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Some Notes on the Trade
Companies of Kendal

In the 16th and 17th Centuries.

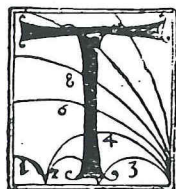
BY BRO. REV. H. POOLE.

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SOME NOTES ON THE TRADE COMPANIES OF KENDAL IN THE 16th AND 17th CENTURIES.

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[Trans. Quatuor Coronati Lodge, vol. xxxvi., 1923, pp. 5-33.]



TO celebrate the grant of a Charter by Queen Elizabeth, in 1575, one Henry Dycksonn presented to the Borough of Kendall a large volume of plain paper, in which to keep a record of the activities of the Town; and this book, fairly faithfully kept for over 100 years, is of the greatest value, not only to the mere local historian, but also to the Masonic student, for the light which it throws on the life and practices of trade companies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A title-page describes this MS. book as:—

A BOKE OFF RECORDE OR
Register Contayninge all the Acts and Doinges in or
Concerninge

The Corporation w'in the Towne Kirkbie Kendall
Begynnyng at the first entrance or Practysinge
off the same w^{ca} was the Eighte day off Januarij
Anno Regni Dne Elizabethe dei gra Angl Ffranc
et hibne Regine fidei defensor etc decimo octavo 1575
KIRKBIEKENDALL
Anno dne 1575

We are fortunate in that the book has been reprinted under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society; though, so far as I am aware, its Masonic significance has not hitherto been pointed out.

Among the contents are two lists—apparently more or less complete—of the inhabitants of the several streets of Kendal, in 1575 and 1588: lists of the Aldermen, Burgesses, Mayors, and other Borough officials, until early eighteenth century, and the oaths they had to take: lists of the freemen of the various companies of craftsmen: a long series of orders made for the government of the trades or crafts: many miscellaneous items relating to incidents and decisions in connection with the Town, with extracts from wills, and other notices of gifts to the Borough: and lastly an 'Inrolment of Pryntices' commencing in 1571 and ending in 1645.

The Companies were twelve in number; and each of them was allowed to appoint two or more wardens, generally with some restriction as to the trade to which they belonged. The list of Companies is as follows:—

TWELVE SEVERALL COMPANYES.

- 1 CHAPMEN MARCHANNTS AND SALTERS May Choise ij^o wardons wheroff th'one to be yearly A Chapman Thother A Marchannt or Salter
- 2 MARCERS AND DRAPERS LYNNEN AND WOOLLEN May choise ij^o wardons wherof th'one to be A Mercer thother A wollen or Lynnen drap or A m'cer occupyinge Wollen Drapye
- 3 SHEARMEN FFULLERS DYERS WEBSTERS May Choise iiiij^{or} wardons and all to be Shearmen yearlye

- 4 TAYLERS IMBRODYRERS AND WHILTERS May Choise iii^{or} or ij^o wardons all to be tayllers yearlye
- 5 CORDYNERS COBLERS AND CURRYERS May choise iii^{or} or ij^o wardons all beinge Cordyners yearly.
- 6 TANNERS SADLERS AND GIRDLERS May Choise ij^o wardons whearoff one to be a Tanner and thother A Sadler or Girdler yearlye
- 7 INHOLDERS AND ALEHOWSEKEPERS AND TYPLERS May Choise iii^o wardons wheroff ij^o to be Inholders and other ij^o Alehowsekeepers
- 8 BUTCHERS AND FFISHERS May Choise ij^o wardons bethe to be Butchers yearlye
- 9 CARDMAKERS AND WYREDRAWERS May Choise ij^o wardons and bothe to be Cardmakers yearly
- 10 SURGONS SCRYVNER BARBORS GLOVERS SKYNNERS PARCHEM AND POYNTEMAKERS May Choise ij^o wardons thone to be A Glover yearlye
- 11 SMYTHES IRON AND HARDWAREMEN ARMERERS CUTLERS BOWYERS FFLETCHERS SPURYERS POTTERS PANNRS PLUMBR TYNKERS PEWTERERS AND METALLERS May Choise ij^o wardons wheroff one to be A blaksmythe ye'lye
- 12 CARPENTERS JOYNER MASON WALLERS SCLATERS THATCHERS GLASIERS PAYNTERS PLEYSTERERS DAWBERS PAVERS MYLLERS AND COWPERS May Choise ij^o wardons wherof th'one to be A Carpent or Joyner

The status of the Wardens is indicated in the following:—

AN ORDER TO CHOSE WARDONS

And what power is given to them

ITT IS Lycensid and prmyttid Ordeyned and Constitutid by the Alderman and Burgesses off this Boroughe wth the full assente of the xxiiiijth sworn Assistants off the same That the severall Companye and ffellowshippe off everie trade scyence or occupacon before nomynatid nowe and hereafter wthin this Boroughe beinge shall and maye ffrome tyme to tyme ffor ever after the election of eny Alderman yearlie on the same day or on the morowe after at the furtheste quyetyly decently and orderlye assemble themselves and come together in suche severall howses and plac wthin this Boroughe as they ffrome tyme to tyme shall pvide And may then and thar electe choise and apoynte by moost voyces Discretlye emonge themselves owte of everie of the sayd severall ffellowshippes and Compaynes (beinge all ffremen) twoo or fflower off the moost honest credible sober wise and substanciall psonns whiche ij^o or fower psons ffrome tyme to tyme so to be chosen apoyntyd and yearly to be sworn on the Day off thothe takinge off everie Alderman before the same Alderman in the Comon hault shall and may be called wardons or Overseers off the hole company or ffellowshippe of suche severall trades scyences or occupacons wheroff they shall so yearly be chosen and apoyntid wardons or Overseers havinge an Inferrour power and prehemynence in themselves ffrome tyme to tyme to the Speakers and Soliciters to the Courte by bill or Informacon to be exhibitid ffor reformacon helpe and redresse in everie the severall Scyences or occupacons of the sayd sevrall Companye or ffellowshippe or ffor any other cause or occation they shall have to deale aboute any way concerninge their hole Companye and ffellowshippe or any of them And to make presentmente and Informacon to this Court off the breache of all suche byelawss and speciall orders as nowe be sett

established or hereafter may be sett and established in ffor or concerninge any of the same severall trades scyences or occupacons And of the forfeytours off all ffynnes and Amerciaments to be lost in any wise dewe and leviabie to thuse of the Chamber of this Boroughe furthe off Or concerninge the same severall trades scyences or occupacons or any off them And also of the several tymes when all and every Appryntice or s'vannte at any of the same trades scyences or occupacons shall enter into and begyn end or come furthe off his and their appryntishippes or s'vice And of the tymes when any strannger or fforreyner or other p'son no ffreman shall or may come into be and dwell within this Boroughe or the librties hearof occupyinge or vsinge any suche severall trade scyence or occupacon as they doo ffrom court day to courte day as occation shall requyre And also all those speciall orders devises bylawes and decrees as the same Wardons or Overseers and the reste of their said ffellowshippe and company or the moost p'te of them in their comon accustomyd assemblye and not elswhear shall and may agree vpon and think requysite and mete to be had ffor or touchinge any suche severall trade scyence or occupacon ffrome tyme to tyme the Sames ffurthwth to showe declare putt vpp shewe furthe and ferrer over to the Alderman Recorder and Burgesses off this Boroughe at the next Courte then ffollowinge to alter augmente dymynyshe constitute and rule over and determyn order and reforme as by their good consideracons and discrecions shall seme indifferent requysite mete and convenyente.

The Oath of the Wardens consists for the most part of a recitation, almost word for word, of the duties as detailed above. It ends as follows:—

And all theis before recitid and all things els belonginge to trow wardons or Overseers off this yo^r company and ffellowshippe and w^{ch} may tend to the betteringe off the same and the Chamb^r of this boroughe yowe shall well and faithfullye looke vnto folowe execute and doo ffrome hencefurthe ffor one hole year or so longe as ye shall contynewe in this your office to the best of your knowledge and power And shall kepe for Councaill all w^{ch} ought to be kepte for counsell and secrece as touchinge the Affayrs and matters of this Boroughe And from hencefurthe shall have and beare a naturall and dewe obedyence and dewtye to the Magistrates and Auctorities of the same in all lawfull man^r.—So help ye.

The office of Warden was compulsory for such as were duly elected, and a heavy penalty was inflicted on any who refused it. The following is from among orders for Cordyners in 1583:—

ITM it is likewise Ordeyned and constitutid by the Alderman and Burgesses aforesayd That iff any p'son or p'sons beinge A maister and freeman of that company whiche beinge lyked of and nomynatyd and chosen wardon of the same Companye by moost voyces And havinge sufficient knowledge of his election shall at any tyme hereafter refuse to stand to have the same And shall not take his othe in that behalff as by order he ought to doo shall forfeite and lose lykewise toc q^c x^s thone half wherof to be to the vse of the Chamber of this Boroughe and the other half to the company aforesayd &c.

Among the various orders which are scattered through the business records of the Borough, perhaps the greatest prominence is given to those relating to the taking of Apprentices. Foremost among these stands a general order:—

A RULE FOR TAKINGE OFF APPRINTICES

ITT IS Orderid and Constitutid by the Alderman and Burgesses aforesayd at this pnte Courte holden the xxiiijth day off february Anno Dni 1575 That no pson or psonns either nowe Inhabitinge or

hereafter Inhabitinge or beinge M^r. or free man off any Scyence trade or Occupacon whatsoever wthin this Buroughe of Kirkbye Kendall or librties off the same shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter take cause consente or pcure to be taken any Appryntice or S^rvannte to be taughte or Instructyd at any Trade Scyence or occupacon whiche he shall or may vse or wheroff he shalbe free ffor any lesse or shorter Tearme or tyme than vij^o years and not otherwise covennted bounde or pmysed but only by Indenture off Covennts off Appryntishippe wth Obligacon or wthowt obligacon to be made betwixt suche M^r. and Appryntice as in suche cases is vsed and pvided whiche Indentures or A Counterpayn theroff everye suche M^r. shall brynge or cause to be broughte to be registred amongs the Comon Records of this Boroughe at the ffurste Courte day nexte after tyme of suche Indenture makyng and Seallinge or at the secondnd Court day after at the furtheste payng theorefore to the Recorder or Clarke takynge the recorde therof The fee for the same sett downe and dewe vpon payn to fforfeyte and lesse to the Chamber off this Boroughe ffor everye defaulte toc q^oc x^s Anye beinge off any other occupacon than A sherman And everye one beinge A sherman to fforfeyte and losse in that behalfe xl^s toc q^oc viz for takinge of suche pryntice And for not regestringe hym as aforesaid vj^s viij^d toc q^oc.

