted for two of the incorporations of Rutherglen, the others being the Masons and Wrights, the Tailors, the Smiths, and the Weavers. The Incorporation of Tailors is the only company still in existence in Rutherglen.⁶⁹

WALES

Denbigh. A Gild Merchant was established in Denbigh in 1333, and this was evidenced by a Charter in 1401. There was a Company of Hammermen “which is believed to have included all master-artificers in metal, if not wrights and masons”.⁷⁰

IRELAND

Dublin. A Gild Merchant was granted to the citizens of Dublin in 1192 by Prince John, son of Henry II, and for many centuries thereafter it was very closely associated with the Common Council of the city. During the 13th century more than fifty different trades were represented amongst the members of the Gild Merchant. By the 15th century the growth in craftsmen led to their organization into individual craft guilds.⁷¹ The Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin refers to 17 different craft guilds by the end of the 16th century, one of which was the Guild of Carpenters, Masons, Heliers, and Joiners which was established by royal charter granted by Henry VII in 1508. This guild ranked 7th in order of precedence. It met at Carpenters’ Hall in St. Audoen’s Lane until 1565 when the Hall seems to have been demolished, after which date they met at Tailors’ Hall in Winetavern Street until 1593. Thereafter they met near Blakeney’s Inns in St. Audoen’s Parish. During the 18th century they met at New Hall in Keyzar’s Lane, which became known as Carpenters’ Hall. From 1783 until 1841 the guild met in St. Audoen’s Arch.



⁶⁷ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain*; 1994, p. 33.

⁶⁸ [Anon]: *Book of the Montrose Smiths’ and Hammermen’s Incorporation 1725-64*. Manuscript in the Angus Council Archives, Montrose Library, Montrose.

⁶⁹ Robert F. Lane: *The Outwith London Guilds of Great Britain*; 1994, p. 33.

⁷⁰ J. Williams: *Ancient and Modern Denbigh* 1856; p. 129

⁷¹ John Webb: *The Guilds of Dublin*, 1929; pp. 10-11.

The Guild of Bricklayers and Plasterers was established in 1670, by a royal charter granted by Charles II, and ranked 20th in order of precedence, out of a total of 25 guilds then existing, the ranking being determined by the antiquity of the guilds.⁷² Before 1670 bricklayers and plasterers were members of the Guild of Carpenters, Masons, Heliers, and Joiners. Towards the end of the 18th century the Guild of Bricklayers and Plasterers met in St. Audoen's Arch, and from 1834 until 1841 it met in Merchants' Hall at 41 Wellington Quay. Both guilds became defunct in 1841 as a consequence of the Municipal Corporation Reform Act 1840.⁷³ The Company of Goldsmiths is the only one of the Dublin trade guilds which continued to function after 1841, and which still exists today.



Limerick. By the 18th century Limerick had a number of guilds, one of which was a Guild of Masons, Bricklayers, Slaters, Plasterers, Painters, Pavours, and Limeburners.⁷⁴

Youghal. The Charter of the City of Youghal granted by James I permitted the establishment of guilds. One of these was the Company of Hammermen, incorporated in 1657, which included Tilers, as well as Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Pewterers, Shipwrights, House Carpenters, Joiners, Coopers, Masons, Cutlers, Braziers, and Glaziers.⁷⁵

EUROPE

Elsewhere in Europe we know that there was a system of guilds similar to that which existed in Great Britain and Ireland. It is beyond the scope of this article to elaborate, other than to observe that preliminary research has revealed guilds of tylers and bricklayers to have existed in the following places⁷⁶:

NETHERLANDS.

Amsterdam had a Guild of Bricklayers. The oldest surviving gatehouse in Amsterdam, known as the Waag, was built in 1488. This building was converted in 1617 to a weigh-house, and the upstairs rooms were used as meeting places by the local guilds. The 17th century entrance at the north corner of the building is distinguished by a bricklayer's head and tools, and this entrance leads to the Bricklayers' Guild room⁷⁷;

Workum also had a Guild of Bricklayers.

SWITZERLAND:

Berne had a Guild of Roofers;

Zurich had a Guild of Carpenters and Builders.

⁷² Ibid pp. 177-178

⁷³ Mary Clark and Raymond Refaussé: Directory of Historic Dublin Guilds; Dublin Public Libraries 1993.

⁷⁴ Robert Herbert: The Trade Guilds of Limerick. North Munster Antiquarian Journal (of the Thomond Archaeological Society) 1941; Volume II, No. 3, p. 128.

⁷⁵ H. H. Cotterell and M. S. D. Westropp: Irish Pewterers, in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 1918; Volume 47, p. 48.

⁷⁶ David Wickham: The Livery Company World. A Provisional Gazetteer. London 1997; 189 pages.

⁷⁷ D. E. Wickham: The Livery Company World – A Provisional Gazetteer 1997, p. 136.

THE FAR EAST

The German historian Lujo Brentano, in his writings towards the end of the nineteenth century, commented that: "England must be regarded as the birthplace of guilds and London, perhaps, as their cradle." However, a glance at Dr. Beena Jain's book on "Guild Organization in **Northern India**" reveals guilds of stone workers and carpenters in existence there in the Mauryan Period (400BC-200BC) and guilds of bricklayers and plasterers in the Sunga-Saka-Satavahana Period (200BC-300AD)⁷⁸, and the historical records of **China** which have now come to light reveal the existence there of a developed system of guilds at an even earlier date⁷⁹.

The Ranking of Tilers and Bricklayers in terms of Precedence amongst the Crafts.

Precedence has always been a matter of importance to the guilds.

In London it was never based upon age, for how else would the Weavers, who were granted a licence by Henry I in 1184, have ended up as 42nd from amongst 65 London companies that established a ranking amongst themselves in 1488. The fact of the matter is that those with the greatest wealth and influence secured their places at the top of the list. Wrestling between the crafts at Blackheath is thought to have given rise to the Twelve Great Companies in London⁸⁰ and the Fullers and Shearers had to join with the Clothworkers to secure the last place amongst the Great Twelve⁸¹ when in 1515 the Lord Mayor and Aldermen drew up the definitive list, placing the Mercers first, and the Tylers and Bricklayers 37th.

In Dublin the order of precedence of the guilds, in connection with the riding the franchises in 1767, appears to have been determined by the antiquity of the guilds. The six most senior guilds were the Merchants, Tailors, Smiths, Barber-Surgeons, Bakers, and Butchers, in that order. The Guild of Bricklayers and Plasterers ranked 20th and the Apothecaries came last at 25th. The Goldsmiths which is the only Dublin guild still in existence ranked 16th.⁸²

In Chester the order of precedence placed the Bricklayers' Company in the top six, the first being the Tanners, followed by the Brewers, barber-Surgeons, Merchant Drapers, Cappers, and then the Bricklayers. The Goldsmiths were 10th, the Mercers were 17th, and last of all were the Weavers at 23rd.⁸³

⁷⁸ Dr. Beena Jain: Guild Organization in Northern India – From Earliest Times to 1200BC. Pratibha Prakashan, Delhi 1990; p. 192.

⁷⁹ Hosea Gallou Morse: The Guilds of China. Longmans Green, London 1909; 92 pages.

⁸⁰ William Herbert: The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London. William Herbert, London; 1836-7. Volume 1 p. 36.

⁸¹ Prof. George Unwin: The Guilds and Companies of London. Frank Cass, London 4th Edition 1963; p. 168.

⁸² Appendix 10.

⁸³ Appendix 11.

In Norwich in 1449 we find the Mercers ranking 1st, followed by the Grocers, Drapers, Golsmiths, Dyers, and worsted Weavers. The Tilers, at this early date, do not seem to have found a place at all, unless you class them under their cousins, the Thatchers, who in Norwich were known as Reders; the Reders ranked last at 30th.⁸⁴

In Ludlow in 1368 we find similarly that the Tilers are conspicuously absent from the list of crafts and their order of precedence. There in Ludlow the list was headed by the Merchants, followed by the Drapers, Skinners, Tailors, Corvisers, and Fullers. The Weavers ranked 7th, and last of all were the Millwards at 14th.⁸⁵

Numbers of Tilers and Bricklayers practising their Trade in various Cities.

In Bristol the Company of Tylers and Plasterers, formed in 1671, grew to a total of 68 members over the period to 1709, but only 38 more joined between 1709 and 1750; thereafter the membership appears to have declined further.⁸⁶

In Coventry, during the period 1781-1806, we find evidence of 26 bricklayers' apprentices, two of whom were apprenticed to masters who were also master tylers.⁸⁷

In Gloucester during the second half of the 17th century, we find 6 apprenticed bricklayers obtaining their freedom, and during the whole of the 18th century a total of 76 apprentice bricklayers obtaining their freedom. Apprentice tilers, by comparison, number 3 during the second half of the 17th century, and 28 during the whole of the 18th century.⁸⁸

In London we find that there are as many as 79 liverymen of the Company according to the "Lists of the Liveries of the Fifty Six Companies in the City of London" published in 1700. There were obviously a great many more freemen of the company who were able to practise their craft.

In Ludlow we find between the years 1534 and 1583 that 16 tilers had joined the Society of Hammermen.⁸⁹

In Newcastle we find that during the early 19th century the Company of Bricklayers, Wallers and Plasterers had some 113 members, whereas the Company of Slaters and Tylers had barely 35 members.⁹⁰

In Norwich we find, as early as the reign of Edward IV, a tiler obtaining his freedom of the City of Norwich. During the reign of Henry VI we find evidence of another couple of tilers likewise obtaining their freedom.⁹¹ Thus it seems to have continued through the first half of

⁸⁴ Appendix 12.

⁸⁵ Appendix 14.

⁸⁶ Jonathan Barry: *The Cultural Life of Bristol 1640-1775*; Univ. of Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1985.

⁸⁷ Appendix 5.

⁸⁸ Appendix 8.

⁸⁹ Michael Faraday: *Ludlow 1085-1660. A Social, Economic and Political History*; Chichester 1991; pp. 129-131.

⁹⁰ Percy Millican: *Register of Freemen of Norwich 1548-1713*; Norwich 1934, p. xx.

⁹¹ Appendix 1.

the 16th century, during the reign of Henry VIII, when only a couple of tilers are found to have obtained their freedom. However, throughout the second half of the 16th century, during the reign of Elizabeth I, we see a total of 11 tilers obtaining their freedom, and thereafter 17 during the whole of the 17th century.⁹² This increase in numbers coincided with the establishment of the 12 Grand Companies in Norwich, one of which, as we have already noted, included the tilers (along with merchants, dyers, worsted-shermen, calenderers, masons, and lime-burners). By comparison, only 4 bricklayers obtained their freedom during the second half of the 16th century, and 7 during the whole of the 17th century.⁹³ Turning to the 18th and 19th centuries we find, in the Norwich Poll of 1710, 1 tiler and 3 bricklayers recorded,⁹⁴ and in the Norwich Poll of 1806, no tilers, but 32 bricklayers recorded.⁹⁵

The Period of Apprenticeship, and the Number of Apprentices that a Master could take.

The training given during the period of apprenticeship ensured that apprentices became skilled and capable workmen, and as such able to take an interest in, and to derive pleasure from their work. The period of apprenticeship was variable until Parliament sought to apply some standard period by enacting the Statute of Artificers in 1563 which established 7 years for apprenticeships.

