

IV.—THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MERCHANT AND CRAFT GILDS OF NEWCASTLE IN 1515.

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When a merchant gild was granted to a town, it was formed of those townsmen engaged in the purchase or sale of merchandise who chose to join the gild and paid their 'hanse' to it, and after the formation of the gild no inhabitant who was not a member of it could buy or sell within the town any wares for profit. Craft gilds, which arose somewhat later, were separate associations of all the master artizans engaged in any one handicraft or manufacture within the borough. They were formed for the protection and encouragement of their various trades and for safeguarding the interests of their members.

Throughout the middle ages a bitter struggle took place between the merchants organized in their merchant gilds and the artizans organized in their craft gilds; the craftsmen fighting, first for the right of having gilds of their own, next for a share in the government of the town, and lastly for freedom from the trading monopoly of the gild merchant.

This warfare was waged not only in the towns of the Low Countries, where the patrician merchants looked down on the 'blue-nailed' artizans, but also in practically every borough in Scotland. Queen Mary's charter of 1556 in favour of the craftsmen of that kingdom speaks of the dissensions, private and public hatreds, and contentions of our merchants and craftsmen dwelling within our burghs, and in a contest which took place in Aberdeen in 1638 the crafts assembled 'with swords pistollis and lang wapynnes.'

In the English boroughs generally, there are only a few traces of such a conflict, but in Newcastle-upon-Tyne the struggle between the two classes was carried on for nearly five hundred years.

After the formation in Newcastle, in 1216, of the gild-merchant, admittance to that body could only be obtained by patrimony, by apprenticeship, or by favour of the members already enrolled, so that it soon became an exclusive body. In 1305 the poor burgesses complained that the rich burgesses prevented the poor burgesses from selling bread and buying herrings, wine, hides and wool, and the merchant gild was fined by the barons of the exchequer. In 1341 the election of John de Denton as mayor by the older and better men (apparently the merchants) was disputed by the younger men (apparently the craftsmen) who elected Richard de Acton. In 1342 the king suspended the town's constitution because of this strife, and in October of the same year he gave his consent to new regulations, passed in full gild, whereby every burgess might buy direct from the ship the merchandise necessary for himself at prime cost, and representatives of some of the leading craft guilds were added to three representatives of the merchant gild in the proceedings for the elections in each year of the mayor and officers of the town.

The crafts had gained the right to buy the merchandise necessary for their families and the right to participate, at least nominally, in the election of officers, but the right to buy merchandise to be used in their trades otherwise than through the intervention of the merchants was still apparently in dispute. That dispute came up a hundred years later, in 17 Henry VI (1438-1439), when an entry was made in the minute book of the common gild of the town, which recited the existence of discord between the merchants and craftsmen, and set out an agreement come to between them whereby (*inter alia*) each

craftsman was to have, on a ship arriving, such merchandise as was necessary for his sustentation and proper use and not to sell again to strangers.

The right to buy and sell merchandise for profit was still denied to the craftsmen. A determined effort to gain that right was made by them in 1515, but was unsuccessful, and the contest for that right was continued through another two centuries and was only decided in the craftsmen's favour in 1730. In that year the merchants seized some corn bought by George Dixon. Dixon was a member of the craft gild known as the Company of Bakers and Brewers, and they took up the case for him. An action was brought in Dixon's name against the merchant who had made the seizure; the merchants filed a bill on the equity side of the exchequer to restrain that action, and to confirm their alleged rights, but their bill was dismissed with costs and the customs they had so long enjoyed were no longer maintained.

Further particulars of the first great engagement of 1342 may be gathered from Dr. Hodgkin's paper in *Arch. Ael.* (3rd series, vol. iv, p. 1,) and from a valuable paper by the town clerk on The Mayoralty of Newcastle, read before the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Municipal Officers' Association. Further particulars of the deciding victory of the crafts in 1730 are contained in my introduction to the *Records of the Newcastle Merchant Adventurers* forming vol. 93 of the Surtees Society's publications, and interesting details of the intermediate contest of 1515 have lately come to light and form the subject of this paper.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century new ideas in adventure, religion, and trade were permeating the minds of the peoples of Europe. Even the manufacturing tradesfolk of Newcastle felt the influence of this new birth of thought. They were no longer satisfied merely to work up their goods for sale. They wished to buy and sell on their own account,

and, so far as the merchants would let them, they undoubtedly did so. But the more privileged and better born merchant class was also waking up. The merchants' gild in 1480 made a set of new ordinances (probably copies of older regulations to the same effect), and the heading of one of them ran as follows, disguised in the quaintest spelling imaginable:—'A naycht mayd that no artefer occupy no manner of merchantdis bod as myche as is nessessary for hym for exhebecion of his hows.' Even before that enactment the earliest entry in the earliest extant merchants' book, made in 1477-8, minutes the receipt of 4s. 4d. for a fine received from Henry Redpeth, tailor, for retailing of lint and other merchandise. In 1490, another fine is recorded as received from William Wynship, keelman, for a similar offence, and in January, 1515, the dissensions between the two classes were coming very near to a crisis. In that month the merchants made a formal entry in their minute book which stated that there existed a great grudge between the merchants and the craftsmen of the town, for occupying the occupation of merchants and boothmen, and recorded that Thomas Lyghton, smith, and Richard Stott, glover, came before Thomas Horsley, then being mayor and master of the fellowship of merchants, and acknowledged themselves culpable, and became sworn and bound in 40*l.* that they would never occupy again the said occupation of merchants and boothmen and paid each of them a fine of 20*s.*

The entry proceeds as follows:—

Also the said day cam John Ratt, the saler, and confessed that he was attorney for Thomas Lawson, berebrower, and sold woll of hys byyonde see, wherefor he paid to a fyne x^s; of the whiche thay gaffe hym ayen v^s.