The additional fine imposed on the Shearmen is no doubt due to the fact that their Company must have been of much greater importance than the rest, Kendal even at that time being an important centre of the woollen industry.

The 'term of seven years' is strongly insisted on, in orders made for the several companies at different times: and from the lists (dealt with later) it appears that the order was constantly evaded. The penalties for such an offence are given in several cases: *e.g.*, for Shearmen (1587), 40/-; for Mercers & Drapers (1587), £10; for Glovers (1588), 40/-; for Tanners (1592), £5; for Clothiers and Shearmen (1619), £10; for Mercers (later), £5; and for Pewterers (1673), £10. In each case, half of the fine was for the 'Chamber of the Borough,' and the other half for the use of the Company in question.

The wages paid to an apprentice are only given in one case, in a curious order of 1612 to the Tailors, which seems to place them in a very servile position:—

IT is ordained and constituted by the Alderman and Burgesses being That every tailor now or hereafter dwelling within this borough or the liberties thereof shall upon one weeks warning repair and go to the house of every free inhabitant and there work and shall receive for the wages of their apprentices every one 2d. for a days work for the first three years of their apprenticeship and for the fourth and fifth years of their apprenticeship 3d. for a day and not above and for the sixth and seventh years &c. 4d. for a whole days work and not above and for every journeyman being a stranger 3d. for one days work and not above under pain of as much as 12d. &c. FURTHER it is then ordered That every tailor freeman and inhabitant shall have free liberty (notwithstanding this former order) to work at their severall shops 14 days only at their own pleasures before the severall and yearly feasts of Christmas Easter and Whitsuntide and repair to no man's house but upon their own liking.

The standard of education of an apprentice is prescribed by an order of 5th May, 1641:—

ITEM it is ordained by the Court at a Court Leet on the day and year above said That after this day no children shall be admitted to be bound apprentices unless the same apprentice so to be bound can write or read.

By the Mayor and rest of the Alderman.

Wrightes' Roll

Vallard Chappelle fms.
 Willm. O'wren fms.
 Johnd. Wade fms.
 Thomad. Nicksom fms.
 Willm. Chappelle fms.
 Johnd. Hyshe fms.
 1528 Willm. Noyse fms.
 1530 Peter. Hodyson fms.
 1540 Robert. M. Hettom fms.
 1550 Robert. Jarkson fms.
 1560 Thome. Noyse fms.
 1570 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1580 Thomad. Chappelle fms.
 1590 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1600 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1610 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1620 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1630 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1640 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1650 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1660 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1670 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1680 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1690 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1700 Johnd. Willmson fms.
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 1720 Johnd. Willmson fms.
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 1760 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1770 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1780 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1790 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1800 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1810 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1820 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1830 Thomad. Willmson fms.
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 1850 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1860 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1870 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1880 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1890 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1900 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1910 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1920 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1930 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1940 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1950 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1960 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1970 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 1980 Johnd. Willmson fms.
 1990 Thomad. Willmson fms.
 2000 Johnd. Willmson fms.

The Kendal Guilds.
The first Wrights' List.

The case of an apprentice whose Master dies before the completion of his term is dealt with in a special order of about 1600:—

FOR the provoking and better moving all and singular apprentices (now or hereafter being) of any trade science or occupation whatsoever within this borough and the liberties thereof to the performance of their several duties to their masters appertaining It is therefore ordained and constituted by the Alderman and Burgesses of the same borough (now being) That if any apprentice now or hereafter bound for seven years or more to serve in any trade science or occupation used or hereafter to be used whose master shall die or leave his trade before the end of the years contained in the indentures which said apprentice after such death or leaving shall offer himself to serve and do serve some other of the same borough or occupation &c. being a freeman during the term then unrun or any other person dwelling also here upon their refusal so long as he should have served his first master That then every such apprentice shall or may at all times after lawfully use and exercise the same trade science or occupation within this borough and the liberties of the same and have and enjoy his freedom here as fully and effectually as any other freeman of the same trade hath and in such force as if he had continually served his first master according to the first covenants within this borough (any custom order or usage to the contrary notwithstanding)

The procedure at the termination of the apprenticeship is the subject of a general order of (about) 1657:—

IT is ordered that all apprentices within this borough that shall come and desire to be sworn freemen of this borough after they have served their apprenticeships shall immediately after they be sworn pay unto the chamberlains for the time being to the use of the chamber of this Borough so much moneys as the said apprentices are to pay to their several companies for their setting up And also that every apprentice so soon as he hath served his apprenticeship if he do not repair to this court the next court day after the expiration of his time and desire to be sworn freeman of this borough that then every such apprentice shall forfeit for such his neglect $\frac{3}{4}$ and so $\frac{3}{4}$ for every court day after that he shall neglect to do the same.

The special fee or 'footing' paid to the Company is given in several cases. Thus, in the case of the Cordyners (1578):—

every p'son beinge A Cordyner before he be admyttyd freman shall pay to thuse of the Companye of Cordyners aforesayd toc q^c ij^s iiij^d &c

In 1587, a series of orders for the Tailors contains an ordinance that

every p'son being A Tailler shall pay to thuse of the Company off Tayllers at his furst vpsettinge of Shopp toc q^c ij^s vj^d

An entry of very special interest is the following, relating to the Shearmen, dated 1581:—

Itm it is likewise Ordeyned That all and every p'son and p'sons beinge A shearman (when he hathe Served owte his Apryntishippe and before he be admyttid freeman of the same Company) shall pay to thuse of the hole Companye of Shearmen aforesaid beside Custome for the Playe xij^d (suche psons as have alredie p^d to the corporacon only exceptid)

The 'Playe' will be dealt with later.

It seems to have been understood, rather than stated in the orders, that Freemen had preference over foreigners and others in the matter of obtaining employment, for there are few cases in which this is explicitly laid down. But the following orders for the Tailors show what the practice was. The date must be about 1587, for they follow other orders of that date; but they are undated, and are immediately followed by some orders of 1579:—

Itm it is Ordeyned and That iff any Inhabitannt wthin this Boroughe do sett any fforreyner Tayller not ffree on work he shall lose to thuse of the Chamb toc q^c x^s Or iff any fforreyner Tayller doo work at that occupacon wthin this Boroughe he shall losse lykewise to thuse of the Chamber aforesayd toc q^s x^s &c and also be taken vpp &c And if any question arrise between the M^r and Customer the wardons to sett order therein (yf they possibly can)

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That iff any off the Companye off Taillers beinge ffree doo sett any Tayller fforreyner not ffree on worke before a freeman he shall lose to the vse of the Chamb^r and Company off Tayllers xx^s toc q^c.

Although the order for a seven years' apprenticeship was repeated again and again as a condition of obtaining the freedom of a Company, we find traces of a distinction between persons who obtained the freedom of the Borough after such an apprenticeship, and certain others; and of the possibility of persons other than apprentices obtaining both. This seems to apply only to the Shearmen. In their earliest orders, dated 1579, we find the following:—

Itm it is Ordeyned &c that none shall occupye as a shearman &c save such as have payed or p^mysed benevolence to the corpacon and only p^sessinge and vsinge the same trade and suche as have s[']ved or shall s[']ve vij^o years pryntshippe at the same and suche as shall lawfully purchase his and ther fredome vpon payn to lose toc q^c x^s wherof to the Chamber vj^s viij^d and to the Company iij^s iiij^d to be levyed &c

In their orders dated 1587, their powers seem to be enlarged:—

ITEM it is ordained and constituted . . . That it shall not be lawful to or for the Wardens of the Company of Shearmen . . . to agree with compound for set down or take any fine recompence or sum of money of any person or persons coming as stranger for or in respect of admitting him into the freedom of the same company with out the advice and consent of the twelve Associates of that company . . . upon pain to forfeit and lose as much as 20s. to be levied to the uses aforesaid as above &c. Provided always that no such admission of any such stranger into that company shall stand good unless such stranger have purchased before the lawful freedom of this borough with the privity of the Wardens then being.

An order from a series of 1619 is somewhat similar, but goes much further:—

ITEM it is further ordained constituted and established . . . that no person or persons not free of the same trade of Clothiers and Shearmen within the said borough shall at any time hereafter be made free of the same trade of Clothiers and Shearmen within the said borough save such person or persons as shall have served his or their apprenticeships at the same trade for and by the space of seven years at the least unless that such person or persons to be made free of that trade be first a freeman of the said borough and shall willingly yield and pay by way of composition for his or their admittance into the same company such sum or sums of money as the Alderman Recorder six of the Burgesses and Warders of the Company of Clothiers and

Shearmen shall set down and agree upon, the one half to the use of the free inhabitants of the said borough and the other half to the use of the freemen of the same company.

There is no definite suggestion here that the person must be an 'operative' of the Trade. The earlier order may reasonably be taken to refer in general to a person who has served his apprenticeship elsewhere: but the later clearly waives the apprenticeship altogether; and the use of the word 'composition' strongly suggests a membership of a different nature to that of the apprentice who has served his term.

In other cases, the operative membership of the Companies is clearly implied. Thus, among orders for Glovers, of 1588, we find:—

ITEM it is ordained and constituted by the Alderman and Burgesses aforesaid That from henceforth it shall not be lawful to or for any person or persons whatsoever (other than such as now have or hereafter may have the lawful freedom of this Incorporation) or be a workman at the said trade at this time or such as have served already or hereafter shall serve lawful prenticeships here or such as hereafter upon some reasonable cause shall lawfully purchase the freedom of this borough at the hands of the Alderman and Head Burgesses of the same to keep shop or work or set up as master at the aforesaid occupation of a Glover within this Borough or the liberties of the same openly or privily upon pain to lose and forfeit for every month so doing as much as 6s. 8d. the one half thereof to be to the use of the chamber of this borough and the other half to the use of the same company to be levied as above.

In the Mercers' orders of about 1619, any such admission is expressly forbidden:—

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no Warden of any Company of the said mysteries or trades for the time being by himself nor together with any other of the same company shall upon any composition or otherwise make or admit to be free of any of the said mysteries or trades within the said town any person or persons other than such as then shall have lawfully served as an apprentice by the space of seven years at the least in the same trade or mystery with some freeman of the said borough of the same mystery or trade upon pain to forfeit unto the chamberlain of the said borough for the time being five marks to the use of the Alderman and Burgesses for every time that he or they shall offend herein contrary to the true meaning of this said ordinance.

while the following order, relating to any persons who have been so admitted, appears to assume that they are operatives:—

ITEM it is further ordained and established That no person or persons by colour or pretence of any such admittance or making free contrary to the said last mentioned ordinance or otherwise of himself shall contrary to the ordinance aforesaid use within the said borough any of the said mysteries or trades nor keep any shop within the said borough for trafficking in any of the said mysteries nor sell any merchandizes or wares by retail within the said town which belong to any of the said mysteries or trades; but only at the fair times upon pain to forfeit unto the chamberlain of the said borough for the time being forty shillings to the use of the alderman and burgesses for every time that he or they shall offend herein contrary to the true meaning of the said ordinance.