In Gloucester an analysis of the registers of freemen at the end of the 17th century and during the early part of the 18th century shows masters each taking quite a number of apprentices whose 7 year apprenticeships sometimes seemed to overlap. Abraham Meadway, a master bricklayer in that city, took as his first apprentice Abraham Archer, who obtained his freedom in 1693; next he took William Stiles who obtained his freedom in 1695; then he took Ephraim Higgins as the third who obtained his freedom in 1698; and in 1700 his fourth apprentice, William Dix alias Diss, obtained his freedom. Thus, within 7 years he had been served by four apprentices. The first of those apprentices, Abraham Archer, in turn when he had become a master bricklayer, took as the first of his apprentices William Freeman, who obtained his freedom in 1706; he was followed by two more apprentices, John Archer and Samuel Brotherton, who obtained their freedom in 1713; followed two years later by John Fryer; thus Abraham Archer had, similarly taken four apprentices within a period of 7 years. Finally, Abraham Archer's two sons, Thomas Archer and John Archer, obtained their freedom by patrimony in 1720. During the first part of the 19th century another master bricklayer, Daniel Spencer, can be seen to have similarly taken a number of apprentices, the first two of whom, William Cullis and James Daw, obtained their freedom in 1805; the third, Joseph Holtham, obtained his freedom in 1812; the fourth, Robert Sutton Deighton, obtained his freedom in 1820; and the fifth and last apprentice, Thomas Roberts obtained his freedom some 10 years later in 1830⁹⁶.

Similarly amongst tilers we find comparable examples during the early part of the 18th century in Gloucester. Thus John Benson, a master tiler and plasterer, took another John Benson (not his son) as an apprentice, the latter obtaining his freedom in 1705. His next two apprentices were Samuel Perkins and Joseph Mitchell, both of whom obtained their freedom

⁹² Appendix 4.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Appendix 2.

⁹⁵ Appendix 3.

⁹⁶ Appendix 10.

in 1713. Thomas Fuller was his fourth apprentice, obtaining his freedom in 1720; and finally, in 1731, his son, John Benson, obtained his freedom by patrimony⁹⁷.

In Kingston-upon-Hull the general period of apprenticeship was 8 years until 1649, after which date the period was reduced to 7 years “for the lawes and statutes of this lande doth not require any to be bounds for above seven years”. Notwithstanding this, however, towards the end of the 17th century apprenticeships of 8 years were again prevalent.⁹⁸ The Ordinances dated 1599 of the Company of Bricklayers, Tilers, Wallers, Plaisterers and Pavers of Kingston-upon-Hull permitted a master to have no more than two apprentices at any one time, and the first apprentice must have served 4 years before he could take a second apprentice.⁹⁹

In Newcastle-upon-Tyne during the 15th century the Slaters could take an apprentice, who had to serve the usual 7 year apprenticeship; and his master could not take a second apprentice until the first had served 6 years. During the 17th century the Bricklayers similarly took apprentices for 7 years, but could take a second apprentice once the first had served 3 years.

In Southampton a survey of all Southampton apprenticeships during the ten year period 1610-1620 shows that, notwithstanding the Statute of Artificers, only 52% were for 7 years in compliance with the law. Of the balance, 22% were for 8 years, 17% for 9 years, 7% for 10 years, 1% over 10 years, 1% unstated.¹⁰⁰ This discrepancy can perhaps be accounted for because many provincial guilds insisted that their members should not take apprentices below a certain age, usually fourteen, but sometimes as young as twelve or as old as sixteen. As apprenticeships commonly commenced at age 14 and, under the Statute of Artificers 1563, could not end before the age of 24, so many apprenticeships would effectively run on beyond 7 years, unless the statute was not observed.¹⁰¹

In Dublin, as a result of a bye-law passed in 1551, the taking of apprentices under the age of sixteen was prohibited¹⁰².

The Price paid by Apprentices for their Indentures.

An analysis of the 18th century records of the counties of Warwickshire, Hampshire and Wiltshire shows a fairly similar pattern of premium paid for indentures as an apprentice bricklayer. The amount was usually between £4 and £10, whereas the premium for an apprentice tiler was rather wider: ranging between £1 and £12. Thus, in Warwickshire, we find that the premium paid in 1755 by Sarah Saunders, for her apprenticeship to George Copage, a master bricklayer in Solihull, was £7.¹⁰³ In Hampshire the premium paid in 1730 by John Chalk to William Mountford in Hale was £5, whereas the premium by Thomas Pearson to Edmund Richmond of Rockbourne was £4.4.0d. In Wiltshire, Adam Bassett paid

⁹⁷ Appendix 10.

⁹⁸ Rev. J. M. Lambert: “Two Thousand Years of Gild Life”; Hull 1891, p. 174.

⁹⁹ Rev. J. M. Lambert: “Two Thousand Years of Gild Life”; Hull 1891, p. 278.

¹⁰⁰ A. J. Willis and A. L. Merson: A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers 1609-1740. Southampton Record Society 1968; Volume XII, p. xix.

¹⁰¹ Ibid p. viii.

¹⁰² John J. Webb: The Guilds of Dublin; London 1929, pp. 120-121.

¹⁰³ Appendix 6.

£10 in 1721 to John West in Devizes, although 7 years later, in 1728, Thomas Blandford paid Robert West only £5 in the same town, whereas in Dorset in the same year, John Clark paid Andrew Coney a premium of £8 in Cranborne. In Salisbury some 28 years later, in 1756, James Mills paid William Fry £5.5.0d for his apprenticeship indenture to train as a bricklayer.¹⁰⁴

The premium for an apprentice tiler could be as little as £1 (in Bitton, Gloucestershire), £3 (in Atford, Wiltshire) or as much as £12 in Bristol.¹⁰⁵

Their Earnings once they became Masters.

In 1212 master tilers, like masons and carpenters, were paid 3d per day, and received food in addition, or 1½d instead.¹⁰⁶

Almost 150 years later we find that the London tiler has either become twice as valuable, or else inflation has impacted on his rate. Thus, In 1359, for repairing a house in Cornhill in London a tiler was paid for two days 14d, his man 10d, and for their drink 2d; whilst carpenters worked for 7d a day, i.e. for a similar rate.¹⁰⁷

The Role of Women.

Women were members of the early frith guilds, but they never took part in the administration or the governance of these guilds.¹⁰⁸ There was a Maiden's Gild at Croscombe, and a guild by the name of Our Lady's Maidens at Stratton in Cornwall, both of which were guilds exclusively for young girls.¹⁰⁹ In only five out of 500 guilds existing in the 14th century were women excluded.¹¹⁰

Although tiling and bricklaying have always been predominantly heavy work better suited to men, women too could be master tylers or bricklayers. Indeed women were members of guilds of tilers as they could be members of other craft guilds, although most usually this resulted from a woman married to a tiler continuing his business after his death. However, this was not always the case. In May 1796 we find that Thomas Burdett was apprenticed to a husband and wife team of Coventry bricklayers by the name of John and Rebecca Cheshire. A year later, in 1797, we find another example in Coventry, where Joseph Bassett, who had been apprenticed to Mary Cotton, was assigned by her to Joseph Cotton, another master bricklayer in Coventry¹¹¹. Similarly in Solihull there are records showing that women, such as Sarah Saunders in 1755, became master bricklayers¹¹². There is no evidence of women holding office in any guilds, at least not until we reach the twentieth century, and then only in a few of the modern London guilds.

¹⁰⁴ Appendix 7.

¹⁰⁵ Appendix 7.

¹⁰⁶ Mary Bateson: *Mediaeval England 1066-1350*; London 1903, p. 268.

¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁷ Rev. J. M. Lambert: *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*; Hull 1891, p. 270.

¹⁰⁸ Walford p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Westlake p. 60.

¹¹⁰ Walford p. 20.

¹¹¹ Appendix 5.

¹¹² Appendix 6.

The Backgrounds from which the Apprenticed Tilers and Bricklayers came.

As one would expect, there is much evidence of tilers and bricklayers taking their sons as apprentices into their respective trades. The greater interest, however, is to see from what other backgrounds the apprentices came. Thus, for example, in Norwich¹¹³ of the apprenticed tilers: Gregorius Fayerman's father was a worsted weaver/sherman, Andreas Gyles's father was a worsted weaver; in Chippenham, Gabriel Barnes's father was a husbandman; in Gloucester¹¹⁴, Stephen Steel's father was a carpenter, and Joseph Lewis's father was a pinmaker.

Of the apprenticed bricklayers: in Norwich¹¹⁵, Henry Armyger's father was a woollen draper, Francis Wantlop's father was a glover; in Coventry¹¹⁶, Thomas Burdett's father was a weaver, William Kimberley's father was a weaver, John Taylor's father was a silk weaver, Joseph Bassett's father was a collar maker, William Burman's father was a mason, and William Cheatley's and John Payne's fathers were both labourers; in Gloucester¹¹⁷, Benjamin Wilkes's father was a wiredrawer, William Dix's father was a porter, Luke Holford's father was a labourer; in Shrewsbury, Thomas Wadley's father was a hairdresser; in London¹¹⁸, Thomas Pace's father was a cordwainer, Charles Adey's father was a tailor, John Reeve's father was a combmaker, and Sam Jasper Selwyn's father was a whitesmith.

Some Tilers' and Bricklayers' Sons did better than their Fathers.

Many sons joined their fathers as apprenticed tilers or bricklayers but, surprisingly, a large number thought that they could do better than their fathers. Thus, of the sons of Coventry¹¹⁹ tilers, John Calvert and John Powell became weavers, Francis Chaplin became a worsted weaver, and Charles Fletcher became a tailor¹²⁰; in Devizes¹²¹ William Overton became a drugget maker; in Gloucester¹²², Thomas Lewis became a tailor, his brother John Lewis became a pargeter, and their eldest brother Joseph became a gentleman in Herefordshire.

Of the sons of Coventry¹²³ bricklayers, John Arden became an engraver, John Beazley Dowell and William and Thomas Shenstone all became weavers, and Wale Windsor became a plumber and glazier; in Gloucester¹²⁴ Simon Smith became a farrier, James King became a carpenter, Richard Ford became a barber, Richard Welch became a private in the 11th Light Dragoons, William Welch became a private in the 2nd Dragoon Guards, and Giles King became a corporal in the 15th Light Dragoons, Charles Pace became an apothecary, William Henry Cullis became a butcher, John Baker and Sam King both became cordwainers, and

¹¹³ Appendix 4.

¹¹⁴ Appendix 8.

¹¹⁵ Appendix 4.

¹¹⁶ Appendix 5.

¹¹⁷ Appendix 8.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Appendix 5.

¹²⁰ Appendix 6.

¹²¹ Appendix 7.

¹²² Appendix 8.

¹²³ Appendix 5.

¹²⁴ Appendix 8.

Sam Doggett and Joseph Lake both became labourers; in Salisbury¹²⁵ William Waters became a clothier; in Somerset¹²⁶ James King became an upholsterer; in London¹²⁷ James Ward became a farrier, Richard Clark became a clerk in Serjeant's Inn, and Richard Barton became a coach harness-maker.

The Coats of Arms of the Tylers' and Bricklayers' Companies.

I have found descriptions of the coats of arms of the Tylers and Bricklayers Companies in Chester, Gateshead, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and these all closely resemble that of the London Tylers and Bricklayers' Company. They all have a gold chevron on a blue background with a silver fleur de lys between two gold brick-axes, and in the base a bundle of laths. The mottos of all four are very similar: "In the Lord is all our trust" or "Our trust is in God."