Also the xijth day of Janiver, in the said yere, came Henre Tayllor, smyth, and there he dyd swere upon a

booke, and bounde hymselff in twenty pounce, that he shuld never occupye the occupacion of merchauntes and buthemen, and payd for a fyne xx^s for that that he had occupied befor.

Also the ixth day of Janiver cam Robert Hornby, merchaunt, and paid to the said Feloship of Merchauntes for a fyne iijs^s iiijs^d for that at he was beyonde See and bought certan yren for a smyth called John Dodds.

Also the xth day of Janiver witnesseth that Henri Bednell, merchaunt, hathe paid a fyne for that he was at Hull and bought certan lynt for a smythe called Thomas Lyghtton, which was ayens the constitucion, ordur and agrement, made by the holle Feloship of Merchauntes, the whiche fyne was iijs^s iiijs^d.

Up to this point the narrative has been taken from printed authorities accessible to all, but what follows is from Star Chamber proceedings hitherto unpublished, to which my attention has been kindly directed by Mr. H. H. E. Craster. From those proceedings it appears that in the same year (1515), in Easter week (which I think from the context means the week before Easter Sunday), one David Man, cordwainer, and eleven others whose names are given, and who were all members of craft gilds in Newcastle, met together at Jesmond, a mile from the town (probably just to the north of Sandyford Lane and so out of the jurisdiction of the Newcastle officials) and agreed upon a course of action. Their purpose, which is nowhere expressly set out, seems to have been to bring about, by resolutions to be passed at the Easter meeting of the full gild of the town, which was then about to be held, a complete change in the government of the town and an extension of the trading privileges of the crafts. Had the provisions of 1342 remained in force and in practice, the appointing of officials

would have been in their own hands by the constitutional appointment of the representatives who were to elect those officials, but the course of the proceedings tends to show that there had been, since then, some unrecorded change in a conservative direction in the method of electing officials, by which their appointment was retained within the power of the merchants as the ruling class.

David Man and his associates at the Jesmond meeting agreed to stand by one another, and to influence the members of their several fellowships (fellowship being then the current word which had supplanted the word gild, in the same way that the word company has now supplanted the word fellowship). As a consequence of their exertions, members of all the craft fellowships of the town, to the number of three hundred men (the number in another place is five hundred), assembled at the White Friars and agreed to take part 'in evil and good' against the mayor and aldermen, and they bound themselves together, by oaths on the gospels and sealed books, to appear at the next gild day, 'to the intent that whatever should then be comoned of the good rule and order of the town should not take effect, but after their own wilful purpose and mind,' and it was said amongst them that the mayor and aldermen 'should go into the hall with white heads and should come out with red heads,' and that 'we bene as good men now as they were that slew and killed their mayor before that time.' This last expression probably refers to the doing to death of John de Denton in 1344, and, if so, that event had remained within the recollection of the commonalty of Newcastle for nearly two hundred years.

On the morning of the gild day, which is put at the 6th of April, but must have been the 16th of that month, the date of Easter Monday in that year, the mayor and aldermen, by the advice of their recorder (whose name is lost in the abysm of

time), sent for the ringleaders and forty more of their opinion, and met them at St. Nicholas's church and, by the mouth of the recorder, offered to refer the matters in dispute to the judges of assize at their next visit to the town, and requested them to proceed at the Gild hall according to ancient custom, and to set apart all such new business as they had begun; but David Man and his fellows refused to do this, and said 'they would have their minds performed after their singular appetites at the said gild day.' In consequence of this, the mayor and his brethren dare not go to the Gild hall and the gild day was not kept.

The next step was a petition to the king by the mayor, aldermen and certain commoners of the town. In it they allege an ancient custom that the mercers, drapers and boothmen (who together formed the gild merchant) should buy and sell all wares pertaining, either to their own mysteries (*métiers*) or to others, and that all persons of other crafts or mysteries should buy and sell only things pertaining to their own particular mysteries, and no further, without special agreement; that the town had been well governed and the inhabitants had meekly obeyed the mayor and officers, until lately, when seditious persons had stirred up strife through discontent with the custom, saying that their liberty was to buy and sell all manner of wares in the town. The petition further alleged that if these persons continued their evil courses it would be to the destruction of the whole town, for the petitioners dared not attach any of them or keep courts or sessions of the peace.

The artificers put in an answer in which they alleged that in times past they had bought and sold all manner of merchandise, and that the customs were then of greater profit to the king, and the town richer in goods and better governed. They claimed that in the grants made on the town's first incorpor-

ation, liberty of buying and selling goods was given to all burgesses. They pleaded the agreement of 1342, and stated that they had always been obedient, but certain persons had sued for justice to the mayor and aldermen, sitting in the king's court there, who would nothing regard the suit, but furiously broke the head of one of the suitors in the court, 'that the blood ran down by his eyes to the worst example that could be.'

The king granted out of his Court of Star Chamber a commission, dated the 24th or 26th of May, 1515, to Edward Radcliff, knight, and John Bentley, gentleman, to examine witnesses concerning the complaint, and the said Edward and John went to the town of Newcastle on the 10th of July following.

It does not appear whether they took any evidence as to the actual events of the disturbance, but in answer to the first of one set of written interrogatories, namely, 'whether time out of mind every burgess had used to occupy any mystery or craft other than his own without agreement of the craft he was of?' it was confessed, granted and agreed on both sides in the negative. On the second and third questions (2) 'whether burgesses, other than merchants, had been used to buy or sell merchandise coming to the town, other than for the necessaries of their house and family?' and (3) 'whether the hand craftsmen, burgesses, or any other inhabitants, had used to sell in gross or retail, within the town, any wares but only for the necessaries of their house and family?' much evidence was given on both sides. Amongst the witnesses for the craftsmen was the sheriff, Robert Watson, a member of the craft guild of the fullers. His appearance on the democratic side may probably be accounted for in that he was elected, not in the same way as the mayor and aldermen, but under the broader provisions of the shrievalty charter of 1400.