Similar orders are given to the Pewterers in 1662, to the Joiners in 1677, and to the Butchers in 1683.

It is difficult to say exactly what was the difference between freedom of the Borough and freedom of a Company; the former seems to have been conferred normally in a purely formal manner, on payment of a fee, at the time when the latter was granted at the expiration of the term of apprenticeship. But that there was some peculiar footing on which persons were admitted to the Shearmen's Company seems to be implied by two entries in the list of Shearmen Freemen:—

Thomas Dobson 1667, sworne freeman of the town onely and not of ye Company
and

Antho: Warryner 1669, sworne freeman of the town only

The interest of these orders and entries lies chiefly in the fact that, as I hope to be able to show, admissions 'by composition' were being effected in the Company of the Wrights at least as early as 1617, and very likely earlier, and were duly entered *as such* in the rolls of Freemen; while, with only a very few exceptions, there is no evidence that this was the case in any other Company. I will deal with this when I come to analyse the lists of apprentices and freemen.

I now quote a few miscellaneous items of interest gleaned from the various orders.

An order 'concerninge tailers' of 1575 refers to the "Hole Company & fellowshippe of tayllers"; and a similar title is given to several other of the Companies at various dates.

In 1577 was passed an order dealing with 'Play at unlawful games,' which is one of several which strongly reflect the language of the Masonic 'Old Charges,' though in this case the application is more limited. It ordains that:—

no maner off pson or psons either Inkepers Alehowsekeepers or other Inhabytannts whatsoever at any tyme or tymes hereafter have kepe or suffer any playe at cardes dyce tables bowells or any other vnlawfull games ffor moneye aile or bear or any other vnlawfull things at or in any his hers or ther howse or howses gardyns or yards or any other place w^{ch} in the libtys hearoff eyther in tyme off devyne syce or any Sondaye or holy day or in any nighte after tenn off the Clock

In the same year (1577) an order was issued dealing with building within the Borough; but it refers to the nuisance caused by encroachments due to sundry persons building out into the Market-places, and has no reference to the building trades.

In 1583 an order enjoins an annual payment by the Shearmen

yearlye on the Mondaye nexte after the ffeaste day of S^t Andrewe the appostell or at the furst demanndinge of the same by the comon bedle thenafter

I have not found any other such reference.

In the same year (1583) occurs an interesting regulation as to 'guests' at the dinner of the newly-made Alderman:—

ITM it is Ordeyned and Constitutid by the Alderman and xij^o principall Burgesses of this Burgh of Kirkbiekendall at this tyme beinge That iff any p^oson whiche hereafter shalbe electid apoyntid and sworne into the office of the Alderman hear shall or do have at his entranne into that Office at his furste and principall ffeaste or Dynn^r Beinge vsually on the furst Sondaye after his othe takinge any gentleman gentlewoman or strannger (others than the vicar and scholem^r heare or suche stranngers' frennds as by channce onlye the same day Beinge in Towne maye haplye and sodenlie be called vpon and movid thervnto) But onlie his Brethern and Susters of that Companye or the xx^{iiij}th Assistannts and their wyves or Others Officers or others frennds and neighbours of this Boroughe shall forfeyte and losse to the Chamber of this Boroughe to be levyed as before toc q^oc v^{li} &c.

To what exactly "Brethern and Susters" of the Company refers, is not clear, but there seems to be no reason to believe that women were normally admitted to the freedom of the Companies, though there are a few exceptions. Thus, in the list of 'Inkepers Fremmen,' four widows appear:—

Relicta Christopheri Stanes
Relicta Thome Fawcett
Relicta Rallandi Warde
Relicta Anthonii Garnett

All were entered at the time when the list was first compiled, which seems to have been before 1591; and three are known from the street lists and the Parish registers to have been widows by 1575. We have no means of ascertaining whether their husbands were Innkeepers or not.

I have only found one example of a woman Freeman who appears to have been free, so to speak, in her own right. Among the Mercers' Freemen occurs the name of Elizabeth Pyckeringe, dated 31st July, 1595. How she obtained her freedom is not clear; but she was a spinster, and was not free in 1583, as the following order of that date shows:—

ITM it is Ordeyned and constitutid by the Alderman and Burgesses aforesayd That Elizabeth Pyckeringe single-woman Or any other p'son not beinge ffre shall not ffringe hencefurthe Sell or vtter in grosse or by retaylle any kynnd of wares p'perly belonginge vnto A Salter as latlye she hath done in any Shopp or other place within this Boroughe or the librties of the same vpon payne to lose and forfeyte to the Chamber of this Boroughe iff it be done on any Setterday vj^s viij^d and iff it be done on any other day xij^d toc q^c And to be levyed as before &c.

A woman's name is also coupled with (presumably) her husband's in the enrolment of apprentices, when, in 1607, "Dorothai daughter of the late Thomas Clarke" was apprenticed to "Richard and Agnes Eleye semester." Richard Eleye is recorded elsewhere as a Tailor Freeman.

Another, and the only other, instance of a woman being duly enrolled as an apprentice is that of "Anna daughter of Leonard Hirdson," who was apprenticed in 1595 to Henry Wilkinson semyster.

More interesting is the apprenticeship, in 1633, of "Thomas son of George Hinde to Agnes Birkheade widow of Milo Birkhead." Miles Birkett was apprenticed as a Mercer in 1621, and became free in 1629. Against his name is written 'mort.' There are many indications that these lists were not kept up to date, but periodically added to, and no doubt Miles Birkett's name was not entered until after his death between 1629 and 1633. Agnes Birkett was presumably allowed to carry on the business after her husband's death.

A curious echo of the language of the Old Charges is found in a comment made by the Recorder at the close of a series of orders of 1683, in which the Weavers and Butchers each receive an organisation of their own, separating from the Shearmen and Fishers respectively:—

These Laws and Constitutions although they are never so good and firm in law (quod plane dubito) yet I would not advise the Weavers to be too strict and severe with their Elder Brothers the Shearmen. Nor the Butchers with their Younger Brothers coming out of the country for these restraining Bylaws meet with no favour in Westminster Hall and your own Moothall is altogether improper since no man is admitted to be judex in propria cause. T. D. (Thomas Dalston, Recorder, 1685-1691.)

It is worth mentioning that two of the Companies issued Tokens during the seventeenth century, namely, the Mercers and the Shearmen. The former issued a piece with the Arms of the Mercers' Company—a full face bust, cloaked and crowned, and wearing a heavy chain—and the Arms of the Borough, which show

the teasel and wool-hook, both implements of the woollen industry. The token issued by the Shearmen shows the shears and teasel-brush of the trade. These were issued in 1657 and 1666 respectively.

I close this part of my subject by giving in full the first *series* of orders recorded, being those for the Cordyners, in 1578; and also one of the latest, those for the Joiners, in 1677, at the time when they separated from the Wrights and formed a Company by themselves. Though of late date, these incorporate miscellaneous orders made during the previous century; while the codes of orders made for Butchers, Weavers, Pewterers, Mercers, and Shearmen, spread over about eighty years, are clearly only developments one from another, and are all to very much the same purpose:—

PERTICULERS OFF ORDERS

In occupacons and companyes as followethe

Orders for Cordyners

26: Janu 1578 Impmis it is Ordeyned &c that iff any of the Company off Cordyners do absente hymself ffrome any forewarnyd metinge off the same Company he shall lose to the vse of the same company vj^d toc q^c

Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That iff any M^r Journeyman or hyeredman free of Cordyners doo Spetche or cause to be spetched any boots shoes &c (the knowen Coblers excepte) shall losse to the vse of the hole Company iij^s iiij^d toc q^c And every Journeyman hyered man or pryntice Not free xij^d toc q^c

Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c iff any M^r freeman of Cordyners Do move or desyer any Journeyman hyered man se'vant or pryntice off any other p'sons to come to hym before suche tyme as he be lycenced or warnyd to departe frome his old M^r shall lose to the Company aforesayd x^s toc q^c

Cordyners

It is Ordeyned &c That no p'son or p'sons shall have or suffer Any Work to be done of A Cordyner at or in any Shopp or howse wthin the librties on any Sondeye vpon payn to losse to the Company aforesayd toc q^c iij^s iiij^d &c

Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That iff any Journeyman S'vantt or hyered man off Cordyners doo go ffrome or p'longe hymselfe purposly ffrome any his M^r work or busynes (otherwise than vpon lawfull occacion shall lose to the same Companye toc q^c iiij^d (besides suche punyshem^t as shalbe convenyent

Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That iff any Cordyner beinge M^r doo put away or cast off any his Journeyman Servant or hyeredman wthout A monthe warnynge Or iff any Journeyman S'vant or hyeredman off Cordyn^r do dep'te or go ffrome any his Maister (wthout A monthe warnynge shall losse to the Company aforesayd toc q^c iij^s iiij^d &c

Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That every p'son beinge A Cordyner before he be admyttyd ffreman shall pay to thuse of the Companye of Cordyners aforesayd toc q^c iij^s iiij^d &c

Cordyners

Itm it is Ordeyned &c That everye Occupyer by buyinge and Sellinge or Cuttinge tanned lether (beinge Cordyner) shall geve every quarter of A year to thuse of the same Company iiiij^d toc q^c

The complete text of the orders for the Joiners in 1677 is as follows:—

CONSTITUTIONS laws and ordinances made and established by the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Kirkby in Kendall in the County of Westmoreland at their general convocation and court there holden the seventeenth day of July in the twenty eighth year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c according to the power and authority to them given and granted by Letters Patents as well of the late Queen Elizabeth as of the late King Charles of blessed memory to them confirmed and examined and approved of by Sir Francis North knight Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas and Vere Bertie Esq^r Baron of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer Judges of Assize for the Northern Circuit as good and necessary to be observed for the common profit of the King's people and especially for the well ordering and good government of the trade mystery and occupation of Joiners within the said Corporation.

IMPRIMIS it is agreed and consented unto by the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses of the borough aforesaid that the freemen of the said trade of Joiners within the said borough of Kirkby in Kendall for the time being shall from henceforth be a joint perfect and entire company fellowship and society within the said borough of and within themselves and that they shall be so allowed and called and that they shall and may have their open meetings at some convenient place within the said borough from time to time when they shall have occasion so to do (at their own charges to be provided) there to choose and appoint amongst themselves yearly two three or four sufficient men which shall be wardens of their company and other officers for the better executing of such reasonable necessary and profitable laws and ordinances as now are or hereafter shall be lawfully made ordained and allowed as fit and convenient for the common good benefit and advancement of the said trade and agreeable to the laws and statutes of this Kingdom.