In London the Tylers' and Bricklayers' Coat of Arms is:

Shield: Azure (Blue) on which is a Gold Chevron, In Chief (on top of the Shield or in the top part of the Shield) there is a Fleur-de-lys Argent (Silver) and on either side of the Fleur-de-lys are two Gold Bric-axes in a vertical position. In base (or in the lower part of the Shield) there is a Gold Brush.

Crest: On a Wreath Gold and Blue there is a right arm bent showing a sleeve half of which is coloured Gold half of which is coloured Red and in the hand there is a Gold Brick-axe. The Mantling is of two colours Argent (silver) and Red.

Motto: In God is all our trust let us never be confounded."¹²⁸

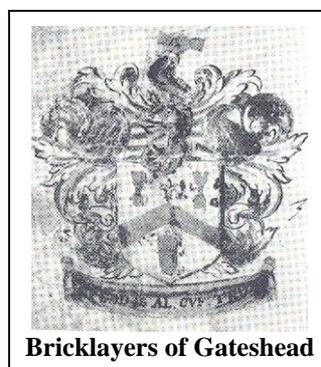


In Chester the Coat of Arms of the Company of Bricklayers is similar to that of the London company shown above.¹²⁹

In Gateshead the Coat of Arms is:

Shield: Azure a chevron or in between in chief a fleur de lys argent between two brick-axes or, in base a bundle of laths or.

Motto: In the Lord is all our trust."¹³⁰



Bricklayers of Gateshead

¹²⁵ Appendix 7.

¹²⁶ Appendix 8.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Modern interpretation dated 17th June 1965 by The Lord Sinclair, York Herald, of the Grant of Arms dated 3rd February 1569.

¹²⁹ F. Simpson: The City Guilds of Chester – The Bricklayers' Company. Journal of the Chester and North Wales Archaeological and Historical Society; New Series 1918, Volume XXII, p. 79.

¹³⁰ G.N. Drinkwater: Gateshead Charters and Companies. Archaeologia Aeliana 1958, 4th Series, Volume XXXVI; p. 194.

In Newcastle-upon-Tyne the Bricklayers' Coat of Arms is:
“*Shield:* Azure, a Chevron Or; In Chief a Fleur-de-lis Argent, between two Brick-axes, Palewise, of the second; in base a Bundle of Laths of the last.

Crest: A Dexter Arm embowed, vested per Pale or, and Azure, cuffed Argent, holding in the hand proper, a Brick-axe Or.

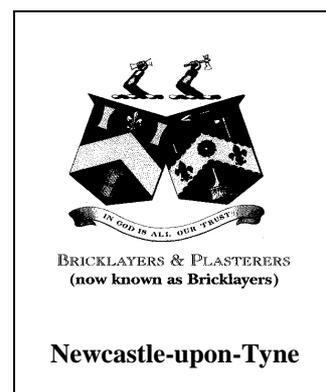
Motto: In God is all our trust.”¹³¹

The Slaters' and Tylers' Coat of Arms was

“*Shield:* Azure, a Chevron between three Lathing-hammers Argent, Handled Or.

Crest: A dexter hand couped at the wrist, holding a trowel, all proper.

Motto: Our trust is in God.”¹³²



The Miracle Plays.

Throughout the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries there is continuous evidence of Miracle Plays being performed regularly, not just in major centres such as Cambridge, Chester, Coventry, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norwich, Reading, Shrewsbury, Tewkesbury, and York, but in at least thirty English towns and villages.¹³³

The plays were originally acted in churches, then they moved to the churchyards, and eventually they developed into processions which moved through the town, giving performances on the decorated scaffolds which were erected at various points along the route. The guilds had a long connection with these Miracle Plays, such that when cities prospered and new guilds were created, then the original plays would have to be subdivided to give them a share in the performance; and when cities and guilds were on the decline then two or more plays would be run together.¹³⁴

Before the Reformation the tableaux were generally of a biblical nature; but after the 16th century they were usually mythological or historical. In Shrewsbury “the Bricklayers, for some strange reason, considered themselves adequately represented by bluff King Hal.”¹³⁵

The Pageants performed by the Tylers and Bricklayers in the Corpus Christi Plays.

Curiously, there appear to be much fuller accounts of the Corpus Christi plays in the records of Chester, Newcastle, Norwich and York, than in the records of London.

¹³¹ J. Walker and M. A. Richardson: *The Armorial bearings of the Several Incorporated Companies of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*; Newcastle 1824, p. 50.

¹³² *Ibid* pp. 40-41.

¹³³ Alfred W. Pollard: *English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes – specimens of the Pre-Elizabethan Drama*; Oxford 1890, pp. xxi-xxiii.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p. xxx.

¹³⁵ F.A. Hibbert: *The Influence and Development of English Craft Guilds, as illustrated by the Craft Guilds of Shrewsbury*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1891. pp. 117-118.

In Newcastle-upon-Tyne the Guild of Bricklayers, Wallers and Plasterers were required by an Ordinance of 1454 to enact two scenes in the Corpus Christi procession: “The Creation of Adam” and “The Flying of our Lady into Egypte”.¹³⁶ The Guild of Slaters and Tylers were required by an Ordinance of 1451 to participate in the Corpus Christi procession and to perform “The Offering of Isaac by Abraham”.¹³⁷

In Norwich in the 1449 Corpus Christi procession the Tylers along with the Tailors, Broderers and Reders enacted the scene of “Abraham and Isaac”. In examining the procession it is clearly evident that the most junior guilds led the procession, with the more senior ones, such as the Goldsmiths, Drapers, Grocers, and Mercers at the back, and followed ultimately by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen. It is interesting therefore to note that in 1449 the first and most junior guild leading the procession is that of the Reders who were thatchers or roofers. After the procession had made its way with each craft parading its banner, there followed the various pageants. Here we need not be surprised to find that the Tylers and Reders are together, but it is interesting to find that the foursome also includes the Taillours and the Broderers. The Broderers, like the Tylers, were not represented in the earlier procession, whereas the Taillours were not only in the earlier procession but were well to the rear, preceding the Lord Mayor.¹³⁸

In York there were 48 pageants of the typical Corpus Christi plays of the 14th and 15th centuries, and these follow the Bible narrative fairly closely.¹³⁹ In the 1415 York Corpus Christi procession the Tylers, at number fourteen, towards the front of the procession, enacted “Mary, Joseph, a mid-wife; the Child born, lying in a manger betwixt an ox and an ass, and an angel speaking to the shepherds, and to the players in the next pageant”, and the Tilemakers, at number twenty-three, midway in the procession, enacted “Jesus, Pilate, Caiaphas, Annas, six soldiers carrying spears and ensigns, and four others leading Jesus from Herod, desiring Barabbas to be released and Jesus to be crucified, and then binding and scourging him, placing a crown of thorns upon his head; three soldiers casting lots for the vest of Jesus”. It is no surprise to find that last and hence most senior of all, at number forty-eight in the procession, are the Mercers.¹⁴⁰

In Ludlow where there is a record of a Corpus Christi procession as early as 1368 we again find the more important trades at the end of the procession, and the Merchants last of all at number fourteen, although the logic behind the precise order is difficult to understand. Neither the Tilers, nor the Smiths to which they were attached in the early days, feature anywhere in the procession. However, the Sellers (Saddlers) who were also attached to the Smiths, do appear in the procession at number five, i.e. towards the front.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ J. Walker and M. A. Richardson: *The Armorial bearings of the Several Incorporated Companies of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*; Newcastle 1824, p. 49

¹³⁷ J. Walker and M. A. Richardson: *The Armorial bearings of the Several Incorporated Companies of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*; Newcastle 1824, p. 39.

¹³⁸ Appendix 12.

¹³⁹ Appendix 13.

¹⁴⁰ Appendix 13.

¹⁴¹ Appendix 14

The beginning of the end of the Corpus Christi procession came with the Reformation when it was shorn of its splendour, and then ceased altogether when Edward VI plundered the guilds.¹⁴²

Conclusion.

The influence of the London guilds on those in the provinces was significant. As can be seen in the example of the London Tylers and Bricklayers' coat of arms, theirs was copied by the provincial companies of tilers and bricklayers. The Statute of Artificers 1563 required that the custom of London regarding apprenticeships should be observed throughout the realm. The establishment of schools and almshouses by the London companies encouraged philanthropy elsewhere in the country. However, one of the greatest handicaps under which the English provincial guilds suffered, was that London guild membership gave exemption from tolls elsewhere in the country.

Over the centuries the guilds had come in for regular criticism. In the early medieval period, Gerald of Wales wrote about the mischief resulting from the popular religious guilds. "The clergy, he says, get up feastings and potations by subscription, by occasion of which men and women promiscuously assemble and misbehave themselves; such meetings are called speciously fraternities. Even though the result of such unions be more masses, prayers and psalms for the living and dead still, he urges, this does not counterbalance the evil of these gild-potations."¹⁴³

Over time other arguments were put forward that guild monopoly hampered freedom of trade, that prices were manipulated for personal gain and against the common good¹⁴⁴ and that a closed shop or protected trade was the cause of significant exploitation.¹⁴⁵ Even in the 21st century, here in the City of London, we still find vestiges of the early exploitation of communal power with the livery companies reserving to themselves alone the right to elect the Lord Mayor. At least during the 16th and 17th centuries some 75% of all men working in the City were members of livery companies, whereas today perhaps only 1% are liverymen. Contrast this with the provinces where the Mayor or Lord Mayor is elected by the whole body of citizens directly or indirectly through their elected representatives.

The Sovereign too was well and truly implicated in the plot in the early days, for it was Edward IV who prohibited imported goods in order to keep out competition.¹⁴⁶ Monopoly and the opportunity for exploitation inevitably also gave rise to corruption and fraud, so it is not surprising that we find the Haberdashers of Shrewsbury accused of corruption, the Brewers of London accused of bribery¹⁴⁷ and the Litsters of Edinburgh, in conjunction with

¹⁴² F.A. Hibbert: *The Influence and Development of English Craft Guilds*, as illustrated by the Craft Guilds of Shrewsbury. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1891. Reprinted by Augustus M. Kelley, New York, USA 1970, p. 118

¹⁴³ Mary Bateson: *Medieval England 1066-1350*. Fisher Unwin, 1903; p. 267.

¹⁴⁴ Stella Kramer: *The English Craft Guilds and the Government : An examination of the accepted theory regarding the decay of the craft guilds*. Batoche Books, Kitchener, Canada 2000; pp. 34 and 98-99.

¹⁴⁵ D. M. Palliser: *The Trade Guilds of Tudor York* (pp. 86-116). In Clark and Slack (Editors) "Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700". Kegan Paul, London 1972; p. 97.

¹⁴⁶ Kramer *ibid* p. 45.

¹⁴⁷ Prof. George Unwin: *The Guilds and Companies of London*. Frank Cass, London 4th Edition 1963; pp. 232-235.

the Weavers and Walkers of that City accused of fraud to the almost ruin of the woollen manufacturers of Edinburgh.¹⁴⁸

In 1436-7 a petition was presented by the House of Commons to Henry VI declaring that craft guilds throughout the land had abused their privileges, and this gave rise to enactments to limit the powers and privileges of the guilds.