Forty-one craftsmen whose names are given, some of them of great age, and some of them speaking also for their masters before them to whom they had been apprenticed, deposed to having bought and sold merchandise over a long course of years, most of them without opposition and some of them meeting with opposition which had been waived or overcome. They represented the following occupations:—cooper, smith, weaver, glover, shoemaker, tailor, slater, barber, waller, skinner, keelman, cardmaker, 'schereman,' wright, butcher, girdler, goldsmith, mariner and fuller, and the goods they had dealt in included corn, salt, rope, tar, iron, flax, alum, hops, cloth (linen and woollen), hats, bonnets, spices, silks, velvets, hemp, pitch, pepper, saffron, madder, 'osmundes worstet,' fustians, 'rossell,' lynt, barley, 'waynscottes,' and 'counters.'

The merchants, on the other hand, brought witnesses who proved that over a long period of years no craftsmen bought or sold any merchandise other than for the necessaries of their houses and families, or bought or retailed in gross any merchandise without interruption. Their evidence showed that admittance to any merchant or craft fellowship could be purchased by an admittance fee. The freedom of the mercers cost 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, of the drapers 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, of the boothmen 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, of the butchers 1*l.*, of the cooks and of the porters, respectively, 7*s.* and a dinner. John Robson, being a tailor, had occupied the craft of a hostman and was compelled to agree with the hostmen craft, which is the earliest extant notice of that important gild. The fine he paid was 6*s.* 8*d.*

The merchants also, through the mayor and aldermen, set up a minute in an old book of the agreement of 17 Henry vi before alluded to, and forty-nine of the principal merchants deposed to a joint deposition setting out what they considered to be the custom of trading in the town. These forty-nine deponents were all members of one or other of the three companies of

merciers, boothmen, or drapers which made up the merchant gild. Their names, ages, and occupations are all given. They include the well-known names of Horsley, Brigham, Baxter, Brandling, Dent, Beadnel, Gray, Bewick, Carr, Anderson, and others equally familiar, and these particulars of their names, ages, and occupations, form a useful addition to the material available for genealogies of leading Newcastle and Northumbrian families. They deposed that time out of mind the custom of the town had been that only merciers, boothmen, and drapers could buy or retail merchandise in general, either on this side or beyond the sea, and that, as between the merchants themselves, the drapers could only buy and sell woollen cloth, the boothmen could only buy and sell corn, but that the merciers could buy and sell grocery ware, mercery ware, and all other manner of merchandise, in gross or in retail, and that no other artificer or craft had occupied any of those trades.

Although any report which the commissioners may have made, beyond these depositions, is lost, the result of their findings is well known. The merchants gained the day. A decree in their favour was made by the Star Chamber and was confirmed by a patent under the great seal of Henry VIII. It is set out in part by Brand (vol. II, p. 178), by Welford (vol. II, p. 46), and more fully by Gross (vol. II, p. 380), and is enrolled at length in the archives of the town. That decree provided that none of the other crafts, which are there enumerated, should use the trades of the merchants, unless they renounced their own crafts and paid fines for admittance to one or other of the merchant companies, at a rate specified by the decree, and it was further decreed that the four men who were to be selected by the representatives of the twelve leading mysteries to choose the mayor and other officers of the town, should be such burgesses as had been beforetime both mayors and aldermen

of the town, by which provision the power of the ruling class to control those elections was assured and strengthened.

Arising out of these disturbances, the next mayor of Newcastle, John Brandling, was committed to the Tower by the Star Chamber for saying that he did not know the names of those who made insurrection in the town, but afterwards he admitted that he did. The king, on the 10th of July, 1517, granted a pardon to him and to the burgesses involved in the disturbances, and according to Brand this pardon is amongst the archives of the corporation.

Although, as we have seen, the battle was afterwards (in 1730) decided in favour of the crafts, and although, as we know, the methods of election of the town officials were varied in later reigns, it was not until the nineteenth century that these municipal reforms were completed by the act of 1835, which enacted that any person in any borough might keep any shop and use every lawful trade and occupation within any borough, and by the same statute it was provided that throughout the kingdom the mayor of every borough should be elected by the burgesses generally and without distinction.

The unlettered craftsmen of the sixteenth century were of opinion that if the free right to trade were granted to them the king's customs would be increased and the town would be enriched with greater traffic. On the other hand, the thriving merchants were of opinion that the protection which they enjoyed, and which made them rich, operated also in some ways for the benefit of the community at large, and they were grave and reverend signiors.

How happy we should be who live in that twentieth century, in which there is no dispute as to the comparative advantages of free trade and protection.

APPENDIX.

STAR CHAMBER PROCEEDINGS.

ABSTRACTS.

1.

(7 Henry VIII, 1515, at present wrongly stamped and calendared as Henry VII, no. 106.)

To the King.

Petition of the mayor and aldermen and certain of the commoners of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Whereas their town has been, time out of mind, a town corporate endowed with great franchises and liberties, as well by the king's ancestors as by many good customs used within it, approved and confirmed by the king and his ancestors, one of these customs being that the mercers, drapers, and bothemen called merchants of corn have sold as well in gross as retail all manner of wares pertaining to their own mysteries and to others, and all persons of other crafts or mysteries have bought and sold only things pertaining to their own particular mysteries and no further without special agreement. The town has been well governed and the inhabitants have 'mekely obeyed' the mayor, aldermen and other head officers, until lately when seditious persons have stirred many of the commons of the town to disobey the mayor, from discontent with the said custom, saying that their liberty is to buy and sell all manner of wares in the town, as well as those belonging to their own craft, without any agreement.