ITEM it is further ordained and established by the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses aforesaid that none of the said joiners or any for their use shall open their shops or shopwindows with an intent to sell any goods on the Lords day or Sunday within the said borough or shall work upon the said day in their shops or any place else within the said borough except it be to make a coffin upon an extraordinary and urgent occasion upon pain to forfeit to the chamberlains of the said borough for the time being for every such offence the sum of two shillings to be levied and distrained for upon their goods and chattels or entered by action of debt in like manner as the breach of other byelaws and orders within the said borough are levied and distrained for one moiety whereof to go to the use of the said Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses and the other to the use of the said Wardens of the said company of Joiners.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that if any of the said company shall at any time hereafter absent himself from any meeting being appointed by the wardens of the said company having sufficient

summons or notice thereof by the Beadle or officer of the said company for that time being appointed by the space of half an hour without license of the wardens or some of them or be let by sickness that every such person and persons so absenting himself shall lose and forfeit to the chamberlains aforesaid to the use aforesaid the sum of two shillings to be levied and recovered as aforesaid to the uses aforesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that every freeman of the said borough using and exercising the said trade of a joiner and keeping shop within the said borough shall from henceforth pay quarterage to the use and behoof of the said company that is to say sixpence for every quarter of a year to be paid quarterly to the known wardens of the said company or the one of them for the time being for the maintenance of the officers of the said company and other necessary employments for the good of the said company upon pain that everyone making default herein shall forfeit for every default to the chamberlains of the said borough the sum of two shilling the one half whereof to be to the use of the said Mayor and Aldermen of the said borough and the other half to the use of the said company of joiners to be levied and recovered as aforesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons now using or which shall hereafter shall use the said trade of a joiner within the said borough shall take above two apprentices in the said trade in every seven years unless the said apprentice or apprentices shall happen to die within their term of apprenticeship or depart from their master and leave the said borough during the said time and then the said master may take another in his or their steads after his or their death or departure as aforesaid and every of the said apprentices which shall be bound at any time hereafter shall be bound by indenture to the said trade for no less time than seven years and the said master or masters shall not at the end of his said apprenticeship make him or them free of such mystery or trade except he or they have served as an apprentice or apprentices during the term of seven years at the least and that every person or master taking an apprentice to the said trade shall within one month next after his taking of him cause the name and surname as well of the said master as apprentice and time of binding to be entered with the town clerk or clerk of the recognizances in the records of the court for that purpose upon pain for every master that shall any way make default in any of the said premises to forfeit for every offence to the chamberlains of the said borough fifty shillings one moiety whereof to be to the said Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses and another moiety to the use of the said company of joiners to be levied distrained and recovered as aforesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons other than such as are already admitted free of the said company of Joiners or hereafter shall be admitted as aforesaid free of the same shall work at the said trade of a joiner now particularly and distinctly or at any time heretofore particularly and distinctly used by the said trade of Joiners from the trade of Carpenters within the said borough upon pain that all and every person that shall do the same except he be admitted into the said company of joiners shall for every such default forfeit and lose to the chamberlains of the said borough the sum of forty shillings one moiety thereof to be to the use of the said Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses and the other moiety to the use of the said company of Joiners to be levied and recovered as aforesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons shall hereafter keep any shop or room within the said borough and sell any wainscot or any other thing particularly and distinctly belonging

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

1616 die Februarij
 Allan Birkett Jur
 Johannes Arden Jur ad die
 Robertus Arden Jur ad die
 Robertus Arden Jur ad die
 Thomas Arden Jur ad die
 Martij 16
 1617
 Thomas Arden Jur ad die
 1618
 Aprilis 7
 1619
 Aprilis 15
 1619
 Aprilis 29
 1619
 Junij 12
 1619
 Augusti 12
 1619
 Septembris 23
 1619
 Octobris 14
 1619
 Januarij 29
 1619
 Martij 1
 1620
 May 24
 1621
 April 4
 1622
 Octobris 10
 1622
 Octobris 10
 1623
 Octobris 10
 1623

The Kendal Guilds.
The Wrights' List from 1616.

29th die Januarij 1624

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Wilhelmus Matson Jun. 2^o Compositio / mart.
 Wilhelmus Collinson Junior Jun 29th die Julij 1626 p^o Aug
 Jacobus Washington Junior Jun 2^o die die
 Robertus Whilpston Jun 16th die May 1628. mart.
 Thoms Ransson Jun 2^o die die
 Franciscus Dumbell Jun 2^o die mart
 Hubert Gharro Jun 2^o die die
 Christophus Gashloy Jun 29th die Julij 1630 /

Alth. W. Alton Jun. v. die Feb. - 1634

Richard Johnson Jun. 29th die Januarij Anno: 1640.

Robertus Hinton Jun. 27th die 1647.
 Robertus Holme Coop Jun. 2^o 8th 1648.
 Robertus Galloway Jun. 5^o 8th 1648.
 Robertus Crayston } Jun. 3^o May 1649.
 Robertus Coche }
 Robertus Spangon }
 Robertus Boulton }
 Robertus Munkell Jun. 4^o Apr. 1649.
 Robertus Stomons Gaint Jun. 12^o July 1649.
 Robertus Parker Jun 1655.
 James Rigge Jun. 1655
 John Alsterna Jun. 1655
 Robertus Robinson Jun. 1657.
 John Hffon Jun. 1658.

to the said trade of joiners within the said borough or shall work at the said trade within the said borough but such as do now lawfully use the same within the said borough and are or shall be free of the said trade and admitted into the said company and such as are or shall hereafter be brought up lawfully as an apprentice in the said trade within the said borough by the space of seven years the times of usual fairs held within the said borough only excepted upon pain to forfeit for every such offence to the chamberlains of the said borough for and to the uses abovementioned the sum of twenty shillings to be levied and recovered as aforesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no warden of the company of joiners within the said borough for the time being by himself or together with any other of the said company shall upon any composition or otherwise make and admit to be free of the said mystery or trade within the said borough any person or persons other than such as then shall have lawfully served as an apprentice by the space of seven years at the least in the same trade or mystery with some freeman of the same borough in the same mystery or trade upon pain to forfeit to the chamberlains of the same borough to the uses above limited the sum of five pounds for every fault and offence contrary to the true meaning of this ordinance.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons under colour or pretence of any such admittance or making free of the said trade contrary to the last mentioned ordinance or otherwise of himself contrary to the ordinances aforesaid shall use within the said borough the said mystery or trade of a joiner or sell any wainscot or other wares thereunto belonging except in the fair time only upon pain to forfeit for every offence to the chamberlains aforesaid the sum of forty shillings to be levied and collected to the uses abovesaid.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no freeman that now is or shall be free of the said mystery or trade within the said borough shall join partner or take to be joint partner with him in the said trade within the said borough any person or persons either foreign or townsman not being free of the said trade or mystery or that may not lawfully use the said trade or mystery within the said borough nor traffic or deal in the said trade within the said borough for any person or persons not being free as aforesaid upon pain that as well the taker as he that doth so join not being free as aforesaid shall forfeit for every such offence to the chamberlains of this borough to the use aforesaid the sum of forty shillings for every offence committed contrary to the true meaning of this ordinance.

ITEM it is further ordained and established that no person or persons being free of the said company shall at any time hereafter employ any journeyman to work in the said trade as his or their journeyman until he and the wardens of the said company be satisfied that the said journeyman hath served seven years to the said mystery or art and if any journeyman being hired by the year to the said trade or mystery within the said borough shall depart or go away from his master without one month's warning by him first given of his departure and if any other master being free of the said trade within the said borough shall hire such journeyman before his such giving warning or continuance as aforesaid in every of the said cases as well the master as the said journeyman that shall offend herein shall forfeit to the chamberlains of the said borough to the uses aforesaid the sum of twenty shillings for every time offending contrary to the true meaning of this ordinance. All which pains penalties and sums of moneys to be forfeited by virtue of these acts and ordinances or any of them shall

be levied by distress of the goods of the offenders to be taken for the same or by action of debt bill or plaint to be commenced in the name of the said chamberlains of the said borough for the time being in such court or courts where the same shall properly lie the moiety or one half of all which pains penalties forfeitures and sums of money to be levied distrained and recovered as aforesaid (the costs of suit deducted) to be to the use of the Mayor Aldermen and Burgesses and the other moiety to and for the use of the wardens of the said company of joiners to be levied and distrained for and in the name of the said chamberlains for the time being so oft as need shall require.

I now turn to the examination of the lists of Freemen and the roll of Indentures. The latter consists of 423 entries, the earliest being of date 1571, and the latest 1645. These do not appear to have been entered as they occurred, as they are by no means in chronological order: it is more likely that the roll was added to at quite irregular intervals of several years.

The lists of Freemen are nineteen in number, and form membership lists of the several Companies. Besides the Companies which had separate existences in 1575, there are also lists of:—

Saddlers—not included with the Tanners.

Glovers—not included with the Surgeons and Scryveners.

Armerers & Hardwaremen—not included with the Smiths.

Labourers.

Feltmakers & Haberdashers, who apparently separated from the Mercers about 1639.

Weavers, who separated from the Shearmen in 1683.

Pewterers, who separated from the Smiths in 1662.

These lists were evidently made out, for the most part, within about ten years after the book was commenced, a few names having against them the dates at which the freedoms were conferred. They were then continued, fairly systematically; dates being appended in almost every case. Thus, in the Chapmen's list, the names from 1594 are dated. In the Shearmen's, 1581 and 1582 appear against some of the original names, while the regular dating commences with 1587.

Both the roll of Indentures and the lists of Freemen are incomplete, especially the former, for among the Freemen we find the names of many whose apprenticeships are not recorded; while among those noted as taking apprentices, some do not appear in the lists of Freemen. The incompleteness can best be seen from the accompanying tables, which cover only the period within which the Freemen have dates appended in the lists, thus making identification possible. It will be seen that the number of Freemen is not more than two-thirds of what it should be, and probably a little over a thousand Freemen and rather more than three thousand Apprentices would be something like the correct figures.

There are only 128 apprentices who can be identified with corresponding names on the Freemen's lists; but these are enough to give a sort of idea of the average length of apprenticeships, which I have shown on another table. The longest recorded was of nineteen years, and the shortest was one year, while the average is 8.7.

I have added also a table showing comparative numbers of Apprentices and Freemen between 1590 and 1645, which still further emphasises the incompleteness of the Roll, especially if it is borne in mind that quite a large percentage (over 45%) of apprentices never reached their freedom.