Little more than a century later the young King Edward VI, the only son of Henry VIII by his marriage to Jane Seymour, was to play a major part in the destruction of the guilds, following on from his father's infamous dissolution of the monasteries. Edward VI came to the throne at the age of 10 and died five years later of what was believed to be a combination of tuberculosis and measles. He is credited with humility and intelligence, and in his short reign he founded, together with the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London the great foundations of Christ's Hospital and Bridewell Hospital, as well as other educational foundations in Bath, Birmingham, Bury St. Edmund's, Chelmsford, Lichfield, Louth and Southampton. Yet in 1547 this same King, seized the possessions of the guilds. The provisions of the Act of Parliament secured the practical annihilation of all the guilds except those of the merchant and municipal classes.



Edward VI

The provincial guilds were not quite extinguished by this same Act. Some of them at least continued to hold their meetings for purposes of conviviality and mutual support. In his History of Norfolk, Blomefield mentions several that survived - one of these in a Norfolk village, whose lands were seized, retained their Guildhall until 1650, when the effects were sold. These included 30 lbs of pewter vessels; 92 lbs of lead; 4 spits weighing 169 lbs; a metal pot weighing 44 lbs; 2 pots of brass weighing 89 lbs; and a brass pan weighing 9 lbs, - clear proof of the festive proceedings of the guilds.¹⁴⁹

The final nail in the coffin came with the Municipal Corporations' Act 1835 when almost all the guilds throughout the country were required to surrender whatever vestiges of control they still retained over trade and industry. Thus many if not most of the guilds had disappeared completely by the middle of the 19th century and all the guilds of Tylers and Bricklayers, except for the Company of Tylers and Bricklayers in the City of London, had become extinct. In the case of the London Company, the financial and business ineptitude of so many Masters and Wardens of the Company resulted in the Company losing two Halls and a large proportion of its other assets in the course of 500 years. This Company, like most of the other surviving guilds in the provinces and in London, now exists predominantly as a social and charitable institution.

¹⁴⁸ William Maitland: The History of Edinburgh from its foundation to the Present Time; Edinburgh 1753, p. 316.

¹⁴⁹ Walford p. 52.

APPENDIX 1

CALENDAR OF THE FREEMEN OF NORWICH 1317-1603¹⁵⁰

Date	Freemen	Craft
21 Edward IV	John Chamberleyn	Tyler
2 Henry VI	Henry Colkyrke	Tiler
6 Henry VI	Robert Caunceler	Tiler
13 Henry VIII	John Godwyn	Tyler
32 Henry VIII	Francis Cobyle	Tyler
4 Elizabeth	Jno Twite	Bricklayer
13 Elizabeth	Jbo Tompson	Bricklayer
13 Elizabeth	Thomas Fynke	Bricklayer
15 Elizabeth	Lawrence Barnes	Tyler & Bricklayer

¹⁵⁰ John L'Estrange: The Calendar of the Freemen of Norwich 1317-1603; London 1888.

APPENDIX 2

NORWICH POLL OF 1710

Name	Craft	Location
Fras Bullard	Bricklayer	Southwold, Suffolk
Wm Cubitt	Tyler	St. George Tombland
Jn Fisker	Bricklayer	St. Giles
Sam Suffield	Bricklayer	St. Michael at Thorn

APPENDIX 3

NORWICH POLL OF 1806 FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NORWICH

Name	Craft	Location
Philip Barnes	Bricklayer	All Saints
John Basey	Bricklayer	St. Augustine
John Whitley	Bricklayer	St. Augustine
William Brown	Bricklayer	St. Benedict
James Thomson	Bricklayer	St. Clement
John Thompson	Bricklayer	St. Edmund
Henry Knights	Bricklayer	St. George Colegate
John Qwnsworth	Bricklayer	St. Giles
Mark Bean	Bricklayer	St. Gregory
John Aldis	Bricklayer	St. James
Nathaniel Walker	Bricklayer	St. John's Maddermarket
John Walker	Bricklayer	St. John Sepulchre
Edmund Moneymment	Bricklayer	St. John's Timberhill
William Neve	Bricklayer	St. John's Timberhill
Robert Witham	Bricklayer	St. John's Timberhill
Nathaniel Wyeth	Bricklayer	St. Margaret
Robert Burrell	Bricklayer	St. Martin at Oak
Benjamin Crask	Bricklayer	St. Martin at Oak
Robert Walker	Bricklayer	St. Martin at Oak
William Walpole	Bricklayer	St. Mary
William Weeds	Bricklayer	St. Paul
John Walker	Bricklayer	St. Peter of Hungate
William Allison	Bricklayer	St. Peter of Mancroft
James Underwood	Bricklayer	St. Peter Permountergate
John Burdett	Bricklayer	St. Saviour
Arthur Ling	Bricklayer	St. Stephen
William walker, Jnr.	Bricklayer	Precincts
William Browne	Bricklayer	Heigham
Matthew Boltis	Bricklayer	London
John Walker	Bricklayer	London
John Blyth	Bricklayer	Country – Hingham
J. Swann	Bricklayer	Country – Stratton St. Mary

No tilers were listed in this Poll.

It may be noted also that no tilers were listed in the “Norwich Directory of Merchants, Manufacturers and Tradesmen” dated 1830.

APPENDIX 4

NORWICH TILERS & BRICKLAYERS 1548-1713 ¹⁵¹

Date	Freeman		
	<u>TILER</u>		
1552	Gregorius Fayerman	Son of Willi Fayerman (Worsted Weaver/Sherman)	
1561	Johes Howson	Apprenticed to Francisco Covell	
1568	Willms Savery	Apprenticed to Willi Doueham	
1574	Abrahamus Huntley	Apprenticed to Hewson	a
1575	Johnes Nonne	Non-apprenticed	
1576	Robtus Aldred	Non-apprenticed	b
1578	Isaacke Brennyng	Non-apprenticed	
1581	Andreas Gyles	Son of Robt Gyles (Worsted Weaver)	
1585	Willms Becrofte	Non-apprenticed	
1590	Robtus Neave	Apprenticed to Abraham Huntley	a c
1604	Thomas Symondes	Apprenticed to Robt Neave	c
1607	Johes Lawes	Apprenticed to Robtus Aldred	b
1617	Nichus Aldred	Son of Robt Aldred (Tiler)	b d
1619	Josephus Calle	Son of Thom Call	
1633	Stephus Johnson	Apprenticed to Robtus Aldred	b
1642	Robtus Strowger	Apprenticed to Nich Aldrich	f
1650	Henry Norgate	Apprenticed to Nicholas Aldred	d e
1661	John Hawkins	Apprenticed to Henry Norgate	e
1674	Daniell Strowger	Son of Robert Strowger	f
1680	Thomas Deane	Non-apprenticed	
1680	Robt Cubit, Snr.	Non-apprenticed	
1680	Robt Cubitt, Jr.	Non-apprenticed	g
1680	John Carr	Non-apprenticed	
1680	John Joyce	Non-apprenticed	
1680	Edmond Symonds	Non-apprenticed	
1685	Johes Dunnett	Son of Johis Dunnett	
1691	Willus Cubitt	Apprenticed to Robt Cubitt	g
1701	Johes Allen	Apprenticed to Robt Strolger	
1703	Henricus Condley	Apprenticed to John Joyce	
	BRICKLAYER		
1561	John Twite	Apprenticed to Thome Garrard	
1570	Johnes Tompson	Apprenticed to John Bedham	
1570	Thomas Fynke	Apprenticed to John Bedeham	
1609	Henry Armyger	Son of John Armyger (Woollen Draper)	
		Apprenticed to John Stallham (Bricklayer & Rough Mason)	
1611	Johes Russell	Non-apprenticed	
1664	Francis Wantlop	Son of Robert Wantlop (Glover)	
1676	John Prince	Non-apprenticed	
1677	Willm Gooch	Non-apprenticed	
1679	Enock Amos	Apprenticed to Peter Norton	
1699	Francis Bullard	Son of Francis Bullard	
	TYLER & BRICKLAYER		
1572	Lawrencius Barnes	Non-apprenticed	

¹⁵¹ Percy Millican: The Register of Freemen of Norwich 1548-1713; Norwich 1934, pp. 22 and 145-146.

APPENDIX 5

COVENTRY APPRENTICES AND THEIR MASTERS 1781-1806 ¹⁵²

Date	Apprentice	Son of	Apprenticed to
	<u>BRICKLAYER</u>		
16 Feb 1802	John Arden	John Arden (Bricklayer) of Coventry	Samuel Brown (Engraver) of Coventry
20 Oct 1797	Joseph Bassett		Assigned from Mary Cotton to Joseph Cotton (Bricklayer) of Coventry
10 Oct 1792	Joseph Bassett	Edward Bassett (Collar Maker) of Wilmcoat	John Cotton Snr. (Bricklayer) of Coventry
23 July 1798	William Bentley	William Bentley (Bricklayer) of Coventry	Serjeant Bushell (Bricklayer & Plasterer) of Coventry
27 Aug 1799	William Bentley		Assigned from Serjeant Bushell to Edward Harrison (Bricklayer & Plasterer) of Coventry
7 Feb 1804	Josiah Booth	Clare Booth (widow) of Coventry	Richard Booth (Bricklayer) of Coventry
30 May 1796	Thomas Burdett	Thomas Burdett (Weaver) dec'd of Chilvers Coton	John & Rebecca Cheshire (Bricklayers) of Coventry
5 Dec 1796	Edward Burman of Coventry		Edward Brown (Bricklayer) of Coventry
28 May 1782	William Burman	Richard Burman (Mason) of Warwick	William Watts (Bricklayer) of Coventry
8 Jul 1794	William Chittam	William Chittam of Coventry	Thomas Brown (Bricklayer) of Coventry
29 Apr 1789	Richard Cross	Thomas Cross of S. Mary, Warwick	George Frith (Bricklayer) of Coventry
6 Jan 1797	John Beazley Dowell	Hezekiah Dowell (Bricklayer) dec'd of Warwick	Haywood Johnson (Single & Engine Weaver) of Coventry
10 Aug 1798	George Frith of Coventry		John Cotton (Bricklayer) of Coventry
26 Oct 1795	George Frith	George Frith (Bricklayer) of S. Trinity, Coventry	To his father
26 Oct 1795	Michael Frith	George Frith (Bricklayer) of S. Trinity, Coventry	To his father
15 Dec 1798	Job Goldby	Richard Goldby (Bricklayer) of Coventry	John Chesshire (Bricklayer) of Coventry
25 Feb 1804	William Kimberley	Thomas Kimberley (Weaver) of Coventry	John Chesshire (Bricklayer) of Coventry
11 Aug 1788	Joseph Laxon	Thomas Laxon (Bricklayer) of Coventry	To his father
17 Jan 1794	John Lee	Henry Lee of Dunchurch	William Wilson (Bricklayer) of S. Trinity, Coventry
15 Oct 1798	William Reeve of Coventry		William Wilson (Bricklayer & Plasterer) of Coventry
6 Nov 1801	Thomas Reeves of Coventry		William Wilson (Bricklayer & Plasterer) of Coventry
10 Jul 1790	William Shenstone	William Shenstone (Bricklayer) of Coventry	William Burbury (Weaver) of Coventry

¹⁵² Joan Lane: Coventry Apprentices and their Masters 1781-1806; The Dugdale Society, Stratford-upon-Avon 1983.