The suppliants required them to desist until the assizes; but they have with force and arms often assembled to the number of five hundred and bound themselves together by oath on the Gospels, and have made books sealed whereby they are bound to take one part against the mayor and aldermen. If they continue, it will be to the destruction of the whole town, for the suppliants dare not attach any of them, keep courts, sessions of peace, etc.

2.

Answer of the artificers, burgesses and guildmerchants.

In times past the said artificers bought and sold all manner of merchandise at their free liberty according to royal grants confirmed by this king, without any agreement with other crafts. The said customs were of greater profit to the king than now, as appears by books of record, and the town richer in

goods and better governed. In the grants made upon the first corporation, the liberty of buying and selling was given to all the burgesses and guild-merchants of the town.

They have always been obedient, but certain persons have sued for justice to the mayor and aldermen sitting in the king's court there; who would nothing regard the suit, but furiously broke the head of one of the suiters in the court 'that the blodde ranne downe by his eyes to the worste example that cowde be.' They have not stirred the commons to disobedience, or bound themselves.

Ordinances were made in the time of Edward III, by reason of like variance then in the town, and by general agreement ordinances were ratified by the king under the great seal, by which it appears that they have authority to buy and sell freely all merchandise coming to the town by sea or land.

3.

(Henry VIII. Bundle 24, no. 307.)

Commission to Edward Radcliff, knight, and John Bentley to examine witnesses concerning a complaint made before the king and council by the mayor, aldermen and certain honest commoners of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, against the artificers, burgesses, and guildmerchants of the same town, and the answer thereto exhibited; and to certify the king and council concerning the said examination, in the octave of Michaelmas next.

26 May, 7 Henry VIII (A.D. 1515).

On the dorse: The said Edward and John went to the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 10 July, following the date of the commission, and have certified the king and council concerning the said examination.

4.

(Henry VIII. Bundle 18, no. 260.)

Interrogatories for the examination of the commoners of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, concerning riots, confederacies and conventicles committed by them and done against the mayor, aldermen and certain worshipful commoners, and against the good rules, order and ancient customs of the town.

1. Whether David Man, cordwainer; William Thomson, 'cordener'; Rauf Thomson, girdler; John Haton, weaver; John Robson, tailor; Henry Johnson, baker; Robert Sedman, baker; Robert Russell, weaver; Thomas Thomson, 'berebruer'; John Dobson, tailor; John Watson, fuller; Richard Cressop, tanner; assembled at Joyesmounte a mile from the said town in Easter week last.

2. What communication they had there against the mayor and aldermen concerning breaking the good rules and customs of the town.

3. Whether they promised that every one of them would take one part against the mayor and aldermen and all others that would take their part against the opinion of the said David Man and their other companions and confederates aforesaid.

4. What purpose and opinion did David Man and the said company then conclude and determine upon.

5. Whether every of them promised to labour their several fellowships to take their part to bring that purpose about.

6. Whether at various times after this, in the town, at the 'White Freers' and other places they laboured their whole fellowships to take their part and evil purpose.

7. Whether after this labour 'and dryft in their evil purpose' all the fellowships of the town of all their said crafts assembled, to the number of three hundred and above, at the 'White Freers' and how many promised 'every to order' to take one part in evil and good against the mayor and alderman.

8. How often they assembled, and how many persons, to bring the said evil purpose about.

9. Whether they made any oaths or writings to keep their opinions and evil purpose, and what were these oaths and writings.

10. Whether they agreed that every person there assembled should appear at the next 'Guyld Day,' to intent that whatever should be then comoned of the said good rule and order of the town should not take effect but after their own wilful purpose and mind, and whether it was said among them that the mayor and aldermen 'should goo into the halle with white heddies and shuld com oute with redde heddies,' and that 'we bene as good men nowe as they were that slewe and killed their maire before that tyme.'

11. Whether the mayor and his brethren by advice of their recorder sent for the persons now to be examined and forty more of their opinion in the morning of their guild day, that is to say, 6th April last, to meet them at S. Nicholas's church to have good communication with them, and at their meeting at the said church, the mayor and his brethren by mouth of the recorder desired them to cease such confederacies and crooked opinions, or the good order of the town would be lost and destroyed, but the mayor and his brethren could do no good nor order nor rule according to their duties and oaths, nor durst, and shewed to them that whatever reasonable thing they would desire at the coming of the justices of assize who were learned, the opinion of the said justices should be followed, without any other business, and required them that they might peaceably proceed at their common guild hall for the conservation of the town and good rules and order thereof according to their ancient custom yearly used, and to set apart all such new

business as they had begun, for if they of their pollicy would not exhort their said companies to leave their wilful opinions the mayor and his brethren durst not come at the guild hall that day; which David Manne and all his company there utterly refused to do 'and said they wolde have their myndes performed after their singuler appetites at the said Guilde Day.' For which cause the said guild day was not kept, for the mayor and his brethren durst not come there, seeing the unreasonable and wilful demeanour of the commons and their said conventicles and conspiracies to bring about their said evil purpose.

5.

(Same bundle as the petition.)

Articles to be examined by sir Edward Radcliff, knight, and John Benteley, gentleman.

1. Whether the mayor, merchants, drapers, and bothemen have used, time out of mind, to buy and sell freely as well on this side as beyond the sea. And no other crafts, but only they.
2. Whether their buying or selling (all other crafts except) stands with the common weal.
3. Where they had this. Whether it were so admitted by the common assent.
4. Whether the mercers, drapers and bothemen may have a title of prescription; being 'the men on lyve' which have bought and sold freely, time out of mind.
5. Whether a man may prescribe against the king's letters patent.

6.

(Same bundle as the petition.)

Articles to be examined by sir Edward Ratcliff, knight, and John Bentley, gentleman.