The lists of Freemen are, on the whole, quite straight-forward. They mostly give the Christian names and surnames, occasionally with a note of some kind; and, after about 1585, mostly with the date appended. With the exception of the Wrights' list, they contain no indications that any person included was not free of the Company in the ordinary way, by apprenticeship. There are, however, a few examples of non-operatives on the lists; and also a few examples of operatives of one trade who are included in the Company of another.

Thus, the last name on the Chapmen's list is that of

Mr. Thomas Fisher (jur. 5^o Oct^r 1646)

while the list of Mayors, which, up to 1672, shows the trade to which each belonged, gives "Thomas fisher, gent" as Mayor in 1656 and 1669.

The epithet 'gent.' does not, however, necessarily imply that the person was not, or had not been, an operative of a trade: for, of eleven names so distinguished up to 1672, seven can be found on the lists of Freemen, and at least one of these obtained his freedom by apprenticeship. This was George Archer, 'gent.,' Mayor in 1658. He was apprenticed as a Cordyner in 1635, and obtained his freedom in 1648. He was sworn as a Burgess in 1654 and an Alderman in 1655; and an amusing note appears under the latter date among the orders made by the Mayor and Aldermen:—

IT is ordered that Mr. George Archer shall provide a gown
For a gown like the rest of the Aldermen's gowns against Saturday
come sennight if there be materials for the same within
the town upon pain to forfeit 40s.

The Mercers' list contains, among the original entries, the name of *Mr. Robrte Byndlosse*, who was certainly not an operative. In the list he is described, with seven others, as a "Free Foreigner." The seven others are among twenty-three foreigners, who, having contributed towards the cost of obtaining the Charter of the Borough, were admitted to its freedom in 1575/6; and a record of their 'compositions' and copies of their licences are made in the book. No such record is kept of Robert Bindloss; but he heads the list of 'fforeyners ffremen' in the early part of the book, as "Mr. Robrte Byndlose esquier"; and there is also the following note among the gifts towards the Grammar School in 1588:—

MR. ROBERT BYNDLISE Esq^{re} born in Helsington within
£10 this parish of his good zeal and disposition yet being living
did give towards the exhibition of the said Grammar School
in ready money ten pounds &c.

The Mercers' list also contains the name of *Mr. John Park*, 1662; but beyond the fact that John Park was Mayor in the following year, no further information is forthcoming.

The prefix 'Mr.' is also given to Giles and Christopher Redman in the list of Feltmakers and Haberdashers. The former appears first on the Mercers' list, as free in 1616; but the Haberdashers seem to have separated from the Mercers at about 1639, for of three others, bracketed together at that date at the head of their list, another name also appears on the Mercers' list as well. Giles Redman took apprentices as a Feltmaker in 1630, 1636, and 1640; but he was evidently a leading citizen, for he served as an Alderman and Burgess from 1645, and was Mayor in 1649, when he is described as:—

Egidius Redman, Haberdasher . . . sen' Ald^rman & Justic pc

Christopher Redman, whose freedom is dated 1658, was a Burgess in 1659, and was Mayor in 1679 and 1695. There is no indication in the record as to whether he was an operative or not; but he is described as 'Gentleman' in the Charter of Charles II., in which he is named as one of the first twelve Aldermen under the new Charter.

One more name demands a notice. On the Armerers' list is that of *Mr. Thomas Sands*, 1641. He was sworn as an Alderman in 1645; but against his name appears:—

dislocat' p ordin Parlti

I have not been able to discover to what this refers; but Thomas Sands was Mayor in 1647, where he is noted as 'gen.' He appears also, from a will, to have been a nephew of Thos. Brawthwaite, Recorder of Kendal from 1648 to 1673.

Nicholson, however, the historian of Kendal, states¹ that he "had the reputation of having gained a 'considerable estate' in buying and selling wool and cottons, called 'Kendal cottons'"; and a token issued by him in 1656 bears the teasel and wool-hook as well as a comb—all implements of the woollen trade. This is the only example I have found outside the Wrights' Company, of a man known to have been in any sense an operative whose name is entered on a list other than that of his own trade.

Among the other early Mayors described as 'gentlemen' are the names of Thomas Sleddall, who appears on no list,² Robtus Crosfeild, who is on the list of Scryveners; Rowland Dawson, who was a mercer; Gervasius Benson, apparently of no trade; and Thomas Fisher, who was a Chapman. It is worth mentioning that among the persons chosen by Act of Parliament in 1643 as the Committee for the County of Westmorland in the matter of sequestering the estates of 'notorious delinquents' occur the names of 'Rowland Dawson . . . Esquire' and 'Gervace Benson, Gentleman.' These may not, of course, refer to the persons under discussion; but it is more than likely that they do.

The general impression conveyed by these examples is that from time to time men of standing who wished to take part in the administration of the Borough did, in spite of the orders to the contrary, obtain admission to the membership of the Companies without any sort of apprenticeship. Curiously enough, none of the examples which I have been able to find is on the list of the Shearmen's Company—the only one in which the practice was expressly allowed. It is not clear why this membership was taken up, as it does not appear to have been a necessary condition for holding a Municipal office: for, though the lists (as has already been pointed out) are far from complete, it seems unlikely that such members of a Company would have been omitted from the lists. That in some cases the admission was of a complimentary nature seems to be proved by the admission in 1676 of two of the Judges on the Northern Circuit—Lord Chief Justice Sir Francis North and Baron Bertie—to the freedom of the Scryveners' Company.

Before leaving the lists in general and passing to a special consideration of the Wrights' list, I ought to say that I have not gone over every name on all the lists, to find out cases of identity between names on two lists, or to discover non-operatives on the lists. I have attempted to trace a good many, but not all; and I have at least satisfied myself that no Master recorded as taking an apprentice in any trade was a member of the Company of any other trade, and that examples of men whose names are on more than one list, if any, are very few and far between.

This does not, however, apply to the list of "Wright, Wallers, &c.," which is entirely peculiar, and requires separate treatment. It consists of 86 names: the first six undated, and the remainder almost all dated, the dates ranging in chronological order from 1590 to 1658. Down to 1617, the list presents no peculiar features; but in that year appears, for the first time, an entry which is repeated at intervals down to 1626, and which is without parallel among the other lists. Against 17 out of the 25 names between these dates is made the note:

p'. composicon

A number of the names so distinguished have actually their trades entered: thus, there are a blacksmith, a slater, a pewterer, a labourer, a kersey-weaver, and a joiner. Certain others have not the note 'p. composicon,' but are of other trades; and these include a 'musitian,' a petty chapman, a brasier, a cordyner, a fletcher, a feltmaker, and a labourer. There are other names later marked as of other trades, and these consist of a yeoman (1647), and a woolman (1648). By way of

¹ *Annals of Kendal* (1861), p. 195.

² I have in my possession an original 'quit-claim' or release, of 1637, in which Thomas Sleddall is described as 'Yeoman.' This document, besides that of Thos. Sleddall, also contains the signatures of Robt. Crosfeild and Thomas Sander.

distinction of an ordinary case from these special admissions, one name, that of Thomas Lorde, cowper, of 1619, has against it the entry:

p'. appren.

There are, besides, four names of men who were almost certainly of other trades, though this is not noted. These are:—

Ricus Walker	1594
James Ayreye	1601
Isacus Shawe	1628
Bartholomeus Gaunt	1649

Richard Walker, or another of the same name, was a bowyer and fletcher, who took one James Airey as apprentice in 1594—the same date as the freedom recorded on the Wrights' list. The name is not common; and the Parish Registers only reveal the existence of one man who fits the case—Richard Walker, of Patton, who had a son in 1594.

The name of James Ayrey must be taken in conjunction with that of Richard Walker. The name is too common to identify with certainty; but the only other more or less contemporary person mentioned in the record who might be confused with him was apprenticed as a Joiner in 1607, and is entered duly on the list of Freemen under date 1616. It is worth mentioning that the first James Airey obtained his freedom in 1601—exactly seven years after the recorded apprenticeship of 1594: and this fact may perhaps be allowed to have some significance.

Isaac Shaw is also an uncommon name. It appears also at the same date in the list of Armerers and Hardwaremen, immediately below that of Mr. Thomas Sands, though much out of place, for names dated 1636, 1640, and 1641 are entered above it. That he was of that trade is proved by the fact that he took an apprentice as a Hardwareman in 1632. I suggest that at the time of his becoming free, he was duly entered in the list of the Company to, or through, which he paid his composition; and that, much later, on the occasion of a 'making up' of the Armerers' list, he was entered on that list out of place. One example of a name entered on *two* lists is that of Christopher Fisher, Petty Chapman, who is entered on both the Wrights' and the Petty Chapmen's lists, both under date 1621.

Bartholomew Gaunt is an even less common name; and there seems no reason to doubt that he is identical with the Bartholomew Gaunt who took apprentices as a Barber-Surgeon in 1640 and 1643. This name presents a further interesting feature, as the freedom on the Wrights' list is recorded at 1649—nine years after Bartholomew Gaunt had taken his first apprentice.

The conclusions which may legitimately be drawn from these facts seem to be as follows:—

(i.) That the freedom of the Wrights' Company was frequently conferred without any apprenticeship to the trade in an entirely peculiar manner. The only examples (if any) in other Trades were confined to men of standing and position; while only one example is found of an operative of one trade on the list of another.

(ii.) That the Wrights' Company (probably alone among the Companies) was, or included, something more than a mere organisation for the regulating of the Trade.

(iii.) That the full freedom of the Borough could be obtained by a man who obtained that of the Wrights' Company, whether by composition or apprenticeship.

(iv.) That, nevertheless, these two classes were not on the same footing; but that something more was offered to those who purchased the freedom.

(v.) That in some cases men, already free of one Company, purchased the freedom of the Wrights' Company in addition.

Not the least interesting fact brought out by this examination is that this Company was receiving members on this peculiar footing as early as 1594, if the identity of Richard Walker with the Bowyer and Fletcher of that name is considered as substantiated.

It is perhaps worth while to attempt to estimate the position of the Trade Companies of Kendal in relation to the Municipal organisation. A few remarks on this subject may not be out of place here, though their bearing on the Masonic aspect of the question can only be remote and indirect.

The first thing we notice on studying the history of the Borough is that, although we get the impression that the Trades were already organised into Companies, there is no mention of their organisation or privileges in the Elizabethan Charter of 1575. It is possible that the Town may have enjoyed the privileges of a Gild *before* it obtained its Charter; but there seems to be no trace of a Royal grant of any kind previously. At the same time, the Companies appear to have no *joint* organisation—*i.e.*, to be so many separate units: while they are completely under the control of the Alderman and Burgesses.