Date	Apprentice	Son of	Apprenticed to
11 Oct 1794	Thomas Shenstone	William Shenstone (Bricklayer) of Coventry	Richard Walker (Weaver) of Coventry
18 Jun 1783	James Smith	John Smith (Bricklayer) of Coventry	To his father
24 Aug 1801	John Taylor	George Taylor (Silk Weaver) of Coventry	Joseph Barnes (Bricklayer) of Coventry
30 Apr 1806	Wale Windsor	Wale Windsor (Bricklayer) of Coventry	John Baker (Plumber & Glazier) of Coventry
14 Dec 1797	William Cheatley	Edward Cheatley (Labourer) of Bulkington	James Cheslin (Bricklayer & Stone Mason) of Coventry
6 May 1803	William Cheatley		Assigned from James Cheslin (Bricklayer & Stone Mason) of Coventry to William Russell (Bricklayer & Stone Mason) of Coventry
1 Jan 1787	John Payne	John Payne (Labourer) of Coventry	George Frith (Bricklayer & Mason) of Coventry
	<u>TYLER & BRICKLAYER</u>		
12 Jul 1784	John Calvert	George Calvert (Tyler & Bricklayer) of Coventry	Thomas Thorp (Weaver) of S. John, Coventry
6 Oct 1781	Thomas Calvert	George Calvert (Tyler & Bricklayer) of Coventry	To his father

APPENDIX 6

WARWICKSHIRE APPRENTICES AND THEIR MASTERS 1710-1760 ¹⁵³

Date	Apprentice	Son of	Apprenticed to	Period	Premium
	<u>BRICKLAYER</u>				
8 Jun 1715	Charles Fletcher	Robert Fletcher (Bricklayer)	Thomas Neale (Taylor) of Lower Pillerton	7 years	£2
22 May 1730	John Powell	Robert Powell (Bricklayer) of Coventry	Richard Burden (Weaver) of Coventry	7 Years	£6
13 Mar 1755	Sarah Saunders	[not known]	George Copage (Bricklayer) of Solihull	Until 21 years old	£7
	<u>TYLER</u>				
1 Aug 1723	Francis Chaplin	William Chaplin (Tyler) of Coventry	George Fox (Worsted Weaver) of Coventry	7 Years	£3.3.0d

¹⁵³ K. J. Smith: Warwickshire Apprentices and their Masters 1710-1760; Dugdale Society 1975, Volume XXIX.

APPENDIX 7

WILTSHIRE APPRENTICES AND THEIR MASTERS 1710-1760 ¹⁵⁴

Date	Apprentice	Son of	Apprenticed to	Premium
	<u>BRICKLAYER</u>			
15 Mar 1721	Adam Bassett		John West (Bricklayer) of Devizes	£10
30 Dec 1728	Thomas Blandford	Abraham Blandford	Robert West (Bricklayer) of Devizes	£ 5
14 Jan 1756	James Mills		William Fry (Bricklayer) of Salisbury	£ 5.5.0d
4 May 1713	Simon Smith	Oliver Smith (Bricklayer) of Warminster	John Young (Farrier) of Bristol (Gloucs)	£ 3
27 Aug 1723	William Waters	William Waters (Bricklayer) of Salisbury	Samuel Case (Clothier) of Salisbury. For 10 years	£1
12 Jul 1716	William Overton	William Overton (Tiler) of Devizes	George Philips (Drugget Maker) of Devizes	£7
17 Jun 1730	John Chalk		William Mountford (Bricklayer) of Hale (Hants)	£5
10 Oct 1741	Thomas Pearson	Richard Pearson	Edmund Richmond (Bricklayer) of Rockbourne (Hants)	£4.4.0d
	<u>TILER</u>			
30 Mar 1713	Gabriel Barnes	John Barnes (Husbandman) of Chippenham	William Humberstone (Tiler) of Bristol (Gloucs)	£12
12 Aug 1729	May Chadwick	May Chadwick of Chippenham	William Brooks (Tiler) of Bitton (Gloucs)	£1
28 Sept 1716	Anthony Say	Samuel Say of Batheaston (Somerset)	Francis Snailham (Tiler) of Atford	£3
17 Feb 1728/9	John Clark	David Clark	Andrew Coney (Bricklayer) of Cranborne (Dorset)	£8
	<u>HELLIER</u>			
24 Oct 1724	William Ludyat	William Ludyat of Cheltenham	Isaac Cole (Hellier) of Cheltenham	£3.3.0d
	<u>SLATTER</u>			
2 Aug 1757	Robert Green of Gloucs		William Green (Slatter) of Castle Eaton	£6

¹⁵⁴ Christabel Dale: Wiltshire Apprentices and their Masters 1710-1760; Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Society Records Branch, Devizes 1961.

APPENDIX 8

FREEMEN OF GLOUCESTER WHO WERE TILERS (T) OR BRICKLAYERS (B) OR WERE THE SONS OF, OR APPRENTICED TO, TILERS OR BRICKLAYERS¹⁵⁵

Year	Freeman		Notes
	<u>BRICKLAYER (B)</u>		
1650	Wm. Nichols (B)	By fine £8	
1670	Ric. White	Apprentice of Ric. Hands (B)	
1693	Abraham Archer	Apprentice of Abraham Meadway (B)	a
	Ric. Ingly (B)	By fine	d
1695	Wm. Styles	Apprentice of Abraham Meadway (B)	a
1698	Ephraim Higgins	Apprentice of Abraham Meadway (B)	a
1700	Wm. Dixe alias Diss	Apprentice of Abraham Meadway (B)	a
1702	Ric. Engly	Apprentice of his father Ric. Engly (B)	c
	John Barton	Apprentice of Ric. Ingly (B)	d f
1705	Henry Ingly (B)	By fine	
	John Ingly (B)	By fine	
1706	Wm. Freeman	Apprentice of Abraham Archer (B)	b
1707	John Mason	Son of Ric. Mason (B)	
1710	Thos. Mamby	Son of John Mamby (B) dec'd	
1713	John Archer	Apprentice of Abraham Archer (B)	b
	Sam Brotherton	Apprentice of Abraham Archer (B)	b k
	Jacob Medway	Son of Abraham Medway (B) dec'd	
1714	John Fryer	Apprentice of Abraham Archer (B) but...	b Entry struck through
1715	John Fryer	Apprentice of Abraham Archer	b Entered in Ald. Green's year
	Wm. Wheeler	Apprentice of Ephraim Higgins (B) dec'd	i
1718	John Bonnett	Apprentice of Ric. Engly (B)	c
	Jas. Rogers	Apprentice of Henry Engly (B)	e j
1720	Sam Tomlins	Apprentice of Ric. Engly (B)	c
	Thos. Archer	Son of Abraham Archer (B)	b
	John Archer	Son of Abraham Archer (B)	b
	John King	Apprentice of Ric. Engly (B)	c
	Wm. Dancey	Apprentice of Henry Engly (B)	e
	Abraham Medway	Son of Abraham Medway (B) dec'd	?a
	Amity Medway	Son of Abraham Medway (B) dec'd	?a
	Moses Wingate	Apprentice of Ric. Engly (B) dec'd	c
1722	John King	Son of Jas. King (B)	g m
	Nat. Jones	Apprentice of Edw. Braddis (B)	
1726	Aaron Caldwell	Son of Rob. Caldwell (B) dec'd	
	Ric. Cooke	Son of Ric. Cooke (B)	
	Wm. Dix	Son of Wm. Dix (B)	l
1727	Wm. Arnold	Apprentice of Abraham Archer (B)	b
	Ric. Dicks	Son of Wm. Dicks (B)	n
	John Barton	Son of John Barton (B)	f
	Chas. Cowdall	Son of Rob. Cowdall (B) dec'd	
	John Meighen	Apprentice of John Engly (B)	
	Jas. King	Son of Jas. King (B)	g
	Nat. King	Son of Jas. King (B)	g
	Thos. Braddis	Son of Ric. Braddis (B) dec'd	
Year	Freeman		Notes
	Isaac Meadway	Son of Abraham Meadway (B) dec'd	a
1730	John Engly	Bricklayer. By gift	h

¹⁵⁵ Peter Ripley and John Jucica : A Calendar of the Registers of the Freemen of the City of Gloucester; The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society 1991.

	John Engley	Son of John Engley (B)	h
	Ephraim Higgins	Son of Ephraim Higgins (B)	i Some three Ephraim Higgins
1733	Ric. Barton	Son of John Barton (B)	f
1734	Jos. Bowly	Apprentice of Hen. Engly (B)	
1736	Francis Brotherton	Apprentice of Jas. Rogers (B)	j o
	Ric. Engly	Son of Ric. Engly (B) dec'd	c
1741	Sam. Brotherton	Son of Sam Brotherton (B) dec'd	k
	Dan. Dix	Son of Wm. Dix (B)	l
	Ric. Pope of London	Apprentice of Ric. Engley (B)	
	Jas. Reeve	Son of John Reeve (B)	
	Jas. Rogers	Son of Jas. Rogers (B)	j
	Thos. Pace (B) of London	Son of Thos. Pace (Cordwainer)	
1744	John Engley	Son of Arthur Engley (B)	
1747	Geo. King	Son of John King (B)	m
	Wm. Engley	Son of Arthur Engley (B)	
	Chas. King	Son of John King (B)	m
1755	Ric Dix	Son of Ric. Dix (B)	q Resigned Mar 1795 re-admitted Jul 1795 ref. case evidence
1761	Thos. Dicks alias Dix	Son of Ric. Dicks (B)	n
	Wm. Dicks	Son of Wm. Dicks (B)	
	John Ward	Son of Jas. Ward (B)	
	Solomon Brotherton	Son of Francis Brotherton (B)	o
1768	Jas. King (Carpenter)	Son of Jas. King (B)	g
	Ric. Ford (Barber)	Son of Henry Ford (B)	
	Sam. King	Son of Jas. King (B)	g
1773	Butler Rene (B)	By fine	
	Chas. Adey (B) St. George's, Hanover Square, London	Son of Edm. Adey (Tailor) of Gloucester	
1774	Chas. Doggett (B)	By fine	
1776	Chas. Spencer (B)	By fine	
1779	Benj. Wilkes (B)	Son of John Wilkes (Wiredrawer)	
1780	Dan. Dix (B) Wapping, Middx	Son of Ric. Dix (B) dec'd	n
1780	Chas. Burton King (B)	Son of Sam. Burton King dec'd of London	
	Giles King, Corporal, 15 th Light Dragoons	Son of Jas. King (B)	
	John Reeve of Bishopsgate, London	Son of Jas. Reeve (Combmaker) dec'd	
1781	Chas. Pace (Apothecary)	Son of Thos. Pace (B) dec'd	
1785	Wm. Dix (B)	Son of Thos. Dix (Porter) dec'd	
1788	Chas. King (B) of Tewkesbury	Son of Jas. King (B) dec'd	g
1789	Francis King (B) of Somerset	Son of Jas. King (B) late of Gloucester	
	Chas. Ward (B) of Cheltenham	Son of Jas. Ward (B) late of Gloucester	p
	Marmaduke Engley (B) of Middx	Son of Wm. Engley (B) dec'd of Middx	Perhaps related to other Engleys, although living in Middx
	Jas. Ward (Farrier) of Tower Hamlets, Middx	Son of Jas. Ward (B)	p
1790	Dan Spencer the younger (B) of Gloucester	By fine	s Resigned Mar 1795; re-admitted Aug 1795 ref. case evidence
1792	Wm. Dix (B)	Son of Ric. Dix (B)	q
	Luke Holford (B)	Son of Benj. (Labourer) of Birmingham, formerly Gloucester	
1793	John Spencer (B)	By fine	
1795	Ric. Dix (B)	Re-admitted by gift	After resigning ref. case evidence
Year	Freeman		Notes
1795	Dan. Spencer the younger (B) of Minsterworth	Re-admitted by gift Son of John Baker (B)	After resigning ref. case evidence
1798	Ric. Seyer (B)	By fine	