1. Whether, time out of mind, every burgess has used to occupy any mystery or craft other than his own, without agreement of the craft he desires to be of.
2. Whether any burgess other than merchants has used to buy any merchandise coming to the town, other than for the necessaries of their house and family.
3. Whether the hand craftymen, burgesses, or any other inhabitants have used to sell in gross or retail within the town, any wares, but only for the necessaries of their house and family.

7.

Examination of witnesses sworn before sir Edward Radcliff, knight, and John Bentley, gentleman; on the part of the artificers, commoners and guildmerchants.

(To the first article of no. 6.)

Confessed, granted and agreed on both sides in the negative.

(To the second and third articles of no. 6.)

John Wardley, of Newcastle, cooper, aged eighty-two years.

He was apprentice and servant to John Clonecroft of the same town, cooper, who bought corn, salt, soap, and tar, and retailed the corn to men of Northumberland, and was never interrupted by the mayor, sheriff or other officer, and made no agreement except with his own craft.

John Stroder, smith, aged eighty years

Robert Lovell of the same town, dyer, bought and retailed iron and corn, at his pleasure without any interruption, and John Nixson and William Hutton of the same town, dyers, and William Bawcon, baxter, bought corn and retailed it without any agreement.

Thomas Uscherr, weaver, aged seventy-two years.

Thomas Benton of the same town, smith, bought iron, soap, tar and flax at times during his life and carried them with his own wain to Carlisle and there retailed them without interruption. At one time, he bought in Carlisle, a great quantity of sheep-skins, brought them to Newcastle and offered them to the mercers to sell; they would not buy them at his price and then he customed the skins and shipped them in a Dutch ship and retailed them beyond the sea without interruption and 'frawght' the ship home again with iron; the same day six weeks he came to Tynemouth that he set forth, and retailed the iron at Carlisle at his pleasure. In Newcastle, the said Thomas had four 'harthes' going. Also Robert Thrive of the same town, butcher, bought and retailed all manner of merchandise without any interruption and kept an open shop for such retailing. At various times he bought merchandise at London, and once bought purses 'and whene the pursees com home the carior would have money for carying of the sand was in the said pursees.' As far as he knowe, Thrive never agreed with any occupation. Also, William Kendail, tinkler, bought all manner of spices and retailed them in the said town.

William Pape, glover, aged sixty-two years.

He bought sheep-skins and alum at various times, and the stewards of the mercers commenced an action against him, and the verdict of the inquest was that 'thos skynnys that were good he shuld occupie and thos that were evill to selle,' and he should sell alum in his house so he kept no open shop for retailing. After that he bought skins, alum and corn, and retailed them in Hexham, Alnewyk and other places without agreement, and laded a ship without coals.

Thomas Leighton, smith, late sheriff of the said town.

Thomas Leyng, William Marche, Alexander Hogg, smiths, and he have bought, at various times, 4 or 5 tons of iron at once, and retailed them without no agreement, thirty years ago, John Caracle [Carlell, Carliel, 1475] being mayor and John Cartington recorder, and then William Davell, William Carr and William Swane, merchants, complained to the said officers who said that if the said smiths had bought a shipful of iron they should have it without interruption.

David Mane, shoemaker.

He bought wax, flax, tar, iron, hops, and corn for sixteen years without agreement, and served lord Darcy's house in Berwick with hops, paid for by Robert Dalton, my lord's steward.

John Robson, tailor.

He, Richard Robson, tailor, and Henry Redepath, tailor, have bought cloth, linen and woolen, hats, bonnets, knives, spices, silks, velvets, flax, corn and other merchandise for twenty years together, without agreement. He kept three open shops for retailing the same in the said town, and once he 'affraied' with the stewards of the bothemen for buying corn 'and four thaffray he was set in prison and after lettyn goo without any agreement.' Robert Thompson, tailor, occupied and bought all manner of merchandise and retailed it at his pleasure.

John Errington, 'sklater.'

He bought and retailed* corn, flax and hemp.

John Braidley, 'baxster.'

One John Langton, 'baxster,' bought and retailed all manner of corn and grain above the necessity of his household and family.

Robert Wys, smith.

He bought, for twenty years, iron, pitch, tar, flax, 'coollis,' and retailed them, to this year.

* In all the answers, this is without agreement or interruption.

John Watson, walker.

He bought corn, flax, cloth, wax, soap, iron, pepper, saffron with all other merchandise with no interruption until master Brandling [John Brandling, 1509] was mayor, who arrested him 'and thene the said Watson vowed the said bying' and after retailed at his pleasure with no agreement, until last year.

Thomas Skelton, skinner.

He bought madder and soap with other merchandise, and retailed them.

Henry Woodroffe, tailor, John Hogg, tailor, and John Dobson, tailor.

Have bought beyond the sea, flax, soap, iron, tar, pitch, 'osmundes worsset,' fustians, corn, with other merchandise and retailed them without interruption till now, Thomas Horsle [Horsley] being mayor, *anno* 6 Henry VIII.

Henry Tailliour, smith.

John Dodes his master and he have bought flax 'rossell' and other merchandise and retailed them.

Richard Kendail, keilman.

He bought corn 'lynt' with other merchandise, and retailed it. He was once arested, and not further interrupted.

Thomas Dennand, cardmaker, David Trollopp, 'schere-man,' and William Anderson, smith.

They bought and retailed barley and other merchandise.

Alexander Johnson, wright.

He has bought barley 'waynscotte' above the necessary of his household and family, and retailed it.

Edmund Dune, cordwainer.

He bought and retailed cloth, linen and woolen, flax, corn.

Thomas Thomson, cooper.

Has bought and retailed pitch, tar 'rossaill waynscottes lynt counters.'

Robert Johnson, baker.