The monopolies granted to the Freemen of the several Companies may, then, either be the remaining traces of Gild privileges which had been in existence before the Charter; or they may have arisen from the interpretation by the Alderman and Burgesses of 'liberties, privileges,' etc. (*libertates privilegia*) as granted to them in their Charter, and of their charge 'to grant, constitute, ordain, make and establish from time to time such laws, institutions, conditions, ordinances, and constitutions which to them or the greater part of them shall seem to be good, wholesome, useful, honest and necessary according to their sound judgment for the good order and good government . . . of all officers, artificers, inhabitants, and residents whomsoever . . .' (*concedendi constituendi ordinandi faciendi et habendi de tempore in tempus hujusmodi leges instituta jura ordinationes et constitutiones que eis seu eorum majori parti bona salubria utilia honesta et necessaria juxta eorum sanas discreciones fore videbitur pro bonis regimine et gubernacione . . . omnium officiarum artificum inhabitancium et residentium quorumconque . . .*). It must be remembered that an important Statute of 1562 had finally made the seven-years' apprenticeship compulsory for all trades; and the monopoly of each Trade thus passed into the hands of the 'Masters,' while short lists of qualified Freemen were available as a basis for the organisation of the Companies. On the whole, the apparent absence of any inter-Company control throughout the period covered by the Record rather points to the organisation having arisen out of the Charter than to its having had any existence earlier.

We are, in either case, left with the very difficult question, as to the relation of the freedoms conferred by the Companies on the one hand and by the Borough on the other, and to what extent either was a condition of the other. It would appear that at the date of the Charter all the inhabitants—at any rate those capable of making any contribution to the expenses of the Borough—automatically obtained its freedom; while there is no reference later to any manner of obtaining that freedom except as a formal act immediately following the grant by a Company at the end of a term of apprenticeship. And yet we see evidence of the freedom of the Borough being in the possession of men who appear to have been members of no Company; and such membership does not appear to have been a necessary qualification for Municipal office.

I suggest that the explanation of the whole situation may be somewhat on the following lines. The Statute of 1562 to a great extent rendered obsolete the old Gild privileges, which had in most cases already been largely absorbed in the ordinary usages of Municipal control.¹ Kendal, on obtaining her Charter, modelled her Trade organisation on that of many other Boroughs; but even when it was shaped, it was defunct: and the Companies probably never played any real part in Municipal affairs, as the Alderman and Burgesses took, and kept, complete control; and the Companies were thus merely the aggregate of qualified tradesmen—their chief function being the enforcing of the laws as to apprentices.

¹ Gross: '*The Gild Merchant*,' chap. ix.

rather than the safeguarding of privileges. The formation of a Trade organisation at just this transition period may prove of great interest and value to the expert student of Guild history.

Whether any further support can be obtained from a scrutiny of the dates at which freedoms are conferred, I would not like to say. But it is a significant fact that, out of 183 days on which freedoms are dated, between 1587 and 1620 (I have not examined them further), no less than 107 were Thursdays. This alone points to the whole process as having been a 'civic' rather than a 'trade' ceremony: and this is further supported by the fact that on several occasions a number of admissions were made on the same day. Thus, to mention the examples on the largest scale, in 1594, July 2nd saw the admission of not less than 26 Freemen, representing 10 different Companies; while on Aug. 8th there were 12 admissions into 6 Companies. We have some slight evidence, moreover, that the entries for each date in the Book of Record were made off a single sheet; for under the date Aug. 8th, 1594, when one member was admitted into the Wrights' Company, two other names have been added and erased, and are found under the same date in the list of Labourers. There may be other examples of this, but I have not had sufficient opportunity of investigating the original of the Book of Record.

These circumstances seem to me to point very strongly to the conclusion that the Companies were merely the aggregates of Freemen who had been given their freedom to trade at the same time as the freedom of the Borough was formally conferred; but that this freedom of the Companies was an almost meaningless and obsolete thing.

I have already quoted one reference to the "Play" from among the orders of the Shearmen in 1591. This, by itself, even if the Corpus Christi Plays were not closely associated with the Trade Companies and Guilds, would justify the inclusion here of all the material available on the subject. Unfortunately, there is very little to be found.

Under date 1586, five years after the date of the reference in the Shearmen's orders, appears the following rather sententious order:—

FFOR THE PLAYE

FCRASMUCHE as Very many and dyvers of the Comen Inhabitnnts of this Incorporacon (suche of them onlye as rathe' prefer th' owne pryvate comodities and the comon customes and vsage hear and more respects the Satisfyng of their owne delights and fantasyes by A great deale than the Benyfitte and comon welthe of all others in gen'all beinge the greater p'te) doo covytt and earnestlye Crye for the havinge of Corpus xpi play yearlye vsuallye to be had played and vsed heare as in former tyme without admyttinge or allowinge almost any occacon or necessitie for the stayinge thereof in any yeare Holdinge pryvate opynyons some tymes and affirmynge that the havinge or denyng therof onlye restethe in the Alderman for the tyme beinge Althoughe (that in trewth) in all matters and causes belonginge this Bourghe he is (as it were) tyed to the Societie Counsell and Brotherhead of others wth him Not havinge power in hymself to appoynte and sett downe Orders and constitucons of hymself in all things specially in suche as generally Concerne the Comon state and affayrs of the same Bourghe without the ayde and counsell and grave advise and assistance of his Bretherne the head Burgesses adioined vnto hym ffor the redresse and certaynty of reformation wherof It is Ordeyned and Constitutid by the Alderman and head Burgesses of this Boroughe of Kyrkbykendall That it shall not be lawfull at no tyme hereafter ffor the Alderman of the same Bourghe for the tyme beinge or any his deputie or deputies to appoynte and geve lycence ffor the same playe of Corpus xpi. or any other stage playes to be had or vsed heare onlye of hymself in any yeare at or aboute the accustomed tyme therof or at any other tyme Excepte it shalbe lyked of and consentid vnto by his sayd

Brethern the head Burgesses or the moore p'te of them from tyme to tyme beinge upon payne to forfeyte and losse to the vse of the Chamber of this Bourghe toc q^c c^s (five pounds).

The Corpus Christi Plays were, however, acted at least once more in Kendal, in 1604. This date is given in a MS. chronicle of 1736, written by one Bartolomew Noble, a native of the Town; and the date is confirmed by John Weever in the following passage relating to a monument at Queenhithe¹:—

This Marlow was Lord Maior in the yeare 1409. in whose Maioraltie there was a Play at Skinners Hall, which lasted eight dayes (faith *Stow*) to heare which, moft of the greateft Eftates of England were present. The Subiect of the play was the sacred Scriptures, from the creation of the world: They call this, *Corpus Christi* Play in my countrey, which I haue feene acted at Preston, and Lancafter, and last of all at Kendall, in the beginning of the raigne of King *Iames*; for which the Townsmen were fore troubled; and vpon good reafons the play finally fupprest, not onely there, but in all other Townes of the kingdome.

There is an interesting allusion to the Kendal Play in the autobiography of the Rev. John Shawe, sometime Vicar of Rotherham, who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He had to leave his Parish for political reasons, and repaired to Manchester; while there he held the living of Lymme in Cheshire. The following story, which I quote in full,² doubtless refers to the 1604 performance of the Plays:—

I had not long been in Manchester before a people that lived above fifty miles from Manchester, in Furness-fells in Lancashire, at and about Cartmell, who were exceeding ignorant and blind as to religion (whereof I could tel very sad experiments) having, I wel know not how, heard of me, sent two persons of quality to seek me out, who found me at sir George Booth's, at Dunham, to desire me that I would come to instruct them in religion for some seven or eight weeks; and they hoped by that time they might come to see their need and worth of a preaching ministry, and to seek to get one of their own; I was much affected with their lamentable case and their sad and sensible expressions thereof, and consented thus far to them, that if the people of Lymme would give me leave, I would go thither for eight weeks to see what God had there for me to do; it seemed somewhat like that call, Acts xvi. 9. "Come over into Macedonia and help us." The people of Lymme, though at first offended, yet after hearing one of the gentlemen that were sent to tell their miserable case and ignorance, they were as eager as I, that I should go over to Cartmell, provided that there was an able man to supply their church till I returned, which was accordingly effected. And I went to Cartmell about the latter end of april, 1644, and about the beginning of may following my wife came to me into Cartmell where I found a very large spacious church, scarce any seats in it,—a people very ignorant, yet willing to learn: so, as I had frequently some thousands of hearers: I, seeing my work great, a large feild and looking something white towards harvest, and knowing my stay must be short, and finding also four chapels in the parish, I preached and catechised often seven or eight times in one week; I preached and catechised in season and out of season at every one of the chapels, and usually the Churches were so throng by nine o'clock in the morning that I had much ado to get to the pulpit; I also preached at other churches round about in the week's-day. One day an old man (about sixty) sensible enough in other things, and living in the parish of Cartmell-fell coming to me

¹ *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 405.

² *Memoirs of the Life of Master John Shawe* (Hull, 1824), p. 35.

about some business, I told him that he belonged to my care and charge and I desired to be informed in his knowledge of religion; I asked him "how many Gods there were?" he said, "he knew not"; I informing him, asked him again "how he thought to be saved?" he answered "he could not tell," yet that was a harder question than the other: I told him the way to salvation by Jesus Christ, God-Man, who as he was man shed his blood for us on the cross, &c. "oh sir," said he, "I think I heard of that man you spoke of, once in a play at Kendall, called Corpus Christi play, where there was a man on a tree, and blood ran down, &c." And after that, he professed that though he was a good churchman, that is, he constantly went to common prayer at their chapell, yet he could not remember that ever he heard of salvation by Jesus Christ, but in that play."

At a later date, the Corpus Christi Plays were replaced by Gild festivals and processions, which appear to have been held at irregular intervals. I have not been able to obtain any information as to the early form of these festivals; but the last two were held in 1744 and 1759. A copy of the handbill with a programme of the last of the processions has been preserved, and is in the Kendal Museum. It is said to have been conducted on such a ruinous scale that the townsmen agreed to abolish it, and none has been held since.

The Trade Companies dragged out a less and less useful existence until the end of the eighteenth century. I have not attempted to deal with them beyond the period covered by the "Boke off Record"; but will content myself with mentioning that the last Company to be formed was that of the Hosiers, who were successful in 1732 in a petition for recognition as a distinct Company. The last to survive was that of the Cordyners, who came to an end in 1799, owing to their inability to win a case imposing a fine of ten pounds on a person, not free of the Company, who attempted to do business in the Town.

The interesting items, such as they are, are to be found in the earlier stages of the history of the Borough; and I can only, in conclusion, express the hope that I have to some extent succeeded in extracting most of them, and that they will be found to throw some real light on the relationship of these Trade Companies to our own Fraternity.