1802	Wm. Beard Wm. Edwards Jos. Young (B) of Gloucester	Apprentice of Chas. Spencer (B) Apprentice of Chas. Spencer (B) Son of Ric. Young (Labourer) of Westbury-on-Severn	r r
	Hen. Church of Chepstow, Mon.	Apprentice of Dan. Spencer (B)	
1805	Wm. Cullis Jas. Daw Thos. Welch (B) Thos. Wadley (B) of Shrewsbury Geo. Welch (B) of Kennington, Surrey Ric. Welch (Private, 11 th Light Dragoons) Jas. King (Upholsterer) Of Brislington, Somerset	Apprentice of Dan. Spencer (B) Apprentice of Dan. Spencer (B) Son of Thos. Welch (B) of Quedgeley Son of Thos. Wadley (Hairdresser) dec'd of Newnham Son of Ric. Welch (B) late of Badgeworth Son of Ric. Welch (B) late of Badgeworth Son of Sam. King (B) dec'd	s s t t
1812	Ric. Dix (Clerk, Sejeants' Inn), London Jos. Holtham of Barnwood	Son of Ric. Dix (B) Apprentice of Dan Spencer (B)	q s
1816	Ric. Barton King (Coach- harness-maker) of London John Collins Wilkes (Hatmaker) of Southwark	Son of Chas. Barton King (B) of London Son of Benj. Collins Wilkes (B) of London, formerly of Gloucester	u
1817	Wm. Welch (B) of Durham, formerly Private, 2 nd Dragoon Guards	Son of Ric. Welch (B) dec'd of Badgeworth	t
1818	Jas. Barton (B) Wm. Barton King of Poplar, Middx Sam. Jasper Selwyn (B) of London	Son of Chas. Barton King (B) dec'd of Whitechapel, Middx Son of Chas. Barton King (B) dec'd of Whitechapel, Middx Son of Jasper Selwyn (Whitesmith) dec'd of Shoreditch, Middx	u u
1820	Rob. Sutton Deighton	Apprentice of Dan. Spencer (B)	s
1822	Chas. Spencer Copnor	Apprentice of Chas. Spencer (B)	
1825	Benj. Bennett (B)	Son of Jos. Bennett (Pinmaker)	
1826	Geo. Edwards (B) of Wotton near Gloucester	Son of Wm. Edwards (B)	
1830	Sam. Doggett (Labourer) Jas. Welch (Carpenter & Joiner) of Tewkesbury Sam. King (Cordwainer)	Son of Chas. Doggett (B) dec'd Son of Geo. Welch (B) dec'd of Kennington, Surrey Son of Francis King (B) dec'd of Brislington, Somerset	
	Thos. Roberts of Liverpool	Apprentice of Dan. Spencer (B)	s
1831	Wm. Beard (B)	Son of Wm. Beard (B)	
1833	John Lake alias Leake (B) of Ashleworth	Son of John Lake (B) dec'd of Wheatenhurst	
1835	Wm. Hen. Cullis (Butcher) Chas. Daw (B) Jos. Lake (Labourer) of Ashleworth	Son of Wm. Cullis (Baker, formerly Bricklayer) Son of Jas. Daw (B) Son of John Lake (B) dec'd of Wheatenhurst	
Year	Freeman		Notes
	<u>MASON (M) & BRICKLAYER (B)</u>		
1707	Rob. Hunt	Apprentice of Ric. White (M & B)	
1813	Geo. Allen	Apprentice of Dan. Spencer (M & B)	
	<u>TILER (T)</u>		
1650	Hen. Hunt (T)	By gift	Having lived long and done good

1707	John Lovegrove	Apprentice of Giles Lovegrove (T)	service in the city
1710	Jos. Holder	Apprentice of Wm. Benson (T)	
1741	Wm. Dunn	Son of Wm. Dunn (T)	aa
1753	John Spillman	Son of John Spillman (T)	
1780	Steph. Steel (T) of Blakeney	Son of John Steel (Carpenter) dec'd of Littledean	bb
1789	Wm. Labetter	Apprentice of Wm. Dunn (T)	aa
1816	John Steele (T)	Son of Steph. Steel (T) of Blakeney	bb
	Chas. Steel (T)	Son of Steph. Steel (T) of Blakeney	bb
<u>TILER (T) & PLASTERER (P)</u>			
1674	Wm. Dawe	Apprentice of Abel Lewis (T & P)	
1692	Ric. Price	Apprentice of Wm. Dawes (T & P) late of Gloucester	
1700	Eleazer Daws	Son of Wm. Daws (T & P)	
	Wm. Berry	Son of Thos. Berry (T & P) dec'd	
1705	John Benson	Apprentice of John Benson (T & P)	cc
1706	Thos. Mills	Apprentice of John Pool (T & P)	dd ff
1713	Wm. Dunning	Apprentice of Thos. Cowles (T & P) and Thos. Swayne (T & P)	gg ee
	Sam. Perkins	Apprentice of John Benson (T & P)	cc
	Jos. Mitchell	Apprentice of John Benson (T & P)	cc
	John Pool	Son of John Pool (T & P)	dd
1715	Nat. Badger alias Bale	Apprentice of Thos. Swayne (T & P)	ee
1720	John Bicke	Apprentice of Wm. Bicke (T & P)	
1722	Wm. Williams	Apprentice of Thos. Swaine (T & P)	
	John Spillman	Apprentice of Thos. Cowles (T & P)	gg
1726	Thos. Fuller	Apprentice of John Benson (T & P)	cc
1727	Thos. Swayne	Son of Thos. Swayne (T & P)	ee
	Jas. Swayne	Son of Thos. Swayne (T & P)	ee
1731	John Benson	Son of John Benson (T & P)	cc
1740	Ant. Brotherton	Apprentice of his father Thos. Brotherton (T & P)	
1741	John Mills	Son of Thos. Mills (T & P)	ff
	Thos. Mills	Son of Thos. Mills (T & P)	ff
1766	Jos. Lewis (T & P)	Son of Ric. Lewis (Pinmaker)	gg
1768	John Mills	Son of Thos. Mills (T & P) dec'd	ff
1780	Hen. Dunn (T & P)	Son of Hen. Dunn (T & P)	
1789	Jos. Lewis (Gent.) of Dinchill, Herefordshire	Son of Jos. Lewis (T & P)	gg
1795	Thos. Lewis (Tailor)	Son of Jos. Lewis (T & P)	gg
1802	John Lewis (Pargeter)	Son of Jos. Lewis (T & P)	gg
1805	Wm. Steel (T & P)	Son of Steph. Steel (T & P) of Blakeney	bb

APPENDIX 9

SOUTHAMPTON BRICKLAYERS' APPRENTICESHIPS 1609-1740

Apprentice	Master	Period	
John Whale Son of Joan Whale (widow)	George Holt (Bricklayer)	Indentured 26 Oct. 1683 for 7 years	Master to provide clothes and necessaries fit for such an apprentice, and sufficient apparel during and at the end of his time, and make him free if he serve him faithfully. Premium: 50 shillings.
Rachel Browne Daughter of Gregorie Browne of Holy Rood Sailor dec'd, aged about 10 years.	John Willson of St. John (Bricklayer), and Margerie his wife	Indentured 4 May 1629 for 8 years	Master to have 30s to be paid by the Town.
William Portsmouth Son of William Portsmouth of Southampton dec'd	Thomas Hobbs (Bricklayer)	Indentured 17 April 1657 for 7 years	Apprentice to have at end 2s 6d, sufficient tools to work at his trade and double apparel. Master received 50s.
Theophilus Knight Son of Thomas Knight of Southampton (Bricklayer)	George Holt (Bricklayer)	Indentured 17 Dec 1686 for 8 years	Apprentice to have double apparel at end. Master paid 50s by Mr. Mills.
Richard Hobbs Son of Thomas Hobbs of Southampton (Bricklayer)	Thomas Mitchell (Shoemaker)	Indentured 4 Dec 1642 for 7 years Enrolled 25 Mar 1647	Apprentice to have 10d weekly in lieu of apparel and 30s by delivering shoes within the said term, and at end 6s 8d
Joseph Francknell Son of Simon Francknell of Gosport (Bricklayer) dec'd	Andrew Meekes (Joiner)	For 8 years. Enrolled 18 Feb 1669/70	
Thomas Hobbes Son of Thomas Hobbes of Southampton (Brickmaker and Bricklayer)	Thomas Hobbes his father	Indentured 2 Dec 1635 for 8 years. Enrolled 19 Nov 1636	Apprentice to have at end 10s and double apparel.

APPENDIX 10

THE ORDER OF THE GUILDS IN CONNECTION WITH THE RIDING THE FRANCHISES IN DUBLIN IN THE YEAR 1767 ¹⁵⁶

- I. Merchants, or Holy Trinity Guild, blue and yellow;
- II. Tailors, or Guild of St. John Baptist, saxon blue and white;
- III. Smiths, or Guild of St. Loy, black and white;
- IV. Barber-Surgeons, or Guild of St. Mary Magdalen, purple, cherry and white;
- V. Bakers, or Guild of St. Anne, orange, cherry and lemon;
- VI. Butchers, or Guild of the B.V.M., red and white;
- VII. Carpenters, Millers, Masons, Healers, Turners, and Plumbers,
of the Fraternity of the B.V.M. and House of St. Thomas, Dublin, red and white;
- VIII. Shoemakers, or Guild of St. Michael, Archangel, red, blue and green;
- IX. Saddlers, Upholders, Coach and Coach Harness Makers,
or Guild of the B.V.M., crimson, white and green;
- X. Cooks, or Guild of St. James Apostle, orange and black;
- XI. Tanners, blue, white and yellow;
- XII. Tallow Chandlers, or Guild of St. George, blue and sky colour;
- XIII. Glovers and Skinners, or Guild of St. Mary, green and brick colour;
- XIV. Weavers, or Guild of Saints Philip and James, orange and blue;
- XV. Sheermen and Dyers, or Guild of St. Nicholas, blue and white;
- XVI. Goldsmiths, or Guild of All Saints, red, yellow and white;
- XVII. Coopers, or Guild of St. Patrick, white and green;
- XVIII. Feltmakers or Hatters, white hats with sky colour;
- XIX. Cutlers, Painters, Paper Stainers, Printers and Stationers,
or Guild of St. Luke Evangelist, crimson, lemon and sky blue;
- XX. Bricklayers and Plasterers, or Guild of St. Bartholomew, blue and orange;**
- XXI. Hosiers, or Guild of St. George, white, blue and copper colour;
- XXII. Curriers, yellow, red and black;
- XXIII. Brewers and Maltsters, or Guild of St. Andrew, buff colour and blue;
- XXIV. Joiners, Ceilers and Wainscoters, green, yellow and white;
- XXV. Apothecaries, or Guild of St. Luke, Evangelist, purple and orange.

¹⁵⁶ Appendix to Volume XI of Gilbert's Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, 1889/1944.