He has bought and retailed flax, soap, pitch, tar, 'waynscott, claphout, osmundes,' corn and other merchandise.

Henry Johnson, baker.

He has bought and retailed flax, corn and other merchandise.

John Chattour, walker, and John Blitheman, butcher.

They bought corn and flax above the necessary of their households and family and retailed them.

Robert Poottes, shoemaker, Rauffe Thomson, girdler,
and Thomas Morgane, tailor.

Have bought and retailed lynt, soap, tar, corn, with other merchandise.

Robert Sadman, baxster.

He bought and retailed soap, tar, iron, hats, bonnets, flax, pepper and
corn. His master Thomas Harbred 'occupied siklike.'

George Houghill, tailor.

He has bought and retailed soap, tar, flax, and corn.

John Cristing, 'sklater.'

He, John Chekin, 'pooderer,' and John Robson at various times, have
bought and laded ships with corn and other stuff, and retailed it.

John Langton, baker, and William Langton, goldsmith.

Their father, John Langton, baker, bought and retailed for thirty years,
lynt, tar and soap with other merchandise. Robert Slayne, Thomas Grene,
Robert Grene, Robert Hobson, Allene Howet and John Lynton, bakers,
'occupied siklik,' and have done so without interruption these two years,
and know not why they are interrupted.

Christofer Scrocke, smith.

He bought lynt, pitch, tar, soap, corn with other merchandise above the
necessary of his household. John Doodes, smith, his master 'occupied siklike
all his dayes.'

John Robinson, weaver, aged sixty years.

He knows Alexander Hogg, smith, Thomas Leyng, smith, and other
craftsmen buying and retailing iron, lynt, soap, and tar.

William Thomson, shoemaker, and Rauffe Poottes, shoe-
maker.

They bought and retailed flax and all manner of corn.

John Dobson, tailor.

He has bought and occupied all manner of merchandise, as soap, tar,
flax, iron, cloth, and other stuff. Once he went in a ship of Robert Hardene,
botheman, alderman of the said town, to Denmark with cloth which he
customed in the king's books, and there he 'fraught' a quarter and a half
quarter of the ship with rye and paid 'to fraught' 7*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Another time
he and Christofer Raw, mercer, and John Side 'fraught' a ship into
Norway. Also he has bought merchandise at Hull, London, and other parts
of England, these sixteen years, and retailed the said rye and merchandise
in Newcastle.

Richard Awmery, aged seventy years, weaver.

He bought corn twelve years ago and retailed it. Also soap, iron and
flax.

John Ellyson, mariner, aged forty-six years. He has bought and retailed pitch, tar, flax, hemp, soap, 'osmundes,' wax, and other stuff, without interruption until now that the stewards of the bothemen have sued him, which suit he hathe 'non suyt.'

Robert Watson, fuller, sheriff of the said town, aged fifty-four years.

John Watson, his brother, fuller, has bought and retailed certain merchandise 'all the dayes of his lyffe'; also he has occupied 'sithes' wax, flax, and other merchandise.

(Signed) Edward Radclyff.
John Bentley.

(m. 5.)

And furthermore, for the part of the mayor, aldermen and other honest persons of the town, is shewn an old book of articles of a common guild kept 17 Henry VI; where is rehearsed that since variance and discord have been between merchants of this guild and craftsmen of the same guild 'saying that craftesmen that wirkes of their handcraft shuld not bye and have in the water of Tyne all thyng at the first price at the first bying like as a merchant that vseth no nothir craft but merchandise shuld have. Therefore it is declared and assented in this comen gild that yf plenty come into this haven of eny merchaundise or of vitailles or els scarsete of merchaundise or vitailles com in by strangers it shall be resonably delivered at the denominacion of the mair, sherif, justice of pease of this town or by the discrecion of the most partie of theym. That is to sey: first to the biggers in this town either of housez or of schippes resonable that perteyneth to their biggyng of shippes or of housez in this town that is most necessary to be upholdyn shall be preferred, sithen the merchaunt in his clere merchaundise, sithen every man of craft resonable for his sustentacion and propre use to spend in his house and not for to sell agane to strangers as by the seid act it is more pleyntyly expressid,' which act the mayor and alderman say that they will have ready to shew when commanded.

(To the articles no. 5.)

3. The commissioners say that all and every thing of which they can get knowledge appears in the said act of the said common gild above rehearsed.

2. Reasons on both sides have been shewn, but only by the parties themselves, and by no other persons. 'Soo that for difficulte thereof, the commissioners cannot fully certify.'

4, 5. The commissioners say that 'theis interrogatoriez be so diffuse to be knowen by examinacion of wittnessez, and as we thynk thei be diffuse causez concernyng the comen lawe wherein we for the causez aforeseid can not asserteyn accordyng to our commaundment in this behalf.'

(Signed) Edward Radclyff.
John Bentley.

8.

Examination of witnesses on the part of the mayor, aldermen and honest persons of the town of Newcastle.

(To the first article of no. 6.)

Confessed and granted on both sides in the negative.

(To the second and third articles of no. 6.)

Thomas Molle, mercer, aged sixty-seven years.

He bought his freedom of the company of mercers, Willyam Selby and Willyam Wardall being stewards of the said craft, and he paid 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Time out of mind no craftsman occupied the craft or mystery of another without interruption, agreement or condemnation of that craft that he occupied. No craftsmen for all that time bought or sold any merchandise other than for the necessaries of their houses and families, without interruption. No craftsman bought or retailed in gross any merchandise in the town, without interruption.

John Dolfenby, aged seventy-six years.

He dwelt and was apprenticed in the said town when he was twenty years old, and since he dwelt in the country. He never knew one craftsman occupy the craft of another without interruption, agreement or condemnation.

John Hueker, shipwright, aged fifty years.