APPENDIX A.

Copy of Wrights' List, p. 1.

Wrights. Wallers &c.

Rallannd Sheffeld Jur.
 Willm Overennd Jur
 John Wadesonn Jur:
 Thomas Nicolsonn Jur.¹
 Willm Thompson. Waller Jur
 John ffisher. Jur²
 1590 Nich'us Norreye. Jur
 1590 Peter Hodgsonn Jur
 1590 George Mattsonn Jur³
 1590 Robrte Jackson thrower Jur⁴
 1590 George Byrkheade. Jur
 1590 John Wilkinson. Jur⁵

25: Novem 1591 Thomas Stevynsonn: Jur
 9: maii 1591 Thomas Walker: Jur
 ii: July 1594 Thomas Collinson Jur
 eodem die John Lowes. Jur (*erased*)
 eodem die Robrte Bonde Jur (*erased*)
 8 August. 94 Ricus Walker: Jur⁶
 ii Novembr 94: Robrte Lancaster. Jur
 ii^o Octobr: 99 Georgius Wilsonn cowp. Jur
 Gawen Caslowe Jur
 pmo maii 1601 Edward Alarbye Jur
 19 Novembr 1601 James Ayreye Jur⁶
 21 Sept 1607 Richard Shawe Jur
 eodem die Willm Bussher Jur
 eodem die Robrte Hodgsonn Jur
 eodem die Willm Laycock Jur
 eodm die John Dobsonn Jur²
 eodm die Richard Jacksonn Jur⁷
 eodem die John ffayrer paynter. Jur
 Octobr 1607 Willm Bussher Jur 1607⁸
 Octobr 1607 Nicholas Hodgsonn 1607²
 Octobr 1607 Thomas Jacksonn Jur 1607²
 Octobr 1607 James Burgesse Jur 1607
 Octobr 1607 Stevyn Bussher Jur 1607
 Jan 1607 Edward Archer 1607⁹
 eodem die Thomas Ayreye 1607¹⁰

Copy of Wrights' List, p. 2.

xx^o die februarij 1616

Allen Birkett Jur¹¹
 Jacobus Ayrey Jur eod die¹²
 Robtus Jopson Jur eod' die
 Robtus Dickinson Jur eod' die
 Martij 16 1617 Thomas ffrench Jur p' Compositicon¹³
 Octobris 16^o Willmus Nealson¹⁴
 1618 Randall Robinson¹³ } p' Compositicone
 Rowlandus Stainton¹³ }
 Aprill 7th 1619 Robertus Edmundson¹³ } p' compositicon
 1619 Josephus Sexton¹³ }
 Aprill 15th 1619 Henricus Walker blacksmith p' compositicon
 Aprill 29th 1619 Thomas Lorde Cowper p' appren
 July xxith 1619 Ambrosius Hetherington p' Compositicon¹⁵
 eod die Gabriell Dawson p' Compositicon¹³
 Christoferus Turner slater p' Compositicon
 August 12th 1619 Richardus fforth Jur. pewterer p' Compositicon¹⁶
 September 23 1619 Robertus Browne Jur. labourer p' compositicon
 October 14 1619 Johes Dickinson Jur p' Compositicon¹³
 Joh'es Slater Jur p' Compositicon¹³
 Januarij 29^o 1619 Milo Atkinson musitian. Jur.
 Marche 1 1620 Joh'es Kellett kersey weaver Jur: p' Compositicon
 May 24th 1621 Christoferus ffisher Petty chapman.¹⁷
 Aprill 4th 1622 Johes Hodgson brasyer Jur:
 October 10th 1622 Thomas Becke Cordiner Jur.¹⁸
 October the las Edwardus Tarne fletcher Jur
 October second Christopher Guy feltmaker
 1623 Willmus Doddinge labourer

Copy of Wrights' List, p. 3.

xiiij^o die Januarij 1624

Will'mus Matson Jur. p' Composit. mort¹³
 Will'mus Collinson Joyner Jur xiiij^o die Julij 1626 p' Comp
 Jacobus Washington Joyner Jur eod' die
 Robertus Philipson Jur viij^o die Maij 1628. mort
 Bevis Harrison Jur eod' die.
 franciscus Drinkell Jur eod' mort
 Isacus Shawe Jur eod' die⁶
 Richardus Castley Jur xx^o die Julij 1630.
 Chr. Walker Jur. 5^{to} die feeb: 1634
 Richard Johnson; Jur: 21^o die Januarij: Anno: 1640
 Robtus fisher yeoman Jur. 27^o 7^{br} 1647.
 Willus Holme Coop' Jur. 5^o. 8^{br}. 1648.
 Jacobus fearon woollman Jur. 5. 8^{br}. 1648.
 Anthus Craisler }
 Joh'es Cocke } Jur. 3: May 1649
 Joh'es Pearson }
 Geo: Boulton }
 Jacobus Muckelt Jur. 4: Apr: 1649.
 Bartholomeus Gaunt Jur. 12: July 1649⁶
 Christofer Parker Jur. 1655.
 James Rigge Jur. 1655
 John Asburne Jur. 1655
 Christofer Robinson Jur. 1657
 John ffox Jur. 1658.

Note.—We can add to the above list the names of:—

Rawffe Turner, joyner, who held minor Municipal offices from 1591 to 1609.

Richard Nuby, waller, who took apprentice in 1642.

Edward Preston, waller, who took apprentice in 1642.

None of these are entered in the list of Freemen.

¹ The second 'street list,' which is a record of contributions towards the 'Schole off Kendall' in 1588, shows:

" Thomas Nycolson (or works) 4d "

² These are fairly common names, and in each case there are others on other lists who *may* perhaps be identical, but this would be impossible to prove.

³ Carpenter—took apprentice in 1590.

⁴ Second street list has:

" Robert Jackson (in stones leading) 2/4 "

⁵ Second street list shows 'John Wilkinson, wright' living in Stramongate.

⁶ Already dealt with, above.

⁷ Carpenter—apprenticed to Geo. Mattson in 1590.

⁸ Name probably repeated in error—not a common name.

⁹ Joiner—took apprentice in 1615.

¹⁰ Joiner—took apprentice in 1607.

¹¹ Joiner—took apprentice in 1618.

¹² Joiner—apprenticed to Thomas Airey in 1607.

¹³ I can find no indication as to the trades of these persons.

¹⁴ An uncommon name: possibly identical with William Nealson, pewterer, made free in 1626.

¹⁵ A Vicar of Kendal, of that name, died in 1591; but another person of the same name was living at Hutton.

¹⁶ Took an active part in Municipal affairs, and was nominated one of the Aldermen under the 1637 Charter.

¹⁷ Entered also, under the same date, in the list of Petty Chapmen.

¹⁸ Took apprentice as a cordyner in 1623; but is not on the list of cordyners.

APPENDIX B.

Copy of Indenture of Apprenticeship of James Airey to Richard Walker, Kendal, in 1594.

Bowyer & Fletcher
 Jur. x. die Oct. 194/
 M^d: q^d Jacobus Ayreye p' quodd'm Scriptu' suu' Indentatu' Cur' q' huic p'lat cuius dat' est x^o die Septembr' A^o dn' 1594 posuit seip'm Apprent et Servien' cu' Richardo Walker ad artem quem ip's nnc utitur voc Bowyer & Fletcher crafte erudiend' et Informand' et secum more Appr. et s'vien s (comoritur' et des'vitur' A primo die Julij. ult' preter' usq' finem et termin' Octo Annor' ex hunc plen're finit et complend' rer'

APPENDIX C.

	No. of Freemen.	No. of their apprenticeships recorded.	%	No. of Masters.	No. identified as Freemen.	%
Chapmen	16	0	0.0	5	0	0.0
Mercers	111	27	24.3	48	34	70.8
Shearmen	176	47	26.7	98	66	67.3
Tailors	37	9	24.3	25	17	68.0
Cordyners	69	26	33.3	41	30	73.2
Tanners	51	6	11.8	14	11	78.6
Inholders	16	0	0.0	—	—	—
Butchers	12	1	8.3	2	1	50.0
Cardmakers	10	0	0.0	1	1	100.0
Scryvners	58	6	10.3	16	10	62.5
Smiths	50	4	8.0	12	8	66.7
Wrights	78	2	2.7	6	4	66.7
Labourers	26	0	0.0	—	—	—
Vintners				2	0	0.0
Grocers				1	0	0.0
Total	710	128	18.0	271	182	67.2

APPENDIX D.

Table showing No. of Apprenticeship of various lengths in the several Companies.
 Length of Apprenticeship:—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Av.	No.
Mercers	1		1		1	1	6	9	4	2			1		1					7.9	27
Shearman	1		1	1		3	14	12	5	3	2	2		2		1				8.2	47
Tailors				2		2	2	2			1									6.8	9
Cordyners				1			2	6	3	7	3	1	2			1				9.6	26
Tanners							1	3	1					1						9.0	6
Butchers								1												9.0	1
Scryvners							1	2						2					1	11.7	6
Smiths									1		1		1			1				12.3	4
Wrights										1							1			13.0	2
Total	2		2	4	1	6	26	31	16	12	7	3	4	5	1	3	1		1	8.7	128

APPENDIX E.

Table showing number of Apprenticeships and freedoms each year from 1590 to 1645.

Year.	Apprenticeships	Freedoms.	Year.	Apprenticeships	Freedoms.
1580	7		1618	4	10
1	4		9	2	18
2	3		1620	1	12
3	1		1	3	12
4	5		2	2	12
5	6		3	1	9
6	4		4	4	8
7	2		5	1	12
8	6		6	3	24
9	15		7	0	4
1590	8	14	8	1	7
1	10	5	9	4	8
2	9	17	1630	6	5
3	25	9	1	0	3
4	12	62	2	8	3
5	12	6	3	11	4
6	4	13	4	9	14
7	4	2	5	4	9
8	1	9	6	4	13
9	17	35	7	6	4
1600	4	22	8	3	7
1	2	3	9	2	6
2	7	5	1640	12	17
3	4	2	1	13	8
4	0	3	2	9	3
5	6	11	3	11	3
6	8	9	4	5	6
7	9	59	5	9	1
8	11	11	6		13
9	5	5	7		2
1610	5	17	8		23
1	3	5	9		16
2	2	6	1650		2
3	1	7	1		3
4	7	1	2		0
5	7	3	3		9
6	2	12	4		5
7	6	11	5		22

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Poole for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. R. H. Baxter, seconded by Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins. Comments were also offered by Bros. L. Vibert, Geo. Elkington and J. Heron Lepper.