APPENDIX 11

THE ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF THE CHESTER GUILDS

The order of precedence of the Chester Companies:

- 1 Tanners' Company
- 2 Brewers' Company
- 3 Barber-Surgeons' Company (Barber-Surgeons, Wax and Tallow Chandlers)
- 4 Merchant Drapers' Company (Merchant Drapers and Hosiers)
- 5 Cappers, Pinners, Wire drawers, and Linendrapers' Company
- 6 Bricklayers' Company
- 7 Wrights and Slaters' Company (Wrights, Slaters and Tawyers)
- 8 Joiners, Carvers and Turners' Company
- 9 Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers and Stationers' Company
- 10 Goldsmiths' Company (Goldsmiths and Watchmakers)
- 11 Smiths, Cutlers and Plumbers' Company (Smiths, Cutlers, Pewterers, Plumbers, Founders, Cardmakers, Girdlers, Headmakers, Wire drawers, Spurriers, Arrowheadmakers, Armourers and Bellfounders)
- 12 Butchers' Company
- 13 Wet and dry Glovers' Company
- 14 Cordwainers and Shoemakers' Company
- 15 Bakers' Company
- 16 Coopers' Company *
- 17 Mercers, Ironmongers, Grocers, and Apothecaries' Company
- 18 Innkeepers' Company
- 19 Skinners and Feltmakers' Company
- 20 Saddlers and Curriers' Company
- 21 Merchant Tailors' Company
- 22 Masons' Company (Clothworkers and Masons)
- 23 Weavers' Company

* 1422 Judgement issued from Portmote Court of Chester severing Bowyers, Fletchers, Coopers, Stringers and Hoopers from Ironmongers and Carpenters.

[M. J. Groombridge: City Guilds Of Chester. Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural, Archaeological and Historical Society 1952; Volume XXXIX, pp. 93-108.]

APPENDIX 12

THE PROCESSION OF CRAFTS IN NORWICH ON CORPUS CHRISTI DAY IN 1449¹⁵⁷

First, the light-bearers (luminar') around the body of Christ in front of the procession, each craft with a banner:

Reders (Thatchers?),
Smethes
Clryours (Curriers?),
Shoemakers,
Bedweuers (Bed-Weavers?),
Masons,
Carpenters,
Patynmakers,
Fletchers,
Bowers,
Fullers,
Sheremen,
Wollenweuers,
Pewterers,
Brasyers,
Skynners,
Bochers (Butchers?),
Bakers,
Brewers,
Barbours with Wax-Chandlers,
Fishers,
Fishmongers,
Taillours,
Raffmen,
Worsteadweuers,
Dyers,
Goldsmethes,
Drapers,
Grocers,
Mercers,
followed by the Sheriffs, the Mayor and the Aldermen.

Then came the various pageants with:

- i-the Mercers, Drapers, Haburdaisschers representing the Creation of the World;
- ii-the Grocers, Raffemen representing Paradise;
- iii-the Glasiers, Steyners, Screueners, Parchemyners, Carpenters, Gravours, Caryers, Colermakers, Whelewrites, representing Helle Carte;
- iv-the Shermen, Fullers, Thikwollenweuers, Couerlightmakers, Masons, Lymebrennerz representing Abell and Cayne;
- v-the Bakers, Bruers, Inkepers, Cokes, Millers, Vynteners, Coupers representing Noyse (Noah's?) Shipp;
- vi-the Taillours, Broderers, Reders, and **Tylers** representing Abraham and Isaak;
- vii-the Tanners, Coryours, Cordwaners representing Moises and Aron wt the children off Israel and Pharo wt his knyghtes;
- viii-the Smythes representing Conflicte off Daud and Golias;

¹⁵⁷ R. H. Mottram: Success to the Mayor. A Narrative of the Development of Local Self-Government in a Provincial Centre (Norwich) during Eight Centuries; London 1937, pp. 147-148.

- ix-the Dyers, Calaudrers, Goldsmythes, Goldbeters, and Sadelers, Pewtrers, Brasiers representing the Birth off Christ wt Sheperdes and iij Kynges off Colen (Cologne?);
- x-the Barbours, Wexchaundeler, Surgeons, Fisicians, Hardewaremen, Hatters, Cappers, Skynners, Glovers, Pynners, Poyntemakers, Girdelers, Pursers, Bagmakers, Sceppers, Wyerdrawers, Cardmakers representing the Baptism of Criste;
- xi-the Bochers, Fisshemongers, Watermen representing the Resurrection;
- xiii-the Worstedweuers representing the Holt Gost (Holy Ghost?).

APPENDIX 13

THE ORDER OF THE PAGEANTS OF THE PLAY OF CORPUS CHRISTI PERFORMED BY THE GUILDS IN YORK IN 1415¹⁵⁸

I	Tanners	God the Father Almighty creating and forming the heavens, angels and archangels, Lucifer and the angels that fell with him to hell.
II	Plasterers	God the Father, in his own substance, creating the earth and all that is therein, by the space of five days.
III	Cardmakers	God the Father creating Adam of the clay of the earth, and making Eve of Adam's rib, and inspiring them with the breath of life.
IV	Fullers	God forbidding Adam and eve to eat of the tree of life.
V	Coopers	Adam and Eve and a tree betwixt them; the serpent deceiving them with apples; God speaking to them and cursing the serpent, and with a sword driving them out of paradise.
VI	Armourers	Adam and Eve, an angel with a spade and distaff assigning them work.
VII	Gaunters [Glovers]	Abel and Cain offering victims in sacrifice.
VIII	Shipwrights	God warning Noah to make an Ark of floatable wood.
IX	Pessoners [Fishmongers] & Mariners	Noah in the ark, with his wife; the three sons of Noah with their wives; with divers animals.
X	Parchment- makers Bookbinders	Abraham sacrificing his son Isaac on an altar, a boy with wood and an angel.
XI	Hosiers	Moses lifting up the serpent in the wilderness; King Pharoah; eight Jews wondering and expecting.
XII	Spicers	A Doctor declaring the sayings of the prophets of the future birth of Christ. Mary; an angel saluting her; Mary saluting Elizabeth.
XIII	Pewterers Founders	Mary, Joseph wishing to put her away; an angel speaking to them that they go to Bethlehem.
XIV	Tylers	Mary, Joseph, a midwife; the Child born, lying in a manger betwixt an ox and an ass, and an angel speaking to the shepherds, and to the players in the next pageant.
XV	Chandlers	The shepherds talking together, the star in the East; an angel giving the shepherds the good tidings of the Child's birth.
XVI	Orfevers [Goldsmiths] Goldbeaters Monemakers	The three kings coming from the east, Herod asking them about the child Jesus; the son of Herod, two counsellors, and a messenger. Mary with the Child, a star above, and the three kings offering gifts.
XLI	[Misplaced in the MS] Formerly the Hospital of St. Leonards, now the Masons	Mary with the Child, Joseph, Anna, the midwife with young pigeons; Simeon receiving the Child in his arms, and two sons of Simeon.
XVIII	Marshals [Shoers of horses]	Mary with the Child, and Joseph fleeing into Egypt at the bidding of an angel.
XIX	Girdellers [Girdlers] Nailers Sawyers	Herod commanding the children to be slain; four soldiers with lances; two counsellors of the king, and four women lamenting the slaughter of the children.
XX	Spurriers Lorymers [Loriners or Bridle makers]	The Doctors, the Child Jesus sitting in the Temple in their midst, questioning and answering them. Four Jews, Mary and Joseph seeking Him, and finding Him in the Temple.

¹⁵⁸ Alfred W. Pollard: English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes – specimens of the Pre-Elizabethan Drama; Oxford 1890, pp. xxxi-xxxv.

XXI	Barbers [Omitted in the MS] Vintners	Jesus, John the Baptist baptising Him. Jesus, Mary, bridegroom with bride, the Ruler of the feast with his household, with six water-pots, in which the water is turned into wine.
XXII	Fevers [Smiths]	Jesus upon the pinnacle of the Temple, Satan tempting Him, with stones, and two angels ministering
XXIII	Curriers [Omitted from the MS] Ironmongers	Peter, James and John; Jesus ascending into the mountain and transfiguring Himself before them; Moses and Elias appearing, and a voice speaking from a cloud. Jesus, and Simon the Leper asking Jesus to eat with him; two disciples, Mary Magdalen washing the feet of Jesus with her tears and wiping them with her hair.
XXIV	Plumbers Pattenmakers Pouchmakers Bottlers Capmakers	Jesus, two Apostles, the woman taken in adultery, four Jews accusing her. Lazarus in the tomb, Mary Magdalene, Martha, and two Jews in wonderment.
XXV	Skinnerers	Jesus upon an ass with its foal, xii Apostles following Jesus, six rich and six poor men, eight boys with branches of palms, singing Benedictus, &c., and Zacchaeus climbing into a sycamore-tree.
XXVI	Cutlers Bladesmiths Sheathers Scalers Buckle-makers Horners	Pilate, Caiaphas, two soldiers, three Jews, Judas selling Jesus.
XXVII	Bakers	The paschal lamb, the Lord's supper, the xii Apostles, Jesus girt with a linen towel washing their feet; the institution of the Sacrament of Christ's Body in the New Law; the communion of the Apostles.
XXVIII	Cordwainers	Malchus, Peter, James, John, Jesus, and Judas kissing and betraying Him.
XXIX	Bowyers Fletchers [Arrow-feathers]	Jesus, Annas, Caiaphas, and four Jews persecuting and scourging Jesus. Peter, the woman accusing Peter, and Malchus.
XXX	Tapisers Couchers	Jesus, Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, two counsellors, and four Jews accusing Christ.
XXXI	Littesters [Litsters]	Herod, two counsellors, four soldiers, Jesus and three Jews
XXXII	Cooks	Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, two Jews, and Judas bringing back to them the thirty pieces of silver.
XXXIII	Tilemakers Millers Turners Hayresters [Workers in Horse Hair] Bollers [Bowlmakers]	Jesus, Pilate, Caiaphas, Annas, six soldiers carrying spears and ensigns, and four others leading Jesus from Herod, desiring Barabbas to be released and Jesus to be crucified, and then binding and scourging him, placing a crown of thorns upon his head; three soldiers casting lots for the vest of Jesus.
XXXIV	Tunners	Jesus, covered with blood, bearing His cross to Calvary; Simon of Cyrene, Jews compelling him to bear the cross; Mary the mother of Jesus, the Apostle John informing her of the condemnation of her Son and of His journey to Calvary; Veronica wiping blood and sweat from the face of Jesus with the napkin on which is imprinted Jesu's face; and other women lamenting Jesus.
XXXV	Pinneres Latoners Painters	The Cross, Jesus stretched upon it on the earth, four Jews scourging and dragging Him with ropes, and afterwards uplifting the Cross and the body of Jesus nailed to it, on Mount Calvary.
XXXVI	Butchers Poulterers	The cross, two thieves crucified, Jesus hung on the cross between them, Mary the mother of Jesus, John, Mary, James and Salome. Longeus with a lance, a slave with a sponge, Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, a centurion, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus laying Him in the tomb.
XXXVII	Sellers[Saddlers]	Jesus despoiling Hell, twelve spirits, six good and six bad.