He never knew any craftsman occupy the craft of another without interruption, agreement or condemnation, no craftsman bought any merchandise other than for their household and family without interruption, agreement or condemnation.

Thomas Cook, mercer, seventy-eight; John Brown, spurrier, sixty; Rauff Sharp, keilman, seventy; and Richard Rowinney, mercer, sixty;

Say the same.

John Hayton, weaver.

He agreed with Thomas Snaw and with wardens of the draper craft, by indenture, for the occupation of the said craft.

William Esttowne, mercer.

He agreed with John Penreth and other, being wardens of the draper craft, and paid for his fine for the occupation of the craft of drapery, 26*s.* 8*d.*

Robert Hornby, shipwright.

He agreed with Henry Andreson and Percivall Bewyk, then wardens of the mercer craft, and paid fine for occupation of the same, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

John Snow, sometime mayor [1503], aged seventy.

He, being freeman of the 'merreners' agreed with Willyam Clerk and other being wardens of the mercer craft and botheman, for occupying their craft, and paid for his fine 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Lewys Sotheron, fifty.

He, being freeman with the mariners, 7 Henry VII, George Birde then being mayor of the town, agreed with the wardens of bothmen for occupying the craft of selling corn, and paid fine 26*s.* 8*d.*

Robert Melotte, aged thirty-six.

He was freeman of the town, and agreed with Thomas Horsley and John Batmanson, wardens of the bothmen, for occupying their craft.

Robert Boynde, freeman at the craft of the shipwright, seventy-seven.

He agreed with Thomas Swane and Henry Barro, wardens of the drapers' craft, for occupying their craft.

Robert Rossell, freeman of the weaver craft.

He agreed with Alane Reede and John Johnson being stewards of the butchers' crafte and paid fine, 20*s.*

John Bewyk, sworn.

He was apprentice to a glover 'which lerned hym the glover crafte and to be a skynner' and was made freeman, and paid both a fine to the glover craft and to the skinner craft.

Richerd Stoot.

He was apprentice to the skinner craft and was made freeman of the same, and afterwards made fine to the glovers for occupying their craft.

George Bednall.

He was a freeman's son of the mercery and free to the same craft, and agreed with Henry Penreth and other wardens of the draper craft and paid for fine 26*s.* 8*d.*

Willyam Androwson, cordwainer.

Same as John Hauker (*ante*).

William Barkley, sadler.

He has corn in his house and dares not sell it for trouble.

Robert Breiksperre, tailor, sixty-nine.

Same as John Hauker, until this last year.

Edward Hedlee, weaver, sixty.

Same as John Hauker.

John Robson, tailor; fifty-eight.

He, being a tailor, occupied the craft of an osteman and was compelled to agree with the osteman craft, and paid fine 6s. 8d. Since that agreement, he has been steward of the said craft and has sued various men for occupying it without agreement.

John Brown, tailor, sixty.

Same as John Hauker. Also, he agreed with the stewards of the kielman craft that now are, for occupying that craft.

Willyam Lawson, glover, fifty.

The same; he agreed with the keilmen for occupying their craft.

Willyam Hall, sixty.

The same. He agreed with the cooks and paid fine 7s. and a dinner, and afterwards agreed with porters and was made free with them and paid fine 7s. and a dinner.

Willyam Silvertope, seventy.

The same.

George Jobson, sadler.

If any craftsman bought and retailed any merchandise other than for the necessary of his household and family, he was forthwith sued. He never knew any craftsman except mercers, bothemen and drapers buy and sell beyond the sea or on this side the sea, any manner of merchandise.

Thomas Horsley, mayor, botheman (53); Christofer Brigham, alderman, botheman (50); Robert Baxster, alderman, mercer (50); John Brandlyng, alderman, botheman (40); Thomas Riddell, alderman, mercer (50); John Blaxston, alderman, mercer (50); Edward Baxster, alderman, mercer (42); Roger Dent, mercer (64); Willyam Pikden, mercer (60); Thomas Baxster the younger, mercer (40); John Pasley, mercer (50); Alane Hardyng, mercer (62); Willyam Wardall, mercer (40); Henry Bednall, mercer (64); George Davell, mercer (31); Richerd Gray, mercer (50); John Morpeth, mercer (50); John Syde, mercer (62); Andro Bewyk, mercer (36); John Trafforth, mercer (31); Robert Sotheron, mercer (57); George Camby, mercer (30); Launcelote Greve, mercer (30); Antony Reid, mercer (50); Nicholas Stokhall, mercer (40); Robert Cromer, mercer (40); John Wilkynson, mercer (63); Robert Hornby, mercer (62); Richerd Wrangwys, mercer (53); Willyam Scott, mercer (57); Willyam Carre, mercer (31); John Bewyk, mercer (61); Edward Bartram, bothman (62); Thomas Hyll, botheman (62); Lewys Sotheron, botheman (62); Peter Chatour, botheman (35); Percivall Bewyk, botheman (41); Henry Fynkill, botheman (42); Henry Androson, botheman (30); Robert Lytster, botheman (41); Richard Blaxston, botheman (53); Thomas Johnson, botheman (30); Robert Horsley, botheman (31); Thomas Sotheron, botheman (50); Gilbert Middilton,

botheman (35); Willyam Kanyng, bothman (62); Robert Bartram, botheman, (44); Willyam Eston, draper (40); George Bednall, draper (30), say that, time out of mind, it has been used in the said town, that no burgess or artificer other than mercers, bothemen and drapers should use and occupy buying or retailing of any merchandise in gross or otherwise, but for the necessaries of their house and family, neither on this side nor beyond the sea. If any did so, they were forthwith interrupted or else sued and condemned, or otherwise agreed and satisfied the wardens of the said crafts, as more evidently appears in the court's books of records, shewed to these witnesses, by a great number of suits and condemnations; which books the mayor and alderman say they have ready to be shewn when commanded.