Bro. RODR. H. BAXTER said:—

Bro. Poole has placed us under a debt of obligation for his careful and painstaking labours in endeavouring to show the similarity between the practices of these old trade companies and our own fraternity. Nothing but good can result from work of this kind.

I have long felt that closer investigation was necessary as to the usages of these old guilds, particularly in connection with peculiarities of certain kinds of stonework. It is not uncommon, from time to time, to be told that features of working or moulding are indications of the craftsmanship of one guild or another. As an example I would quote the pyramidal stops on the springing stones of the arches in the nave arcade of the old Parish Church of St. Chad at Rochdale. These are stated to prove that the work was executed by the Canterbury Guild of Masons. Personally, I should be indebted to any one who could give authority for such assertions.

Although much has already been done in the way of analysing the methods of chiselling and marking stones, a wide field still remains for research. Perhaps, some day, we may be favoured with further information on the subject.

I have great pleasure in proposing that the heartiest thanks of the Lodge be accorded to Bro. Poole for his paper and for the trouble and personal inconvenience he has been put to in coming so far to read it to us.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

In the remarks I have to make on Bro. Poole's paper I wish to offer a few parallels, from documents and books, that have been suggested by reading it. It is possible some may appear rather wide of the mark, but all have a Masonic interest, and the fact that they have been recalled to my mind by Brother Poole's labours will be an added justification for a paper which I have enjoyed very much.

In the first place I would draw attention to the "Book of Ordinances" belonging to the Gild of Bricklayers, etc., of Kingston-upon-Hull, owned by the Hull Subscription Library (quoted in Lambert's *Two thousand years of Gild Life*: Hull 1891, p. 275 *et sqq.*):—

The Book of Orders made for the utilitie and good government of the occupation of breeklaiers, tilers, wallers, plaisterers, and pavers, within the towne of Kingston upon Hull. Being incorporated into brother-hoode by composition in writing from the right worshipfull the maior etc etc the twentie daye of June in the yeare of our Lorde God, one thousand, five hundred neinetie and neine etc.

This "Book of Ordinances" starts off with the following three colophons:—

St. John, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, In the beginning was the worde, and the worde was with God, and God was that worde. The same was in the beginnyng with God. All things were made by it, and without it was made nothing that was made. In it was life, and the life was the lighte of menne. And the lighte shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not.

Plato. All men are by nature equall, made all by one worckman of lyke myre; and howsoever we deceave ourselves, as dere unto God is the poorest begger as the most pompous prince living in the worlde.

Plato. Of all the giftes of God wisdom is the most excellent. She geveth goodnes to the good, and forgiveth the wicked their wickedness. She ordreth the mind, shee directeth the life, and ruleth the worckes thereof, teaching what oughte to be done and what to be lefte undone.

Concordia magna res crescunt, discordia maxima dilabuntur.

Whether or not any of these passages contains an esoteric meaning, it will hardly be suggested that the ordinary sixteenth-century operative gildsman would be sufficiently well read to have commended them to his fellows as mottoes; and we are forced to assume that associated with the gild in some capacity was a person of better education than the rest.

The only other portions of these ordinances to which attention need be drawn are the 2nd, which states:—

Item that yf any of this brotherhood shall disclose the secrets of this towne (being proved) he shall forfate everie tyme xii d.:

and the 14th, which runs:—

Item yf anie of this brotherhoode shall disclose or make knowen anie of the secretts of this societie, he shall forfaite and paie for every such offence iii s. iv. d.

From which it is apparent that the secrets of the town were something apart from and less important (as measured by the pecuniary standard) than the secrets of the brotherhood.

The freedom of a city was, of course, a great privilege in mediæval times, and we have outside evidence that at least as early as the reign of Edward III. it could be purchased for money as well as obtained by apprenticeship or birth. Langland refers to the practice as a growing abuse in his day:—

It is not seemly, forsooth, in city or borough That usurers or regrators (profiteers) for any kind gifts Be franchised for a freeman and have a false name.

The use of the word Warden as the chief officer of a company may be illustrated by the following passage from the Chester play of the "Harrowing of Hell," where Satan exclaims:

Out, alas! what is this?
Seinge I never so moche blesse
Towardes hell come, i-wisse,
Seithen I was warden here.
My maisterdome fares amisse,
for yender a stobarne fellowe ys,
Righte as hollye hell were his,
To reve me of my power.

(Edit. 1847, Vol. II., p. 77.)

It would be easy to produce a flood of quotations from other mediæval authors referring to "wise masons," "gate-ward," "tokens," "the seven arts," and the symbolism of the pentangle and square, but as these would have no direct bearing on the subject in hand, this passing reference will be enough to recall the fact that a symbolic meaning attached, and such matters were certainly not an invention of the eighteenth century.

In conclusion, I would draw attention to the fact that the office of Warden had to be taken by the Gild member elected thereto on pain of a heavy fine; this rule can be paralleled by a similar custom existing in certain Lodges in the eighteenth century, and is another thread connecting our fraternity with the old operative gilds.

Bro. GEORGE ELKINGTON said:—

The paper is most interesting in that it shows that at the period to which it refers, and obviously for a long time previously, in a provincial town somewhat remote and containing probably not more than 10,000 inhabitants, there existed so complete an organization of its trades and industries.

It is estimated that just prior to the Reformation there were about 40,000 Gilds or Associations spread over the country and varying in their constitution from those purely religious to those entirely secular and, in fact, trades unions of the period.

A large number disappeared at the Reformation and many more (such as at Kendal) ceased subsequently owing to altered economic and trade conditions. Some, however, survive—such as the numerous Livery Companies of the City of London, and well-known examples at Bristol, Sheffield, and elsewhere.

It seems probable that there was a good deal of resemblance between Companies of similar trades in different towns, and I think there is evidence of inter-communication, especially between the great Guilds of the City and some corresponding Provincial Companies.

The grouping of the Kendal Companies appears to have been on common-sense and practical lines, and a few points in detail, following Bro. Poole's list, may be worth mention:—

No. 2. Mercers and Drapers.—The Kendal Mercers at one time issued tokens bearing their arms, which were apparently identical with the old arms of the City Mercers as described by Stow in 1633—that is, a bust portrait crowned and stated to represent Richard II., but later changed to the Virgin Mary.

No. 3. The Shearmen, Fullers, Dyers and Websters.—The Websters are Weavers. In London City the defunct Guild of Shearmen were associated also with the Fullers, Dyers and Weavers. As showing the importance of this Company it has been recorded that woollens were first made in Kendal in 1390.

No. 4. Taylers, Imbrodyrers and Whiltirs.—The Whiltirs probably quilted and sewed in checker pattern the linen armour of the period. The City Merchant Taylors in 1299 were licensed as Taylors and Linen Armourers.

No. 6. Tanners, Sadlers and Girdlers.—In the annals of the City Saddlers Company is a peculiar Charter of 1272—of general scope, applying not only to the City of London but the country at large—and frequently renewed. This prescribed “that in every City, Borough or Town, where Saddlery was practised, two honest and discreet men should be chosen to survey the craft.” This substituted an Executive of two elected Wardens for the Feudal Alderman whose term was for life. It is probably the first instance of that which later became the usual custom and was the form of management at Kendal.

No. 9. The Cardmakers and Wyredrawers.—The Cardmakers made implements used in the manufacture of Woollens.

No. 12. The Building Trades.—The “Dawbers” were, I think, workers in “Wattle and Daub,” sometimes called “Stud and Mud.” In the accounts of the City Masons' Company from 1376 to 1655 the members were called Free Masons. This, however, does not refer to Freemasonry as we know it, but more probably to this Guild going in bodies to where there was some important work in hand (*e.g.*, a Cathedral), when, if they were free of their Company in their own town, they were apparently allowed freely to work in their craft at the town visited.

I think I can throw a little light on the question of the Freedom of the Company and of the Borough or City—at least, as far as the custom in London is concerned.

Each Company is entitled to confer its freedom by Patrimony, Servitude, Redemption, or Honorary Grant. In old times the greater part at any rate of the Freemen were connected with the Trade of the Guild and usually came in by Patrimony or Servitude. At the present time any one (acceptable to the governing body) can join by redemption, *i.e.*, by paying what is usually a rather heavy fine for his assumed neglect in not serving. Honorary Freedom is conferred (*a*) on distinguished citizens and (*b*) on benefactors to the Company.

Now by whichever of these four ways a man becomes a freeman of the Company, on presenting his Certificate of Freedom at the Guildhall, the City Chamberlain inserts his name on the roll of Freemen of the City. No distinction is made. If a man is an Honorary Freeman of a Company he is registered as an ordinary Freeman of the City.

The Court of Aldermen (who in the City are the authority concerned) have always possessed and still exercise, the right to confer the (honorary) Freedom of the City upon worthy recipients independently of, and without their possessing the Freedom of a Company. It would seem that the custom in Kendal was very similar.

Bro. POOLE writes as follows, in reply:—

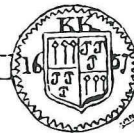
The comments which have been made on my paper leave me little to do except to acknowledge the value of the fresh material put forward illustrating usages elsewhere. A complete and clear idea of the status and functions of City Gilds can only be obtained by a careful comparison of parallel practices in different quarters; and I would like to hope that my paper may be the means of stimulating the analysis of yet other codes and records, which must exist, but which have not yet been subjected to research from the Masonic point of view.

On one point which has been raised I may, perhaps, be allowed a word—the obtaining of the freedom by patrimony. Nothing short of a careful scrutiny of the Parish Registers, in connection with the list of Freemen whose apprenticeships (if any) are not recorded, would settle the question if, or to what extent, such freedoms were conferred at Kendal. This would be a desperate task, and one at which a bolder man than I might well tremble. I can only state that I attempted it on a small scale and over a short period; and that I found no evidence whatever that such a system was practised.

I cannot refrain from expressing my disappointment at having failed to provoke some discussion of what was certainly the most controversial, and, I think, the most interesting, portion of my paper—my five conclusions arising from the examination of the Wrights' list. Caution restrained me from using such terms as 'esoteric,' 'inner circle,' and the like; and I fear that some may have missed the significance which I attach to these conclusions. But I fully believe that the situation was somewhat as in London; and that within the Trade Company there *did* exist some sort of esoteric Freemasonry, whether or not it was an 'inner' circle. If this was the case, then I can probably claim, in Richard Walker, of 1594, the earliest such admission so far unearthed. I still hope to hear the views of expert Brethren on this subject.



Obv. A Teasel and a Wool-hook.
Rev. A Wool-comb.



Obv. Arms of the Mercers Company.
Rev. „ „ „ Corporation of Kendal.



Obv. A pair of Croppers Shears.
Rev. The Shearman's Teasel-brush or frame.