	Verrours[Glaziers] Fuystours[Makers of Saddle Trees]	
XXXVIII	Carpenters	Jesus rising from the tomb, four soldiers armed, and the three Maries lamenting. Pilate, Caiaphas [and Annas. A young man clad in white , sitting at the tomb, talking to the women].
XXXIX	Winedrawers	Jesus, Mary Magdalene with spices.
XXXX	Broggours [Brokers] Woolpackers	Jesus, Luke and Cleophas in the guise of pilgrims.
XXXII	Escriveners Luminers [Illuminators] Questors [Pardoners] Dubbers [Refurbishers of cloths]	Jesus, Peter, John, James and other apostles. Thomas feeling the wounds of Jesus.
XXXIII	Talliaunders [Tailors]	Mary, John the Evangelist, two Angels, and eleven Apostles; Jesus ascending before them and four angels carrying a cloud.
XXXIV	Potters	Mary, two Angels, eleven Apostles, and the Holy Spirit descending on them, and four Jews in wonderment.
XXXV	Drapers	Jesus, Mary, Gabriel with two angels, two virgins and three Jews of the kindred of Mary, eight Apostles, and two devils.
	[Omitted in MS] Linen-weavers	Four apostles carrying the bier of Mary; Fergus hanging upon the bier, with two other Jews, [and one angel].
XXXVI	Weavers of Woollen	Mary ascending with a crowd of Angels, eight Apostles, and Thomas the Apostle preaching in the desert.
XXXVII	Hostlers	Mary, Jesus crowning her, singing with a crowd of angels.
XXXVIII	Mercers	Jesus, Mary, twelve Apostles, four angels with trumpets and four with a crown, a lance and two scourges; four good spirits and four evil spirits, and six devils.

APPENDIX 14

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF THE CRAFTS IN THE LUDLOW CORPUS CHRISTI PROCESSION OF 1368¹⁵⁹

The earliest reference to the crafts of Ludlow comes from 1368, when a dispute was resolved between the crafts of Ludlow over the order of precedence to be observed in the annual Corpus Christi day procession.

The order was henceforth to be:

Milwards
Bakers
Butchers
Barkers
Sellers (Saddlers)
Glovers
Dyers
Weavers
Fullers
Corvisers
Tailors
Skinners
Drapers
Merchants

The more important trades came at the end, although the logic behind the precise order is difficult to discover.

¹⁵⁹ Michael Faraday: Ludlow 1085-1660. A Social, Economic and Political History; Chichester 1991; p. 127.

APPENDIX 15

PROFESSIONS, TRADES AND CRAFTS WHICH DEVELOPED INTO GUILDS

Actuaries

Air Pilots and Air Navigators

Apothecaries

Arbitrators also known as Compositores

Armourers also known as Armorers

Arrowsmiths

Bakers also known as Baxters, Backsteres, White Bakers, Brown Bakers, Pastelars. Pastelers, Piebakers

Barber-Surgeons also known as Barbers, Barbours, Surgeons, Physicians, Fisicians

Basketmakers

Bell-Founders also known as Bellezeaters, Belyeaters

Bell Ringers

Blacksmiths also known as Black-Smithes, Smiths

Bladesmiths also known as Bladers

Block-makers

Bonnetmakers

Booksellers

Boothmen also known as Corn Merchants

Bowyers also known as Bow-makers, Bowers

Braelers also known as Brace-makers

Braziers also known as Brasiers, Brasyers

Brewers also known as Bruers, Brousters, Browsters

Bricklayers also known as Bricklaiers, Bricklayars, Bryckelayers, Wallers

Broderers also known as Browderers, Embroiderers, Imbroderers

Bucklemakers

Builders Merchants

Burillers

Butchers also known as Bochers, Bouchers, Fleshers

Candlemakers

Cappers

Cardmakers

Carmen

Carpenters

Carriagemen

Carriers also known as Carryers, Caryers

Carters also known as Loders

Carvers

Casketmakers also known as Forcers

Ceilers

Chartered Accountants

Chartered Architects

Chartered Secretaries and Administrators

Chartered Surveyors

Cheesemongers

Clockmakers

Clothiers

Clothworkers also known as Clothmen, Shearers, Fullers

Coach and Coach Harness Makers

Colliers

Combers

Comb-makers

Constructors

Cooks also known as Cokes, Cookes,

Coopers also known as Coupers

Corders of the Ropery also known as Ropers

Cordmakers

Cordwainers also known as Cordwaners, Cordwayners, Cordiners, Cordoners, Corvesors, Corvisors, Corvisers, Shoemakers, Shomakers, Shoomakers, Cobblers, Coblers, Brogue-makers

Curriers also known as Coryours, Clryours

Cutlers also known as Cutters, Sword Cutlers, Bladers, Forgers of Blades, Bladesmiths, Fourbours, Furbours, Fourbeshors, Furbeshors, Makers of Hafts, Garnishers of Blades, Sheathmakers for Swords, Daggers and Knives

Distillers

Drapers also known as Merchant Drapers, Linen Drapers

Dyers also known as Litsters, Listers, Lysters, Tinctors

Embroiderers

Engineers

Engravers also known as Ingravers

Environmental Cleaners

Fan Makers

Farmers

Farriers

Feltmakers

Firefighters

Fishermen also known as Fishers, Piscators, Fresh-water Fishers

Fishmongers also known as Feschers, Piscinarii, Pessoners, Fisshemongers, Stock-Fishmongers, Stockfishmongers, Stocke-fishmongers, Saltfishmongers, Salt-fishmongers

Fletchers also known as Arrow Makers

Forcers also known as Casketmakers

Founders

Framework Knitters

Fruiterers

Fuellers also known as Woodmongers

Fullers also known as Walkers, Clothworkers

Furbishers

Furniture Makers

Gardeners

Girdlers also known as Girdelers, Gredelers

Glass Sellers

Glaziers and Painters of Glass also known as Glasswrights, Verroures

Glovers also known as Gauntlers, Gaunters

Gold and Silver Wyre (or Wire) Drawers

Goldsmiths also known as Goldsmethes, Goldbeaters, Orfevers

Grocers

Gunmakers

Haberdashers also known as Haburdaisshers, Hurriers, Hurrers, Hurers, Milliners

Hackney Carriage Drivers

Hammermen

Hatband Makers

Hatters also known as Hatmakers

Haymongers

Healers

Heaumers also known as Helmet Makers

Heel Makers also known as Heelmakers

Horners also known as Horne-makers, Bottle-makers

Hosiers also known as Hosityers

Hostelers

Hostmen

Hurers also known as Hurrers, Hat-merchants, Cappers

Hurriers also known as Milliners, Miliners. Milners

Information Technologists

Innholders also known as Inholders, Inneholders, Innkeepers, Inkepers, Hostelers, Ostelers, Ostlers, Hostellares, Herbergeours

Insurers

Ironmongers also known as Ferroures, Ferrors

Joiners and Ceilers also known as Joyners, Joynors, Fuysters, Foisters, Foisterers

Keelmen also known as Keelers
Knackers
Launderers also known as Calaunderers, Calanderers, Lauenders, Hot Pressers
Leathersellers
Lightmongers
Limmers also known as Lomynors, Illuminators
Loriners also known as Lorinors, Lorimers, Lorymers, Bridilsmiths, Bridlemakers
Makers of Playing Cards
Makers of Vinegar, Aqua Vitae and Aqua Composita
Maltmen also known as Maltsters, Maulsters
Marblers
Marketors
Masons also known as Mazons, Freestone Masons, Freemasons
Master Mariners
Mercers
Merchants
Millers also known as Milners
Milliners also known as Hurriers
Millwrights
Milwards
Musicians also known as Waits, Minstrels, Mynstrells
Nailers also known as Nailors, Naylor, Naylers
Needlemakers
Painters
Painter-Stainers also known as Painters, Peyntours, Steynours, Steyners
Paper Stainers
Parchment-Makers also known as Parchminers
Parish Clerks also known as Parish-Clearkes, Cleakes
Pattenmakers also known as Patynmakers
Paviors also known as Paviours, Paviers
Pepperers
Pewterers also known as Pewtrers, Tinsmiths
Physicians also known as Fisicians
Piners also known as Pynners, Pin Makers
Plasterers also known as Plasterers, Pargettors, Dawbers
Planers
Plumbers also known as Plummers, Plomers, Helliers
Porters also known as Shore Porters, Tacklehouse and Ticket Porters, Fellowship Porters, Pynours, Pynors
Potters
Pouch-makers
Poulters also known as Poulterers
Printers
Pursers also known as Glovers' Pursers
Reeders
Reed-Sellers
Ribbonweavers also known as Ribandweavers, Ribbinweavers
Ropemakers
Saddlers also known as Sadlers, Sadelers, Sellers
Sail-Makers
Salters also known as Saltars
Sawyers also known as Sawers
Scientific Intrument Makers
Scriveners also known as Screyners, Screueners, Escriveners, Scriptors
Shearmen also known as Sheermen, Shermen, Sheremen, Pannarii, Retunders
Sheathers
Shipwrights
Shivers also known as Bung-makers
Silkmen
Silk-rasers
Silk-Throwers also known as Silke-throwers, Throwsters

Skinner also known as Skynners, Pelterers, Pulters, Pellipers
Slay-makers also known as Slaywrights
Smiths also known as Smethes, Hammermen, Fabers, Fevers
Soapers also known as Soap-makers
Solicitors also known as Legis Peritis
Spectacle Makers
Spicers
Spurriers also known as Sporyers
Starch-makers
Stationers and Newspaper Makers
Stringers also known as Long bow Strin-makers
Surgeons also known as Chirurgeons
Tailors also known as Taylors, Talyors, Taillours, Talliauners, Merchant Taylors, Linen Armourers
Tallow Chandlers also known as Chandlers, Candelarii, Chaundler, Chaundeler, Candiller, Candeler, Candler, Rafmen, Raffmen, Raffemen, Rafemen
Tanners also known as Grey Tawyers, Barkers, Allutarii
Tapestry-makers also known as Tapissers, Tapizers, Tapicers
Taverners also known as Tabernarii, Tapsteris
Tawyers also known as Tawers
Thatchers also known as Thaxters, Thackisters, Reders
Tin Plate Workers
Tobacco Pipe Makers and Tobacco Blenders
Trinity House
Trunkmakers
Turners
Twisterers
Tylers also known as Tilers, Tyleres, Tylars, Tylors, Tyghelers, Poyntours, Helliers, Hellyers, Slaters, Slatters
Upholders also known as Upholsterers, Upholsters
Victuallers also known as Victualers
Vintners also known as Vinters, Vynters, Vynteners, Vintonners, Wine-tonners, Wine Merchants
Wainscoters
Waller
Watchmakers
Water Conservators
Watermen and Lightermen also known as Ferryman
Water Rangers
Wax Chandlers also known as Waxchaundeler, Waxe-chandlers
Weavers also known as Websters, Woollen Weavers, Wollenweuvers, Arras-weavers, Linen-weavers, Wabsters, Wobsters, Telarii
Wheelwrights also known as Whilwrights, Whelewrites, Qwylwryghtes
Whittawers also known as Whitawers, Whittawes, White-Tawers, White Tawyers, Tawers
Wig-makers also known as Periwig-makers, Peruke-makers, Perukiers
Wiredrawers also known as Wyredrawers
Woodmongers
Woolmen also known as Laners, Woolchapmen, Woolmongers, Woolners, Woolpackers, Wooll-packers, Woolwinders
Worsted Weavers also known as Worstead Weavers, Woolsted Weavers, Woolstead Weavers, Worstedmen, Worsteadwevers
World Traders
Wrights also known as Wrightes, House Carpenters

APPENDIX 14

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