The mayor and alderman say that, time out of mind, the use has been that the craft of drapers has used to buy nor sell any other merchandise or stuff but only woolen cloth, without agreement of such craft as he would occupy; and that the craft of bothemen hath not used or occupied any other merchandise but selling of corn, without agreement of the craft he would occupy; and that time out of mind, the craft and mystery of mercers has used and occupied all manner of grocery ware, mercery ware, and other gross merchandise, as soap, tar, flax, pitch, wax, iron, osmondes, waynescott, claphold, trayn, and all other manner of merchandise in gross and by retail, and that no other artificer or craft has occupied any of the premises, but only the mercers, but if it were to the use of their house and household, or else agreed for the same as is aforesaid.

(Signed) Edward Radc[lyff].
John Bentley.

Postscript.—Since the above article and appendix were put in type, the town clerk of Newcastle has courteously furnished me with a copy from the city archives of the pardon of the 10th July, 1517, referred to on page 87. As it mentions several well known Newcastle names and has not been previously printed, I have thought it well to add it. It is, however, curious to note that whilst the pardon is dated in 1517, subsequent to the dispute of 1515 above detailed, it is expressly limited to offences committed prior to March, 1514, or in other words, to offences prior to that dispute, so that it appears to refer to some other and different transgressions. It is also to be noted that the name of the recorder which is stated in the article to be unknown is given as Thomas Tempest.

10 July 9 Hen. VIII (1517), Westminster.

Pardon to John Brandling, late of Newcastle upon Tyne, merchant, *alias* the said John Brandling, mayor of the same town, and

Christopher Brigham	} aldermen	(Henry) Edyson, yeoman
Thomas Riddel		Anthony Reid, gentleman
Thomas Tempest, recorder		Thomas Bell, yeoman
William Hayning, merchant		William Johnson "
Leodovic Sothern "		William Brown "
John Syd "		Robert Ranson "
Robert Millett "		(William) "
John Morpeth "		Cuthbert Brysse "
Thomas Wilkynson, yeoman		Robert Watson "
William Arnald,		John Todd "
William Elwald, yeoman		William Elyson "
George Dalton "		Robert Sothern "
John Kamoo "		William Lowson "
Roger Dent, gentleman		John Watson "
George Byrd, jun. "		Thomas Brown "
William Dent,		John Elyson "
(Henry), merchant		James Volantyn "
Peter Chator "		William Baker "
Henry Bewyk "		Robert Wilkynson,
John Sanderson, yeoman		Andrew Smyth, yeoman
Thomas Gybson "		John Bewyk "
Robert Thomason "		John Carr "
(William) "		Simon Volantyn "
John Robson "		William Bothom "
Robert Marche "		Henry Johnson,
Richard Blayton (<i>sic</i>) "		(Thomas) Alvire, chaplain
John Doxforth, gentleman		John Gren "
William Barbour, yeoman		
William Edyson,		all of Newcastle upon Tyne

for all and all manner of trespasses, riots, routs, retentions, illicit assemblies illicit trespasses 'de virid' and neglects, deceptions, concealments of customs and subsidies and all other concealments whatsoever, offences, frauds, contempts, extortions and other wrongful doings by them perpetrated before 4th March, 5 Hen. VIII (1513/4), and of all fines, ameracements, &c., incurred before 1st April, 24 Hen. VII (1509), and of all outlawries, &c., by reason of the premises.

By the king himself.

Ind. 'Rotulo XIII^o inter Placita Regis.'

Seal missing. Parchment marked with mud and damaged at sides.

ADDITIONS, CORRECTIONS, ETC.

- Page 67, 15th line from bottom, for 'south side, to Newgate' read 'east side.'
- Page 182, fig. 12. This brooch was found at the sewage or refuse ditch, (pp. 167, 200). When first thrown out, it escaped notice, and was detected in the replacement of the soil. Mr. Forster thinks that it belongs to the soil above the ditch. In any case, it was not found (as is stated incidentally in the recent volume of the *Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions*, XI 442) in association with 'pre-Hadrianic coins and pottery.' No coins were found here, and the pottery (plate VI) formed a distinct layer with which this brooch had nothing to do. The good preservation of the *fibula* is noteworthy, but is not altogether uncommon in pieces of this special type.
- Page 184, line 15, for 'later third' read 'third.'
- Page 198, lines 6, 7, from bottom, for 'a scabbard attachment, two scabbard-tips (plate III 10) similar to one plate XXXV 13,' read 'two scabbard-tips (fig. 36); a scabbard attachment (plate IV 10) similar to one plate XXXV 13.'
- Page 191, line 3, for 'nine' read 'ten.'
- Page 202, line 15. The first letter of the name after the word 'baking' should be Δ not v .

 POSTSCRIPT TO 'STRUGGLE BETWEEN MERCHANT AND CRAFT
GILDS OF NEWCASTLE' (pp. 77-101).

'More water passes by the mill than wots the miller of' and I did not know until after the above paper was printed off that, whilst I was making the extracts and writing the comments contained in it, the same star chamber proceedings were being published at greater length by the Selden Society.

They will be found in that society's volume for 1910, No. 25, page 70, and instead of being merely abstracted, as in the foregoing article, the proceedings are set out *verbatim*. The volume is edited by Mr. I. S. Leadam, who has added a number of very useful notes, giving explanations of the terms used, and I am glad to be able to refer our members to the Selden Society's volume.

The preceding article in the same volume, page 68, sets out the proceedings in the dispute of 1510, between the corporation of Newcastle and John Stonewell, the then prior of Tynemouth, mentioned in Mr. Craster's history of Tynemouth in the new *History of Northumberland*, volume VIII, page 290.

F. W. DENDY.

27TH MAY, 1911.